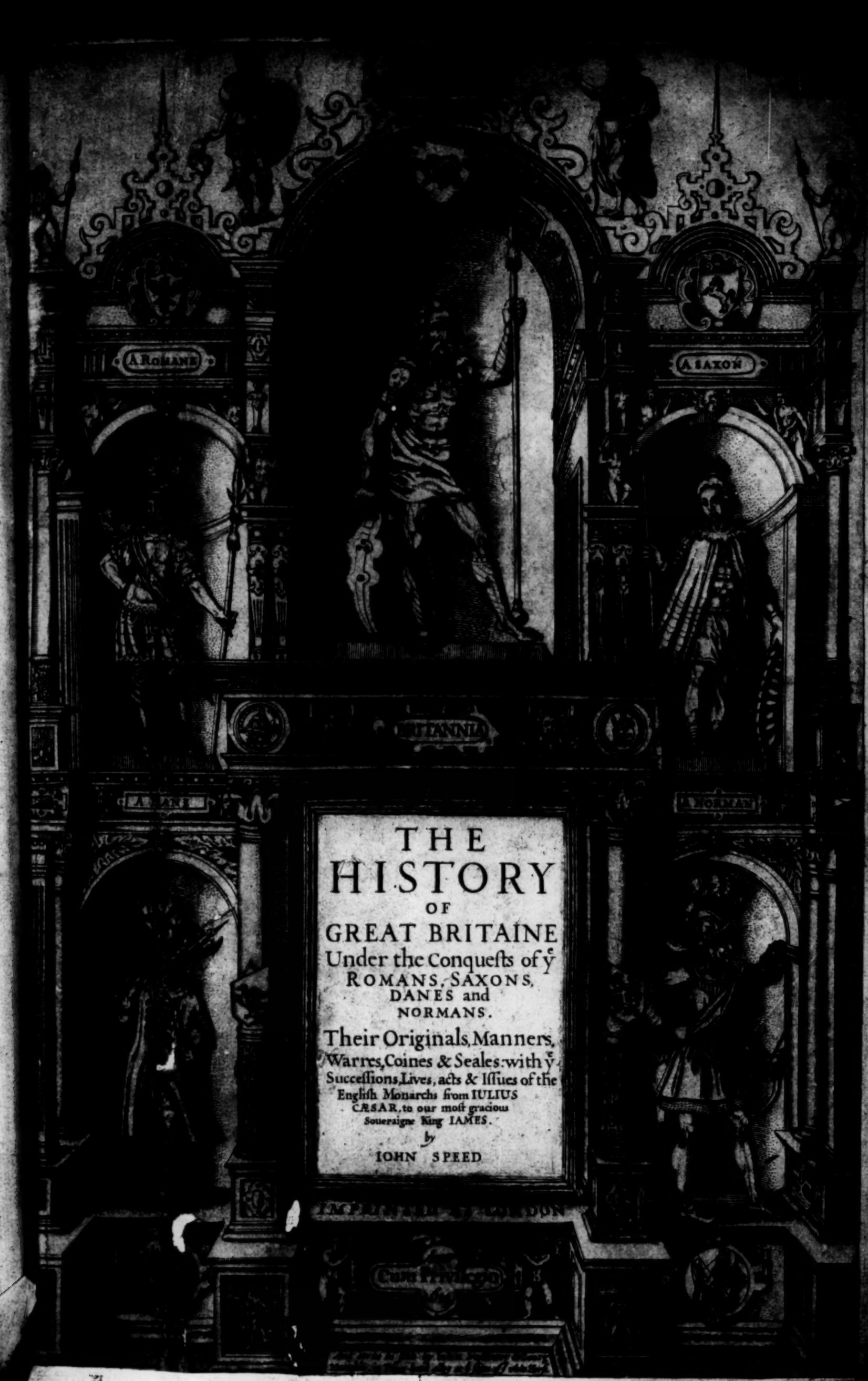

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAINE

Under the Conquests of ye

ROMANS, SAXONS, DANES and NORMANS.

Their Originals, Manners, Warres, Coines & Seales: with ye Successions, Lives, acts & Issues of the English Monarchs from IULIUS CÆSAR, to our most gracious Soueraigne King IAMES.

by

JOHN SPEED

XUM

TO
THE MOST HIGH,
AND MOST POTENT
MONARCH,
IAMES,
OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST
CONSTANT AND MOST LEAR-
NED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH;
INLARGER AND VNITER OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTO-
RER OF THE BRITISH NAME; ESTABLI-
SHER OF PERPETVALL PEACE, IN
CHVRCH, AND COMMONVVEALTH;
PRESIDENT OF AL PRINCE-
LY VERTVES AND
NOBLE ARTS:

IOHN SPEED,
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
lovvly and moſt loyall Subiect
and Seruant, conſecrateth theſe his labours, though
vnworthy the aſpect of ſo high an
Imperiall Maieſtie.

¶ 1

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A l'honneur de l'autheur et ſon oeuure

LE treſpuiſſant ouurier de la ronde machine,
Pour ſon chef d'œuure teint ceſt Iſle ſeparée:
Et quoy que des plus grands threſors du ciel parée
Son luſtre aſſuiettit au temps et a ruine.
D'un Demidieu ouurier d'une fabriq' diuine,
Par la plume ſe void la breſche reparée,
La ruine dreſſée, et la force aſſeurée
Contre la mort, que tant de beautés aſſaſsine.

La police, le nom, l'inuincible courage,
Les Princes, Prouinces, et tout qu'eſt d'auantage
Du Breton *belliqueux, luiſent en ſon Hiſtoire:*
Pour vn ouurage donq' a touts tant admirable,
Faiſons, faiſons, Brettons, *d'un burin memorable,*
Grauer le nom de SPEED *au temple de Memoire.*

T. BARKHAM.

HENR. SPELMAN Mil. Lectori

NOn leue, nec temerè Laudo tibi seria, lector
Gratum opus & dignum consule (credè) vides.
Noster his Ortelius, sic nostrum hunc exhibet orbem.
Vt res emineat, tota Britannia, simul.
Ora, sinus, flumij, portus, nemus, oppida, tractus.
Regna, duces, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.

Rich. Saint George Norrey *King at armes, in fauour of this worke.*

IT is farre from my purpose, to commend without cause, or by ouer curious florish to make a shadow seeme a substance, this worke needs no such *deceptio visus*; The subiect is of it selfe honorable, and able to stand without such weake proppes. The glory of our nation being almost buried in the pit of obscurity, is herein reuiued, the continuance of Christianity traced from age to age, the antiquity and situation of our Townes, Castles, Religious Houses, Nobility, and all other memorable matters so liuely portraied, as in a glasse we may rightly discerne the true shape, quality and condition of each of them in particular. This worke therefore being now brought vpon the publike stage and view of the world, may in my poore censure giue satisfaction to the learned Reader, and abide the touch of the malignant opposer; which being effected without hope of gaine or vaine ostentation with so great care both of body and mind, is the more precious, for, *difficilia quæ pulchra.* Wherein Gods power is made knowne in this his weake, but worthy instrument: and the glory of *Great Britaine* made more famous to the world as well in the Geographicall demension of the Lands situation as in the historicall relations of her most famous monarchs and glorious actions; no Kingdome hitherto so particularly described, nor nations History by true record more faithfully penned: In honor whereof I sacrifice these lines of my loue vpon the Altar of this worke, and celebrate the Authors remembrance to future posterities.

To my friend Mr. IOHN SPEED, being very sicke.

Great loue, and little skill may cause me to missay.
But certainly this sicknes cannot make thee die:
Though cruell symptomes, and these thirteene yeeres assay
For thy deare country, doth thy health & strength decay.
Yet sith thy toylsome labour, and thy industrie.
Is for thy Countries sake, her fame on hie to raise:
Shee shall thy temples crowne with euerlasting bayes,
And in despite of death, shall cause thy memorie
To liue in endles fame with all posteritie.

Now may shee see her beauty, and her riches store,
What erst shee was in eu'rie age, and change of state,
And present greatnes such as neuer heretofore,
Since this great Monarch rul'd from North to southerne shore,
And sith thy life is to thy country dedicate,
Let none presume thy lawrell from thy head to reaue
For this hir story, which thy skilfull hand did weaue:
But liue, & weare it [Speed] vntil the worlds great fate
Shall bring all earthly things vnto their vtmost date.

ALEX. GILL.

In exactissimi huius operis Authorem, Eulogium *Tho. Barkham.*

VInctæ diu, rumpat despectæ, silentia lingua,
Culmina vt immensi memorem superata laboris
Speide *tui: insuetâ iactor licèt, (optime,) curâ,*
Quam tibi pro merito possim circundare palmam
Qui coeant populi, quæcunque sub orbe Britanno
Digna refers, vno aspectu, scriptoque, locoque,
Sanguineas signas, atauorum bella, palæstras;
Nobilitansque aptâ patriam compagine, rerum,
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora filum.
Ergô erit hæc magni merces non parua laboru,
Egregium pariunt hæc quòd monumenta decorem
Ipsa sibi, ventura quòd hæc mirabitur ætas,
Totaq; perpetuas debet Respublica grates.

To the right well deseruing Mr. IOHN SPEED the Author of this worke.

IN this BOOKE, (Bibliothec, *or Booke of Bookes;*
TIMES *Library,* PLACES *Geographie*)
All that is shewne for which the curious lookes
Touching this LAND, *for* Place, *or* Historie.

In which, thou hast with paine, *with* care, *and* skill,
Surueid this Land *more neere then ere it was:*
For which, thy Wit *thou strain'd hast to thy* Will,
That wils as much as Witte *can bring to passe.*

The faire Hibernia *that Westerne Isle likewise,*
In euery Member, Artire, Nerue, *and* Veine,
Thou by thine Arte *dost so Anatomize,*
That all may see each parcell without * *paine.*

* *trauell.*

Heere Time, *and* Place, *like friendly foes doe warre*
Which should shew most desir'd Particulars;
But Place *giues place, sith* Time *is greater farre;*
Yet Place, *well rang'd, gets glory by these warres.*

No helps thou hadst, nor no assisting aide
In this attempt: but, Vertue *gaue thee might*
That well to doe, that well thou hast assaide
Which shall (in grace) out-liue immortall spight.

Hadst thou among the Romanes *liu'd when they*
Did signiorize the World; *A* Signiory
Should then (at least) haue guerdon'd thy Surucy,
Thy Mappes, Descriptions, *and thine* Historie.

But, thou dost liue when all Arts *saue the* * *eight*
(Illiberall liberall Arte) *a begging goe;*
That Arte *alone, with her true friend* Deceipt,
Gets all; then all seekes but that Arte *to know.*

* *Adulation.*

But, by thy Arte *though nought be purchased*
But emptie Fame (*that feeds, but fattens not*)
Yet shall it feed thy NAME *till* DEATH *be dead;*
While emptie noble Names *away shall rot.*

The Leaues *this* Booke *contains, and* Maps *here grau'n,*
Are still as Feathers *to thy* Fames *faire* Wings,
To fanne fresh Aire vpon the face of Heauen;
And, raise the same aboue all ending Things:
That when Confusion *wracks this double* FRAME,
A Spirit *shall moue on* CHAOS *Call'd thy* Fame

The vnfained louer of thy person,

Io. DAVIES

F *Him that this* GREAT Taske *hath done*
(*Great for the goodneſſe manie waies*)
FAME *doth affirme he well hath wonne*
ARTS *higheſt* Prize, *and* Palme *of praiſe.*
In Climes, *and* Realmes *remote throughout*,
His merits merit rare report:
For none the like hath brought about;
Or equaliz'd in any ſort.
The Shafts of his endeuors, ſhot
At Gaine, *and* Pleaſure; *both haue hit:*
His Obſeruations *haue begot*
On priuate, publicke *Benefit.*
Chiefe Cities, Townes, *and* Countries *many*
(*Which this vaſt Globe of* Earth *affords*)
I oft haue vie'wd; but, neuer any
So well deſcribd by Mappes *and* Wordes.
His trauelld Body, *toiled Mind*
(*To bring this* VVorke *at laſt to reſt*
In Period *which his* Plot *deſign'd*)
Should now reſt famous with the beſt.
The Romans *ſuch* Deſerts *did Crowne*
With Lawrell, which their Soile brought forth;
But I, of Branches *farre off growne,*
Bring Wreaths *to this worke, more of worth.*
The Palme (*wherein rare vertues bee,*
And, for a Conqueſt, Crownes a King)
The Oliue, *and the* Cedar *Tree,*
Faire, fat, and fruitfull; theſe I bring.
In Egypt, Syria, *and the Land*
Of Promiſe, (*named by holieſt* High)
I could not ſee, nor vnderſtand,
For vertue, any Trees *come nigh.*
As theſe (worth praiſe) are profitable,
They being of the worthieſt kinds:
So in beſt ſence, hath Speed *beene able,*
To pleaſe (worth praiſe) the worthieſt Minds.
In ſhort, to giue him then, his due,
This Arte *his better neuer knew.*

IO. SANDERSON.

THE PROEME.
TO THE LEARNED AND LOVERS OF GREAT BRITAINES GLORY.

HAuing thus farre trauelled in the protract, and deſcription of this famous *Empire* of *GREAT BRITAINE*, I might here haue reſted, and claimed the priuiledge that yeeres and imbecillitie haue brought me vnto: had not a further deſire in others vrged it a matter incident, hiſtorically to lay downe the originals of thoſe *Nations* and ſucceſsions of thoſe *Monarchs*, which either by birth or conqueſt haue aſpired to the *Imperiall Crowne*. And albeit I finde my ſelfe both tired in the former, and moſt vnfit to proſecute this latter, yet will I endeuour to giue herein my beſt aſſayes; though as my labours, ſo my wants alſo, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world.

For if thoſe men were blame-worthy againſt whom *Heraclite* exclaimeth, who *with long toile and great trouble finde a little pure ſubſtance in a great deale of baſe earth:* how ſhall I then free me from the like imputation, that from ſo many *mines* of pure *mettals*, haue gotten ſo little *Oare*, and the ſame neither well tried in my defectiue *fornace*, nor yet artificially caſt off through the default of the *mould*, wanting both skil for to faſhion, and meaſure to performe, the true proportions that in ſuch a *proiect* is to be required; and how often *theſe* my *defects* haue diſſwaded my proceedings, is beſt knowne to him that is the *ſearcher of the heart*. Heraclite.

But by what *fate* I am inforced ſtill to goe forward, I know not, vnleſſe it be the ardent affection and loue to my *natiue Countrey*; wherein I muſt confeſſe that *Nature* in thoſe *gifts* hath bene both liberall, yea and prodigall, though *Fortune* as ſparing & faſt-handed againſt me, euer checking the *Bit* with the *Raines* of neceſsity, and curbing the *meanes* that ſhould illuſtrate my labours: which moues me ſometimes to thinke that if the great Philoſopher *Theophraſtus*, had cauſe on his death-bed to accuſe *Nature, for giuing man ſo long a leſſon, and ſo ſhort a life*; then I againſt *Fortune* may as iuſtly exclaime, that hath aſsigned me ſo great a *labour* and ſo little *meanes*. And therefore let it not ſeeme offenſiue that I draw my *waters* from the *Ceſterns* of others, who am not able to fetch them at the *ſpring-head* my ſelfe: Neither that I ſtrike vpon the ſame *Anuile* vnto their *ſound*, though nothing ſo loud, nor with the like ſtrength; wherein yet this *fruit* at leaſt wil (I hope) redound of my *en-* Theophraſtus.

deuours that I ſhall incite *the more learned*: if not otherwiſe, yet in emulation of me, to free the *face* drawne by *Apelles*, from the *cenſure* of the fault or defect in the *foot*, and not onely to amend, but euen to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neere ſpent; and with *Barzillai* I may ſay that *muſicke to me is now vnpleaſing*: yet doth my *eare* thirſt after the ſet of that *ſtraine*, as *Socrates* thoughts ranne euer on his Booke: who the night before he was to ſuffer death, was deſirous to learne *muſicke*, becauſe *he would die learning ſtill ſomething*. *Moſes* when he foreſaw the deſtruction of his *Common-wealth*, which whilſt it ſtood, was the glory of the *earth*, and a *paterne* to all *kingdomes* ſucceeding, left this for a *Law* among the reſt, and euen to remaine for euer, that *the fathers ſhould teach their children*, and ſhould *commit vnto writing thoſe things which the Lord in their dayes had done*, and enioyned the *children*; Likewiſe to *enquire of the times that were paſt, euen from the firſt creation of man*: For when as *Empires* and *Kingdomes*, *Common weales* and *Cities*, do end and periſh, yet the *Hiſtories* thereof do remaine and liue; And that made *Cicero* to ſay as he did, *that Salamina ſhould be vtterly forgotten, before the things that were done in Salamina ſhould periſh*: And therefore as among the wiſe anſweres of *Thales*, the *Hiſtories* of *Countreis* are to be accounted for *principals*, either as *Cicero* calleth them the *Miſtres of life, and expoſitions of Times*; ſo likewiſe let vs from the *lyricall Poet Simonides* learne this further, That *he is perfectly happy which knowes his natiue countrey to be truly glorious*. And as *Caſſidore* calls him *a worthy Citizen that ſeeketh the commodity of his countrey*: So contrariwiſe he is by *Bale* eſteemed but a *fruitles clod of earth, that ſucks the ſappe of his ſoile onely to himſelfe*, whoſe memoriall ſhall periſh as the diſperſed *ſmoake* in the *clouds*, though for a time he mount aloft in his ſwelling pride. This naturall *loue* and true *affection* to our *natiue Countrey*, we may further learne from the ancient *Patriarks* and *Fathers* themſelues, who beſides a deſire that they had to theirs, continually to liue therein during life, commanded *their bodies to be buried therein after death*: from whoſe *Bowels* they firſt had aſſumed their *breathes*, and in whoſe *boſome* they layd their *bones*, as in their laſt *bed* of reſt. Yea, of the vnreaſonable creatures, the *Birds* and *Beaſts*, we may learne this loue, that alwayes are willing towards their *home*. And if it happen that *Countreys* grow vnkinde as *Homers* did, that in his old age and blind, ſuffred him to beg his bread; or that a *Prophet* in his owne *countrey* is not eſteemed, as *Jeremy* felt it, and CHRIST IESVS taught, yet did the *one* for his peoples captiuity, *wiſh his eyes a fountaine of teares*, and the other for his *countreys deſtruction lamented and wept*, holding *it vnlawfull to take the childrens bread, and to giue it vnto others*.

2. *Sam.* 19. 35. Socrates. *Deut.* 6. 6. 7. *Deut.* 4. 32. Thales. Cicero. Simonides. Caſſidore. *Bale in Leylands Newyeeres gift.* *Gen.* 49. 29. *Ieremi.* 37. 1. *Matt.* 13. 57. *Ieremi.* 9. 1. *Luke* 19. 41. *Matt.* 15. 26.

That this our *Countrey* and *ſubiect* of *Hiſtory* deſerueth the *loue* of her *inhabitants*, is witneſſed euen by *forraine writers* themſelues, who haue termed it the *Court of Queene Ceres*, the *Granary of the Weſterne world*, the *fortunate Iſland*, the *Paradiſe of pleaſure* and *Garden of God*; whoſe *Typographicall deſcriptions* for the whole *Iland*, and *Geographical ſurueyes* for the ſeuerall *parts*, exceed any other *kingdome* vnder the cope of *Heauen*; that onely excepted which was *conquered* and *diuided* by *Joſuah*; And for *fruitfulnes* and *temperature* may be accounted another *Canaan*; watered *with riuers that doe cleaue the earth*, as the *Prophet* ſpeaketh, and make the land as rich and *beautiful, as was that of Ægypt*. Our *Kings* for *valour* and *Sanctity*, ranked with the *worthieſt* in the *world*, and our *Nations originals, conqueſts*, and *continuance*, tried by the *touch* of the beſt *humane* teſtimonies, leaue as faire a *Luſtre* vpon the ſame *ſtone*, as doeth any other, and with any *nation* may eaſily contend (ſaith *Lanquet*) both for *antiquity*, and *continuall inhabitants, from the firſt time that any of them can claime their originals*.

Habak. 2. 9. Gene. 13. 10. Tho. Lanquet.

And although our many *Records* are periſhed by the *inuaſions* of *ſtrangers*, through their couetous *Conqueſt* of ſo *faire a Land*; or in the *ciuill diſſenſions* of *homebred aſpirers* that haue ſought the poſſeſsion of ſo *rich a Crowne*, yet *Truth* hath left vs no leſſe beholding vnto *her*, then *mightier Nations*, and *them* that would be far more *famous*.

Neither

Neither is it to be wondred at, that the *Records* of GREAT BRITAINE are *eaten vp with Times teeth*, as *Ouid* ſpeakes, when as in *Times ruines* lye buried their *Regiſters*, that haue bene kept with a ſtronger *guard*, as *Titus Liuy* in the entrance of his *Hiſtory* affirmeth of the *Romanes*. As *for thoſe things* (ſaith he) *as are reported either before, or at the foundation of the City more beautified and ſet out with Poets fables, then grounded vpon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to auerre nor diſproue*. Of whoſe *vncertainties*, let vs a while heare the *reporters* themſelues ſpeake, before we proceed to the certaine *ſucceſſions* of our *Britiſh Monarchs*: vntill which time the *credit* of our *Hiſtory* may wel be ſaid to *waigh with* (if not *downe peize*) many *others*. *Varro* (that learned *Romane writer*, who liued an *hundred yeeres* before the birth of our *Sauiour Chriſt*) calleth the firſt *world* to the *Flood vncertaine*; and thence to the firſt *Olympias fabulous*: Becauſe in that time (ſaith he) *there is nothing related (for the moſt part) but fables among the Greekes, Latines, and other learned Nations*. And therefore *Plutarch* beginneth the *liues* of his *worthy men*, no higher then *Theſeus*: becauſe (ſaith he) *what hath bene written before, was but of ſtrange things, and ſayings full of monſtrous fables imagined and deuiſed by Poets, which are altogether vncertaine and moſt vntrue*. And *Diodorus Siculus* (that liued in *Auguſtus Cæſars* time, a great ſearcher after *Antiquities*, and for *thirty yeeres* continuance a traueller into many *Countreys*, for information and further ſatisfaction) writing his *Hiſtory* called *Bibliotheca*, conteyning *forty Bookes*, and *yeeres* of continuance *one thouſand, one hundred thirty and eight*, of his *firſt ſixe* himſelfe giueth this cenſure in his *Proeme*. *Theſe Bookes* (ſaith he) *contayning the Acts of ancient men, before the deſtruction of Troy, with the ancient Hiſtories aſwell of Grecians as Barbarians, are called fabulous*: Which mooued *Lucretius* the Poet to demaund this queſtion.

Ouid. Metam. lib. 15.

Histories vncertaine to the Flood, and from the Flood to the firſt Olympias fabulous. Plutarch.

Diodorus Siculus.

Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum & funera Troiæ,
Non alias quondam cecinere Poetæ?

Why haue not Poets in their workes of fained ſtories brought,
Things done before the Warres of Thebes, or Troyes deſtruction wrought?

Lucretius.

Yea and of *Troyes* ſtory it ſelfe, if we may beleeue *Thucydides* (whom *Bodine* commendeth for an *abſolute Hiſtorian*) *though it be ancient* (ſaith he) *yet a great part thereof is fabulous*. And *Tully* out of *Plato* complayneth of as much: *For you Grecians* (ſaith he) *as children in learning, deliuer onely things vncertaine, and haue mingled fables with the Warres of Thebes, and of Troy, things (perhaps) which neuer were, but gathered out of the ſcattered Verſes of Homer and others, not digeſted by Ariſtarchus, and are yet vncertaine and obſcure*. And that the *Greekes* indeed were but *babes* in *Antiquity*, *Joſephus* in his Nations defence againſt *Appion*, ſufficiently doth proue, where he affirmeth, That *the inuention of their Letters was not ſo old as the ſiege of Troy*, inſomuch that *the Poeſie of Homer* (then the which there is none more ancient among them) *was not committed to writing, but ſung by roate*. And the *Latine* tongue it ſelfe by *M. Cato* is ſaid, not to haue *bene in vſe foure hundred and fifty yeeres before the building of Rome*. And *Titus Liuy* their famous *Hiſtorian*, freely confeſſeth, That *the vſe of Letters and learning among the Romanes, was rare and hard to be found before the taking of Rome by the Gaules*. Yea, and of the *vncertainty* of *Romes* foundation, how lauiſh ſo euer *Hiſtorians* haue written, not onely *Feneſtella* hath continued whole *Pages*, but *Plutarch* likewiſe in the life of *Romulus*, hath many *ſayings*, whereof this is one. *The Hiſtoriographers* (ſaith he) *do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cauſe the great name of Rome* (*the glory whereof is blowne abroad through the world*) *was firſt giuen vnto it*; ſome affirming, that the *Pelagians* after they had *runne ouer* a great part of the *world*, laſtly ſtayed themſelues in that place where *Rome* was new built, and for their great ſtrength in *Armes*, gaue name to that City *Rome*, which ſignifyeth *power* in the *Greeke tongue*. *Other* ſay, that certaine *Troians* after their ſiege, in *certaine veſſels ſaued*

Thucydides.

Tully.

Ioſephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

M. Cato in a fragment of his.

Titus Liui.

Feneſtella.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus.

ued themſelues by flight, and being put into the *Thuſcan Sea*, anchored neere to the Riuer *Tyber*: whoſe *wiues* being extremely *Sea-ſicke*, through the counſell of *Roma a Lady*, the wiſeſt and worthieſt among them, ſet fire on the whole *Fleete*, whereupon their *husbands* (though ſore offended) were inforced to make vſe of their preſent neceſſity, and neere vnto *Palantium* planted this *City*, whoſe *fame* preſently grew *great*, and in honour of Lady *Roma* named it *Rome*; and from hence they ſay the cuſtome of *kiſſing* in *ſalutations* came, after the example of theſe *wiues*, who to appeaſe the *husbands* wraths with *ſmiles* and *imbracings kiſſed* their mouths. *Some* will haue the name from *Roma* the *daughter* of *Ftalus* and of *Lucaria*, or els of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *Æneas*. *Others* of *Aſcanius* the ſonne of *Æneas*. *Some* againe from *Romanus* the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Cyrce*, wil haue it named *Rome*. *Others* from *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from *Troy*. There *are* that bring the name thereof from one *Romus* a *tyrant* of the *Latines*, who droue the *Thuſcans* out of thoſe parts. And they who thinke that *Romulus* (as that is moſt generall, and carieth the moſt likelihood to be *Romes founder*,) do not agree about his *auncestours*, as more at large in *Plutarch* appeareth. And therefore with *Thucydides* we may well ſay, *It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in ſpeaking of things, wherein ſcarſly can be had a certaine opinion of trueth.* And the rather, for that the *writers* themſelues haue blamed each *others* of *affectation* & *falſhood*, as in *Joſephus* we may ſee; who affirmeth, That *Hellanicus* diſſented from *Acuſilaus*, *Acuſilaus* with *Diodorus* correcting *Herodotus*; *Epherus* accuſed *Hellanicus* of vntrueths; ſo did *Timæus* reproue *Ephorus* of as much; *Philiſtus* and *Callias* diſſented from *Timæus* in his Hiſtory of *Sicily*, and *Thucydides* accounted a lyar by *ſome*. *Cæſar* is taxed by *Aſinius Pollio* (ſaith *Suetonius*) to be *partiall* in his *Commentaries*; And *Tacitus* by *Tertullian* is blamed for vntruths; *Fabius Maximus* is reprehended by *Polybius* for defectiuely writing the *Punicke warres*; and himſelfe againe with *Silenus*, *Timæus*, *Antigonus*, & *Hierom*, as much found fault with by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, for writing the *Romane hiſtories ſo vnperfectly*. And a man may vſe the very ſame ſpeech againſt *Dionyſius*, ſaith *Bodine*. *Theſe things* thus ſtanding, let vs giue leaue to *Antiquitie*, who ſometimes *mingleth falſhoods with truth, to make the beginnings of Policies ſeeme more honourable*: And whoſe *power* is farre ſcrued into the *worlds* conceit, that with *Hierome* we may ſay, *Antiquity is allowed with ſuch generall applauſe, that knowne vntruthes many times are pleaſing vnto many.* Yet with better regard to reuerend *Antiquity*, whom *Jobs oppoſer* wills vs inquire after, and to our owne *relations* in deliuering their *cenſures*, let this be conſidered; That *more things are let ſlippe, then are comprehended in any mans writings*, and yet *more therein written, then any mans life* (though it be long) *will admit him to reade.* Neither let vs be foreſtalled with any preiudicate *opinions* of the *reporters*; that in ſomethings may iuſtly be ſuſpected, or in *affection*, which by nature we owe to our *naturall Conntrey*; nor conſent (as *Liuie* ſpeaketh) to *ſtand to the ancientneſſe of reports, when it ſeemeth to take away the certainty of truth.* To keepe a meane betwixt both, my ſelfe with *Bildad* doe confeſſe, that I *am but of yeſterday, and know nothing*, and therefore wil relate the *originall names* and *Nations* of this famous *Iland*, with the *ſucceſſions* of her *Monarches* and *Hiſtoricall actions*, ſo farre only as is moſt approued by the beſt *Writers*, and will leaue other *clouds* of obſcurity to be cleared by the *labours* of a *more learned penne*.

Thucydides lib. 2. cap. 7.

Ioſephus contra App. li. 1.
Hellanicus.
Acuſilaus.
Diodorus.
Herodotus.
Ephorus.
Timæus.
Philiſtus.
Callias.
Thucydides.
Suetonius in vita Cæſar. Sect. 55.
Tacitus.
F. Maximus.
Silenus.
Antigonus.
Hierome.
Dionyſius Hal.
Bodine.
Hierom in his Prolog. in Iob.
Iob. 8. 8.
Titus Liui. lib. 8.

THE

THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

CHAPTER I.

BESIDES those fruitfull *Ilands* that dispersedly are scattered about the *Mayne*, like to beautifull *pearls* that incompasse a *Diademe*, the Ile of GREAT BRITAINE doth raise it selfe first to our sight, as the *Bodie* of that most famous & mighty *Empire*, whereof many other *Kingdomes* and *Countries* are *parcels* and *members*. Being by the *Almighty* so set in the maine *Ocean*, as that shee is thereby the *High Admirall* of the *Seas*, and in the terrestriall *Globe* so seated, as that she is worthily reputed both *The Garden of Pleasure*, and *The Storehouse of Profit*, opening her *Hauens* euery way, fit to receiue all forraine trafficke, and to vtter her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the Soueraigne *Lady* and *Empresse* of the rest) deserues our description in the first place.

BRITAINE Admirall of the Seas.

(2) This *Iland* is so spacious and ample, that *Cesar* (the first Romane discouerer thereof) supposed that he had found out *another World*: for to his seeming it appeared, that the *Ocean* was rather contained within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne* to be compassed with the *Ocean* about. And *Iulius Solinus*, for her circuit and largenesse, saith that *it deserueth the name of Another World*. But *Aristides a Greeke* Author speakes much more properly, who by way of excellencie termeth BRITAINE, *The Great Iland*: As likewise *Tacitus*, that vndertooke to describe BRITAINE by his owne knowledge, who saith, that *of all Ilands knowen to the Romanes it was the greatest*: And so doth *Dionysius* in his description of the *World*.

In Panegy. Orat. to Constantium.

Aristides.

Tacit. in vit. Agr.

BRITAINE the greatest Iland knowen to the Romanes.

Dionysius.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then knowen *World*, to a *Cloake*, *Rutilius Numatianus Italy*, to an *Oken leafe*, and *Dionysius Spaine*, vnto an *Oxe-hide*: so the said *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, from *Liuie* his ancient, and *Fabius Rusticus* his moderne, doth liken the fashion thereof to a long *Dish*, or *two-headed Axe*: whose forme notwithstanding may better be exposed to the eie, in the draught before seene, then can be explained in words to conceit, or vnto any other thing bee compared besides it selfe: especially seeing that so many good Writers haue had but very bad successe in their resemblances of *Countries*. And *this* of them is rather vnlike to either, if wee speake of the whole, which then was vnknowen, as it seemeth by *Tacitus*. And the huge enorme tract of ground beyond *Caledonia*, which runneth vnto the furthermost point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge, was first redoubled with the *Romane* fleet by *Iulius Agricola*, and BRITAINE discouered to bee an *Iland*, one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Iulius Cesars* first entrance therein.

Strabo.

Rutil. Numat.

Fabius Rustic.

BRITAINE discouered to be an Iland 136. yeeres after Iulius Cesars entrance into it. Tacitus in vita Agric.

(4) Some haue beene induced by the narrownesse of the *Sea*, and likenesse of the *Soile*, to thinke that BRITAINE was sometimes ioined to the continent of *France*: whereunto *Seruius Honoratius* subscribeth in his Commentarie vpon the first *Eclog* of *Virgil*, who there mentioneth

BRITAINE thought one continent with FRANCE. Seruius Honorat.

—— *Penitùs toto diuisos orbe Britannos,*
The Britaine people quite from all the world disioin'd.

As likewise by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it is stiled,

Claudian.

—— *nostro deductâ Britannia mundo,*
The Britaine soile remoou'd from our worlds continent.

And *Vinianus* with them affirmes, that in the *beginning Britaine and Gaul were both one Land*. The like doth *Virgil* verifie of the *Ile of Sicilie*, which in times past hee reports to haue beene one with *Italie*. Others hold, that all *Ilands* had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the *generall Deluge*, and that the mountaines thereby shewed their tops aboue the plaine grounds; and the plaines setling lower, became deepe vallies. When or howsoeuer, by *Gods* diuine ordinance and wisdome, wee see that these *Ilands* situated in the *Seas*, doe no lesse serue and adorne the *Ocean* it selfe, then the *Lakes* and *Pooles* of water doe the drie land, and all of them (as members of one masse) to minister sustenance for the life of all things liuing, and pleasures to the vse and seruice of man.

Vinianus.

Sicilie thought once one continent with Italie.

Dominus Niger.

Thought of some that all Ilands had their first separation from the *Mayne* by the rage of the generall Deluge.

(5) The *Iland* of BRITAINE, of all others the most famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furthest towards the *West*) is bounded on the *South* with *Normandie* and *France*, vpon the *East* with *Germany* and *Denmarke*, vpon the *West* with *Ireland* and the *Atlanticke Ocean*, and vpon the *North* with the vast *Deucaliden Seas*. The length thereof, measured by the *graduations* to both extremes, that is, from the *Lyzard Point* Southward in *Cornwall*, which lieth in the *Latitude of 50. degrees* and *6. minutes*, to the *Straithy head* in *Scotland* (being the furthest point of this Iland towards

Catullus.

Britaines length.

towards the *North*) ſet in the *degree* 60. and 30. *minutes* containeth (according to the *ſcale* of the terreſtriall *Globe*) ſix hundred twenty foure miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, ſeeing the ſame ſo exactly to agree with the ſpaces of the *heauens*. And the extent of the *Land* in the brodeſt part is from the *Lands end* in *Cornwall* in the *Weſt* (ſituated in 14. *degrees* and 37. *minutes* of *Longitude*, according to *Mercator* his *Atlas*) vnto the *Iland Tenet* in the *Eaſt* of *Kent* (lying in 22. *degrees* 30. *minutes*) and containeth miles 340. as they haue deliuered, that with curious ſearch haue laid the dimenſion thereof.

Britaines bredth.

BRITAINE in the 8. Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed betweene the parallels fourteene and twenty ſix.

(6) The ſite of this *Iland* is ſet by the *Mathematicks* in the eighth *Climate* for *Latitude*, and the *Longitude* likewiſe placed betwixt the *Parallels* fourteene and twenty ſix: a ſeat as well for *Aire* as *Soile*, both fruitfull and milde; and for length of daies, pleaſant and delightfull: for in the height of Summer the day is ſaid to bee eighteene equinoctiall houres long, wherof ſixteen and a halfe are ſpent from *Sunne* to *Sunne*. Yea and *Tacitus* ſaith, that *in the furtheſt North part of the Iland the nights are ſo ſhort, that betwixt the going out and comming in of the day the ſpace is hardly perceiued, and the Sunne ſeene neither to ſet nor ariſe: Becauſe* (ſaith he) *the extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a low ſhadow, and raiſe not the darkneſſe on high, ſo the night falleth vnder the skie and ſtarre.* Better might hee haue ſaid, by reaſon of the inclination of his *Circle* to the *Horizon* deſcending not directly, but paſſing obliquely, razing as it were vnder their *Horizon*.

In the furtheſt North part of BRITAINE ỹ nights ſo ſhort, as the ſpace betwixt the daies going and comming can hardly be perceiued. *In vita Agricolæ.*

(7) The *aire*, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*, is rather inclinable to *ſhowers* then to *ſnow*. And *Ceſar* commends it to bee more temperate, and the cold leſſer, then that in *France*, as not ſubiect to either extremes, as the more *Northerne* and *Southerne* Countries are: to which temperature *Ceſcenius Getulicus* a very ancient Poet ſeemeth to haue reſpect, when of this *Iland* thus he verſifieth:

Ceſar. Com. lib.5.

The cold in *Britaine* leſſe then in *France*.

Probus in Virgil. Georgic.

Non illic Aries verno ferit æra cornu,
Gnoſia nec Gemini præcedunt cornua Tauri.
The horned Ram there butteth not the aire of tender ſpring:
The Twins, nor Bull do to this ſoile vntimely ſeaſons bring.

The Arabicke Geographie.

(8) And although the *Seas* thereof are accounted and called by *Nubienſis* the *Arabian*, *The darke and dangerous Seas*, in regard of the miſty vapors that therfrom ariſe, yet in the winter ſeaſon thoſe clouds are diſperſed into ſtill ſhowers of raine, that doe diſſolue the rigour and great extremitie of the cold: yea and thoſe *Seas* themſelues ſtirred and working to and fro with the windes, doe thereby wax warme (as *Cicero* ſaith) *ſo that a man may eaſily perceiue within that world of waters a certaine heat incloſed*. And *Minutius Fælix* prouing that GOD hath a ſpeciall regard to the ſeuerall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, ſaith, that BRITAINE, *though otherwhiles wanting the aſpect of the Sunne, yet is it releeued with the warmth of her enuironing Seas*; and as much refreſhed, we may well ſay, by thoſe ſweet and gentle windes that in the height of Summer are ſent from thoſe *ſeas*, and doe abate the rigor of the *Sunnes* great ſcorching heat; and yeeldeth not only entercourſe for traffique into all parts of the *World*, but plentifully aboundeth with all ſorts of fiſh, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth foorth *Pearles*, as *Tacitus* ſheweth, which were *vſually caſt out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe*. Theſe *Pearles*, though not altogether ſo orient as they in *India*, by *Amianus* in his 23. booke and 12. chapter, are called *Rich Gemmes*. And *Pliny* in his ninth booke and thirty fifth chapter, vſeth the like terme: The deſire whereof (as *Suetonius* ſaith) *drew Ceſars affection* for the Conqueſt of BRITAINE.

British Seas warme.

De natura Deorum Lib.2.

Minutius Fælix, adioined to *Arnobius*, as his eighth booke.

Britaines ſea-windes in ſummer aſſwage the heat.

In vita Agricolæ.

(9) *The ſoile* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *ſetting aſide the Oliue, the Vine, and ſuch other plants as are onely proper to hotter* Countries, *taketh all kinde of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it ſhooteth vp quickly, and ripeneth ſlowly: the cauſe of both is the ſame, the ouer-much moiſture of the ſoile, and the aire.* And *Ceſar* writeth, that for timber it was ſtored of all kindes, as in *Gallia*, the *Beech* and *Firre tree* onely excepted. For abundance of *Graine*, *Britaine* is ſaid to bee *The ſeat of Queene Ceres*, by *Orpheus* the old Poet; and the *Granary* and *Storehouſe* for the *Weſterne World*, as *Charles* the great tearmed it: and by our owne Anceſtors in the blacke Booke of the *Exchequer* it is called a *Paradiſe of pleaſure*. From whence the *Romanes* were wont yeerely to tranſport (with a fleet of eight hundred veſſels bigger then Barges) great ſtore of corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each ſeuerall bleſsing belonging to this moſt happie Iland, wee will not againe enter, ſeeing that in euery *County* wee haue ſufficiently, and no more then truly, ſpoken thereof. Only, if you pleaſe, heare what hath beene ſaid of this Land by the *Romane Orators*, and firſt in the *Panegyricke* to *Conſtantius* the Emperour.

Ceſar. Com. lib 5.

Britaine called the ſeat of Ceres.

Romanes laded 800. veſſels with corne in *Britaine* for their armies elſewhere. *Zoſomus.*

(10) *O happie* BRITAINE, *and more fortunate then all other Lands beſide, which firſt didſt ſee* Conſtantine *Emperour! For good cauſe hath nature endowed thee with all bleſsings both of aire and ſoile: wherin there is neither exceſſiue cold of Winter, nor extreme heat of Summer: wherein there is ſo great abundance of graine, that it ſufficeth both for bread and drinke. There the forreſts are free from ſauage beaſts, and the ground void of noiſome ſerpents: in whoſe ſtead an infinite multitude of tame cattle there are, with their vdders ſtrutting ful of milke, and loden with fleeces to the ground. And verily (that which for the vſe of our liues wee moſt eſteeme) the daies are therein very long, and the nights neuer without ſome light, for that thoſe vtmoſt plaines by the ſea ſide caſt and raiſe no ſhadowes on high; and the aſpect both of skie and ſtarres paſſeth beyond the bound of the night: yea the very Sunne it ſelfe, which vnto vs ſeemeth for to ſet, appeareth there only to paſſe by a little, and goe aſide.*

Panegyric. to *Conſtantius.*

In *Britaine* neither exceſſiue cold of winter, nor extreme heat of ſummer. *Britaine* abounding with all plentie of foode for mans ſuſtenance and delight.

Britaines nights neuer without ſome light.

And in another, ſpoken to *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine* the Great, thus is ſaid:

Though BRITAINE *be but a ſingle name, yet ſurely the States loſſes haue beene manifold, in forgoing a Land ſo plentifull in fruit and graine, ſo rich in paſturage, ſo full of mines and veines of metall, ſo gainfull in tributes and reuenewes, ſo accommodated with many hauens, and for circuit ſo large and ſpacious.*

Panegyr. ſpoken to *Conſtantius.*

BRITAINE full of mines of metals.

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Iland, hath thus written:

Tu nimio nec ſtricta gelu, nec ſydere feruens,
Clementi cælo temperiéque places.
Cùm pareret Natura parens, varióque fauore
Diuideret dotes omnibus vna locis,
Sepoſuit potiora tibi, matrémque profeſſa,
Inſula ſis fœlix, plenáque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid deſiderat vſus,
Ex te proueniet, vel aliunde tibi.
Nor freezing cold, nor ſcorching hot thou art;
Thy aire a heauenly temper, ſweetly breath'd:
So pleas'd Dame Nature when ſhe firſt bequeath'd
To euery ſoile of her rich gifts a part;
Then Mother-like beſt choice for thee ſhe ſought:
Be thou (quoth ſhe) the bleſſed Ile of peace.
What euer pleaſure yeelds, or wealths increaſe,
From thee ſhall grow, or ſhall to thee be brought.

Remaynes.

(11) And that BRITAINE hath beene taken for thoſe fortunate *Ilands* whereof the Poets haue imagined a perpetuall ſpring time, is certaine by *Iſacius Tzetzes* a Greeke Author of good account. And in *Robert of Auesburie* wee read, what time Pope *Clement* the ſixth had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to be Prince of the *Fortunate Ilands*, raiſing him powers both in *Italie* and *France*, the Engliſh Ligier Embaſſadours, that lay then in *Rome* for King *Edward* the third, were ſo deepely ſet in the opinion, that this preparation was made againſt BRITAINE, that they wrote their ſuſpicions conceiued, and preſently with-drew themſelues into *England*, to certifie the King of theſe deſignes. And it ſeemeth Pope *Innocent* the fourth was of the ſame minde, when (as *Matth. Pariſ.* writeth) hee ſaid, *Verè hortus deliciarum eſt Anglia: verè puteus inexhauſtus eſt: Et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa*

Iſacius Tzetzes.

Robert of Auesburie.

Britaine taken for the fortunate Ilands.

Adam. 1246.

Pope Innocent maketh suit to the King of England to see Britaine.

multa possint extorqueri, &c. *Certes the Kingdome of England is the very Paradise of pleasures, a Well which can neuer bee drawen drie: where many things doe abound, and whence many things may bee extorted,* &c. With which his conceit he was afterward so farre transported with a longing desire, as hee made great meanes and earnest suit to the King of *England* (as the said Author writeth, *ad ann.* 1250.) that hee might come into *England* to see that Country which was euery where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAINE is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, and so resplendent in all glory, that if the *Omnipotent* (as one hath said) *had vouchsafed to fashion the world round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might haue beene most worthily the onely Gemme therein.* Whose *Vallies* are like *Eden*: whose *Hilles* are as *Lebanon*: whose *Springs* are as *Pisgah*: whose *Riuers* are as *Iordan*: whose *Walles* is the *Ocean*: and whose defense is the Lord IEHOVAH.

Ioseph. bell. Iudai. lib. 3. cap. 13.

BRITAINE sustained at once no lesse then 11. Kings commanding great powers.

(12) The body then of this *Imperiall Monarchie* sheweth not onely the greatnesse of it selfe in it selfe, but also extendeth her beautifull branches into many other *Countries* and *Kingdomes* farre iacent and remote. This greatnesse is made the more sensible, for that the *Iland* in times past sustained at once no lesse then eleuen *Kings* in their royall estates, all of them wearing Crownes, and commanding great powers. Such was the *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* seuen *Kingdomes*, seated on the South of *Seuerius* his *Wall*. Two *Kingdomes* thence had their sites in that Northerne part, and their seuerall *Kings* of *Scots* and *Picts* ruling on both sides the *Clude*, euen vnto the *Deucaledonian Seas*. And two *Kingdomes* (if not more) diuided into *North* and *South*, and their Kings of the ancient *Britaines* ruling the *West* part of this *Iland* beyond the *Clewdh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, commonly called WALES.

D. Powell in his Chron. of Wales, in Rhoderike the Great.

The Ile of Man belonging to Britaine, a kingdome within it selfe.

Orcas and some prouinces subdued to Britaine.

A Colonell of Britaines in VIRGINEA.

(13) The *Ilands* likewise belonging to this *Empire* had *Kings* of their owne, as that of *Man*, the *Orcades*, and in *Ireland* at one time fiue *Kings* raigning together. *France* also is annexed, and so was *Cyprus* sometimes with some Prouinces of *Syria*, subdued by *King Richard* the first, surnamed *Cœur-de-lion*. And at this present in the *new World* of *America* a *Colonie* of BRITAINES is seated in that part now called VIRGINEA; whereby the borders of our *Soueraignes* command and most rightfull title may bee inlarged, & the Gospell of *Iesus Christ* further preached, which no doubt will in time be imbraced, to the saluation of many, and great honour to the BRITAINES. And that the borders of this most roiall *Tent* haue beene wide spread in former times, *White of Basingstocke* is of opinion, who affirmeth that *the limits of the British Empire in old time was from the* Orcades *vnto the* Pyrenean Mountaines. And that *King Athelstan* after his conquest of those Northerne parts with that of *Denmarke* wrote so his title: which further is confirmed by the Charter of *King Edgar* for the foundation of the Cathedrall Church at *Worcester*, wherein likewise he so stiled himselfe. The inlargement whereof we pray to be accomplished, especially in those parts where God is not knowen, according to the saying of the Prophet, that *the curtaines of our habitations may bee further spread, with increase on the right hand and on the left: and that our seed may possesse those* GENTILES, *and dwell in their Cities*: whereby the ninth Nation may bee conuerted vnto CHRIST, as eight others before this time by *English-men* haue beene.

Vitus Basingstocke.

The limits of the British Empire in times past from the *Orcades* vnto the *Pyrenæi Montes*.

Isa. 54.

Eight Nations conuerted to Christ by *Englishmen*.

THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEENE ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER II.

AS touching the first *Inhabitants* and originall *Names* of this *Iland*, things so farre cast into the mistie darknesse of obscuritie and obliuion, that there is no hope left vs, so lately born, to discouer them; especially knowing that the first *Inhabitants* being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues with care to transmit their *Originals* to posteritie: neither if they would, could haue done, being without *Letters*, which only doe preserue and transferre knowledge vnto others. And say they had letters, yet was it not lawfull for them to commit their affaires to writing, as *Cesar* doth testifie of the *Druides*, the only wise and learned men among them, that had the managing both of Iustice and religious Rites. And had they committed these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they perished in the reuolutions of so many ages as are passed, and so many conuersions or euersions of the State. *Gildas* and *Ninius*, the *Britaines* first Historians, confesse plainly, that they had no vnderstanding of the ancient affaires of this *Iland*, but from forraine Writers; and neither that aboue two hundred and odde yeeres before the birth of our *Sauiour Christ*. At which time *Polybius* a most graue Writer, and an attendant vpon *Scipio*, saith, that *the Regions Northward from* Narbona (as this is) *were vtterly vnknowen; and whatsoeuer was written or reported of them, was but a dreame*. And therefore vntill such time as the *Romane* Writers reach foorth their hands to direct vs, wee shall wander, as without a guide, and shall seeme to heape more rubbish vpon former ruines.

The first Inhabiters of this Iland being meerely barbarous, neuer troubled themselues to transmit their Originals to posteritie.

Cesar. Com. lib. 6.

Druides the onely wise men among the first Inhabitants of this Iland.

If the first Inhabitants of this Iland had written any thing of their originall, yet it must needs haue perished.

Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.

No vnderstanding of the first affaires of this Iland, but from forraine Writers.

Polybius.

Romane Writers the best directers for the antiquitie of *Britaine*.

(2) Yet let this bee granted, that the *Originall* names of Countries and Prouinces were first assumed from their possessors, whereof *Iosephus* in the seuenth *Chapter* of his first *Booke* of *Antiquities* is a sufficient Witnesse, who in the dispersion of *Noahs* sonnes and his nephewes, nameth the Countries according to their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laish* after their father: *Iair* his *Cities* that he conquered in the Land of *Gilead*: and *Iudea* from *Iudah* whose King was of him. And that this also was the practise of the *Gentiles*, *Perionius* doth shew, who saith, that *himselfe knew no Nation in the earth, which would not haue their names either from their Prince, Captaine, or King*: the example whereof hee inserteth, that *Spaine* was so named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*, and the like.

The originall names of Countries and Prouinces assumed first from their possessors.

Iudg. 18. 29.

Iudg. 10. 4.

Perionius de original. Galliæ.

Spaine named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*, *Samothes* the sixt sonne of *Japheth* the first inhabiter of this Iland, who named it *Samothea* 252. yeeres after the flood.

(3) And accordingly from *Samothes* the sixth sonne of *Iapheth* (whom *Moses* calleth *Mesech*) the brother of *Gomer*, and of *Iauan*, whose seed is said in the tenth of *Genesis* to haue repleniished the *Iles of the Gentiles*,

The credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariseth only from a smal and new pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berosus* the Chaldean.

Plato in Timæo. *Solon* quippeth the Grecians, as not having attained to the yeeres of a gray head for historie.

Lodouic. Viues. *Gaspersus Varrerius.* *Berosus* reiected.

ALBION ỹ name of this Iland so termed by the Grecians.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

The name *Albion* from *Albion* the Giant.

Strabo lib. 4. *Munst.* Colmogr. *Bartbol. de proprietatibus rerum.*

Albion called the *Woite Land.*

Welsh Poets called this Iland *Inis Wen.*

Britaine stamped in a womans attire sitting vpon rockes.

Fracast. de morbis contagiosis, Lib. 1.

Humfrey Lhuyd in Breuiar. Brit.

Marianus Scotus.

Iob. Rous.

Albion, from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Dioclesian.*

A ridiculous opinion for a progenie of Giants in *Albion.*

Gentiles, is brought by some Authors into this Iland, the yeere after the generall *Flood* two hundred fiftie and two, where he seated, and gaue Lawes to his people, and left to his posteritie the name thereof to bee called *Samothea*, after his owne. But sith the credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariseth onely from a small and new pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berosus* the *Chaldean*, bolstred out vnder a shew of aged *Antiquitie*, and thrust into the world vnder the countenance of the ancient Historian himselfe: I meane not to enforce, seeing my purpose is to expose this most beautifull *Iland* in her owne beseeming attire, and not deformed by these rotten and patched ragges. And of this forged *Berosus* we haue better cause to vpbraid *Iohannes Annius* his Countenancer and Commenter, then the *Egyptian* Priests had to twit *Solon*, in accusing the *Grecians*, that *for historie had not attained to the yeeres of a gray head.* For it exceeds not much one hundred and twenty yeeres since the same booke first appeared in the world; and then vehemently suspected as fabulous by *Lodouicus Viues*, and afterwards conuicted by the learned *Gaspersus Varrerius* in a seuerall treatise, and now vniuersally reiected of all skilfull *Antiquaries.*

(4) But the name ALBION is better receiued, being found so tearmed of the *Grecians* in ancient time, as in the booke *De Mundo*, written to *Alexander*, and supposed to be *Aristotles*, *Pliny* in his *Naturall Historie*, *Ptolomie*, *Strabo*, and others: yet vpon what ground it should bee so called there arise many coniectures. *Pomponius Mela*, *Nicolas Perottus*, *Rigmanus Philesius*, *Aristotle*, and *Humfrey Lhuyd*, deriue it from *Albion Mareoticus* a Giant, and sonne of *Neptune*, that conquered (as they say) these *Samotheans*, and seated himselfe in this *Iland* the yeere after the *Flood* three hundred thirty fiue. And if that be true which *Perottus* and *Lilius Giraldus* haue written, then may this *Albion* giue name to this *Iland.* Notwithstanding, *Strabo*, *Munster*, and Frier *Bartholomew*, will haue it so named *ab albis rupibus*, of the rockes and white clifts appearing towards the coasts of *France*; which carrieth the more likelihood through the credit of *Orpheus* a most ancient Poet, who in his *Argonauticks* (if so be they were his) calleth the *Iland* next vnto *Hibernia* or *Hernin*, which questionlesse is this of ours, λευκὴ χέρσος, that is, *the white Land.* And accordingly haue the *Welsh Poets* called it *Inis Wen.* And this is further confirmed from *Cicero*, who termeth these whitish clifts *mirificas moles*; as also by the anticke *Coines* of *Antonius Pius* and *Seuerus* the *Romane* Emperours, whereon BRITAINE is stamped in a womans attire sitting vpon *rocks.* And the same being chalkie, or of a plaster-like substance, *Fracastorius* supposeth was the cause of the sweating sickenesse, and whereof *Albion* had the name. Vnlesse some will deriue it from *Alphon*, which as *Festus* saith, doth signifie *white* in *Greeke*; or *Olbion*, rich or happie, in regard of the fertilitie of the soile, wholesome temperature of the aire, and the rich commodities in the same: either from *Albion* for the high situation. But from the Latine *albis rupibus* it could not bee deriued, when that language was vnknowen to the world. *Marianus* the Monke, *Iohn Rous*, *Dauid Pencair*, and *William Caxton*, from others more ancient, doe fetch the name thereof from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Diocleſian* King of *Syria*, who with her sisters, thirty in number, for the slaughter of their husbands, were banished their Countrey, and without man, oares, or tackles, were committed to the mercy of the *Seas*, who after many aduentures, lastly arriued vpon this shoare, where they inhabited, and gaue name to this *Iland*, calling it *Albion* after the name of their eldest sister: and accompanying with *Diuels*, brought foorth a progenie of *Giants*, if we will beleeue the *Legend* of this most impudent lier, which is worthily reiected by *Badius*, *Volateranus*, *Harding*, *Bale*, *John Rous*, and others. But that the name *Albion* was both of great acceptance and long continuance, is apparent by the worthy *Epitheton* of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, who in his *Charter* for the foundation of the *Abbie* of *Ely*, hath these words: *Ego Edgarus Basileus dilecta Insula Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace fruens, &c.* By which hee knitteth the whole *Iland* together, as a Land worthily to be beloued, and calleth it ALBION.

The name *Albion* reteined in the Charters of some of our latter Kings.

(5) The next name ascribed vnto this *Iland* is BRITAINE, and that first found and giuen by the *Grecians*, who were the first discouerers of these Westerne parts of the world: either from their painted bodies, as their neighbours (if not ancestours) the *Gaules* were named of their long *shaggie haire*, or of their rich metals therein gotten, and thence carried in abundance into other Countries; or from *Brute*, that with his dispersed *Troians* conquered it, as he of *Monmouth* hath translated; or what occasion soeuer, I dispute not: only it feares me I shall giue but small satisfaction to the desirous Reader, of the cause and originall of this name, being consorted with so many vncertainties, wherein the further we follow this intangled *threed*, the further are we lead into the *Labyrinth* of *ambiguitie.* But as *Plutarch*, *Liuy*, and other *Latine Writers* haue complained of the many *fictions and fables of Poets intermingled with the histories of truth*, whereby truth it selfe was often made incredible; so we in rehearsing the diuers names of *Britannie*, and the reasons thereof by sundry Writers alleged, rest free in our relations, either from impeaching the power of *Antiquitie*, or approouing those things that are as yet wrapped vp in *Times Obliuions*, leauing the credit to them that haue left the same vnto vs, and the censure of their opinions to the iudgement of the learned, and those of better experience.

BRITAINE, The Grecians first named this Iland by ỹ name BRITAINE.

Ieffrey ap Arthur.

How this Iland came to haue the name *Britannia* is very vncertaine.

The fainings of Poets haue bred mistrust in many true histories.

(6) The vulgar receiued opinion, held on with foure hundred yeeres continuance, (some few mens exceptions had against the same) is, that this *Iland* tooke the name of *Britannia* from *Brute* the sonne of *Syluius*, of whom more shall bee spoken in the next Chapter for the peopling of this *Iland*, and from whom some (following a suspected *Gildas*) doe write the name *Brutaine*: for so doth *Hierome*, who translating *Aethicus* that excellent *Scythian Philosopher*, calleth both this and the *Ilands* adiacent, *Insulas Brutanicas.* But besides the many obiections made both by forraine and home-bred Writers, that seeme to make the storie of *Brute* doubtfull, *Humfrey Lhuyd* a *Cambre-Britaine*, a learned and diligent searcher of *Antiquities*, doth confidently deny the name *Britaine* to be taken from *Brute*; and among many other obseruations, makes this an infallible argument, that *the letter B. is not the first radicall of that name*; and affirmeth boldly, that there is not any British word *whose first radicall letter is B.* And therefore hee will haue it to be anciently written PRYDCAIN, compounded of two *British* words, PRYD and CAIN, which signifie (as he saith) *Beauty* and *White*; the *C. being lost in the latter word, for the more easie pronuntiation in the British tongue; and the P. in the former changed into B. by the Latines, for the more gentle and pleasant sounds sake:* so that himselfe thinketh, that those learned and expert men in the *British* tongue, which wrote the *Ilands* name with B. doe therein rather follow the *Latines*, then iudging that to bee the true name indeed: for proofe whereof hee citeth both ancient *Copies* and *Traditions* of their owne old *Poets* the *Bardi*, by whom (saith he) it was vsually called *Prydain*, as the fittest denomination for so beautifull a Land. But if either colour or commodities were her *Godfathers* at the font-stone, why was she not rather named *The Palace of Queene Ceres*, as old *Orpheus* termes her; either *Insula florum*, as it hath beene found written in a very ancient manu-script? And yet to second this his conceited name, I finde recorded by *Bishop Cooper*, a learned Writer, that which makes for that purpose. *At Euychurch* (saith he) *two miles from* Salisburie, *in the digging downe of a wall, a booke containing twenty leaues of very thicke velome was found, which from the hands of Master* Richard Pace, *chiefe Secretarie to the King, I receiued; but being sore defaced, could read no one sentence thorow;*

PRYD-CAIN

Britaine vsually called *Prydain.*

Britannia the *Insula florum.*

Bishop *Cooper* in his Dictionarie.

Britannia written *Prydania.*

King *Edward* VI.

thorow, yet did I well perceiue the word PRYTANIA, (not called so, from the adiuncts *white* and *Beauteous*) but rather *from the Greeke word* Πρυτανία *Prytania*, which as he saith, doth signifie *mettals*. For the *Grecians* flourishing in wisedome, and experience, entred the *Ocean*, and finding this *Iland* full of *Brasse, Tynne, Lead, Iron, Gold*, and *Siluer* gaue name thereunto accordingly and called it *Prytania*. Thus farre he. And some in regard of these rich commodities thence brought, will haue it named *Britannia*, as vpon like occasion *Vibius Sequester* affirmeth *Calabria sometimes to haue beene so called*. Others, and those many, do hold a more strange opinion, namely, that this *Iland* was called *Britannia* of *Bretta* a *Spanish* word which signifieth *Earth*, for that it was separated from the maine land, and, say they, *it was once ioined with the continent of France*. Of this opinion are *Antonius Volscus, Dominicus Marius Niger, Seruius Honoratus, Vinianus, Bodine, Twyne*, and *Verstegan*. But how that name from that separation may be gathered I vnderstand not: for if it be granted, that this *Iland* also was cut from the continent (as it is thought all others in the world were,) by the violent rage of the vniuersall floud, yet it followeth not, that this only should claime that name, and from that occasion, more then any other, or then all of them so diuided and set apart in the maine *Ocean*. Others there are that would haue the name *Britaine* to bee brought from *Britona a Nymph* in *Greece*, daughter to *Mars*, who (as they say) to auoid the lasciuious intents of *Minos*, forsooke the country, and passing the seas ariued in this *Iland* and by her the name arose, this hath *Textor*. But I might as well cite *Calepine* for his *Anglia*, and *Marianus* for his *Albina*, being all fables consorting alike together, and fictions of the same authority that *Virgils Dido* is. *Hesychius* deriueth the name *Britaine* from *Britannus* the father of *Celtice* on whom *Hercules* begat *Celtus* the originall of the *Celtæ* as *Parthenius Nicæus* a very ancient author writeth. And Sir *Thomas Eliot* a learned Knight draweth the name of this *Iland* from the *Greek* fountaine also, but of other signification, viz. Πρυτανία *Prutania*, by which terme the *Athenians* signified their *publike reuenues*, and yet that is iustly excepted against, seeing that it is a peculiar terme only to the *Athenians*, and that the *Grecians* called this *Iland* Πρυτανία not Πρυτανία *Goropius Becanus* in his *Originall of Antwerp* saith, that the *Danes sought here to plant themselues*, and so named this *Iland Bridania*, that is, *free Denmarke*. And others deriue it from *Prutenia* a country in *Germany*. But that both these are fictions it manifestly appeareth, for that this *Iland* was famous by the name of *Britaine* many hundred yeeres before that either *Dania* or *Prutania* were heard of in the world.

Pomponius Letus would haue it *Briton*, and that name giuen it from the *Britons* in *France*. Indeed it is probable, that from the *Celtes*, the old *Gaules*, our originals descended: but that the name should come of them hath no colour of truth, seeing that those *Britons* came from vs, and not we from them: and in *Cæsars* time that coast was called *Armorica*, but this of ours *Britaine*. *Forcatulus* deriueth the name thereof from *Brithin* a drinke, which as *Athenæus* saith was vsed among the *Greeks*. And others will haue it from the *Bruty* a roauing and stragling people in *Italy*: both which are accounted but idle conceits and for no lesse we will leaue them. *White* of *Basingstocke* will haue the name thereof deriued from an *Hebrew* word, and *Isidore* from a word of her own language. Thus then is *Britanny* burthened with many titles vnder one truth; and these are the ascriptions, causes and exceptions, as far as we are able to gather: all which must giue place to that which is to follow out of the painfull collections and iudicious obseruances of our illustruous *Antiquarie* Master *Cambden*. Whose words I will abridge, and by his good fauour bring to furnish this chapter, and further to satisfie the vnsatisfied Reader.

(7) This then he holdeth for granted, that *ancient nations in the beginning had names of their own: and that after from these the Greeks and Latines by wresting them to the analogie or proportion of their speech, imposed names vpon Regions and countries, which tooke their denominations from their people and in-dwellers. So* Iewry *was named from the Iewes*, Media *from the Medes*, Persia *of the Persians*, Scythia *of the Scythians*, &c. *And why not then by the authority of* Martial, Iuuenal, Ausonius, Procopius, *and in old inscriptions set vp by the Britaines themselues*, BRITTA, BRITO, BRITONES, BRITTVS, *from* BRIT, *or* BRITH, *from whom any one being of that nation might be termed* NATIONE BRITTO, *as is seene so inscribed in Saint* Mary *the Round at* Rome? *The* Saxons *likewise themselues called the* Britains Bpiop, *and* Witichindas *the Saxon euerie where nameth the Britaines* Britæ: *so that the word* BRIT *is doubtlesse the Primitiue, from whence* BRITTO *is deriued, and from whence the first glimpse of light leading to the word* BRITAINE, *seemeth to appeare. And that all nations deuised their names of that, wherein they either excelled others, or were knowen by from others, whether in regard of their first founders honor, as the* Iones *of* Iauan, *the* Israelites *of* Israel, *the Cananites of* Canaan; *or whether in respect of their nature, conditions, and inclinations; as the* Iberi *after the Hebrew Etymologie because they were Miners; the* Heneti *because they were straglers; the* Nomades *for that they were breeders of Cattell; the* Almanes *for their esteemed valour and manhood; the* Frankners *for being free; the* Pannonians, *as* Dio *conceiteth, of their coats with cloth-sleeues; the* Aethiopians *of their blacke hue: and the* Albanes *because they were borne with white haire, for so saith* Solinus, *that the colour of their heads gaue name vnto the people. Seeing then that these our* Ilanders *were known and called by a name common to both them and their neighbors,* Cimbri *or* Cumeri, *and had no better marke to be distinguished and knowen from the borderers; then by their custome of painting their bodies, whereof the most approued authors doe witnesse, as* Cæsar, Mela, Pliny, Martial *and others, who affirme that the* Britanes *vsed to colour themselues with* woad, *called in the Latine* glastum (*and* Glase *at this day with them doth signifie blew*) *what if I then should coniecture* (saith he) *that they were called* Britains *from this their painted bodies? for what is thus stained or coloured, in their ancient country speech is called* BRITH. *Neither let this Etymologie of* Britains *seeme to be either harsh or absurd, seeing the very words sound alike, and the name also as an expresse image representeth the thing which in Etymologies are chiefly required: for* Brith, *and* Brit, *doe passing well accord: And the word* Brith *among the* Britaines, *implieth that which the* Britans *were indeed, to wit, painted, stained, died, and coloured, as the Latine poets describe them: hauing their backes pide or medly coloured, as* Oppianus *termeth them.* From which colours and vse of painting, the ancient Britaines (as he thinketh) had their names, and as yet in vse among the Welsh. *But this is certaine that a* Britain *is called in the British tongue* BRITHON, *and as* BRITO *came of* BRITH, *so did* BRITANNIA, *who as* Isidore *saith tooke the name from a word of their owne nation: for what time the ancient Greeks (that first gaue name to this* Iland) *either as rouers or merchants trauelled into other remote and farre disioined countries (as* Eratosthenes *reporteth) learned from the Inhabitants themselues, or els of the* Gaules *which spake the same language, that this our nation was called* Brith *and* Brithon: *They then vnto the word* BRITH, *added* TANIA, *which in the Greek Glossaries betokeneth a* REGION, *and whereof they made a compound name* Βριτανία, *that is, the* BRITONS-LAND. *And that this is so, the countries also lying in the West part of the world, as* Mauritania, Lusitania, *and* Aquitania, *doe sufficiently confirme: for the Grecians being the first Surueiors of those regions, of* Mauri, *whom* Strabo *saith was called* Numidia, *made* Mauritania; *of* Lusus *the sonne of* Bacchus, Lusitania, *and of* Aquis (*waters, as* Iuo Carnotensis *is of opinion*) *called the country* Aquitania: *as also* Turditania, *and* Bastinania, *Prouinces in* Spain, *might arise from the* Turdi, *and* Basti *their possessors. And that this manner of composition is most vsuall in the names of countries we see: For came not* Ireland *by composition of the Irish word* Erim? *Did not* Angle terre *grow together of an* English *and* French *word*

Prytania so called from the Greek word Πρυτανία.

Vibius Sequest.

Britannia of Bretta a Spanish word.

Antonius Volscus Dominicus Marius Niger, &c.

Britannia named of Britona a Nymphe. Textor Chrona.

Textor.

Hesychius.

Parthenius Nicæus. Sir Thomas Eliot. Britaine of the Greek word πρυτανία.

Grecians called this Iland Βρετανία and not Πρυτανία. Goropius Becanus in Orig. de Ant. lib. 6. Bridania or Free-Denmark.

Britaine so named before either Dania or Prutenia were heard of in the world. Pomponius Letus.

Britons in France came of vs. Cambden Brit. pag. 3. Forcatulus. Britaine called of Brithin a drinke. white. Britaine called of an Hebrew word. Isidore.

Cambdeni Britannia.

Ancient nations had names of their owne: afterwards wrested by Greeks and Latines.

Iewry so called of the Iewes. Media of the Medes. Scythia of the Scythians. Britta, Brito, Britones and Brittus, From Brit or Brith.

BRIT. Witichindus.

Brit the primitiue from whence Britto is deriued.

Israelites so called in honour of their first founder Israel. Iberi why so called. Nomades named of their breeding of Cattell. Dio. Aethiopians so called of their black hue. Iulius Solinus.

Britaines and their neighbors called both by one name Cimbri or Cumeri. Cæsar, Mela, Pliny, Martial.

The Britaine coloured themselues to be distinguished from their neighbors.

Brith and Brit do accord.

Oppianus. Cynegetic. li. 1. Britaines so named for painting themselues.

Isidore.

Eratosthenes.

The Grecians vnto the word Brith added tania.

Strabo. Tania added to diuers countries, by the Grecians. Ius Carnotensis.

England comming of Angle-terre.

and became England, Doth not Franc-lond proceed from a French and Saxon word? Came not Poleland from a Polonian word, which with them betoketh a plaine? and was not Denmarch compounded of Dan and the Dutch word March, which signifieth a bound or limit? Neither haue we cause to wonder at this Greek addition TANIA, seeing that S. Hierome in his questions upon Genesis, proued out of most ancient Authors, that the Greekes inhabited along the sea coasts and Iles of Europe thorowout as far as to this our Iland. Let vs read, saith he, Varroes bookes of Antiquities, and those of Sisinius Capito, as also the Greeke writer Phlegon, with the rest of the great learned men, and we shall see, all the Ilands well neere, and all the sea coasts of the whole world, to haue been taken vp with Greek inhabitants, who, as I said before, from the mountaines Amanus and Taurus euen to the British Ocean, possessed all the parts along the sea side. And verely, that the Greeks ariued in this our region, viewed and considered well the site and nature thereof, there will be no doubt nor question made: if we obserue what Athenæus hath written concerning Phileas Taurominites who was in Britaine in the yeere one hundred and sixty before Cæsars comming: if we call to remembrance the Altar with an inscription vnto Vlysses in Greek letters, erected in Caledonia as Solinus saith, and lastly if we marke what Pytheas before the time of the Romans here, hath deliuered and written as touching the distance of Thule from Britaine. For who had euer discouered vnto the Greeks, Britain, Thule, the Belgick countries, and their sea coasts especially, if the Greek ships had not entred the British and German Ocean, yea and related the description therof vnto their Geographers? Had Pytheas, thinke you, come to the knowledge of six daies sailing beyond Britaine, vnlesse some of the Greeks had shewed the same? Who euer told them of Scandia, Bergos and Nerigon, out of which men may saile into Thule? And these names seem to haue been better knowen vnto the most ancient Greeks, then either to Pliny or to any Roman. Whereupon Mela testifieth, that Thule was much mentioned and renowned in Greek writers: Pliny likewise writeth thus; Britain an Iland famous in the monuments and records both of the Greeks and of vs. By this meanes therefore, so many Greeke words haue crept into the British, French, and withall into the Belgick or Low-Dutch language. And if Lazarus Bayfius, and Budæus doe make their vant and glory in this, that their French-men haue been of old φιλολογοι that is, louers and studious of the Greeks, grounding their reason vpon few French words of that Idiome, which receiue some marks and tokens of the Greek tongue: if Hadrianus Iunius ioyeth no lesse, because in the Belgick words there lie couertly Greek Etymologies: then may the Britains make their boast in whose language many words there be deriued from the Greeks. Thus farre M. Cambdens iudgement for Britannia.

Danmarch compounded of Dan and March.

S. Hierom. in Gene.

Phlegon.

Greciana inhabited well neere all the sea coasts of the whole world.

Athenæus.

The certainty of the Greeks inhabiting in Britain.

Bredam Miscellan. lib. 3.

Vlysses Altar in Caledonia.

Thule thought to be one of the Iles of the Orcades in Scotland.

Low countries.

Thule much mentioned in Greek writers.

Which name we find first mentioned by *Polybius* the *Greeks* historian, who liued and traueled with *Scipio* thorow most parts of *Europe*, about 265. yeers before the birth *of Christ*. And after him *Athenæus* a Greek authour of good account, and before the yeere of grace 179. mentioneth the name of *Britaine*, and that vpon this occasion: King *Hiero*, saith he, *framing a ship of such hugenesse and burden, as was admirable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he might make the maine mast: which at last with much adoe was found in* Britaine, *by the direction of a Swineheard: and by* Phileas Taurominites *the Mechanick conueied into Sicilie*, whereby that want was sufficiently supplied. To this let not the *Criticks* from *Cæsar* say, that *Britaine brought foorth neither Beech nor Firre*, as he in his fift book of commentaries affirmeth (if by *fagus* he meane the *Beech*) seeing that the same kind doth most plentifully grow in all parts of this *Iland*, and the *Firre-trees* for masts in the North west of *Scotland* vpon the bankes of the *Lough argicke* of such great height and thicknesse, that at the root they beare 28. handfuls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot of height they beare at that length 20. inches Diametre, as hath been measured by some in commission, & so certified to his *Maiesty*: and at this present growing vpon the lands of the right worthy Knight Sir *Alexander Hayes, his Maiesties principal Secretay for Scotland.*

Laza. Bayfius.

As other nations glory that they deriue many words from the Greeks, so may we.

Athenæus.

For so by the Scriptures account I place the time.

In Britaine great store of large trees.

Phileas Taurominites.

Cæsar.

In Scotland Firre trees for masts.

But among the Latine Writers *Lucretius* was the first that before *Cesar* mentioneth *Britaine* in these verses:

Nam quid Britannum cælum deferre putamus,
Et quod in Aegypto est, quà mundi claudicat Axis:
We see the difference in the spheeres where Britaines Sunne doth goe
From Egypts Clime, wherein Charles waine is fore'd to draw so low.

Lucretius.

(8) Other names hath this *Iland* beene termed by, and that either by way of note for her situation, as *Insula Cæruli, the Iland in the Sea*, so written in the *sonet* or *parodia* made against *Ventidius Bassus*, and by *Claudian* confirmed, whose *fides* (saith hee) *the azure Sea doth wash*. And in a very ancient manuscript it is found written, *Insula florum, an Iland of flowers*, for the abundance of Graine therein growing: as also for her subiection to the *Romanes*, hath beene *called by Aegisippus, the Romane World*, and by her owne Historian *Gildas*, *Romania*: for being first subdued by them, the very name of seruitude (saith he) *stucke fast to the soile*. And *Prosperus Aquitanis* in expresse words calleth it, the *Romane Iland*, and so did the South-saiers when the statues of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the Emperours were by lightning ouerthrowen, who prophecied, that an *Emperour should arise out of their familie, that should send a Pro-consull to the Romane Iland*. Vpon the like cause of conquest and subiection we read in *Amianus*, that what time the *Iland* had assaied a dangerous reuolt in the raigne of *Valentinianus* the Emperor, *Theodosius* as then Gouernor of *Britaine*, reducing them vnder their wonted obedience, in honor of *Valentinianus*, caused the *Iland* to bee called VALENTIA, which name notwithstanding died either with, or immediately after the death of the said Emperour.

Britaine called *Insula Cæruli.*

Britaine the Romane world.

Prosperus Aquitaine.

A prophecy of the Romane sooth-sayers concerning Britaine.

This Iland Britaine named the Roman Iland.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.

This Iland named *Valentia.*

(9) But about the same time, when as by *Gods* decree the *Romanes* fulnesse was come to the wane, and the greatnesse of their glory did abate; by the downefall of that one Empire many Kingdomes beganne to arise, and to haue their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of themselues. Among the rest, this *Iland Britaine* shortlie came to be diuided into three seuerall Kingdomes, and each of them to retaine an absolute power in their owne dominions, and knowen by their seuerall and proper names. The first was *Scotland* from *Scotia*, and that from *Scythia*, as the best suppose, whose Southerne bounds was the famous *Wall* from *Carlile* to *Newcastle*, and from thence the enorme tract of all that Northerne promontorie was called *Scotia*, or *Scotland*. The second was *Cambria*, of vs called *Wales*, sited in the West of this *Iland*, inclosing those waste mountaines with a *ditch* drawen from *Basingwarke* in *Flint-shire* in the North, to the mouth of *Wye* neere *Bristoll* in the South, so separated by great *Offa* the *Mercian* King. And the third was *Angle-lond*, the East, the most fruitfull, and best of the *Iland*, lying coasted with the *French* and *Germane Seas*; so named when the vnited *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* was ruled by King *Egbert*, who by his edict dated at *Winchester*, *Anno* 819. commanded the same to bee called *Angle-lond*, according to the name of the place from whence his ancestors the *Angle-Saxons* came, which was out of the continent part of *Denmarke*, lying betwixt *Iuitland* and *Holsatia*, where to this day the place retaineth the name *Engloen*. And therefore *Calepine* is to be reiected, that would haue the name from *Queene Angela*, and *Goropius*, of good *Anglers*; either from Pope *Gregorie* his attribute of *Angell-like* faces; or from others that would faine it from *Angula* the *Giant-like* brother to *Danus*; or force it from *Angulus Orbis*.

This Iland diuided in to three kingdomes.

The first, Scotland, whose partition southward is from Carlile to Newcastle.

The second. Cambria or Wales, whose partition is from Basingwark to Wye.

The third. Angle-lond coasted with the French and German Seas.

This Iland named Angle-lond of a place in Denmarke called Engloen.

Gregorie 1.

(10) Neither indeed was it called *England* before the daies of *Canutus* the *Dane*; but with *Angle-land*, retained still the names both of *Albion* and *Britaine*, as in a *Saxon* Charter made by King *Edgar* the tenth in succession from *Egbert*, and no lesse then one hundred forty and nine yeeres after this Edict is seene, where in the beginning he stileth himselfe thus: *Ego Edgar totius Albionis Basileus*, &c. And in the end of the same charter thus: *Edgar Rex totius Britannia Donoconens,*

This Iland not called England before the daies of *Canutus* the Dane.

This Iland vsually called both Angle-lond, Albion, and Britain, before *Canutus* daies.

nem tum figillo S. Crucis confirmat. And yet vpon his *Coines* wrote himselfe *Rex Anglii*, whereby wee see the reliish of the former names not vtterly extinct, though a new was imposed by the *Saxons*.

The name *England* not changed either by the *Dane* or *Normane* Conquerours.

(11) This last name this *Iland* still retained, though two seuerall Conquests of two seuerall Nations were made of the same. Neither did *William* the Conquerour attempt to alter it, it sounding belike so *Angel-like* in his eares, accounting himselfe most happie to be King of so worthy a Kingdome: the glorie whereof is further inlarged by the ranking of Christian nations, assembled in their generall Councels, wherein *England* is accounted the fifth, and hath place of presidencie before kingdomes of larger territories.

Hath the fifth place in all Generall Councels.

This name of *England* continued for the space of seuen hundred eighty and three yeeres, vnto the coming in of our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, *in anno* 1602. who by the hand of GOD hath vnited all these *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iland*, vnder the gouernment of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conquests, irruptions, and dissensions, hath settled an eternall amitie; and extinguishing all differences of names, hath giuen the whole *Iland* the ancient name of GREAT BRITAINE, by his *Edict* dated at *Westminster*, quartring the royal *Armes* of his seuerall *Kingdomes* in one royall *Scutchion*, and for his *motto*, as is most meet,

BEATI PACIFICI.

Hath continued and kept the name *England* the space of seuen hundred eighty and three yeeres.

Now reduced to the name of *Great Britaine*.

THE ANCIENT NATIONS INHABITING THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE BEFORE THE CONQVEST THEREOF BY THE ROMANES.

CHAPTER III.

Britaine replenished with people before *Noahs* flood.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that this *Iland* with the *Vniuersall* was replenished with people, immediately after that men began to be multiplied vpon the earth, euen in the daies of the former *Patriarkes*, and long before the *Flood* of *Noah*, as sundrie ancient Writers haue related. And surely if wee consider in those first ages of the world the long life of man (the only meanes to multiplication) and the worlds continuance for one thousand six hundred fiftie and six yeeres before it was destroied, wee shall easily yeeld, that euery Country and corner of the earth was plentifully peopled and inhabited. And so much doe the *Sacred Scriptures* intimate vnto vs, where, by the Prophet *Esay* it is said, *Thus saith the Lord, that created heauen; God himselfe, that framed the earth, and made it: he hath prepared it; he created it not in vaine; he formed it to be inhabited.*

Isa.45.18.

(2) But when the wrath of GOD was executed vpon the world for sinne, and all ouer-whelmed with a *Flood* of waters, the whole earth thereby became altogether vnpeopled, *eight persons* only with the breed reserued creatures saued in the floting *Arke*: Whose Port or Hauen was the mountaine of *Araret* in *Armenia*; whence, with the blessing of procreation, mankinde againe began to be multiplied vpon the earth; and from the confusion of *Babels* building, to be scattered by *Tribes* and *Colonies*, according to the diuersitie of Languages, into diuers parts and Countries of the world, giuing names to the places where they seated, according to the names of their Princes, or chiefe Commanders. Amongst whom the sonnes of *Iapheth* the eldest sonne of *Noah* (whom *Moses* declareth to haue peopled the *Isles* of the *Gentiles*) betooke themselues into *Europe*, these westerne parts of the world: as *Sem* did into *Asia*, and *Cham* into *Africa*: whose posterities accordingly dispersed *Iosephus* in his first *Booke* of *Antiquities* hath both branched into their seuerall diuisions, and reduced them to their first roots and originals.

Noahs flood.

The hauen of *Noahs* Arke, *Mount Araret*.

Babels Tower the cause of sundrie Languages, and dispersion of people.

Iapheths progeny peopled *Europe*. Genesis 10.

Sems planted in *Asia*. *Chams* off-spring seated in *Africa*. *Ioseph. lib. 1.*

Europe the Iles of *Gentiles*.

(3) Now that the *Iles of the Gentiles* mentioned by *Moses*, were these of *Europe*, all learned men confesse: and therefore those especially of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*, as *Wolfangus Musculus* is of opinion. And that *Europe* fell to *Iaphets* portion, *Iosephus* and *Isidore* doe agree: who affirme his off-spring to haue inhabited from the *Mount Taurus* all *Europe Northward*, so farre as the *British Seas*, leauing names both to places and people. And *Gildas*, as *Nubrigensis* witnesseth, and *Polydore Virgil* granteth, will haue this *Iland* inhabited euen from the *Flood*. But of these ancient things, saith *Sebastian Munster*, no man can write certainly, it depending only vpon coniecturals, and the same by heare-say, and flying reports of priuate men, as *Origen* speaketh.

Wolfang. Musculus. *Origen. lib. 9. cap. 2.* *Wolfang. Lazius.* *Theophilus Epist. Antioch. ad Autol. lib. 2.*

Sebastian Munster.

Stories of the first times meere-lie coniecturall.

(4) *Gomer* then, the eldest sonne of *Iapheth*, gaue name to the *Gomerians*, who filled almost this part of the world, leading (as *Villichius* saith) in the tenth yeere of *Nimrod*, a *Colonie* out of *Armenia* into *Italie*, which of *Gomer* were called *Combri*, and afterwards *Cimbri*: whence such as departed *Italy* went into the *North* parts and gaue name to *Cimbrica Chersonesus*: from whence it is certaine we the *English* proceede, and of whom also it is likely the *Britaines* came. For so iudgeth a learned *Britain* himselfe, who saith his countrimen the *Welsh* which are vnlearned, as yet know no other name for their land and people, but only *Cumbri*.

Gomer the eldest sonne of *Japheth*.

Villichius. A Colonie of *Gomerians* called *Combri* or *Cimbri*, of *Gomer*, came into *Italie*.

Englishmen were of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which came from *Italy*. *Joh. Lewis in Reform. bist. li. 1. cap. 9.*

(5) And that of these *Gomerians* were also the *Gaules*, learned *Clarenceaux* that brightest lampe to all Antiquities, out of *Iosephus* and *Zonaras* sufficiently hath obserued; who that they were also called *Cimbri*, he proueth out of *Cicero*, & *Appian Alexandrinus*; that those *Barbarians* whom *Marius* defeated, *Cicero* plainly termeth *Gaules*, where he saith *C. Marius* represt the armies of the *Gaules*, entring in great numbers into *Italy*: which, as all *Historians* witnesse, were the *Cimbrians*. And the *Habergeon* of their king *Beleus* digged vp at *Aqua Sextiæ*, where *Marius* put them to flight, doth shew the same: whereon was engrauen in strange characters BELBOS CIMBROS; as also the testimony of *Lucan* doth no lesse, who calleth the Ruffine hired to kill *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*, whom *Liuy* and *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* affirme to be a *Gaule*. They also who vnder the conduct of *Brennus* spoiled *Delphi* in *Greece*, were *Gaules*, as all writers with one voice agree; and yet that these were named *Cimbri*, *Appian* in his *Illyricks* doth

Gaules of the *Gomerians*.

Appian. Alexand. Lib. Celtico.

Gaules by all Historie were the *Cimbrians*.

Marius Habergeon.

Marius killed by a *Cimbrian*.

Delphi spoiled by *Brennus*.

Brennus a Britaine or a Cimbrian.

Virgil. Catalect. lib. 8. cap. 3. Quintilian.

doth teſtifie. And for *Brennus* their *Grand-Captaine*, our *Hiſtorians* report him to be a *Britaine:* as likewiſe *Virgil* (though in taunting wiſe) termeth that *Grammarian* the *Britaine Thucydides*, whom *Quintilian* affirmes to be a *Cimbrian*.

The *Turkes*, the *Iones*, *Medes*, and *Thracians* come of *Noahs* nephewes.

(6) And if of the reſt of *Noahs* nephewes, ſeated in ſeuerall countries, the *Nations* proceeding from them, are knowen by their originall names, as the *Turkes* of *Togorma*, whom the *Iewes* to this day ſo terme, the *Iones* from *Iauan*, the *Medes* from *Madai*, the *Thracians* from *Tiras*, and ſo of the reſt, whoſe names as yet ſound not much vnlike to their firſt planters; why then ſhall not we thinke, that our *Britanes* or *Cumerians*, are the very of-ſpring of *Gomer*, and of *Gomer* tooke their denomination, the name ſo neere according? Sith granted it is, that they planted themſelues in the vtmoſt borders of *Europe*, as *Iſodore* hath ſaid. For the *Ark* reſting in *Armenia*, and the people thence flowing like waters from the ſpring, repleniſhed thoſe parts firſt that lay next their ſite: as *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece* before *Italy*: *Italy* before *Gaule*, and *Gaule* before *Britaine*. And if we conſider the occaſions, that might be offered, either for disburdening the multitudes of people, for conqueſt, deſire of noueltie, ſmalneſſe of diſtance, or commodities of the aire and ſoile, we may eaſily conceiue this *Iland* to haue been peopled from thence. For it ſtandeth with ſenſe that euery country receiued their firſt inhabitants from places neere bordering, rather then from them that lay more remote: for ſo was *Cyprus* peopled out of *Aſia*, *Sicile* and *Candie* out of *Greece*; *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, out of *Italy*, *Zeland* out of *Germany*, *Iſland* out of *Norway*, and ſo of the reſt. Now that *Britaine* had her firſt inhabitants from *Gaule*, ſufficiently is proued by the name, ſite, religion, manners, and languages, by all which the moſt ancient *Gaules* and *Britaines* haue beene as it were linked together in ſome mutuall ſociety; as is at large proued by our Arch-Antiquary in his famous worke, to which I refer the ſtudious reader.

Britains or *Cumerians* the off-ſpring of *Gomer*.

Iſodore.

Armenia the fountaine region of all Nations. Places neereſt *Armenia* firſt peopled.

The occaſions why people diſperſe.

Each Nation peopled from places neere.

Britaine had her firſt inhabitants from the *Gaules*.

Britannia Camb. deni.

(7) And although the inner parts of the *Iland* were inhabited, as *Cæſar* ſaith, of ſuch whom they themſelues out of their owne records, report to haue been borne in the *Iland:* yet the *ſea coaſts* were peopled by thoſe, who vpon purpoſe to make war, had paſſed thither out of *Belgia*, and *Gaule*, who ſtill caried the names of thoſe cities and ſtates, out of which they came: as the *Belgæ*, the *Attrebatij*, *Pariſi*, and the like names of people both in *Gaule*, and in *Britaine*, that after the warres there remained. Which is the more confirmed in that both the *Prouinces* were gouerned by one and the ſame *Prince*, as *Cæſar* in his owne remembrance knew, and nameth one *Diuitiacus* to hold a good part of *Gaule*, and alſo of *Britaine* vnder his gouernment. Yea and *Tacitus* the moſt curious ſearcher into *Britaines* affaires, in the life of *Agricola* thus diſciphereth them. *Now* (ſaith hee) *what manner of men the firſt inhabitants of* Britannie *were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly knowen. Their complexions are different, and thence may ſome coniectures bee taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in* Caledonia, *and mighty limmes, import a German deſcent. The coloured countenances of the* Silures, *and haire moſt commonly curled, and ſite againſt* Spaine, *ſeeme to induce, that the old* Spaniards *paſſed the Sea, and poſſeſſed thoſe places. The neereſt to* France *likewiſe reſemble the* French, *either becauſe they retaine of the race from which they deſcended, or that in Countries butting together, the ſame aſpect of the heauens doth yeeld the ſame complexions of bodies. But generally it is moſt likely, the* French *being neereſt, did people the Land. In their ceremonies and ſuperſtitious perſwaſions, there is to be ſeene an apparant conformitie. The Language differeth not much: like boldneſſe to challenge and ſet into dangers: when dangers come, like feare in refuſing: ſauing that the* Britaines *make ſhew of great courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace.*

Cæſar. Comment. Lib. 5.

The ſea-coaſts of *Britaine* peopled out of *Belgia*.

Cæſar. Com. lib. 2.

A part of *Gaule* and *Britaine* gouerned by one Prince.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

The *Caledonians* import a *German* diſcent.

The *Silures* from *Spaine*.

(8) Whereby wee ſee, that theſe *Cimbrians* (of whom, as *Appian Alexandrinus* ſaith, came the *Celts*, and of them the *Gaules*, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* affirmeth, with whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* agree) were the ancient progenitors of theſe our *Britaines:* and them, with the *Gaules*, to be both one and the ſame people, is allowed by *Pliny*, that placeth them both in the continent of *France*; for ſo *Euſtathius* in his Commentarie vnderſtandeth *Dionyſius Afar*, that theſe *Britaines* in *Gaule* gaue name to the *Iland* now called GREAT BRITAINE, as *Pomponius Lætus* and *Beda* before him had done. Theſe things conſidered, with the neereneſſe of their ſites for ready entercourſe, made both *Ceſar* and *Tacitus* to conceiue as they did. Neither were theſe things following ſmall motiues vnto them: for their religion was alike, ſaith *Lucan* and *Tacitus:* their boldneſſe in warres, and maner of armes alike, ſaith *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Pliny*, *Herodian*, and *Mela:* Their building alike, ſaith *Ceſar* and *Strabo:* their ornaments and manners alike, ſaith *Pliny* and *Ceſar:* their wits alike, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus:* their language alike, ſaith *learned Bodine:* and in all things the vnconquered *Britaines* to the ancient *Gaules* alike, ſaith *Tacitus*. And all theſe doe warrant vs (me thinkes) to come from the *Cimbrians*, whoſe ſonnes, and our fathers, were the *Celts* and *Gaules:* the bands of whoſe amities were ſo linked together, that the *Britaines* gaue aid, and aſsiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Ceſar*, which was no ſmall cauſe of his quarrell againſt them.

Plutarch. Plato. Ariſtotle.

Britaines and *Gaules* both placed in the Continent of *France*

Pomponius Lætus. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Lucan. Britanes and *Gaules* alike in many reſpects. *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, &c. *Ceſar*, *Strabo.*

Bodin.

Tacitus.

The *Celts* and *Gaules* our fathers. *Bale Cent. 1.* *Britaines* aſsiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Ceſar.*

(9) Not to deriue the truth of our hiſtorie from the fained inuentions of a *forged Beroſus*, that bringeth *Samothes* to people this *Iland*, about one hundred fiftie two yeeres after the *Flood*, to giue lawes to the Land, and to leaue it to his poſteritie, for three hundred thirty fiue yeeres continuance: although hee be countenanced by *Amandus Zirixæus* in the annotations of *White of Baſingſtocke:* and magnified vnto vs by the names of *Dis* and *Meſhech* the ſixt ſonne of *Iapheth*, from whom this *Iland* with a Sect of *Philoſophers* tooke their names, ſaith *Textor*, *Bale*, *Holinſhead*, and *Caius:* yet ſeeing this building hath no better a foundation but *Beroſus*, and he not only iuſtly ſuſpected, but long ſince fully conuicted for a counterfeit, we leaue it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar *Chroniclers*, then the reliſh or liking of iudicious Readers: whileſt with *Laertius* wee iudge rather, that thoſe *Sophes* were termed *Semnothoes*, and they not from *Samothea*, as *Villichus* would haue vs beleeue.

Britaine moſt likely to be peopled by the French.

Appian. Alexand. in vit. Celt.

(10) Neither ſoundeth the muſicke of *Albions* legion tunable in our eares, whom *Beroſus* with full note, and *Annius* alloweth to be the fourth ſonne of *Neptune*, and him the ſame that *Moſes* calleth *Napthtahim*, the fourth ſonne of *Mizraim*, the ſecond ſonne of *Cham*, the third ſonne of *Noah*, (becauſe his fictions ſhould be countenanced with the firſt) who being put into this *Iland* by *Neptune* his father (accounted forſooth the *god* of the Seas) about the yeere after the *flood* three hundred thirty and fiue, ouercame the *Samotheans*, as eaſily he might, being a man of ſo great ſtrength in bodie, and largeneſſe of limmes, that hee is accounted among the *Giants* of the earth. Him *Hercules* ſurnamed *Lybicus* in battle aſſailed for the death of *Oſiris* his father, and after forty foure yeeres tyrannie (ſaith *Bale*) ſlew him with his brother *Bergion* in the continent of *Gallia* neere to the mouth of the riuer *Rhodanus:* whence *Hercules* trauelled into this *Iland*, as *Giraldus* (from *Gildas* the ancient *Briton* Poet) coniectureth, whoſe fifth dialogue of Poetrie hee had ſeene; and the rather beleeued, becauſe *Ptolemy* calleth that head of *Land* in *Cornwall*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and left the poſſeſsion of the *Iland* vnto them of *Cham*, contrarie to the meaning of the *Scriptures*, that made him a *Captiue*, but neuer a *Conquerour* ouer his brethren, whiles their firſt *Policies* were ſtanding.

Plutarch. Plato. Ariſtotle.

Britaines and *Gaules* both placed in the Continent of *France*

Pomponius Lætus. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Lucan. Britanes and *Gaules* alike in many reſpects. *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, &c. *Ceſar*, *Strabo.*

Bodin.

Tacitus.

The *Celts* and *Gaules* our fathers. *Bale Cent. 1.* *Britaines* aſsiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Ceſar.*

Beroſus thought a forged author.

Holinſh. hiſt. lib. 1 cap. 2. Vſſers hiſt. Brit. lib. 1. annot. 25. Geneſ. 10. 2.

Textor, &c. *Joh. Caius in Antiq. Canterb. lib. 1.*

(11) The laſt, but much applauded opinion, for the poſſeſsing and peopling of this *Iland*, is that of *Brute*, generally held for the ſpace of theſe laſt foure hundred yeeres (ſome few mens exceptions reſerued) who with his diſperſed *Troians* came into, and made conqueſt of this *Iland* the yeere of the worlds creation

2887.

Laertius in vit. Philoſophorum, cap. 1. Villichus.

Hollinſhead. An vnlikely ſtorie of *Britaines* firſt peopling.

Samothea this Iland *Britaine* conquered by *Chams* poſteritie

Pompon. Mela.

Bale.

Giraldus.

Hercules in *Britaine* left the poſſeſsion thereof to *Chams* poſteritie.

An opinion much applauded.

Brute and his *Troians* conquered this Iland.

XUM

2887. and after the *vniuersall flood* 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, and before the incarnation of *Christ* our *Sauiour* one thousand fifty nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Troians* by descent, yea and from the persons of the heathen deified *Gods:* as that he was the sonne of *Syluius*, who was the sonne of *Ascanius*, the sonne of *AEneas*, the sonne of *Anchises* by *Venus* the *Goddesse*, and daughter to *Iupiter* their greatest in account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praise worthy to challenge descents (though falsly) from famous personages, wherby, as they say, appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valorous conceit to perswade vnto honor, as sprung from a race diuine and powerfull: then by all meanes let vs listen to him of *Monmouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the rest of the *Gentiles*, which claime themselues to be the *Generation of the Gods*.

Brute descended from Iupiter.

Pliny. Varro.

A false descent may not be challenged. Geffrey of Monmouth died in *Anno* 1152. Acts 17.28.

(12) But why do I attribute the worke to him, as the Author, sith he professeth himselfe to be but the *translator* of that history out of the *British* tongue, which *Walter* the *Archdeacon* of *Oxford* brought out of *Normandie*, and deliuered vnto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his story, *Henry* of *Huntington*, who liued in the time of king *Stephen*, and wrote likewise the *history* of this *land*, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *AEneas* the *Troiane*, and his arriuage and conquest to happen in the time of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, as *Geffrey ap Arthur* hath also done: not taking (as some thinke) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himselfe in the *library* of the Abbey of *Bec*, as he trauelled towards *Rome:* which history began at the arriuall of *Brute*, and ended with the acts of *Cadwalader*, as by a treatise of his owne inditing, bearing the same title, hath been compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar history, as industrious *Lamberd* affirmeth himselfe to haue seen. And *Ninius* is said by the writer of the *reformed history*, to bring these *Britaines* from the race of the *Troians*, foure hundred yeeres before that *Geffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninius* also, *Taliesin* a *Briton* Poet in an *Ode* called *Hanes*, of *Taiess* his course of life, in these words, *Mia deythym yma at Wedillion Troia*, that is, *I came hither to the Remnants of Troy*.

Henry of Huntingdon died in *Anno* 1148.

Henry Huntington also recordeth Brutes line and arriuall in Britaine.

Geffrey ap. Arthur.

A booke hereof found.

(13) That *William* of *Malmesbury* (who wrote in the daies of King *Henry* the first) was before him of *Monmouth*, is most certaine; yet doth he make mention of *Arthur a Prince* (saith he) *deseruing rather to be aduanced by the truth of records, then abused by false imputation of fables; being the only prop and vpholder of his country*. And *Beda*, his ancient also, nameth *Ambrosius Aurelianus* to be *King* of the *Britaines*, long before that *Geffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Liuy*; *Bellinus*, (if he be *Belgius*) by *Iustine*; *Cassibelan* by *Cæsar*; *Cunobilin* by *Suetonius*; *Aruiragus* by *Martial*; *Lucius* by *Eusebius*; *Coel*, *Constantius*, *Carausius*, and others by *Eutropius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*; and *Helena* by *Nicephorus*, *Ambrose*, and *Socrates*. These are the affirmatiues that giue countenance to the *Archdeacon* of *Monmouths* translation, and credit to *Brutes* conquests and successours; yea and *Iohn Harding* his *Herauld*, in his home-spun poetry, can easily emblaze his *armes* to be *Gules*, charged with two *lions rampant* endorsed *Ore*; and the same to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner displaied at his entrance is said to be *Vert* a *Diana* of *gold* fitchel, crowned, and inthronized, the same that *AEneas* bare, when he entred the land of the *Latines*. But the censures of these relations I leaue to the best liking of iudicious Readers, only wishing them to be vnlike the inhabitants vnder the rockes of the Cataracts of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and *Ammianus* make mention, who were made deafe by the continuall noise of the fall of *Nilus:* lest by the sound and loud voices of these writers, the exceptions of others can not be heard, which from the fulnesse of their pennes I will likewise declare, without offence, I hope, vnto any.

Died in *Anno* 1142.

Malmesb. de Gestis rerum Anglorum. lib. 1.

Beda histor. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Liuy.
Iustine.
Cæsar.
Suetonius.
Martial.
Eusebius.
Eutropius.
Nicephorus.
Ambrose.
Socrates.
Harding Chro. chap. 11.
Iohan. Hanuil.
Nichola. Vpton.

Stowe.

Cicero de Som. Scipionis.
Ammianus Marcel. lib. 22. cap. 14.
Histories must be weighed with iudgement.

(14) First (with a reuerend reseruation had to the *sacred histories*) *Varro* the most learned Latine writer, diuiding *times* motions into three seuerall parts, that is, from the *creation* to the *flood*, which he termeth altogether *vncertaine:* from the *flood* to the first *Olympiad* (by *Beroaldus* computation set in the yeere of the world 3154. and thirty one of the raigne of *Ioas*, king of *Iudah:* seuen hundred seuenty and foure yeers before the birth of our *Sauiour*) he calleth *fabulous:* and the last age from the first *Olympiad* to himselfe he nameth *historicall*. Now the story of *Brute* beginning two hundred sixty seuen yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherein nothing els is related, either of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, the only learned writers, but fables and tales, as both himselfe and others haue told vs, much more then, among the barbarous, vnlettred, and vnciuill nations, as all these parts of the world then were.

Varro.

Times motions diuided into three parts. *Beroaldus.*

The third only historicall.

The story of Brute fabulous.

(15) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancientest home-borne writer, (cited and in whole sentences followed by *venerable Beda*, who termeth him the *Britaines historiographer*) in this of *Brute* is silent, and in his lamentable passions neuer dreames of him, but as one ouerwhelmed with griefe bewaileth the wickednesse of the time wherein he liued, who was born, as himselfe saith, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* first entrance, about the yeere of *Christs incarnation* 493. and died, as *Bale* citeth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 580. *Ninius* also another ancient writer, who liued aboue eight hundred yeeres since, taking in hand the *Chronicles* of the *Britaines*, complaineth that their great Masters and doctors could giue him no assistance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things passed, nor committed their acts vnto writing, whereby hee was inforced to gather what he had gotten from the *annals* and *Chronicles* of the holy *fathers*. *Beda* likewise, whose history ended in *anno* 733, beginneth no sooner then with *Iulius Cæsars* entrance; notwithstanding he had the assistance of the *Abbat Albinus*, who was brought vp vnder *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and had begun the history of this land with most diligent search from the records of the kingdome of *Kent*, and the prouinces adioining; as also being further assisted by *Daniel* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, who sent him all the records that were to be found of the same Bishoprick, *South-Saxons*, and the *ile of Wight*. The like helpes had he from *Abbat Esius*, for the country of *East-Angles*; from *Cymbertus* and the brethren of *Lastinge* for the prouince of *Mercia*, and *East-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lindisfarnum*, for the country of *Northumberland*; besides his owne paines in collections, knowledge and experience: all which he did digest and historically compile, and before the publication thereof sent it to king *Ceolulphe* at that time raigning in *Northumberland*, to be approued or corrected by his most learned skill: yet in none of these found he that history of *Brute* nor his successors, which as some would haue it, was then vnbegotten in the world.

Gildas.

Beda hist. Angli. lib. 1. cap 22. Gildas maketh no mention of Brute.

(16) After him *Elward*, as *William of Malmsburie* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himselfe) *Patricius Consul fabius Questor Ethelwerdus*, a diligent searcher of antiquities, a reuerend person, and of the blood roiall, wrote foure bookes, briefly comprising the whole history of *England*, from the beginning of the world vnto the time of king *Edgar* wherein he liued; of *Brute* nor his *Britaines* speaketh a word; but passeth with silence to the *Romans* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who died *anno* 1109. *Florentius of Worcester*, that florished in the daies of King *Henry the first*, or *William* of *Malmsbury*, that wrote vnto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geffrey of Monmouth*, but none of them mentioning this story of *Brute*. This moued *William of Newbourgh*, borne (as himselfe saith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raign, & liuing at one and the same time with this *Archdeacon of Monmouth*, too too bitterly to inueigh against him and his history, euen so soone as the same came foorth: as in the proeme of his booke is to

Bale out of Polydore. Ninius also saith nothing of him.

Beda hist. Angli. lib. 5 cap. 24. Beda beginneth but at Iulius Cæsar. Beda had the help of the Abbat Albinus.

Of Daniel Bishop of West-Saxons.

Of Abbat Essius.

Of Cymbertus and brethren of Læstinge. Of the brethren of Lindisfarnum.

The history of Brute not to be found in Beda his time. *Elward.*

Elward speaketh nothing of Brute. *Ingulphus.* Florentius of Worcester.

William of Malmsbury. All these writers before Geffroy and yet none mention Brute but he.

William of Newboroughs Chronicle inueighing againſt Ieffrey ap Arthur.

be ſeen. And that the words are his and not our own, take them from him as they lie. *In theſe our daies* (ſaith he) *there is a certaine writer riſen vp, deuiſing fictions and tales of the* Britaines *out of the vaine humors of his owne braine, extolling them far aboue the valorous* Macedonians, *or worthy* Romans; *his name is* Geffrey, *and may well aſſume the ſirname* Arthur, *whoſe tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the* Britaines, *and by his owne inuention augmented with many vntruths, foiling them ouer with a new colour of the* Latine *tongue, and hath inueſted them into the body of an hiſtory. Aduenturing further to diuulge vnder the name of autentick* propheſies, *deceitfull coniectures and foredeemings of one* Merline (*a Wizard*), *whereunto alſo he addeth a great deale of his owne.* And againe: *In his booke which he hath intituled the* Britaines Hiſtory, *how ſhameleſly, and with a bold countenance he doth lie, there is no man that readeth therein can doubt, vnleſſe he hath no knowledge at all in ancient true hiſtories; for hauing not learned the truth of things indeed, he admitteth without diſcretion and iudgement, the vanitie and vntruths of fables. I forbeare to ſpeake* (ſaith he) *what great matters this fellow hath forged of the* Britaines *acts before the* Empire *and comming in of* Cæſar. *Thus farre* Paruus.

Merline a wizard.

But I know the anſwer to this ſo great an accuſation: namely, that this *William* making ſuit vnto *Dauid ap Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of *North-wales*, for the Biſhoprick of *Saint Aſſaphs*, after the death of *Geffrey*, and thereof failing, falſly ſcandalized and impudently belied that moſt reuerend man. Which ſurely had been a great fault, and might of vs be beleeued, had not others of the ſame ranke and time, verified aſmuch.

A deuice to put by this William of Newburghs accuſation.

(17) For *Sylueſter Giraldus*, commonly called *Cambrenſis*, that flouriſhed in the ſame time with the ſaid author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous ſtory of Geffrey*. The like is verified by *Iohn Weathamſtead* Abbat of *Saint Albanes*, a moſt iudicious man that wrote in *anno* 1440. who in his *Granarie* giueth ſentence of this hiſtory as followeth. *The whole diſcourſe of* Brutus (ſaith he) *is rather poeticall, then hiſtoricall, and for diuers reaſons is built more vpon opinion then truth, firſt becauſe there is no mention thereof made in the* Romane *ſtory, either of his killing his father, or of the ſaid* birth, *or yet of baniſhing the ſonne. Secondly, for that* Aſcanius *begat no ſuch ſonne who had for his proper name* Syluius *by any approued Author: for according to them, he begat only one ſonne, and his name was* Iulius, *from whom the family of the* Iulii *tooke their beginning. And thirdly,* Syluius Poſthumus, *whom perhaps* Geffrey *meaneth; was the ſonne of* Aeneas *by his wife* Lauinia, *and he begetting his ſonne* Aeneas *in the thirty eighth yeer of his raigne ended his life by courſe of naturall death. The kingdome therfore now called* England, *was not heretofore, as many will haue, named* Britaine *of* Brutus *the ſonne of* Syluius. *Wherefore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble blood, and yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood only, that enobleth a nation; and it is the mind alſo with perfect vnderſtanding, and nothing els, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therefore* Seneca *writeth in his Epiſtles to* Plato; *that there is no King but he came from vaſſals, and no vaſſall but he came from Kings. Wherefore to conclude, let this ſuffice* (ſaith he) *that the* Britaines *from the beginning of their nobility haue been couragious and valiant in fight, that they haue ſubdued their enemies on euery ſide, and that they vtterly refuſe the yoke of ſeruitude.*

Deſcript. Camb. cap 7. He floriſhed in Anno 1210. Giraldus Cambrenſis calleth Brutus hiſtory the fabulous ſtory of Ieffrey.

Iohn Weathamſtead.

The diſcourſe of Brutus diſproued by *Iohn Weathamſtead.*

A ridiculous thing to vſurpe gentility.

Wiſedome the true nobility.

Seneca Epiſt. 44.

(18) Now that *William* of *Newborough*, had ſufficient cauſe (ſay ſome) to exclaime againſt the fantacies of *Merline*, and the fictions of *Arthur*, is made manifeſt in the ſequel, not only by the decree of that obtruded *Councell* of *Trent*, wherein was inhibited the publication of *Merlines books*; but alſo (in effect) by the ſtatute enacted the fifth yeere of our laſt deceaſed *Queene Elizabeth of bleſſed and immortall memorie*, wherein is forbidden ſuch fantaſticall predictions, vpon occaſions of *Armes, Fields, Beaſts, Badges, Cognizances*, or *Signets*, ſuch as *Merline* ſtood moſt vpon; and likewiſe *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith that *Arthur* being the only proppe that vpheld his country, deſerued rather to be aduanced by truth, then abuſed with fables wherewith that ſtory is moſt plentifully ſtored. And alſo, that *Weathamſtead* had reaſon to account *Brutes* acts and conqueſts, to be rather poeticall then any waies warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the ſilence of the *Romane* writers therein, who name neither *Brute* nor his father in the genealogie of the *Latine* Kings: and if any ſuch were, (ſaith the contradictors) how could they be ignorant of the vntimely death of their king, ſlaine by the hand of his naturall (though in this act vnnaturall) ſonne? or what ſhould moue them, being ſo lauiſh in their own commendations, to be thus ſilent in their *Brutes* worthineſſe, that with ſeuen thouſand diſperſed *Troians* warred ſo victoriouſly in *Gallia*, conquered a *kingdome of Giants*; ſubdued a moſt famous *Iland*, raigned glorioufly, and left the ſame to his poſterity; none of them, either in proſe or poetry once handled, but left to deſtiny to be preſerued by a long enſuing meanes, or to periſh in obliuion for euer? And ſurely this moued the whole ſenate of great Clerks to giue ſentence, that neuer any ſuch *Brute* raigned in the world; ſuch as were *Boccace, Viues, Hadrian Iunius, Polydore, Buchanan, Vignier, Genebrard, Molinaus, Bodine*, and others.

Merlines books inhibited.

An Act inhibiting fantaſticall predictions.

Malmesburies teſtimony of Arthur.

Brute not mentioned in the genealogie of the Latine Kings.

Neuer any ſuch king in the world as Brute. *Boccace, Viues, Hadrianus Junius, &c.*

(19) Yea, and there are ſome *Criticks* that faine would take aduantage from the defenders of *Brutes* hiſtory themſelues, as from *Sir Iohn Prys*, that produceth many vncertaine enſamples of the originall of other nations; which granted, (ſay they) doth no waies confirme the truth or certainty of our owne; neither is it any honour to deriue theſe *Britaines* from the ſcumme of ſuch conquered people as the *Troians* were. *Humfrey Lhuyd* likewiſe denying abſolutely the deriuation of the *Britaines* name from *Brute*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as we haue ſaid) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conqueſt of this *Iland* to their vnderſtanding, as alſo the catalogue of his ſucceſſors, which are ſaid to raigne ſucceſſiuely for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another induſtrious *Britiſh* writer, hauing the helpe of two moſt ancient *Britiſh* copies, the collections of *Caradock of Carnaruan*, their owne *Bardies* euery third-yeeres viſitation, and twenty ſeuen authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) beſides his helps had in the offices of *records* for this realme; yet aſcending no higher then to the perſon of *Cadwallader, Prince of Wales*, whoſe raign was in the yeere of *Chriſts* incarnation 682. and no leſſe then one thouſand ſeuen hundred twenty and ſixe yeeres, after that *Brute* is ſaid to come into this Iland, doth not warrant (ſay they) the ſtory that is included betwixt, but rather euen the ſame is enterlaced with many doubtfull vncertainties, and ſo left diſputable by the ſaid compiler himſelfe; as namely whether that this *Cadwallader* whom the *Britaines* claime to be their king, be not the ſame *Chedwald* whom the *Saxons* would haue theirs; both liuing at one *time*, both in *acts* alike, and *names* neere, both abandoning their *kingdomes*, both taking the *habit* of religion, both dying in *Rome*, both buried in one *Church*, nay, ſay they, in one *Sepulchre*. The like he bringeth of the *Britaines Iuor*, and the *Saxons Iue*, in the like coherences of *names, acts, deuotions*, and *deaths*: ſo that this hiſtory of *Brute* carieth not ſo ſmooth a current for paſſage as is wiſhed, nor is that *Gordeons* knot ſo eaſily vnlooſed.

The Critickes argument.

No honor to the Britans to be deriued from the Troians.

The Britaines hiſtories weakened by themſelues.

D. *Powell* beginneth his hiſtory of Wales but at Cadwallet.

Cadwallers ſtory alſo doubtfull.

Ran Cheſt.

Rob. Fabian.

Againe, the *Reformer* of the *Britiſh hiſtory* himſelfe, although he hath written one whole chapter in defence of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and ſtraineth to make his booke authenticall, complaining often and accuſing learned and vnpartiall *Cambden* ſeuerall times, for blowing away ſixty of the *Britaine* Kings with one blaſt: yet when he compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: *From* Porrex *to* Mynogen *are twenti one Kings in a lineall deſcent, and but yeers ninety two: now diuide* 92. *by* 21. *and you ſhall find, that children beget children, and theſe* (ſaith he) *by George Owen Harry* in his book of pedegrees dedicated *to his Maieſty appeareth to be in a lineall deſcent, beſides three or foure*

Iohn Lewis.

Maſter Cambden accuſed by the defender of Ieffrey of Monmouth.

A further diſproofe of Brutes hiſtory.

foure collaterals. And yet goeth further: *Though the Scripture* (saith hee) *allege* Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, *and* Ezekiah, *to be but yoong when they begat their sonnes, which* (*as* Rabbi Isack *saith*) *might be at thirteene yeeres of age: And although Saint* Augustine *say, that the strength of youth may beget children yoong; and* Hierome *bringeth instance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age begot a childe: yet this doth not helpe to excuse the mistaking of yeeres for the British Kings aboue mentioned.*

Aehaz he should haue said. Rabbi Isack. Aug. de ciuit. Dei, lib.16.cap.43. Hierom.

Thus far *Iohn Lewis:* and for the exceptions made against *Brute:* wherin I haue altogether vsed the words of others; and will now (without offense, I hope) adde a supposall of mine owne, seeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the onely *touch-stone* to the truth of histories, especially such as are limited by the bounds of the sacred *Scriptures*, as this for *Brutes* entrance is. And that the same cannot bee so ancient (supposing it were neuer so certaine) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumstance of time, to my seeming, sufficiently doth prooue.

The Authours owne opinion of Brutes historie.

(20) For *Brutes* conquest and entrance are brought by his Authour to fall in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Priesthood* in the Land of *Israel*, and so is fastned into a computation that cannot erre. Now the eighteenth yeere of *Helies* gouernment, by the holy *Scriptures* most sure account, is set in the yeere of the *worlds creation* 2887. after the *vniuersall flood* 1231. and before the *birth* of *our blessed Sauiour* 1059. yeeres. *Brute* then liuing in this foresaid time, was foure descents from the conquered *Troians*, (as he of *Monmouth* hath laid downe) which were *Æneas*, *Ascanius*, *Syluius*, and himselfe: so that by these generations succesiue in order, the very yeere almost of *Troys* destruction may certainly be pointed out and knowen: which in searching hath beene found so doubtful, that by some it hath beene thought to be a meere fable. Yet with more reuerence to antiquitie obserued, let vs cast and compare the continuance of these foure generations vnto *Brutes* Conquest, not shortning them with *Baruch*, to be but ten yeeres to an age; neither lengthning them with *Iosephus*, who accounteth one hundred and seuenty yeeres for a generation: but with more indifferencie let vs with *Herodotus*, who wrote neerer these times, allow thirty yeeres for a succession, as hee accounteth in his second booke. Now foure times thirty make one hundred and twenty, the number of yeeres that these foure Princes succesiuely did liue: by which computation likewise measured by *Scripture*, the ruination of *Troy* fell in the thirtie eighth yeere of *Gideons* gouernment in *Israel*, and was the yeere after the *worlds creation* 2768. But the authoritie of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, alleged out of *Menander*, *Pergamenus*, and *Letus*, destroieth that time of *Troies* destruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirtie yeeres after, euen in the raigne of King *Salomon*: for in his first booke *Stromat.n* thus he writeth: *Menelaus from the ouerthrow of Troy* came into *Phœnicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyrus gaue his daughter in mariage vnto* Salomon *King of* Israel. Where, by him we see, that *Troies* ruines and *Salomons* raigne fell both vpon one time. And so *Brute* hath lost of his antiquity, by this account, 230. yeeres; and entred not in *Helies* Priesthood, but rather in the vsurpation of *Iudahs* Kingdome by *Athalia*, and in the yeere of the world 3118.

1.Sam.4.18. Heli his priesthood in anno mundi 2887. Brutes conquest in the eighteenth of Heli his priesthood.

Baruch 6.2. Ioseph. contra Appion. lib.3. Herodotus in Euterpe.

Iudg.8.28. Clemens Alexand. Stromat.1. Menelaus returned from Troy when Hiram gaue his daughter in mariage to Salomon.

2. King. 11. 3. Brute his conquest rather in Athalia her time. Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib.1. & 2.

(21) To whom let vs ioine *Iosephus*, an Authour of great credit, and without suspicion in this case, who in his Nations defense against *Appion*, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himselfe able to proue by the *Phœnician* Records of warrantable credit, that *the City* Carthage *was built by* Dido, *sister to* Pigmalion, *one hundred fiftie and fiue yeeres after the raigne of King* Hiram, *which was* Salomons *friend, and one hundred forty three yeeres and eight moneths after the building of his most beautifull Temple.* Now wee know by *Virgil*, from whom all these glorious tales of *Troy* are told, that *Carthage* was in building by the same *Dido* at such time as *Æneas* came from *Troies* ouerthrow, through the Seas of his manifold aduentures. If this testimonie of *Iosephus* be true, then fals *Troies* destruction about the twentieth yeere of *Ioas* raigne ouer *Iudah*, which was the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3143. whereunto if we adde one hundred and twenty yeeres for the foure descents before specified, then wil *Brutes* conquest of this *Iland* fall with the twelfth of *Iothams* raigne in the Kingdome of *Iudah*, which meets with the yeere of the worlds continuance 3263. And so hath he againe lost of his antiquitie no lesse then 375. yeeres.

Phœnician records. Carthage built after King Hirams raigne 155. yeeres. Virg. Aeneidos lib.1. Tacitus annal. lib. 16.cap.1.

Brutes conquest rather in Iotham his time. 2.King. 15.32.

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into *Brutes* storie, and to set the time, in a point so vncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be trulie drawen; *Manethon* the *Historian Priest* of *Egypt*, in his second booke cited by *Iosephus*, affirmeth that the *Israelites departure from* Egypt *was almost a thousand yeeres before the warres of* Troy. If this be so (as it seemeth *Iosephus* alloweth it so) and one hundred and twenty yeeres more added, for the foure descents aboue mentioned, the number will fall about the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3630. long after the death of *Alexander the Great*, and *Greeke Monarch*. By which account the great supposed antiquity of *Brute*, is now lessened by seuen hundred fiftie and two yeeres; and the time so scantelized betwixt his and *Cesars* entrance, that two hundred forty six yeeres onely remaine: a time by much too short for seuenty two Princes, which succesiuely are said to raigne each after others, and from *Brute* to *Cesar* recorded to haue swaied the regall Scepter of this *Iland*.

Manethon cited by Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib.2. Israelites depart from Egypt 1000. yeeres before the warres of Troy, by Iosephus account. Ioseph. cont. Appion. lib.1. Brutes conquest rather after Alexander the great.

Two hundred forty six yeeres a time too short for the raigne of seuenty two Kings.

(23) But vnto these obiections I know the answer will be ready; namely, the diuersities of *Scriptures* account, being so sundrie and different, that the storie of *Brute* cannot thereby bee touched, but still standeth firme vpon it selfe. Indeed I must confesse, that from the first *Creation*, to the yeere of mans *Redemption*, the learned *Hebrewes*, *Greekes*, and *Latines*, differ much, and that not only each from others, but euen among themselues so farre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by these seuerall computations may be seene, as followeth:

A supposed answer.

Hebrewes:	*Baal Seder-Holem* —	3518.
	Talmundistes —	3784.
	New Rabbins —	3760.
	Rabbi Nahsson —	3740.
	Rabbi Leui —	3786.
	Rabbi Moses Germidist —	4058.
	Iosephus —	4192.
Greekes:	*Metheodorus* —	5000.
	Eusebius —	5190.
	Theophilus Antioch —	5476.
Latines:	*Saint Hierome* —	3941.
	Saint Augustine —	5351.
	Isidore —	5210.
	Orosius —	5190.
	Beda —	3952.
	Alphonsius —	5984.

The great differences in computation of yeers among Writers.

And yet doe these disagreements helpe little the *Obiectors* if this be considered, that the maine foundation of these diuersities consisteth chiefly in the *first world* before the *Flood*, wherein it is manifest, that the reputed *Septuagint* addeth to the *Hebrew Originall* fiue hundred eighty and six yeeres. And from the *Flood* to *Abrahams* birth, is accounted two hundred and fiue yeeres more then *Moses* hath. As likewise the like is done in the latter times: for from the *Captiuitie* of *Babylon* to the death of *Christ*, one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres are added, more then the Sunnes course hath measured: so that it seemeth the differences were not great for the times of *Heli*, *Salomon*, nor *Iudahs* Kings, in whose raignes *Brute* is brought to people and possesse this *Iland*. But leauing these diuersities, and to come to a certaintie, let vs calculate the yeeres of the *holy historie* according as *Functius*, *Beroaldus*, and sundry other *Theologicke Chronologers*

These differences were chiefly before the Flood. Septuagint.

Ioseph. Antiquit. lib.3.cap.7.

Functius. Beroaldus.

The accounting of yeeres by the Scripture is a most sure maner of computation.

nologers haue done; who from the *Scriptures* most sure account, so tie the stories of times together, that like to a golden chaine, the linkes are fastned each to other, and the whole so compleat, that a yeere is not missing from the *fall of man*, vnto the full time of his *redemption*.

From the creation to the flood 1656.

From the flood to the seuentie fifth of *Abrahams* life 427.

Iosh. 24.2.

From the promise to *Abraham*, till the *Law*, 430. Galath. 3.17.

From the *Law*, to *Salomons Temple*, 480. 1.King.6.1.

From the foundation of the Temple, to *Salomons* death, 36. yeeres. 1.King.11.42.

From *Salomons* death, to the burning of the Temple, 390. yeeres. 2.King.25.8. Ezc.4.v.2.& 5.

From the burning of the Temple, to the end of *Iudahs* captiuity, 51. yeeres. Ier.25.11. Isa.45.1. 2. Chron. 36. 21.22.23. Ezra 1.1.2.

From the first yeere of *Cyrus*, vnto the death of Christ, 490. yeeres.

Dan.9.24.

(24) First then from the *Creation* to the *Flood* are reckoned yeeres 1656. gathered by a triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is thence obserued for foure hundred twentie and seuen yeeres, that is, to the seuentie fifth of *Abrahams* life, wherein God began to tie the times accounts in holier summes: for *Terah*, the first recorded *Idolater*, was the last in honour that had the *Sunnes* course measured by mans life. And now the bounds of time tie the *Promise* to *Abraham*, to bee before the *Law* foure hundred and thirty yeeres, as the *Apostle* to the *Galathians* affirmeth. From the *Law* to the *building* of *Salomons Temple*, and that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, were yeeres foure hundred and eightie: and from that *foundation*, to his *death*, were thirtie six yeeres: for his whole raigne was fortie. From his *death* and Kingdomes diuision, vnto the burning of that *Temple*, which was executed in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel*, were yeeres three hundred and ninetie, as by the daies of *Ezekiels* siege and sleepe appeareth in the *second* and *fifth* verses of his *fourth Chapter*. From the burning of the *Temple*, to the end of *Iudahs captiuitie*, were yeeres *fiftie* and *one*, for the whole time of *Babels* bondage contained seuenty yeeres, as *Ieremy* 25.11. whereof nineteene were expired; and fifty one remaining vnto the first yeere of *Cyrus* their *deliuerer*, whom the Lord in that regard calleth *his annointed Isay*.45.1. In the *first* yeere of whose *Monarchie* he published an *Edict* for the returne of the *Iewes* and new building of their *Temple*, as in the books of *Chronicles* and of *Ezra* is seene. And from this *first* yeere and *proclamation* of King *Cyrus*, vnto the last yeere and death of *Christ our Sauiour* the great yeere of *Iubilie*, *the acceptable time*, wherein *he troad the winepresse alone*; to the finishing of the *ceremonies*, the taking away of sinne, the reconciling of iniquity, the bringing in of *euerlasting righteousnesse*, to the sealing vp of *vision* and *prophecie*, and to the *anointing* of the *most holy*; were yeeres *foure hundred and ninety*, as the Prophet *Daniel* from the *Angell Gabriel* receiued, and vnto vs hath deliuered *Dan.* 9.24. all which added together make the number to be *three thousand nine hundred and threescore yeeres*. And by this said *computation*, I haue accounted *Brutes* story, as all others wherein I shall bee occasioned to speake.

(25) Lastly, if from among these misty cloudes of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that we will needs haue our descents from the *Troians*; may wee not then more truly deriue our blood from them through the *Romanes*, who for the space of foure hundred threescore and six yeeres were planted amongst vs? in which continuance it is most certaine, they tooke of our women to be their wiues, and gaue their women to be wiues vnto vs, seeing that some of their Emperors did the like themselues, and from whose blood, saith *Beda*, the *Britaines Ambrosius* lineally descended. And if beauty and parts be the instigaters vnto loue, as in the first world we see it was, no doubt then the features of the *Britains* were mouing Angels vnto the *Romanes*, whose faces euen in those times were accounted to be angelicall, and whose personages as yet, are respected as the best (if not better) then any other in the world. But that the *Romans* themselues descended from the *Troians*, or *AEneas* should be the roote of the *Iulian* family, howsoeuer the fictions of Poets as a spring tide haue flowed from the fulnesse of their pennes, yet *Tacitus* their best writer accounteth those things not far vnlike to old fables, wherein he iudgeth that *Nero* to win credit before the Consuls, and to get reputation in the glory of eloquence vndertooke the pleading of the *Ilienses* cause, declaring the *Romanes* descent from *Troy*: and the *Iulij* from the loines of *AEneas*, which notwithstanding he censureth as is said. And *Iosephus* in the dispersion of *Noahs* sonnes and families, affirmeth that *Romus* was the *Originall* of the old *Romanes* and he of *Chus*, and *Cham*, if he meane as he speaketh. To conclude; (by what destiny I know not) nations desire their originals from the *Troians*; yet certaine it is, that no honor from them can be brought, whose city and fame stood but for six descents, as vnder the raignes of *Dardanus*, *Erithonius*, *Troos*, *Ilion*, *Laomedon*, and *Priamus*, during which time they were thrice vanquished; twice by *Hercules* in the daies of *Laomedon*, and the third time rased by the rage of the *Grecians* in the raigne of King *Priamus*, and the *Troians* themselues made as it were the scum of a conquered people. And therefore as *France* hath cast off their *Francio* King *Priamus* his sonne, *Scotland* their *Scotia* King *Pharaoes* daughter, *Denmarke* their *Danus*, *Ireland* their *Hiberus*, and other Countries their *Demi-gods*; so let BRITAINES likewise with them disclaime their BRVTE, that bringeth no honour to so renowned a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glorie in the murders of his parents, and imbaseth their descents, as sprung from *Venus* that lasciuious Adultéresse.

Britaines may more truly deriue their descent from *Troy* by the *Romanes*. *Britains* tooke wiues of the *Romanes*, and they of the *Britaines*. *Beda hist. Angliæ. lib.1.cap.16.* Gen.6.1.

Romanes to bee discended of the *Troians* is a fable. *Tacit.ann.12.12.*

Iosephus.1.7. *Romus* the originall of the old *Romanes*.

To haue a descēt from *Troy*, cannot be an honour to any Nation. *Troians* thrice vanquished.

Brute embaseth the descent of the *Britaines*.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IV.

HAuing thus farre spoken of the ancient Names of this famous *Iland*, and of the Nations acknowledged to bee the first Planters and Possessors thereof; it remaineth that somewhat be mentioned of the *Manners* and *Customes* of those people and times, though not so pleasing or acceptable as were to be wished, for that the clouds of ignorance and barbarous inciuilitie did then shadow and ouer-spread almost all the Nations of the earth: wherein I desire to lay imputation no further then is sufficiently warranted by most autenticke Writers: and first from *Cesar*, who formost of all the *Romanes* discouered and described our ancient *Britaines*.

(2) Touching their persons: *All the Britaines* (saith *Cesar*) *vsed to die themselues with woad, which setteth a blew colour vpon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in battle.* But *Pomponius Mela* therein moueth

Of their Persons. *Cæs. Comment. li.5.* where hee vseth the word *luteus*

ueth a doubt. They died their bodies (saith he) with *woad*; but whether to make a gallant shew, or for what other cause else is vncertaine. And yet *Herodian* herein absolutely determineth, where hee saith, that the *Britaines* knew no vse of *garments* at all, but about their wastes and neckes wore chaines of iron; supposing them a goodly ornament, and a proofe of their wealth: and their bare bodies they marked with sundry pictures representing all manner of liuing creatures; and therefore they would not be clad; for hiding the gay paintings of their bodies. To which painting *Pliny* also agreeth, and describeth that hearbe *woad*, to bee like to the *Plantine* in *Gallia*, naming it *Glastum*, with the iuice whereof (saith he) the *women* of *Britaine*, as well wiues as yoong women, anoint and die their bodies all ouer, resembling by that tincture the colour of the *Æthiopians*, in which manner they vse at solemne feasts and sacrifices to goe all naked. And *Dio Niceus* out of the epitome of *Xiphilinus*, saith, that the custome of that Nation was, to abide in tents all naked and vnshod. Notwithstanding, *Cesar* doth elsewhere report, that they clad themselues in leather, which perchance is meant of the ciuiller sort of them, and in time of battle. *Solinus* likewise speaking of the *Britaines*, saith, their Country is peopled partly with *Barbarians*, who by meanes of artificiall incisions of sundry formes, haue from their childhood diuers shapes of beasts incorporate vpon them; and hauing their markes deepely imprinted within their bodies, looke how their growth for stature, so doe these pictured characters likewise increase. Neither do these sauage Nations repute any thing a greater testimonie of their patience, then by such durable skarres to cause their limmes drinke in much painting and colour. These skarres by *Tertullian* are tearmed *Britannorum stigmata*, *The Britaines markes*. And vnto this skie-colour, or blewish dyings, it seemeth *Martial* had relation in his praises of Lady *Claudia*:

Claudia cæruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis,
Edita cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Sith Claudia comes of Azurde Britaines race,
Whence comes her minde so deckt with Roman grace?

And of this vse of *painting*, as our great *Antiquarie* iudgeth, both the *Britaines* had their primitiue deriuation, and the *Picts* (a branch of British race) a long time after, for that their accustomed manner, were called *Picti* by the *Romanes*, that is, the *painted* people.

(3) The haire of their heads, saith *Cesar*, they let grow, and wore long, which naturally was curled, and of colour yellow, (as in the Panegyricke Oration ascribed to *Mamertinus*, and spoken in praise of *Maximianus*, is to be seene) all other parts of their bodies being shauen, sauing only the head and vpper lippe. Yet their complexions were much different, as by *Tacitus* wee see, who auoucheth that some of those *Ilanders* were red of haire, as the *Caledonians* in the Northerne Promontories; the haire of the *Silures* coloured and curled, like to the old *Spaniards*; and those neerest vnto *Gallia* resembled their complexions, though not altogether so yellow, saith *Strabo*. But their *wit* by *Tacitus* is preferred before them, and their statures more tall, as *Strabo* affirmeth, whose lineaments shewed a good making of body, and measurable proportion in all parts answerable. Their *women* faire, and of exceeding good features, as is described by the *Romane* Writers. Such was *Boudicea*, saith *Xiphilinus*; *Claudia* and *Helena*, saith *Martial* and *Eutropius*.

(4) That the strength of nature wrought long in the *Britaines*, we read out of *Plutarch*, who reporteth that the people liued one hundred and twenty yeeres, for that, saith he, their cold and frozen Country kept in their naturall heat: whose conditions by *Diodorus Siculus* are commended to be plaine and vpright, farre from the wilinesse and craft of the *Romanes*. And by *Strabo* their dispositions are partly resembled to the *Gaules*, but yet somewhat more rude and plaine; and those most ciuill, who were the inhabitants of *Kent*, by reason of their oftner conuersing with other Nations, as *Cesar* sheweth. But the farther from the continent, the more rude, and lesse acquainted with other kind of riches besides cattell, as *Pomponius Mela* affirmeth.

(5) Now touching their domestick matters. *Their buildings were many, and like to them of the* Gaules *saith* Iulius Cæsar; *notwithstanding they giue the name of Townes to certaine combersome woods, which they haue fortified with rampires and ditches, whither they retreat, and resort to eschue the inuasions of their enemies.* Which stand them in good stead, saith *Strabo*: for when they haue by felling of trees, mounted, and fenced therewith a spacious round plot of ground; there they build for themselues houses and cottages, and for their cattell set vp stalls and folds, but those for the present vse onely, and not for long continuance. Which, as *Diodorus Siculus* saith were vsually thacked with *reed*; but the cities without walls, and the country without townes, as *Dion* describeth the *Calidonians* and *Meats*.

(6) Their *wiues* were ten or twelue a peece, as *Cæsar* hath alledged, which they held common among brothers and parents, yet the issue reputed his, who first maried the mother when she was a maide: and *Dio* indeed affirmeth no lesse, adding withall, that the children thus begotten, were fostred and brought vp in common among them. And *Eusebius* likewise testifieth, that many *Britaines* together kept one wife in common to them all. This community in mariage moued *Iulia* the Empresse of *Seuerus*, to twite the wife of *Argetexaxus*, that the fashion of the women of *Britaine* in accompanying with men, was very impudent; to whom she replied and said, *we British women do indeed herein differ from you* Roman *Ladies; for wee satisfie our appetite, by accompanying with the worthiest men, and that openly, but you with euery base fellow, in a corner.*

(7) For their diet; it was a heinous matter with them to eat either *Hen*, *Hare*, or *Goose*, saith *Cæsar*, which notwithstanding they bred for their pleasures; neither fed daintily at full and rich tables, as *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, but rather in necessity could liue vpon barkes and roots of trees, and with a kind of meat no bigger then a beane, after which for a good time they did neither hunger nor thirst, saith *Dio Niceus*: who likewise testifieth that the *Britains*, did till no ground, neither eat *fish*, though their riuers thereof be pleneously stored, but liue vpon prey, venison, and fruits: to which also *Cæsar* addeth *milke*, whereof (saith *Strabo*), they had not then skill to make *cheese*. And according to *Solinus*, their vsuall drinke was made of *barley*. But for *tillage* *Pliny* seemeth to contradict *Dio*, affirming that the *Britaines* manured their grounds with *Marle* in stead of dung; which argueth no such simplicity in gardening, planting, and in other like points of husbandry as *Strabo* doth taxe them with. And this foresaid temperance of diet differeth much from that, which *Saint Hierome* chargeth their neighbors the *Anthropophagi* of *Ireland*, who vsed to feed on the buttocks of *boies*, and womens paps, as their most dainty and delicate dish.

(8) For their *religion*, or rather diabolicall superstition, was as the rest of the world, (some few excepted) when *Satan* had clouded the truth of *Gods* doctrine, by the foggy mists of confused darknesse. For *Tacitus* makes their superstitions, and ceremonies to be the same in conformity with the *Gaules*. And what that was, *Dio Cassius* in his *Nero*, and *Solinus* in his history, doe declare; who doe ascribe to them the most inhumane offering of mans flesh in their sacrifices. And besides their ancient Idols, such as *Dis*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the like, they worshipped *Andates* for their Goddesse of *Victory*, vnto all which they performed no small adorations and honors, imputing their prosperities vnto them: vnto whom also they erected temples with such magnificence as they then had; whose walles, as it seemeth, long after remained, whereon some of those prophane portraitures with deformed lineaments were seene by mournfull *Cil-*

Herodian.

Pliny also addeth another ornament, and saith that the Britains wore *rings* on their middle finger.

The Britaines would not be clad, because they would shew the gay paintings of their bodies.

Plinie.

Oribasius calleth that herb, *Vitrum*; and the Britains call that colour, *glasse*: whence our English word glasse, (called also *Vitrum* in Latin) may seem to be taken, by reason of the colour thereof.

Dio Niceus.

Cæsar.

Some Britains clad in leather.

Solinus.

Tertullian. *Britannorum stigmata.*

Martial.

Master Cambden.

Picts of the British race.

Called Picti of their painted bodies.

Cæsar.com.

Mamertinus.

Tacitus in vit. Agricolæ.

Caledonians the Northern people.

Silures the Westerne.

Tacitus.

Strabo.

Xiphilinus. *Martial.* *Eutropius.*

Plutarch.

They liued to a great age.

Diodorus Siculus.

Strabo.

Cæsar.

These Britaines in Kent the ciuill left.

Pomponius Mela.

Of their domestick matters.

Cæsar.

The Britaines townes are their woods being fortified.

Strabo.

Diodorus Siculus.

Dion.

The Britains multiplicity of wiues.

Cæsar.

Dio.

Eusebius Euang. præparat. lib.

Iulia her reproofe to a British woman.

The answer.

Dion. Cass. lib. 76.

The Britains diet. Prohibited meats.

Cæsar.

Diodo. Siculus.

The Britaines of a very spare diet.

Dio Niceus.

They eat no fish.

Cæsar.

Vnskilfull to make cheese.

Strabo.

Their drinke of barley.

Solinus.

Plinie.

Strabo.

Hierom aduersus Iouinianum lib. 3.

Of their religion and learning.

Dio Cassius.

Solinus.

The Britaines inhumane sacrifices.

The names of their Idols.

Gildas.

The Britains Idols exceed Ægipt for number.

Plinie. Magick highly honored of the Britaines.

Cæsar.com.6.

The Druides determine almost all controuersies.

Excommunication of great force in the time of the ancient Britaines.

Among the Druides one Primat and chiefe ouer the rest.

They assemble once a yeere at a place in France to heare controuersies.

Here appeareth, that Academies were then amongst the Britans, and from their example deriued into other countries.

They are exempted from war.

Their schollers must learne a great many verses by heart.

They vse the Greek letters lest their skill should be too common.

Their Theology is, that the soule dieth not, but passeth from one to another.

das, carrying a sterne and grim countenance, after the wonted heathenish manner: *here see we* (saith he) *vpon these desert walles, the vgly features of the Britains Idols, meerly diabolicall, and in number almost exceeding those of* Egypt. So by *Tacitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentiles*, which was that they sought for the direction of their *Gods* by the looking into the entralls of *Beasts*, yea and of men too; and that they honored the Altars of their Gods with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captiue in wars. And *Plinie* writing of *Magick*, saith, that in his daies the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honored, and all the people thereunto so much deuoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to be performed, that a man would thinke the *Persians* had learned all their *Magick* skill from them. *Priests* and instructers had they, whereof the chiefe were called *Druides*, whose office was imploied about holy things, saith *Cæsar*; for they had the managing of publike and priuate sacrifices, and to interpret and discusse matters of religion. Vnto them doe resort great numbers of yong men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reuerence. For they determine almost all controuersies, and matters in variance, as well publike as priuate. And if there happen any thing to be done amisse, if there be any murther committed, if there rise any controuersie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, and award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, be he priuate person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their iudgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grieuous. They that are so excommunicated are accounted in the number of the wicked and vngratious: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communication, lest by conuersing with them, they should defile themselues and receiue harme. If they demand law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any place of honor. Ouer all these *Druides* there is one *Primate*, which hath chiefe authority ouer them. When he is dead if there be any of the rest that excelleth in worthinesse, he succeedeth: or if there be any equall, he is chosen by voices of the rest, and diuers times they striue for the soueraignty by force of armes.

These men at a certaine season of the yeere, in the borders of the *Carnutes* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) do sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as haue any controuersies: and looke what is decreed and iudged by them, that they stand vnto. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in *Britaine*, and from thence to haue been brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, do commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* customably are exempted from the wars, neither do they pay taxes and tallages with other folke: for they are priuiledged as from the warres, so from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their owne accord, do register themselues in that order, and diuers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it commeth to passe, that diuers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither do they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other things, for their accounts, as well publike as priuate, they vse the Greek letters.

This order they seeme (in mine opinion) saith he, to haue taken for two considerations: partly because they will not haue their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learne, trusting too much to their bookes, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well neere to most men, that vpon trust of the helpe of their *booke*, they are slacker in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chiefest things that they labour most to beat into mens minds, that the *Soules* die not, but do after death passe from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should be most stirred vnto virtue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispute many other things: as of the starres, and of their mouings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength and power of the goddes immortall: and do therein instruct the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremq; siniſtrum
Sacrorum, Druida, poſitis repetiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſce Deos & Cæli ſydera vobis
Aut ſolis neſcire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis Lucis. Vobis autoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitæ Erebi ſedes Ditiſq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt. Certè populi quos deſpicit Arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud vrgent lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq; capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt reditura parcere vitæ.

In Englisth thus.

You (Druides) *free from wars, with barbarous deuices*
Siniſtrous rites performe, and vncouth ſacrifices.
High Myſteries, of God, and Heauens, you only know;
Or only erre therein. Where ſhady woods doe grow;
There you repoſe, and teach, that Soules immortall be;
Nor ſilent Erebus, *nor* Plutoes *Hall ſhall ſee.*
And, (if your Sawes be ſooth) Death is no finall dome,
But only Mid-way, twixt life paſt, and life to come.
Braue Britain *bloods perdi! warmd with this happy error,*
Death (greateſt feare of feares) amates thē with no terror.
Hence t'is, they manly ruſh on pikes, and grieſly death,
And ſcorne baſe minds, that ſtick to ſpēd reuiuing breath.

Their naturall Philosophie.

Lucan.

(9) These *Britaines* being meerly barbarous, as most of the Western parts of the world then were, liued priuately to themselues with scarce any commerce, or entercourse with any other nation: neither indeed were much known to forraine people, for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greek writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres, about the yeere of the *worlds creation* 3720. and two hundred and nine, before the *birth* of *our Sauiour Christ*. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to be plenteously stored with *Tynne*: but of other things therin is silent, saying that al those parts which lay betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbor* bending Northward in his daies were vnknown and vncertaine, and therefore the reporters of them he held as dreamers. So doth *Master Cambden* another *Polybius*, & no way his inferior, account it a prodigall humor of credulity, to be perswaded that *Himilco*, from the state of *Carthage* sent to discouer the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should war in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Eclogues* of his tenth booke saith that he was inclosed within the streits of *Britaine*, which place is mistaken for the *Brutij* in *Italy*: or that *Alexander* came from the *East Indians*, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cedrenus* say so, seeing all other writers are against it; or that *Vlysses*, (ancient enough if he be that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*) should visit *Britaine* in his trauels, whereof *Brodæus* maketh doubt; though *Solinus* report that an Altar in *Caledonia* was erected, and *Vlysses* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be: for who doubteth but that the *Greekes*, in their vaine deuotions, did both build and sacrifice vnto their Gods, which they made of their worthiest men? and sith *Vlysses*, (in regard of his farre sea-trauels) was had in speciall account among all nauigators, why might not such monuments be reared, and his name inscribed, as farre as the *Grecians* trauelled, though his person neuer came there?

Of their commerce and traffick.

Polybius the first that tooke notice of this land.

Polyb. lib. 3.

Cambd. Britannia de moribus Britan.

Matters scarse to be beleeued.

That Himilco entred this Iland.

Polyb. Eclog. lib. 10.

That Hannibal should war here.

That Alexander came hither.

That Vlysses should visit Britaine.

And if the *Romanes*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately known in those ancient

The like examples we haue now of *Cap. Henry. &c.*

The Romans not mentioned either by Thucydides or Herodotus.

ent times, as that neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yea and with much adoe at last were heard of by the *Grecians* themselues: as *Iosephus* affirmeth; And if the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many yeeres together were vtterly vnknowen to the worlds historiographers; shall we then thinke, that this remote *Iland*, and people then far from ciuility, were noted foorth with markes of more certainty? surely to my seeming, nothing lesse: seing that their next neighbours the *Gaules* knew not so much as what manner of men they were: none resorting thither, except some few merchants, and they no further, then vpon the sea coasts, neither able to describe the bigneſle of the *Iland*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for war, the lawes that they vsed, the customes of the people, nor their hauens for the receit of ships; all which *Cæsar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purposely to search it out.

Iosiph. contra Appion. lib. 1. Gaules and Spaniards for many yeeres vnknown to Historiographers.

The Britains vnknown to their next neighbors. *Cæsar com. lib. 4.*

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to bee wondred at, seeing the entercourse of their trafficke was vpheld by so meane commodities: for *Strabo* saith, that their merchandizing chiefly consisted in Iuory Boxes, Sheeres, Onches, Bits, and Bridles, Wreaths & Chains, with other conceits made of Amber and Glasse; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and impostes vnto *Octauian Augustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

Their merchandize of small vse. *Strabo.*

(11) And as their commodities were very mean, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that Ships were first inuented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I haue cause to doubt, that Art being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the Arke, and no doubt practised by that paterne of many others. But that the ancient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable vse, though of simple Art, *Cæsar* testifieth, saying, *that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and couered ouer with leather:* which kinde the now-*Britaines* call *Corraghs:* and *with them* (saith *Polyhistor*) *they did saile betwixt Britannie and Ireland*, (which sea for roughnesse and danger may bee compared with any other whatsoeuer) *though the bulke of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, couered with the hides of Buffiles: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they abstaine from meat:* whereby it seemeth they neuer sailed any great iourneys. And of this their shipping *Pliny* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

Their shipping very meane. Ships first inuented in Britaine, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this Iland according to Cæsar.

Plinie and Lucan of the ships of this Iland.

Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, paruam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoq; induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem:
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoq; Britannus,
Nauigat Oceano.——

At first, of hoary sallowes wreathed boughs, the ships
Small bulke is trimly twist, and clad in bullocks hide:
Then, patient to be rul'd, on swelling waues she skips.
Thus on the spacious Poe the Venice Merchants glide,
And Britaine Pilots saile on surge of Ocean wide.

But after-times brought the *Britaines* to more exquisite skill in nauall affaires, insomuch as the royall Nauie of this Kingdome hath beene reputed (and so is at this day) not only the inuincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of al other Kingdoms, which haue or shall enuy our happie peace: and the aduentures likewise of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world vnsearcht.

(12) And their trafficke amongst themselues was not of much worth, in that, as *Cæsar* saith, *the Coines which they had were either of brasse, or else iron rings sized at a certaine waight, which they vsed for their monies.* Of which kind some haue auerred they haue seene found and lately taken vp in little cruses or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more ciuill, and trafficke more frequent, they shortly after stamped both *siluer* and *gold*; and thereon the faces of their *Kings*, euen in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, who was the first that had his owne

Cæsar.

The Britaines coines.

The first Romane coynes with

stampt on the *Romane Coynes*. Many of these are amongst vs remaining, whereof I haue inserted some few, as in their due places shall follow, which I receiued from the liberall hand of that most learned Knight, and worthy storer of Antiquities *Sir Robert Cotton* of *Cumington*. These *Coynes* are commonly imbossed outward and shield-like, whereon the *inscription*, or *face*, is seen; the reuerse hollow, and therein their *deuise* set: and by these formes are they known to be the *Britaines*, no other nation stamping the like, except some few among the Grecians.

Kings image were in Cæsars time.

Sir Robert Cotton.

The marks to know Britaish coynes from forraine.

(13) We come lastly, to speake of the manner of their warfare, which *Cæsar* thus describeth. First (saith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, casting off their darts: and often times with the terrible noise of their horses, and the ratling of their chariot wheeles, they amaze the enemy and breake their array. And when they haue wound themselues in among the troopes of horsemen, they leape foorth of their waggons, and fight on foot. In the meane while the waggoners withdraw themselues somewhat out of the battell, and set their waggons in such order, that if they be ouercharged by the enemy, they may haue speedy and easie recourse vnto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remoue as the horsemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and supply both duties in one. And they are come to such perfectnesse by daily practice and exercise, that euen in steepe and falling places they will stop their horses running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a short roome, & run vpon the vergies, and stand stedfastly vpon the beames, and quickly recouer themselues back againe into the waggons.

Of their warres. *Cæsar com. 4.*

They amaze the enemy with the ratling of their chariot wheeles.

These would often giue ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, and then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept also such an order in fighting on horseback, that whether the enemies chased, or were chased, they were alwaies in danger. For they neuer fought in great companies together, but scatteringly a great way distant the one from the other, and had stals lying in diuers places one to supply another, hauing euer fresh and lusty men in the roomes of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* also declareth; and *Diodorus Siculus* saith that the *Britaines* liued after the manner of the first age of the world, vsing chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greeks* at the *Troian* warres. *Pomponius Mela* also describing these *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not only with horsemen and footmen, but also with waggons and chariots, harnessed, and armed at the ends of the axle-trees with hookes and sithes, after the manner of the *Gaules*; but with apparance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* saith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their strength in field consisteth most of footmen, yet some countries there are (saith he) that war in waggons, the greatest persons guiding the same; and so much doth *Iuuenal* intimate, who in shew of prophecie but indeed in flattery of the Emperor *Domitian*, salutes him after this manner.

Cæsar. com. 5.

They fight not in great companies together.

They haue euer fresh men in the roomes of them that are weary. *Strabo.*

Diodorus Siculus.

The Britaines fight in chariots as the vse was in the worlds first age.

Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus.

Their chiefe strength consists in footmen.

Iuuenal.

It boads thee Triumph great; to captiuate some King;
Or fierce Aruiragus *from Chariots beame to ding.*

Dio Nicæus from *Xiphilinus* more particularly declareth their strength; *Their horses* (saith he) *are but little, yet therewithall swift of pace: their footmen also run very speedily, but in their standing are the strongest: their armor are shields, and short speares, in the nether end whereof is fastned a round bell of brasse like vnto a ball, which at the first onset of incounter they shake with great courage*, supposing that such a ratling noise doth much amate the enemy. And *Herodian* saith *that their shields were narrow* and *speares short, wearing swords hanging down their naked loines, hauing neither knowledge nor vse either of corslet or helmet.*

Dio.

Their footmen run swiftly.

Their armor.

Herodian.

(14) Some haue thought that their women also were not exempted from the wars; but certaine it is that many of that sex were renowned for their valour amongst them. Which made *Tacitus* to say, *it was vsu-*

Many British women renowned for valour. *Tacitus.*

all

all for the Britains *to fight vnder the conduct of women*, (which the *Romans* found to their ſmart) *nor to make any difference of ſexes for gouernment*. A more noble patterne whereof, neuer had any age, then in our late glorious Virgin Queen, (the wonder of her ſexe, and of al future ages,) who, as ſhe was inferior to no Prince euer liuing, for her admirable gouernment in vpholding of her kingdomes peace, ſo was ſhe a match (to ſay no more) to the proudeſt monarchs, in her managing of her wars; as (when occaſion was offered) ſhe was ready to make good, in her owne roiall perſon in the field. But beſides the vſe of armes, the ancient Britiſh women had another imploiment in the field, which I will only ſet downe in *Tacitus* his words, ſpeaking of *Paulinus Suetonius* his aſſailing of *Angleſcy*: *The Britiſh Army* (ſaith he) *ſtood on the ſhore, thicke of men and munition, and women running vp and downe amongſt them, like furies, carrying burning firebrands in rufull attire, and with their haire hanging about their ſhoulders. The* Druides *meane while went with their hands lift vp to heauen, pouring out praiers and imprecations.* The ſtrangeneſſe of which ſight ſo amazed the *Roman* ſouldiers, that they ſtood ſtill like ſtocks, whiles the other wounded them at their pleaſure; till *Paulinus* encouraged them, and they excited one another, not to be ſo danted by an army of *women* and *wizards*. &c.

Queen Elizabeth a glorious virgin Queen.

A moſt valorous Princeſſe in war.

Tacitus.

The Britiſh womens rufull attire and the Druides behauiour in praier amaze the Roman ſouldiers.

(15) In the relations of theſe things, let no man thinke, that the glory of theſe ancient and warlike nation of *Britains*, is any waies diſparaged, or made inferior to them that would be more famous, whoſe beginning haue been as meane, and ſtate as rude, if not more. For let vs conſider the *Romans* ſo lauiſh in their owne worths and greatneſſe; who notwithſtanding, bring their name and originall from *Romulus*, a baſtard by birth, nouriſhed by a beaſt, educated among a ſort of ruſtick ſhepheards: and grown to the ripeneſſe of his owne affections, he became ring-leader of a damned crue, that liued by robberies and without lawes: beſides the ſhedding of his naturall brothers blood, as *Titus Liuie* their owne hiſtorian witneſſeth: and both himſelfe and followers, had in ſuch contempt and deriſion by their neighbour nations, that they both diſdained and refuſed to giue them their daughters in mariage, leſt in time they alſo ſhould become lawleſſe, vntill that by ſubtilty and force, they had rauiſhed their virgins, and thereby made them vnworthy of other matches. Yet when their after fortunes and ſucceſſe had mounted them vpon the wings of glory, and ſeated them on the necks of their ſubdued neighbors, their *Cæſars* would needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees muſt lineally be brought from the Gods.

The Romans derive their name from an infamous perſon.

Titus Liuius, &c.

(14) And, to let paſſe many others, the like may be ſaid of the beginners of the *Scythian* and *Turkiſh* Empires, two golden pillers raiſed vpon leaden baſes, howſoeuer now, the power of their command, circles three parts of the earth. Nay what more is, that pretious, roiall, and *Gods* only people, from whom the *eternall King of Kings* deſcended, in their offrings made in time of their higheſt glory, were by *the Lord* thus commanded to acknowledge and ſay: *A Syrian was my father, who being ready to periſh for hunger, went down into* Egypt, *and ſoiourned with a ſmall company*. And the richeſt ſtone of that moſt beauteous building in his higheſt pride is counſelled by the *Prophet, to looke back to the rocke whence it was hewen, and to the hole of the pit whence it had been digged.*

The poore beginnings of Scythian and Turkiſh Empires.

And of Iewiſh.

Deut. 26. 5.

Iſai. 51. 1.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER V.

The Britiſh gouernment.

WEE come, at length, to ſpeake of the gouernment and politicall eſtate of the *Britaines*, which doubtleſſe (the times then conſidered) was as honorable in their rulers, and as manageable in the ſubiects, as any other nations in theſe Weſt parts of the world: their temperance, religion, learning, and noble reſolution ſhewing no leſſe. But in this point I muſt craue pardon of our *Britiſh Heraulds*, and ſome learned *Antiquaries*, if I bring not a lineall ſucceſſion from *Brute*, and a *monarchicall* gouernment in thoſe times of obſcurity, through whoſe miſts no *Egles* eies could pierce, before the daies of *Geffrey ap Arthur*, as before was touched. And therefore following his counſell, who is beſt able in theſe things to giue direction; I will begin the ſucceſſion of *Great Britains Monarchs*, at the entrance and perſon of *Iulius Cæſar*; at which time, it ſeemeth, by him and other *Latine* writers (the beſt Recorders of kingdoms affaires,) this *Iland* was gouerned rather after the manner of an *Ariſtocratie*, that is, by certaine great Nobles and Potent men, then vnder the command of any *One* as an abſolute *Monarch*: though herein is a difference, in that in the *Ariſtocraticall* regiment, the rulers are all *Peeres* of one Common wealth; whereas here, as many *Princes*, ſo *many ſeuerall Publike weales*. For ſo *Cæſar* himſelfe found the ſtate of *Britaine* to be diuided into *Prouinces* vnder the names of her inhabitants; and to be ruled by diuers *Peeres* or petty Kings.

Their ſucceſſion doubtfull.

Not meerly monarchicall.

How in Cæſars time and after.

(2) And ſuch a *Gouernor* was *Caſsibelan*, ouer the *Trinobantes*: *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, all foure *Rulers* together in *Kent*: *Comes* ſuppoſed to be King of the *Atrebatij*, and to be the ſame *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæſar* imploied to teaſe and worke the *Britaines* to his ſubiection. *Caractacus* the warlike King of the *Silures*, *Galgacus* the worthy King of the *Caledonians*; yea and *women* alſo, without exception of ſex, held gouernment among them, ſuch as was faithleſſe *Cartiſmandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, and famous *Boudicea* Queene of the *Icenians*. Whereby it ſeemeth that euery ſeuerall Prouince owed ſeruice and alleageance only to their owne Prince. And as their gouernments were confined vnto certaine bounds and limits, ſo were the *Inhabitants* diuided and diſtinguiſhed by diuers *Names*: of whom becauſe we ſhall haue occaſion hereafter often to ſpeak, it ſhal not therfore be amiſſe in this place once for all, table-wiſe to lay downe the ſame; whereby our narrations may paſſe vntroubled without more explanations, and the readers mind carried with leſſe incombrances. Thoſe ancient names of people, and places for abode, throughout the whole *Iland*, from *Ptolemie* were as follow.

Tacit. an. 14. 11.

Tacit. hiſtor. lib. 3. cap. 9.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE CALLED BY PTOLEMY, AND OFTEN SINCE MENTIONED IN THE ROMAN WRITERS.

People.	Countries.
CANTII. —	*Kent.*
REGNI. —	*Suſſex.* *Surrey.*
DVROTRIGES. —	*Dorſetſhire.*
DAMNONII. —	*Deuonſhire.* *Cornwal.*
BELGÆ. —	*Somerſetſhire.* *Wiltſhire.* *Hampſhire.*
ATREBATII. —	*Barkſhire.*
DOBVNI. —	*Oxfordſhire.* *Gloceſter.*
CATIEVCHLANI.	*Warwickſhire.* *Buckingham.* *Bedfordſhire.*
TRINOBANTES.	*Hertford.* *Eſſex.* *Middleſex.*
ICENI. —	*Suffolke.* *Norfolke.* *Cambridge.* *Ely Iland.* *Huntington.*
CORITANI. —	*Rutlandſhire.* *Lincolnſhire.* *Northhampton.* *Leiceſterſhire.* *Darbiſhire.* *Nottingham.*
CORNABII. —	*Staffordſhire.* *Worceſterſhire.* *Cheſhi[illegible]* *Shropſhire.*
BRIGANTES. PARISI.	*Lancaſter.* *Yorkſhire.* *Richmondſhire.* *Duram.* *Weſtmerland.* *Cumberland.*
ORDOVICES. —	*Flintſhire.* *Denbighſhire.* *Caernaruon.* *Montgomery.* *Merionethſhire.*
SILVRES. —	*Hereford ſhire.* *Radnorſhire.* *Brecknock.* *Monmouth.* *Glamorgan.*
DIMETÆ. —	*Caermarden.* *Penbrookſhire.* *Cardiganſhire.*

People.	Countries.
OTTADINI. —	*Northumberlund.* *Teiſdale.* *Twedale.* *Mereh.* *Louthien.*
SELGOVÆ. —	*Lideſdale.* *Enſdale.* *Eskdale.* *Annandale.* *Niddiſdale.*
NOVANTES. —	*Gallowey.* *Carick.* *Kyle.* *Cunningham.*
DAMNII. —	*Clayſdale.* *Renfraw.* *Lennox.* *Striueling.* *Menteth.* *Fifa.*
CALEDONII. GADINI.	*Perth.* *Strathern.* *Albin.* *Argile.* *Lorne.*
EPIDII. —	*Cantyre.*
VICEMAGI. —	*Murray.*
VENNICONES. —	*Mernia.* *Anguis.* *Mar.*
TÆZALI. —	*Buquhane.*
CANTÆ. CREONES. CERONTES.	*Roſſe.* *Sutherland.*
CARNONACÆ. CARINI. CORNABII.	*Strathnauern.*
SIMERTÆ. LOGI.	*Caithnes.*

Their emulations & ambition.

(3) Theſe *States* ambitiouſly banding ech againſt others, to raiſe their owne Prince to a more ſoueraigne ſupremacy, and to enlarge their *Prouinces* vpon the borders of the next, were euer ready, the leaſt occaſion miniſtred, ſaith *Pomponius Mela*, to enter quarels, and ſeldome held amity, or were quiet. This was the cauſe, as *Tacitus* tells vs, *which brought that puiſſant nation into bondage: and was the only helpe to the* Romans *victories:* for ſeldome it chanced (ſaith he) *that two or three ſtates met in counſell, and concurred in opinion to repulſe the common danger:* ſo that whilſt they reſiſted and fought one by one, all at length were ſubdued. But this was not at once performed by *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt *Roman* enterer, who (as he ſaith) rather *ſhewed the place to poſterities, then gaue them the poſſeſſion thereof*, ſuppoſing it his glory ſufficient, to haue done what he did. For vnto the daies of *Domitian*, they held play with the *Romans*, and that with ſuch valour, that the ſubduing of ſome ſmall part of this *Iland* was accounted by themſelues to match the conqueſts of other mightier countries, and more notes of honour ſhewed in their publike triumphs for one *Britaines* miſſortune, then vſually was ſolemnized for whole kingdomes ſubdued.

Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Cæſar firſt enterer, not conquerer.

Caratacus.

(4) That ſuch people poſſeſſed, and that many Kings together raigned here in *Britaine*, *Pomponius Mela* doth ſhew: *Britaine* (ſaith he) *bringeth foorth Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without ciuility and barbarous.* And *Cæſars* intendments being known vnto them, it is ſaid that many of their *Cities* ſent him by their *Embaſſadors* profers of ſubmiſſion: whereby appeareth their diuerſities of *States*, whereof only two held promiſe, and the reſt failing was the occaſion of his *ſecond expedition* for *Britaine*. And *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of the ſhipwrack ſuffered by the *Romans* in the raigne of *Tiberius*, ſaith, that *many of their ſouldiers then diſtreſſed and torne, being caſt vpon the coaſts of* Britaine, *were by the people curteouſly releeued, and by their petty Kings ſent backe vnto* Germanicus *their* Generall *into* Germanie; which *Princes* or petty *Kings*, were drawn (as elſe where he ſaith) by emulation into many partialities and factions; which was indeed their owne deſtruction. And by *Gildas* theſe were termed cruell *Tyrants*, taking his authority out of *Saint Hierome*.

Tacitus Annal. lib.2.cap.5.

Gildas. S.Hierome.

(5) Let thus farre ſuffice, in generall, of theſe ancient *Britains*; whoſe particulars we will further proſecute in the places of their reſiſtances, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould ſeeme to fight only againſt themſelues. And therefore ſo many of theſe *Gouernors*, as either yeelded their ſubiections to the *Romans*, or ſtood their oppoſits till their owne ſtrengths were ſpent, I will briefly touch, vntill ſuch time as the land was made a *Prouince*, by the valour and induſtry of *Iulius Agricola* the firſt *Roman* that found it an *Iland*, and left it more ciuill, and in ſubiection to the *Roman* Empire; and by the way I will inſert ſome of ſuch ancient Coynes, as among them were then vſed, expreſſing their names, and places of coynage.

THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF GREAT BRITAIN VVITH THE ANCIENT COINES VSED IN THEIR TIMES.

CHAPTER VI.

THe firſt *Britiſh Coyne* (as is ſuppoſed) both by the faſhion thereof being ſhield-like, and *Name* thereupon inſcribed REX COM: denoteth *Comius*, (if he be a *Britaine*) *King* of the *Atrebatij* in this *Iland:* whom ſome iudge to haue fled thence vnto *Cæſar*, as a *traytor* to his Natiue country; and in *Gallia* vanquiſhed thoſe parts, that lay coaſted againſt the *Whight*, wherein (by *Ptolemy*) the people called likewiſe the *Atrebatij* inhabited: ouer whom he receiued the gouernment by the gift of *Cæſar*, and was by him imploied to worke the *Britaines* to his obedience. And that he was King of the *Atrebatij* in *Britaine*, may be ſtrengthned by that which *Cæſar* in his ſecond book of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne knowledge he ſaith, that one *Diuitiacus* raigned ouer a great part of *Gallia*, and ſome portion of *Britaine* alſo: and ſo likewiſe this *Comius* is reported to be of great reſpect among our *Britaines*, and able in that country to doe much. Neither is it altogether vnlikely, ſeeing the *Britaines* diſtaſted his loyalty to *Cæſar*, and his Ambaſſage for their ſubiection, with ſuch diſlikes, that they laid violent hands only vpon him, and caſt him in priſon; vſing no ſuch rigor againſt the reſt of their owne Ambaſſadors. Notwithſtanding when ſucceſſe altered, they ſet him at liberty, and made him their meanes to pacifie *Cæſar*.

Ptolemæi Geograph.

Cæſar. comment. lib.4.

Other Coynes I haue inſerted to ſuch Britiſh princes as by their inſcriptions are known to be theirs. And whereas ſome are not yet noted by that honor to the world; I haue vnto ſuch added only blankes, if happily more be reueiled hereafter, and the bowels of the earth deliuer to others, her treaſures hid, as formerly (and in theſe our ſearching daies) ſhe hath already done.

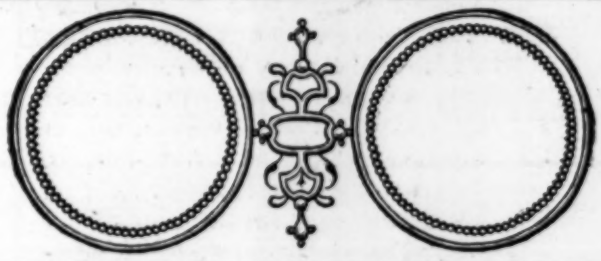
(2) *Caſſibelan*

(2) *Caſsibelan*, as the moſt worthy among the *Britains Kings*, to withſtand the common danger now ready to light vpon them all, by the inuaſions and wars of the *Romans*; was by a generall conſent choſen their *chieftaine*, though in times paſt, he had moleſted his neighbouring prouinces to the inlargement of his owne. Whoſe ſigniories, as *Cæſar* ſaith, were ſeuered from the *Cities* towards the ſea coaſt by the riuer Thames, about foureſcore miles from the ſame. He had obtained the gouernment of the *Trinobantes*, by the ſlaughter of *Imanuence*, and the expulſion of *Mandubrace* his ſonne. And, with great valour, held oppoſit to the *Romans*, vntill the reuolt of his chiefe *Citie*, the *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bubroces*, *Caſsians*, and other ſtates, which drew backe, and yeelded to the enemie; his confederates, the foure Kings of *Kent*, ouerthrown, his owne towne won, and himſelfe forced to yeeld vnto *Cæſar*, and the land to pay a tribute of 3000. pound yeerly to *Rome*. A *Britiſh* Coyne of gold with the inſcription CAS in ſcattered letters we haue inſerted; as alſo another wheron is inſtamped the word VER, ſuppoſed to be his, becauſe it is thought to haue bin coined in antient *Verolam*, the City of *Caſsibelan*, and that in his daies, before the *Romans* won it.

Cæſar. comment. lib.5.

Verolam a famous City neere to the place where now S. Albons is.

(3) *Cingetorix:* *Caruill:* *Taximagull:* *Segonax:* whom *Cæſar* calleth *Kings* that raigned in *Kent*, were inſtigated by *Caſsibelan* ſuddainly to ſet vpon, and to aſſault the *Roman* forces, that lay incamped vpon the ſea ſhore whilſt he kept *Cæſar* occupied further in the mayne: which thing they attempted, but failed of their hoped expectation, their men being ſlaine, three of them chaſed, and *Cingetorix* the chiefeſt taken captiue. This heauy newes and vnfortunate ſucceſſe, cauſed *Caſsibelan* to ſue vnto *Cæſar*, and by the meanes of *Comius* obtained his peace.



(4) *Mandubrace* a prince of the *Trinobantes*, but a traytor to his country; whoſe father *Imanuence* being ſlaine by *Caſsibelan*, and his owne life likewiſe ſought after, and in danger, fled vnto *Cæſar* into *Gallia*, and followed his fortunes in the wars; wherein, he was a great ſpurre vnto *Cæſars* forwardneſſe for *Britain*, both to be reuenged vpon the murtherer of his father, and to recouer the gouernment of the *Trinobantes* vſurped by *Caſsibelan*: preferring his owne ambitious deſire, and the reuenge of one mans death, before the freedome of his *natiue Country*, or the deaths of many his coũtrimen, that daily ſtopped the *Romans* paſſage with ſtreames of their blood. He recouering his chiefeſt *Cty* with the protection of the *Romans*, yeelded ſubiection, & forty hoſtages to *Cæſar:* whoſe example drew others to ſell their owne liberty, & to buy many miſeries at too deere a rate, and with too late repentance, him doth *Beda* call *Androgorius*.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.1.cap.2.

(5) *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Caſsians* — Inhabitants of — *Norfolk. Suff. Cam. &c.*, *Hantſhire.*, *Hendly hund. in Oxford.*, *Bray hund. in Barkſhire.*, *Caiſhow hund. in Hartf.*

Camb. Britan.

Theſe people or ſtates, ſeeing the proceedings and happy ſucceſſe of *Cæſar*, after the example of the *Trinobantes*, whoſe chiefeſt *Citie* had yeelded him obedience, and were thereby ſecured, and protected from the harmes of his ſouldiers, ſent him likewiſe their ſubmiſſions, and were accepted into ſubiection: ſo ready were they to ſaue their owne ſtakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of loſſe, which ſoone after followed as an ouerflowing flood, wherein was laſtly drenched the whole *Ilands* liberty.

(6) *Cunobeline*

(6) *Cunobeline* (for ſo vpon his Coynes his name is inſtamped) was the ſon of *Theomantius* and he the ſonne of *Lud* (as ſay our *Britiſh hiſtorians*, by whom his name is corruptly written *Kymbeline*) he liued at *Rome*, and in great fauour with *Auguſtus Ceſar* the Emperor, by whom he was made *Knight*, and by his meanes the peace of *Britain* was continued without the paiment of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guido de Columna* hath gathered. *In the foureteenth yeere of his raigne the Day-ſtar of* Iacob *appeared, and the rod out of* Iſhai *did flouriſh from the wombe of a Virgin, when the wonderfull Counſellor, the mighty God and Prince of Peace, the* Emmanuel *with vs was borne at* Beth-lehem *of his maiden-mother the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and was made man like vnto vs in all things, ſinne only excepted. Theſe were the times that great Kings and Prophets deſired to ſee, but ſaw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together; for war was not heard of then in the world, but rather their ſwords were made into mattocks, and their ſpeares turned into ſithes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them haue affirmed.* In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was ſhut, and in *Britaine Cunobeline* enioied peace with the reſt of the world, and his fame made more famous by the many Coynes inſtamped of him, and whoſe face thereon among all the *Britiſh* Kings was firſt inſcribed, as by theſe here inſerted doth euidently appeare, one with two faces, like vnto *Ianus*, and foure more with his owne, beſides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womans head, another with a horſe, and the third with a wreath; all theſe (if not more) are knowne to be his, which ſheweth his wealth, his fame, and his ciuill reſpect. The chiefeſt Citie for his princely reſidence was *Camalodunum*, now *Malden* in *Eſſex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the ſonnes of *Cunobeline*, as by the inſcription of the Coyne next enſuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *Britiſh* monies alſo receiued their impreſſe. This City with the free towne *Verolam* afterwards felt the heauy hand of mercileſſe BODVO in her reuenge againſt the *Romans*, who laid the beauty and gorgeous buildings thereof ſo leuell with the earth that thoſe walles and mounted turrets neuer ſince aſpired to halfe their wonted heights.

(7) *Adminius*

Numb. 24.17.
Iſay. 11.1.
Iſay. 9.6.
Matt. 2.
Eſay 11.6.
Mica. 4.3.

(7) *Adminius* the first ſonne of *Cunobeline*, *King* of the *Britaines*, by *Suetonius* his report, vpon ſome offence was baniſhed the Iland by his father; and with a ſmall traine fled ouer the ſeas into *Belgia*; where *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition againſt the *Ocean*. And yeelding himſelfe to his protection, added matter to his vaine glorious humors, as of a great victory and conqueſt; ſending the newes therof to *Rome*, with an eſpeciall command that his letters ſhould be deliuered in the *Temple* of *Mars*, and that in the aſſembly of a full *Senate*. It is iudged by learned *Cambden* that the *Roman* Coyne aboue prefixed, vpon whoſe reuerſe is inſcribed *Metropolis Etiminij Regis*, to be meant of this *Adminius* the ſonne of *Cunobeline*, whoſe Citie *Camalodunum*, *Claudius Caſar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherein a temple was built and conſecrated vnto him, attended by the Prieſts *Auguſtals*: which heauily burdened the poore eſtates of the *Britaines*.

Sueton. in vita Caligula, fol. 44.

(8) *Catacratus* another ſon of *Cunobeline*, immediatly after the death of his father, found himſelf agreeued at the *Romans*, for the retaining of certaine fugitiues the betraiers of their natiue country; whereof one *Bericus* was a chiefe, and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts againſt the *Britains*. This *Catacratus* maintained reſiſtance againſt *Aulus Plautius* the *Emperors Deputy*, with ſuch noble reſolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his perſon and army. But *Fortune* and *victory* attending the *Romans*, brought at length *Catacratus* their captiue into bands, with great ſlaughters of his *Britaines*, himſelfe led ſhortly after in great triumph through *Rome*, in honor of *Plautius* his ſo fortunate ſucceſſe. The miſeries of others thus made the *Romans* to mount the chaire of their triumphs; and the chaines of their captiues, the records of their preſent aſpired pride.

Dio calls him Catacratus.

But the bordering *Dobuni* ſeeing his fall, made their owne ſtandings ſurer by yeelding themſelues ſubiects to *Rome*.

(9) *Togodumnus* the third ſonne of *Cunobeline*, and ſucceſſor to *Catacratus*, proſecuted his countries quarrell with the like boldneſſe and reſolution as his brother before him had done: & was the only touchſtone that gaue *Veſpaſian* his luſtre, whoſe interpoſitions (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the beginning of that greatneſſe whereunto afterwards he aſpired. And with ſuch manhood followed the chaſe of the *Romans*, that in a bloody battell he ended his life, and brought *Plautius* their *Lieutenant* vnto a ſtand, where ſtraitned in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to ſend to *Claudius* the Emperor; whoſe conceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greateſt glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his aſſiſtance in perſon himſelfe, the firſt ſince *Iulius Caſar* that attempted their conqueſt. His recorded compoſitions made with *Aruiragus*, the mariage of his daughter and building of *Gloceſter*, I leaue to be read out of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choice of his hearer; only noting that the poſſeſſion of ſo faire a land drew the affection and aged perſon of this Emperor to vndergoe ſo farre diſtant and dangerous a iournie, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

(10) *Cogidunus* a *Britain* borne, receiued in pure gift at the hands of the *Romans*, certain *Cities*, ouer which he peaceably raigned their *King*. For when they had conquered the neereſt part of this *Iland*, and reduced it into the forme of a *Prouince*; according to their ancient policie, it was their cuſtome, (ſaith *Tacitus*) to

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

vſe Kings themſelues for inſtruments of bondage, both in admittance of their authority, and in protecting them againſt their oppoſits. Other memoriall of him none remaineth, but that he is reported to haue reſted euer moſt faithfull to the *Romans*, and was of them accordingly eſteemed, albeit his owne people bare him no ſuch good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to be *Romes* only inſtruments, and *Britaines* vipers, that brought in ſtrangers to eat out the home-bred inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land, with the heauy chaines of a forrein ſubiection.

(11) *Caractacus* the moſt renowned prince of the *Silures*, in nine yeeres reſiſtance waded through many aduentures againſt the common enemy. For when as the *Icenians*, *Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and giue ouer, he only with the *Ordouices* held out with ſuch ſeruice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Deſtinies* determining the downfall of *Britain*, the props that were ſet to ſtay it ſtill vp, proued too ſlender and brake vnder the waight. For this *bold Caractacus* ouerthrown in battell, his wife, daughter, and brethren taken priſoners, and his forces defeated, committed himſelfe to the protection of *Cartiſmandua* the *Brigantes faithleſſe Queene*: who by her was deliuered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Oſtorius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches and glory of that City, he openly and boldly checked the auarice and ambitious humors of the *Romans*, who being owners of ſo great and glorious things, were (notwithſtanding) couetous and greedy for the poore poſſeſſions of the *Britains*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration he was beheld of all the ſpectators, and for his vndanted ſpirit and magnanimous reſolution releaſed of bands, and taken into fauour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate aſſembled together made glorious diſcourſes touching *Caractacus* captiuity, affirming it to be no leſſe honorable then when *P. Scipio* ſhewed *Syphax* vnto the people, and *L. Paulus*, *Perſes*, or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people kings vanquiſhed and ouercome. The *Britiſh Coyne* here aboue ſhewed, by the ſcattered letters therein inſcribed, is by the iudicious obſeruers of ſuch ancient monies ſuppoſed to be his.

Zonaras.

Tacit. Annal. 12. cap. 8.

(12) *Venutius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Cartiſmandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a baſe and vnſatiſfied luſt:) finding his bed abuſed by *Vellocatus* his ſeruant and harneſſe-bearer, raiſed his power againſt her, and her paramour. With him ſided his *Brigantes*, and the neighbour countries adioining, whoſe good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a luſtfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputie*: and theſe ſtriking battell won the day: yet ſo, as the war continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Venutius*, and the infamy with *Cartiſmandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her truſt repoſed by *Caractacus* in his diſtreſſe, and her truth to *Venutius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleaſures of a vaſſall, before the bed of chaſt mariage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King, and hath to ages following left her name noted with the ſcarres of infamy, that time nor continuance ſhall euer weare away. His ancient coyne is thought to be as thou ſeeſt here aboue deſcribed.

(13) *Praſutagus*, *Boduo* } King and Queene of the *Icenians*, a people vnſhaken by war, and themſelues rich, (as *Tacitus* reporteth;) the only cauſe of their ruines, for which the *Romans* then warred; were brought to deſtruction vpon this inſuing occaſion. King *Praſutagus* dying, by will left *Nero* his heire (ſuppoſing by this meanes to leaue his ſtate the ſafer,) together with the protection of his two daughters. Theſe, contrary to truſt, were abuſed and defloured, the mother *Boduo* turned out of all, and againſt all manly ciuility, or womanly (much leſſe, princely) reſpect, contumeliouſly and deſpitefully whipped. In the reuenge of which vnſufferable wrongs ſhe ſo oppoſed and oppreſſed the *Romans*, that at one battell ſeuenty thouſand (or as *Dion Caſſius* ſaith 80000. of their ſlaughtered bodies ſhe ſacrificed to her dead husbands ghoſt; and hath left the fame of her proceedings regiſtred, euen by her enemies themſelues, to her immortall and neuer dying memory. The ſtrong Cities, *Camalodunum*, and *Verolanium*,

lanium, ſhe ſacked with the rage of mercileſſe war; *Petilius*, *Lieutenant* of the *ninth Legion*, ſhe diſcomfited, *Catus* the *Procurator* droue ouer the ſeas, *Poſthumus* the *Campe-maſter* durſt not reſiſt her, and all indeed feared the valour of this heroick Lady: whoſe lawes were not martiall to ſaue vpon ranſome: whoſe reuenge was not pacified with yeeldings or ſubmiſſion, nor did ſhe thinke there was blood enough in the *Romans* to imbrue the altars of her aſſiſting gods, or to waſh off the ſtaine of their vnnoble and vnmanly iniuries. But when ſucceſſe altered; after loſſe, and valorous reſiſtance, ſhe made an end of her life by poiſon, leſt liuing ſhe ſhould ſee either her owne miſeries in their triumphs, or leaue her remembrance in the records of their lauiſh and ſelfe-pleaſing hiſtorians. Her Coyne of gold we haue here expreſſed, the forme ſhield-like, and vpon the emboſſement thus inſcribed: BODVO.

(14) *Aruiragus*, the valiant *Britiſh* King, whom *Humfrey Lhuyd* confidently affirmeth to be the ſame man that is called *Meurigus*, and is ſaid to withſtand *Claudius* in his enterpriſes for *Britaine*, vntill a compoſition of mariage was concluded betwixt the Emperors daughter and himſelfe. Notwithſtanding by *Iuuenal* it is plaine, that this *Aruiragus* was in his fame in the daies of *Domitian*, vnto whom the Poet, as a Prophet, would foredoome his happy ſucceſſe in the diſpoſſeſſion of his gouernment ouer the *Britaines*, as in theſe his verſes are ſeene;

It bodes great honor to thy ſelfe, ſome King thou ſhalt deprive,
Or els Aruiragus *from the rule of* Britains *waine ſhalt driue.*

An ancient *Britiſh Coyne* of ſiluer is here inſerted, and a mans head thereon inſtamped, which is ſuppoſed to be his, the letters alluding ſo neere to his name.

(15) *Galgacus*, a worthy and moſt valiant prince of the *Caledonians*, for vertue, and birth, preferred before any other in the *Northern* parts of this *Iland*, and made their *Generall* againſt the inuaſions of *Iulius Agricola*, was the laſt *Britaine*, that againſt the *Romans* ſtood out: accounting thoſe only happy, which were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny, and themſelues the flower of all the *Britiſh* nobility, that yet had not ſubiected their necks to their yoke. The reſiſtance which he made was great and warlike, but againſt the decree of God no man can ſtand; for the *Romans*, riſen to their greatneſſe, bare downe all that withſtood them; and in a bloody battaile ſubdued him, and his forces, making all ſilent before them where they came, and leauing deſolation in the places where they had been. Thus then was the whole *Iland* ſubiected to the *Roman* Emperors, about one hundred thirty and ſix yeeres after *Cæſars* firſt entrance, and the land that had been ruled by many petty kings, was brought now (as moſt parts of the world beſides were) vnder the gouernment of one abſolute Monarch. Grieuous, no doubt, was the loſſe of their liberties, but a greater gaine was gotten not many yeeres after; for from the rude and ſauage manners of the barbarous, they were reclaimed, and became moſt ciuill. And he that had giuen their *Iland* to his *Chriſt*, prepared their hearts to receiue *him* their *King*; vnto whoſe ſubiection alſo they were motiues to the *Romans* themſelues. Two ancient *Britiſh* Coynes ſtamped in ſiluer we haue here ſet downe, attributing them both to this *Galgacus* of *Caledonia*. Notwithſtanding in theſe (as in the reſt) I muſt ſubmit my ſelfe to the more experienced, and the cenſures of theſe ancient things to the learned and more iudicious. Pſal.2.

(16) Theſe then were the reſiſters of the *Romans* proceedings, that rather yeelded their breſts to the ſword, then their necks to the yoke of a forrein ſubiection, and made their aſſaulters more famous in their conqueſts, and themſelues more renowned to following poſterities: neither in theſe relations haue we followed the records of our owne, but the approued teſtimony of their beſt writers, who haue deliuered what we haue ſaid, and no doubt felt the like repugnancy of many others, both in the South and North of this *Iland*, though their names died with their valiant reſiſtance. And as theſe *Britains* held the *Romans* at euen hand the ſpace of one hundred thirty and ſix yeeres, neither yet then were ſubdued without themſelues, that euer ſided with the enemy againſt themſelues, and whoſe factions made way for the feet of their conquerors, as from *Tacitus* we haue declared: So their ſucceſſors the *Saxons* found as warlike withſtanders, till God for *Britains* ſinnes had caſt downe their ſtrength, whereof more ſhall follow (Chriſt aſſiſting) in the due place of their ſtories, that from the raigne of *Vortigerne* the ſcourge of

of his country to *Cadwallader* the laſt prince of the *Britains*, ſpent their liues in the quarrell of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the ſtate of kingdomes (how largely ſo euer extended, or by what humane wiſedome ſtrengthned with defence) do find their periods not to exceed much the number of ſix hundred yeeres, as by common experience among moſt nations is ſeene. In theſe times therefore when the world was ſhaken with wars, firſt by the *Romans* that ſtroue to mount hie the ſpires of their intended glory, and were by Gods decree appointed to ouerrun and afflict the earth, when Kings of people (I ſay) were enforced to lay the Crownes from their heads at their conquering feet; and free nations loaded with the yokes of their bondage: then was fulfilled the reſolution of this queſtion demanded, *Alas who ſhall liue when God doth this?* And then among the reſt, *Britaine* gaue place to neceſſity with as manlike reſiſtance as did ſtates more ſtronger, or kingdomes confined with far more larger compaſſe. And *Cæſar* himſelfe bought his entrance with ſuch loſſe to the *Romans* that no Emperor after aſſaied the like, before aged *Claudius*, whoſe opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his ſucceeding glory ſhould wholly ariſe.

Numb.24 23.

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can bee firme in this ſtill-wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a ſecond triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for beſides the continuall poſſeſſion of their owne country, as in that caſe vnpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell vs; their legions were tranſported into all parts of the world, and without whom almoſt no victory was wonne: of whoſe power and proweſſe in the expeditions of warre both *Dionyſius*, *Arrianus* and *Seneca*, doe ſpeake. To theſe then likewiſe if the *Britains* gaue place, their lots came foorth with the like price of the reſt, and in this *Iland* they bought their conqueſts as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* ſubdued by either of theſe nations, or their inuerſion and exchange of policie altered, but with as vnwilling ſubiection and ſtreames of blood as had been ſuſed out of the ſides of their mightier nations, or by them had bin tamed to follow their triumphal chariots. And more honour attributed to paſſe theſe *Britiſh* ſeas, with more admiration only to ſee the *Iland* it ſelfe, then was vſually conceiued of kingdomes more larger, or that lay iacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conqueſt of ſome ſmall parts of *Britaine* in no ſmall ſelfe-glory to be inſcribed as trophies of their victories vpon their Coynes, and to giue ſirnames to the Emperors and their ſonnes: as ſhall be ſhewed, when the age of this hiſtory ſhall be increaſed with the times of the *Romans* affaires in this Iland. Free from ſubiection before the attempts of *Caius Iulius Cæſar* by the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and neuer had yeelded to any forrein power, as not prouoked by *Dionyſius* or *Hercules*, nor inforced by any to maintaine their liberties by the feats of warre. But *Cæſar* in *Gallia* thirſting after nouelties, or his conceited humor to purchaſe renowne, made the ſea ſeeme ſafe from dangers in paſſage, and himſelfe reſolute to venture his perſon amongſt thoſe bold and barbarous *Britains*: wherein he left no meanes vnaſſaied for their conqueſt and ſubiection, nor his ſucceſſors omitted any prouident care to retaine and keepe the land in their poſſeſſions, which whilſt it ſtood a prouince in their obedience was held and accounted the faireſt plume in their triumphant Diadem, and the loſſe thereof (if no more but only in name) as was publikely affirmed, wold proue a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to deſire it as they did, who beſides the great glory they conceiued in the conqueſt, made it the granary for the weſterne gariſons, beſides the delicate prouiſions for their Emperors owne tables.

And the *German Saxons* ſtraitned in their owne countries through increaſe of their people, or haply to ſupply their owne wants, infeſted with piracies theſe Weſt parts of the world, and among all others ſet the eie of their affections vpon this moſt beautifull *Iland*, and neuer left their attempts vnaſſaulted till they ſet the glorious diadem thereof vpon their owne heads. Changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a terme moſt fit to expreſſe that ſubiect, and pleaſing in ſound as Angelicall like, neither haue themſelues proued vnworthy of ſo rich a poſſeſſion, that in wars haue maintained, and by voiages made known her fame as far as the ſunne hath his beames, or the endleſſe *Ocean* her ebbes and tides. But of theſe things wee ſhall haue occaſion hereafter.

And now addreſſe our ſelues to deſcribe our ancient *Britaines*, and to ſhew their true pictures as they are reported. At firſt rude and vnciuil (I taske them no further then all others then were in the world, ſome few excepted that were only taught by God) and with the firſt were reclaimed to a more ciuill reſpect, both in their apparell and apprehenſion of literature; whoſe pictures in the Chapter ſucceeding we will demonſtrate as they are deſcribed by *Cæſar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at firſt altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou ſeeſt, afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for traffick or conqueſt; in both which manner take them as they are reported to bee by theſe authours, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workmans beſt liking, nor thy ſelfe any whit diſparaged to be brought from ſuch parents, which here are ſet as the pillars ſpoken of by *Ioſephus*, that after the flood did preſerue the inuented ſcience of the celeſtiall bodies, leſt time or elements ſhould conſume that knowledge or deuoure thoſe rules before demonſtrated: So the true portrature of our ancient progenitors may by theſe be preſerued from the ruines of time & made our motiues to be thankful vnto him that hath brought vs forth in theſe moſt ciuill times, and not only clad vs with the garments of humanity, but by his ſpirit hath guided vs vnto a celeſtiall knowledge.

Ioſeph. Antiqui. lib.1. cap.3.

THE PORTRAITVRES OF THE ANCIENT *BRITAINES*, OF THEIR NAKEDNESSE, PAINTING AND FIGVRING THEIR BODIES, OF THEIR PERSONAGES HABITES, AND HABILIMENTS, BOTH IN PEACE AND WARRE: AS ALSO OF THE *PICTS*, THEIR ORIGINALL AND HABITES, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

THe vnderstanding and apprehensions of men clouded in ignorance, are by a *Great Philosopher* compared to the eye-sight of such men, as stand and behold things afarre-off; because both of these, though they apprehend some generall shapes and notices, yet can they not discerne of the true proportions and proprieties of their Obiects. The like happeneth in the search and survey, as of all other Nations, so of our owne, of our first *beginnings*, our *antique Customes, behauiours, habits*: the true Circumstances whereof are the more difficill to find, in that those things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yea so manie Ages from the times wherein we liue,) but are also shadowed and enwrapped in manifold vncertainties and contrarieties, wherewith euen those *Writers* haue perplexed our way, who vndertooke to be both our *Guides* and our *Lights*. Notwithstanding, our purpose being to propose vnto the eye of our now glorious and gorgious *Britaines*, some generall draughts of our poore and rude *Progenitours*, (that as *King Agathocles* in his chiefe feasts vsed onely *earthen dishes* to put himselfe in minde that his Father was but a Potter, so wee may remember that true *British Nobilitie* is more in *Vertue* then in *Aunceſtors*,) let vs first see what the principall notes and markes are whereby the persons of those first *Britaines* were made so remarkeable among all other Nations.

Aristotle.

The reason why Nations Originals are so hardly found out.

(2) These Notes were chiefly three; first, their going *naked*; secondly, their *staining* and *colouring* of their whole Bodies; thirdly, their *cutting, pincking* and *pouncing* of their flesh, with garnishments (for so they thought them) of sundry shapes and fashions, as the two first ensuing *Icones* or *Portraitures* doe represent. Touching all which, the reports of *Authors* are very discrepant: and therefore, sith light is gotten out by collision of flintes, wee will essay, whether out of those *Writers* contradictions (brought to the stroke, and confronted together) we may strike some glimering light to direct vs how to paint them forth, who so delighted in painting themselues.

The three chiefe notes of the Britaines.

(3) First touching their going *naked*, the authority of *Cæsar* must ouersway (as being auncienteſt) the *too-generall reports* of such others, as seeme to relate that the *Britaines* generally vsed no Couerture, as neglectiue either of weathers iniurie, or of ciuill modesty; for he saith, *interiores plerique pellibus sunt vestiti*: *the In-land men for the most part were clad with skinnes.* And yet these *Inlanders* were the rudest of all the rest, the *Kentish* and *Sea-borders* being *full of humanity and little differing from the French ciuilitie.*

1. The first note of the Britaines, their Nakednes.

Cæsar.

So that when *Herodian* saith, *Vestis vsum non cognoscunt, nec induuntur quidem, They neither know the vse of Garments: nor put any on*: either he speaks on heare-say; or his large report must bee restrained to some certaine Persons, Times, and Places. And for certaine *Persons* and *Times* indeed *Plynie* somewhat limits it, saying, that *their married weomen, both elder and yonger*, (*coniuges, nurusq;*) *in certaine festiuals vsed to goe starke naked*: so doth *Dio* also for certaine *Places*: *in their Tents* (saith he) *they liued naked and vnshod*, where he seemeth to allow them some couerture abroade. The like may be supposed in time of *Winter* or *War*, where *Herodian* himselfe saith onely, *pleraq; corporis nudi, A great part of their body was bare.*

Herodian.

Pliny.

Dio.

Herodian.

(4) It may seeme hereby, that those Originals of Particular Nations were not much vnlike that first beginning of the vniuersall prosemination of Mankind, when our first Parents innocencie walked in naked simplicitie: the foundations of all things being, as fartheſt from our sight, so more simple and farre from those artificiall fraudes, which some call *Wit* and *cunning*. And though an *ancient Father be mistaken, in conceauing that by the foure letters of the name of *Adam*, were signified the foure quarters of the *World*, (that being an *Hebrue* name of three letters, and not a Greeke of foure) yet all those Quarters of the *World* participate somewhat of *Adams* dispositions; and as all *Naturall* things retourne by course to that whereof first they were framed, so if Lawes, discipline, and Customes, did not restraine men, they would in time, of themselues reuolue to that first neglectiue condition, and careleſsenes of those outward respects whence men are now named *Ciuill.*

*Saint Cyprian interprets. A anatole, East. D. dusis, West. A. arctos, North. M. mesimbriat. South.

(5) But in our *Britaines*, three reasons there seeme of this their going *vncloathed*. First, their *hardines*, which was partly naturall, and partly acquired by practise of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records that *all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, and labours, insomuch as they could endure to abide many daies together in the water vp to the chinne without any food at all*; that they *would liue in the woods on roots and barkes of trees*; though one kind of foode he there mencioneth vnknowne in our times, *whereof vsing to make as much as a beane onely, they were not subiect either to hunger or thirst.* No maruaile, if those, who would endure this, could endure the want of garments: especially in a soile whereof wee find this *Euloge. Tu nimium nec strictà gelu, &c.*

Causes of the British nakednes, 1. Hardinesse.

Dio Nic.

See Chap. 1. §. 10

Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art;
Twixt both thou hold'st the meane and pleasing'st part.

The like patience we find euen now not onely in the wilder *Irish*, and *Virgineans*, but in rogues and Wanderers of our owne Country, who often pittileſse of

themſelues voluntarily depriue their Bodies of this Protection againſt the Aires offence, to procure pittie of others. And what ſpeake we of theſe? ſeeing euen children for Cuſtome, and Women for pride, wil ſuffer their Breaſts, and moſt tender parts of their Body, to be expoſed not only to offence of weather, but of modeſty alſo? yea generally, the *handes*, and *faces*, being of moſt ſubtileſt ſence, yet by cuſtome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like cuſtome the olde *Britaines* endured in their whole Bodies; whereby *Plutarch* thinkes *they vſually liued ſo long euen to the age of ſixeſcore, the externe cold keeping-in and augmenting their internall heate.*

Plutarch.

2. Ignorance.

(6) As abilitie to endure colde, ſo *ignorance* (in many) of meanes to preuent it, may ſeeme another occaſion of theſe *Britaines nakednes.* The *Romans* (it ſeemes) in their old *Conſuls* times, and after, had not the skill nor vſe of *Hats, Breeches, &c.* That *Britaine* abounded with *wooll* and other materials for cloathing, is paſt all doubt, for which cauſe, by one *Panegyrick*, it is named *Riche in Paſturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was *an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with Vdders full of milke, and loaden with Fleeces to the ground.* So then *Woll* was not wanting, but *Will*, or *Skill*, the latter in moſt likelihood: for, as *Strabo* ſaith, that though thoſe *ſtrutting Vdders* yeelded great *ſtore of milk, yet ſome of them had not skill to make cheeſe*, and hauing ſo *rich* grounds, *yet had not the art of tillage*, ſo their ſheepe might haue ſuch *heauy fleeces*, yet ſome of their Owners no cunning to keepe themſelues warme therewith. Some of them, I ſay; for otherwiſe, as *Pliny*, touching *Tillage*, giues light to *Strabo*, witneſſing, that others of them were ſo good *Husbands as to manure their grounds with Marle*, as likewiſe doth *Dioſcorides*, ſaying *they had skill to make drinke of Barley*: ſo probable is it, that thoſe other who were by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſaid to be ſo *like the French* in conditions, had alſo ſome part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheepes backes to couer their owne.

Paneg. ad Conſtan.
Paneg ad Conſtan.
Strabo.
Pliny.
Dioſcorides.
Cæſar.
Tacitus.

(7) The laſt reaſon of ſuch their going *naked* ſometimes, was out of an opinion that no cloathing ſo adorned them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cauſe (ſaith *Herodian*) *they would not couer themſelues, leſt then their gay painting ſhould not be ſeene:* but *Pomponius Mela* makes doubt, whether their thus painting themſelues were for *ornament* or for *ſome other vſe*; which doubt *Cæſar* ſeems to reſolue, as if the men did it; becauſe it *made them looke more terrible in warre.*

3. Pride.
Herodian.
Mela.
Cæſar.

(8) And thus we are now orderly fallen on the ſecond of thoſe three notes appropriated by *Authors* to our *Britaines*, which is their *painting* and *ſtaining of their Bodies*, which appeares by *Cæſar* to haue beene more vniuerſally vſed, then going *naked*, for *all the Britaines* (ſaith he) *die their bodies with ſtaining.* As Authours differ in the reaſon of this their *painting*, (as we ſhewed) ſo in the *name*, perchance alſo in the *ſubſtance* of that wherewith they ſtained themſelues, and ſomewhat alſo in the *colour* it ſelfe. The *ſubſtance* *Cæſar* calles *luteum*, which yet in vulgar acception is thought to be ſome *yellow* ſubſtance, as *Pliny* cals *luteum oui, the yolke of the Egge*; *Pliny* himſelfe ſaith the *Frenchmen* call it *glaſtum*, deſcribing it to be an herbe like *Plantayne*, which *Oribaſius* (as learned *Cambden* ſheweth) doth terme *Vitrum*, in which ſenſe *Mela* is vnderſtood, to ſay, that they were ſtained *Vitro* (and not *Vltrò*), it being generally taken to be *Woad*, from thoſe ancient times hitherto vſed for theſureſt ſtaine. But for the *colour* which is made, *Cæſar* and the reſt agree, it was *Cæruleus, blewiſh or azure*, which colour the *Cambro-Britannes* doe yet call *glace*, whence our *glaſſe* for windowes (called alſo *vitrum*) ſeemeth by reaſon of the *colour*, to haue taken name. Onely *Pliny* leaueth ſome ſcruple, in ſaying, that *the naked painted women imitated the Æthiopian colour*; which muſt be vnderſtood either *comparatiuely*, in reſpect of People white and vnpainted, or becauſe *blew* a farre-of hath the appearance of *blacke.*

2. The ſecond note of the Britaines, their painting.
Cæſar.
Cæſar.
Pliny.
Cambd. in Brit. p. 14.
Mela.
Pliny.

(9) That the *Britaines* tooke their *Name* from this

See Chap. 2 §. 7

this painting, hath beene already ſhewed out of *Iſidore*, who writes, that *they had that name from a word of their owne language*, wherein *Breeth* ſignifieth as much as *painted* or *ſtained*; but whether thoſe other Inhabitants of the more Northerne parts of this Iland, called alſo *Picti* or *painted*, had their name vpon the ſame ground, & whether they were ſome branch of the *Britiſh ſtocke*, or of ſome tranſmarine *Colonie*, it is a queſtion not yet decided. *Pomponius Lætus*, and ſome other, deriue them from *Germany*, ſome from the *Pictones* in *France*; but *Beda*, from *Scythia*, whence ſaith hee, *they are reported to haue come into Ireland in a few long bottomes*, and finding no ſeating there to haue entered into *Britaine*. Though *Beda* his authoritie be venerable, yet the learned find reaſons to induce them rather to beleeue, that they were the remaines of thoſe ancient *Britaines* which either inhabited the *North-part* of this Iland, before the *Romanes* entrance, or which (vpon their Conqueſt) fled thether to auoid the *Romiſh* yoake, where the difficulties of the aire & ſoile protected them from the *Romanes* ambition and inuaſion. Whereto *Tacitus* well accordeth, ſaying, that *Agricola* droue the *Romanes* Enemies (he meanes the more vntractable *Britaines*) into thoſe parts, as it were into another *Iland*. And it is thought incredible, that thoſe *Enemies of the Romanes*, who ſent forth againſt *Agricola* an Army of *thirty thouſand* ſtrong, and who ſo vexed *Seuerus*, that in one Expedition he loſte *ſeuenty thouſand* of his *Romanes*, & their Aiders were ſo vtterly extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being thoſe who afterward much perplexed and ouerran the *Romane Prouince*, and to whom (not vnlikely) ſome other, ſuch as *Beda* mentioneth, did afterward ioine themſelues.

Iſidore. What the *Picts* were.

Cambden p. 82.

Tacitus.

(10) If we would adde *reaſons* vnto *Authorities*, to proue that theſe *Picts* were no other then that multiplied offſpring of thoſe *Britaines*, we could produce their* *language*, their *manners*, their kind of *Gouernment* (all bearing *Britiſh* Reſemblance) to confirme the ſame. But what neede? ſince the ſelfe-manner of *painting* is an vndoubted marke in the Children repreſenting of what Parents they were borne. That they were painted, *Claudian* ſhewes, calling them, *The Pictes, ſo truly named*; which *Iſidore* well expounds, *The Pictiſh Nation had their name from their Bodie, depainted with the iuice of an herbe growing amongſt them*. When therefore the *Romanes* excluded them from their other *Prouinciall Britaines*, this name (*Pictes*) for diſtinctions ſake was in vſe amongſt them; before which times, yea and long after, they were knowne to *Writers* by no other name then *Britaines*, and the *Romaine Emperor*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Baſſianus*, *Geta*, vpon the Conqueſts of them, inſtiled themſelues *Britannici*, *Britiſh* (not *Pictiſh*) *Conquerors*. But after the *Romane tongue* had preuailed with the *Romane ſword*, the *Britaines* themſelues vſed to name any thing painted by the name of *Picte*; as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who ſaith, that the *Britanes* called certaine *Shallops*, *Picts*, becauſe their *ſailes*, *tackle*, and *Marriners apparell*, were *coloured blew*, the very colour, wherewith theſe *Britiſh Pictes* (as * ſomewhere they are truely called) vſed to ſtaine themſelues. When afterward the *Iriſh-Scots* had confederated themſelues with theſe againſt the *Romanes*, they all beganne by degrees to be more ciuilized: the more *Southerly* of them being by *Ninian* the *Britaine* conuerted vnto Chriſt, about the yeere of *Grace* 430. thoſe other more *Northward*, by *Columbanus* Anno 565. by which time, it is likely, that Ciuilitie increaſing, their *painting* and other like ruder Cuſtomes were well nigh forgotten, both amongſt them, and alſo amongſt thoſe other *Britaines* vnder the *Romanes* Gouernment. In which regard we haue beſides thoſe præfixed *Icones*, and Patternes of their firſt and moſt ſauaged times, here added alſo their *Habits*, when they beganne to put on, with conditions, a little better cloathing alſo.

Claudian. Why the *Picts* were ſo called, *Iſidore*.

Beda makes the diuers tongues, but they were onely different *Dialects*. See *Cambden*.

Vo. Annal. Anglor.

(11) Neither may we thinke that formerly they refuſed ſuch Apparell, onely to ſhew this *ſtaining and colouring*

3. The third note of the *Britaines*, their picturing of their bodies.

colouring of their Bodies: for beſides it, ſome other belliſhments they had, which they eſteemed much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could be. Which of the *Britaines*, *Solinus* thus deliuereth: *The Country is in part* (note that he makes it not generall) *inhabited by People barbarous, who by artificial formes of inciſion haue from their Childhood ſundry ſhapes of Beaſts depourtraied in their bodies, and as their limmes increaſe in growth, ſo doth the pictured worke together therewith, neither doth theſe wild People boaſt of any greater kind of patience, then in bearing long-laſting ſcarres, where the paint had deeply ſuncke into their ſliced fleſh.* The very paralell whereof is alſo by *Iſidore* ſet downe touching our *Picts whoſe bodies ſliced and pinked be an artificiall punchion, did ſuck in the iuice of the ſtayning herb, carying theſe raſures on their pictured limmes, as badges of their Noblenes, thus endamasked.* Neither only the ſhapes of *Beaſts*, but of all other things, were ſo printed in their fleſh; which *Herodian* takes to bee the prime reaſon, why they delighted to goe *naked*, leaſt they ſhould hide theſe their pleaſing garniſhments. Where alſo by the way may be obſerued, ſince *Solinus* ſaith that the *barbarous* onely vſed ſo to doe, and *Herodian*, that thoſe who did ſo, vſed therefore to *goe naked*; that therefore not the *Britaines* in generall, but the moſt barbarous of them vſed to goe naked. And very anſwerable to *Solinus*, (who elegantly calleth ſuch their figuring of themſelues, *inſcriptis viſceribus, a writing on their Bodies*,) is that of *Claudian*, *Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras, On dying Picts he reades the breathles ſhapes*, as if the *beaſts* ſo liuely portraited on them, ſeemed to lie dead together with the murdered bodies of the *Picts*.

Solinus.

Iſidore.

* Maculoſa Nobiliras.

Herodian.

Solinus.

Claudian.

(12) By theſe varieties of picturing, (if* ſome haue not miſinformed vs out of their alleaged ancient *Authors*,) thoſe people ſo diſtinguiſhed themſelues, that the *maried weomen* were knowne by hauing pictured on their *ſhoulders, elbowes, and knees*, the heads of ſome fierce beaſts, as Lions, Gryphens, &c. On their *Belly*, the Sunne ſpreading his beames: on their *Pappes*, Moones and Starres &c. On their *armes, thighes*, and *legges*, ſome other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their *Virgins*, their whole Body was garniſhed ouer with the ſhapes of all the faireſt kinds of flowers & herbes; which (to ſpeake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a ſtrange, yet no vnpleaſing aſpect. Whereas the *Men* were (as *Cæſar* ſpeakes) *very horrible to bee looked on*, hauing all their breaſt & bodie diſfigured with vgly Beaſts, Serpents, rauenous Birdes, ſcales and finnes of fiſhes &c. In which relation yet, this ſcruple will not eaſily be remoued (if it bee true, *that from their childhood their prints encreaſed with their bodies*) how thoſe, who being *Virgins* had no prints but of herbes and flowers, becomming *Wiues* were ſo eaſily tranſformed either into Beaſts or heauenly Creatures.

The vſe of their different picturing.

* The Appendix to Hariot's *Virginea*.

Their maried weomen.

Their Virgins.

The Men.

(13) The later *Women*, (as you ſee by the later portraicture,) became farre more modeſt, that is indeed more *womenly*; hauing learned that then they openly ſhew moſt beauty, when openly they ſhew not their beautie; much leſſe ſhould they expoſe to the view, that which nature moſt endeuoured to hide, as knowing it leaſt worth the viewing: yea *ſome obſerue that *weomen* being drowned, naturally ſwimme with their face and foreparts downward, whereas *Men* doe contrary, as if the impreſſion of modeſty were not to leaue a Woman euen after death. *Agrippa* who mentioneth it, reporteth alſo of ſome Matrones, ſo too-modeſt, that they choſe rather to die, then to expoſe ſome hidden diſeaſes to their Chirurgians view: A point vnfortunately inſerted into his witty booke, *in praiſe of women*, which he dedicated to *Margaret* wife to *Maximilian* (afterward *Emperour*): ſhee, of womanly baſhfulnes chooſing rather to die, then to haue her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horſe. The picture of this *Britiſh woman* here laſt deportraied, is framed to that deſcription of the moſt valient *Britiſh Lady, Boudicea*, of whoſe braue attempts on the Romanes you ſhall read more heareafter in the 7. Chapter of the Sixt Booke.

Agrippa de nob. fœminarum.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in moſt *Writers* their are remembrances of ſome, whoſe Actions both *politicke* and *Warlike* haue beene no way inferiour to the worthieſt Men; as our owne Age hath giuen teſtimony to the World in another *Great Lady* of Britiſh race, (the offſpring of the valiant and louely *Meredicke of Wales*,) the glorie of whoſe Raigne and Regall vertues ſhall bee as laſting as the World. Whoſe iuſt, wiſe, and reſolute kind of Gouernement hath iuſtified that Cuſtome of our old *Britains* and *Picts*, of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the later, *that they made no difference of Sexe for the Soueraigne Command, yea and vſed to warre vnder the conduct of women.* In which reſpect though their Ordinary ſort of *weomen* were not imploied in martiall ſeruices, otherwiſe then before we ſhewed in the fourth Chapter, yet becauſe ſome of the choiſeſt of them haue been ſo imploied, we haue ſo deciphered them in their Martiall habit.

Of their women Gouernors.

Queen Elizabeth deſcended from *Owen Teuder*, whome *Leiland* calleth *Meridyth*.

Tacitus.

Beda.

(15) For their other habiliments of *warre*, and the manner thereof, we haue deſcribed it in the ſame 4. Chapter; their *fight* being (as *Diodorus* ſaith) *after the faſhion of the Heroes in the firſt age of the World, who fought in Chariots*; yet *on foote alſo they were moſt ſtrong* (ſaith *Dio*) and alſo *moſt ſwift*; which makes me maruaile why *Strabo* ſhould ſay, *they were pedibus malè ſuffulti, not ſtrongly vnderpropped*; Who alſo ads that they were (as himſelfe obſerued at *Rome*) *much taller then the Gaulles, but yet of no very elegant ſhape and timber*; Vſing as (*Cæſar* ſaith) *to weare their haire very long and curling, otherwiſe ſhauen all their bodie ouer, except only the vpper lippe.* Their *weapons* (ſaith *Herodian*) were *narrow ſhields*, and *ſhort ſpeares*, at the end whereof (ſaith *Dio*) was *a little bell like a ball*, which they ſhooke at their firſt encounter in *Warre* for terror of the Enemy. *Swords* alſo had they, but ſhort, *hanging at their naked ſides*; but *helmet* and *corſlet* they vſed none, as eſteeming *them burdens* rather then helps in warre. But *about their necks they wore a round circle of Iron (as an ornament no leſſe eſteemed then gold with other Nations) as alſo about their waſte*, whereat they hung their skeines: being doubtleſſe, *a moſt warlike Nation*, (as their poſterity haue euer ſince proued,) and *moſt deſirous to ſpill blood*, wherein yet their Offſpring by diuine bleſſing are now moſt different from their Anceſtors.

Of the Britains habits in warre.

Diodorus.

Dio Strabo

Herodian.

Dio

Herodian.

The later Britiſh weomen.

THE SVCCESSION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT BRITAINE IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, WITH AN HISTORICALL RELATION OF THE LIVES, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENTS OF THEIR EMPEROVRS AND LIEVTENANTS:

So farre as toucheth the affaires of this Iland, and so long as it stood a Prouince to that Empire.

BOOKE VI. CHAPTER I.

The Romans the second possessors of this Iland. Iulius Cæsar the first Roman attempter.

THE next Nation that to the *Britains* obtained possession, and soueraignty of this *Iland*, were the *Romans*, and of them *Caius Iulius Cæsar* the first; what time their *State* had vndergone all kinds of gouernments, and now aspired almost to their highest pitch of glory. This *Cæsar* bearing the office of *Questorship* in *Spaine*, and naturally disposed for great assaies, was thereto the more incited at the sight of *Alexanders* portraiture, standing in the temple of *Hercules* at * *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration fell into a sudden dislike of himselfe, and (as *Alexander* in seeing *Achilles tombe*) with an ambitious, yet honorable emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my yeres atchieued the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto hauing done no memorable act?* Euer after which he disdained that his petty charge, and made suite to the *Senate* to be dismissed, holding that the cloude which ouershadowed his following and (soone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to *Rome* obserued euery occasion that might make him gratious in the peoples eies, hauing the aduantage of the time which then was swaied with most dislikes: and entring into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspition of conspiracy, did notwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were euer made honorable, and himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their *State*; vnto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Gallia*, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbare no occasion for warre, were it neuer so vniust or dangerous: Insomuch that framing a Bridge of wood ouer the broad and swift riuer *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Sweuians*, being the first *Romane* that assailed the *Germans:* And thence with victory returning, found his charge the *Gaules* in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his aspiring minde, and set his thoughts to worke vpon other attempts.

* *Calet. Suet. in vita Cæsaris Sect. 7.*

Cæsars speech beholding Alexanders picture.

Cæsars complottings for the Empire.

Cæsar ten yeeres in Gallia.

Cæsar the first Roman that assailed the Germans.

(2) For now intending a voiage into *Britaine*, he prepared thitherward, as well to inlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfy himselfe with the sight and seate of the *Iland*, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could find content. But his pretence was reuenge against the *Britains*, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the *Gaules* had receiued most of their supplies against him in all his warres, or as some haue written, for the desire of *Pearles* that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft obserued.

Causes of Cæsars inuasion.

Sueton. in vita Cæsar. Strabo.

But because the summer was almost spent, and that the voiage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned countriman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who *thinketh* that *Cæsar set vp perspectiue glasses on the coast of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England*) he thought good to send one *Caius Volusenus* a military Tribune in a galley before him, giuing sufficient instructions for so great an enterprise in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of *Gallia*, that lay neerest coasted vnto *Britaine*, thence expecting his successe.

Bacon de arte & natura.

Volusenus Cæsars spie.

(3) These things were not so secretly done but that the *Britaines* receiued notice thereof, and therupon some of their priuate States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submission vnder the assurances of their hostages. Which *Cæsar* accepted and sent back again with liberall promises, ioining in commission with them *Comius* a king of the *Atrebatij* (for so he is stiled vpon his Coyne) a man well reputed, and respected among the *Britains*, that he might perswade the rest of the States to imbrace *Cæsars* amitie. In effecting of which businesse, some fiue daies being spent, *Volusenus* returned, hauing wafted vpon the coasts of *Britaine* so far, as with safety he might, which was no further then to view it with the eie, his foot not daring to tread the shoare replenished with those barbarous people, as it pleased the *Romans* to terme the *Britaines:* His discouerie and relation gaue small en-

The *Morines* were of the hither parts of *France*, as *Turwine*, *Calis*, &c.

Atheneus reports he had 1000. ships.

The Romans diuided their night into foure equall parts, each part being called a watch.

Cæsar. commeth in person against *Britaine*.

couragements to *Cæsars* hoped successe, and had not the *Morines* yeelded him their obedience, it may be thought his voiage at that season had been staied.

(4) But now composing his affaires in *Gallia*, and hauing ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Gallies* also for transporting his army, he loosed from the shoare, hauing a good wind, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after *him*; himselfe early in the morning attained the sight of *Britaine*, whose *cliffes* he found couered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally beset and strengthned with steepe hills and rocks, that hee there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legats* and *Tribunes*, declaring vnto them the danger of the hauen that gaue such aduantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impeach their arriuage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(5) Their Counsell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* both tide and wind fitting him, not foreslowing the occasion, gaue signe of remoue, and some eight miles distant came to * *a plaine and open shoare*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britaines* had remooued part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confesseth that his army was sore ouerlaid and terrified with that incounter: and had they not been assisted from the *Gallies* with an vnusuall kind of *Engines*, which did beat backe the *Britaines* (vnexpert of that strange manner of assault) from the shoare, the *Romans* had not set foot on *British soile*, neither durst they then aduenture it, vntill the *standard-bearer for the tenth legion* desperately leapt foorth of the ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the danted souldiers and asking whether they would dastardly forsake their *ensigne* and betray it through cowardize to the enemy? which opprobry prouoked them to follow his example, and so they got the shoare after an encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledgeth. But the *first of all* (euen before the *Stander-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romans* and taught them how to deale, *was* (as testifieth *Eutropius*) *one Scæua a Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other souldiers in a boat to a rock nere the shore, where the tide leauing them, his fellowes slunke backe in the boat, but hee most boldly defended himselfe from the rocke against the *Britains*, like a Beare at a stake among a multitude of mastiues, till hauing all his armour broken in peeces and himselfe all wounded with darts, he swamme to the fleet; and begging pardon for his foole-heady forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgaue him, and *rewarded his valour with the honour of a Centurion*: and hee did *Cæsar* afterwards noble seruice at *Dyrrachium* in the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saued the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his target was shewed to *Cæsar*, *hauing* 230. *holes pierced in it by the enemie*, whereof *Iosephus Iscanus* that ancient Poet of *Excester* writeth thus:

* Thought to bee *Deale*.

This ensigne was an Eagle of siluer standing in a little shrine vpon the top of a speare. *Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Cæsar bell. ciuil.

Ioseph. Iscanus in Amiocheide.

Hinc & Scæua satus pars non obscura tumultûs
Ciuilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorq; stetit pro Cæsare murus.
The Britaine Scæua in ciuill warres well knowne,
*Besig'd the * Great, and rampiers ouerthrowen,*
Was Cæsars wall more strong then wall of stone.

* Viz. *Pompey*.

The first assay for the conquest of this Land. *An. mundi* 3873.

The first attempt assaied, that is warranted by any true Record for the conquest of this Iland: which happened in the yeere of the worlds creation 3873. and before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, 54.

Cæsar putteth the *Britains* to flight.

(6) This enterprise for landing thus atchieued, *Cæsar* charged so fiercely vpon the *enemie*, that hee put them to flight; but wanting his *horsemen* to follow the chase, (which as yet were not arriued) he proceeded no further, but encamped his host vpon a great plaine, not farre from the Sea, and not without likelihood thought to be *Barham Downe*: for so neere lay it vpon the shoare, that thence he beheld the dis-

At *Barham Down* *Cæsar* seeth the dispersion of his ships.

persion and losse of his 18. *ships* (comming vnder saile with his *horsemen* to his assistance) through the violence of *a storme*, and rage of *Sea*.

(7) In the meane time the *Britaines*, that after flight had againe *recouered head*, and in their assemblies aduisedly considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest *remedie*, and to that end sent their *second Embassadours* vnto *Cæsar*, with whom *Comius* before remembred was imploied, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsars cause*, but now made him a meane to worke their *peace*; which was granted after some soft and gentle reproofes, with *hostages* receiued for performance of *Couenants*, and resort of their *Nobles* to *Cæsars* campe, to yeeld *themselues* and *Cities* to his will.

The Britaines second ambassage to *Cæsar*.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romanes*, and vnmatchable to them in *educated ciuilitie*, yet were so skilfull in the affaires of *warre*, and so ready to discerne the least aduantage, that they easily perceiued the weakenesse of *Cæsars* power, both in want of *horsemen* to equall their *wagons*, wherein chiefly stood the strength and order of their *fight*, as also of *ships* for seruice and safety, as occasions should be offred: whereby their mindes touching their *promised submission* began to wauer, and the matter with better aduice to be pleaded in their *assemblies*; for that not only these foresaid *ships* for *Cæsars* supply were dispersed and hindred, but euen his owne *fleet*, which lay then in harbour by the rage of *winde* and *sea*, (being then spring tide, and the *moone* in the full) was not onely filled with waues, but also their *tacklings*, *sailes*, and anchours spoiled *or lost*, the violent storme so dashing the *bulkes* one against another, that their *bruised bottomes* were thereby made vnfit for burden.

Cæsars ships distressed.

(9) This *losse* was so *great*, that it is accounted *the first of the three aduerse fortunes which euer happened to* Cæsar *in all his proceedings*: and it was so well obserued by the *Britaines*, that immediately they intended a *reuolt*, and in Counsell vrged this, as the materiall point that breathed *hope* and *life* to their *former liberties*, condemning themselues as impious if they should refuse to ioine consent with the *heauens*, whose *elements* had thus farre fought for their *freedome and full deliuerance*, assuring themselues (if on this aduantage they might cut off these new *guests*) that neuer any afterward would aduenture to enter *Britanny* in hostile manner.

Suetonius in vit. Cæsar.

Britaines reuolt.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of *couenants*, and daily to withdraw themselues from *Cæsars Campe*, which gaue him iust occasion to suspect whereat they aimed. And to preuent their proceedings he as wisely wrought: for first repairing his *Nauie* with the huls, timber, and tackling of the most *bruised ships*, with the losse of *twelue ships* only, the rest were made able to brooke the *seas*. And prouiding against the aduantage of the enemie, he sent foorth the *seuenth Legion* for forrage to supplie any occasion.

(10) This *Legion* taking the coast cleere, and little surmising so sudden a *reuolt*, fell to the *sickle* and *sithe* like haruest *labourers*, and laid their weapons apart, mistrusting no *Enemie*. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practise what they had determined, closely had laid themselues in ambush, for thither they knew the *enemie* would come, a peece of *corne there standing*, whereas in all other parts *haruest* was past: and so hauing these *workmen* in their danger, suddenly fell vpon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of *their array*, who not knowing the order of their *fight*, cast themselues in a ring (the best defensiue forme of embattelling) and stood on their *guard* as they might: but had they not happily beene rescued, *Cæsar* had lost one whole *Legion* at that time.

The Britaines suddenly assaile the Romanes.

(11) For though this *skirmish* thus in acting was altogether vnknowne and vnexpected to the rest of the *Romans*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing

to

to the *Cohorts* that warded before their *Campe*, the ſame was miſtruſted, which cauſed *Cæſar* in all haſte to make thitherward with part of his *hoſt*.

(12) The *Britaines* thus preuented, ſeeing more ſupply to maintaine the *battle*, ſtood ſtill, without further ſtroke: and the *Romanes* as much amazed at this ſudden attempt, and order of their fight, *made a ſtand*, not venturing any further. Which *order in fight* ſo often mentioned, and ſo much admired, in *Cæſars* words we will declare, the rather becauſe ſome haue thence collected, that the *Britaines* were the offſpring of the *Troians*, who with other *Eaſterne Nations* only vſed this kinde of fight in *Chariots*.

Clem. Edmunds his obſeruations on *Caſ. Comment. li. 4. ca. 12. obſer. 2.*

Caſ. Comment. li. 4.

The manner of the Britaines fight.

(13) *They vſed* (ſaith he) *to ride in wagons againſt the approch of the enemie, and to circulate them about with a whirling compaſſe, and ratling noiſe, each waies caſting their darts as they did driue, and euer as they ſaw aduantage would winde themſelues in amongſt the horſe and foot, to breake the array; which done, they would forſake their wagons, and on foot moſt dangerouſly aſſaile the enemie. In the meane while the Wagoners would with-draw themſelues ſomewhat out of the battle, and place their wagons in ſuch order, that if their maſters were ouer-charged, they might haue ſpeedy acceſſe, and opportunity of retrait, by which meanes they were euer as quicke to moue as were horſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand the battle as were the foot, whereby they did ſupply the duties of both at once, and by daily exerciſe grew ſo expert in managing their horſes, that running them forcibly downe a ſteepe hill, they would ſtop, and turne them in the mid-way: and they would run along the beame, and ſtand firme vpon the yoke; whence with like facility they would againe returne into their Chariots.*

This order *Cæſar* ſo well obſerued, as that notwithſtanding his deſire of reuenge, yet wanting his *horſemen* (as he pretended) wherein conſiſted the *chiefeſt reſiſtance*, hee durſt attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the *field* without profer of *battle*.

(14) The *Britaines* likewiſe hopeleſſe of further *ſucceſſe* at that preſent, departed without any *impeachment*, intending to proſecute their cauſe with a greater and more *generall ſupplie*: and thereupon ſent *meſſengers* to their ſeuerall *States*, with notice of their hopes againſt ſo ſmall a power; whoſe *Campe* by them if any way might bee vanquiſhed, the purchaſe of *ſpoile*, beſides their *freed liberties*, would requite the paines.

The Britains gather a greater power.

(15) Theſe States, though maintaining *ciuill factions* amongſt themſelues, yet ſeeing the intended danger of this *generall enemie*, preſently aſſembled *a great power*, purpoſing yet once againe to trie the hazard and fortune of warre. *Cæſar*, whoſe vigilancy did euer equall his valour, prepared his *armie*, wherein now only 30. *horſemen* were preſent, and thoſe brought to him by *Comius* the King. The battle ioining continued *not long*, but that the *Britaines* gaue backe and *fled*, whom the *Romanes* purſued as farre as ſtrength indured, and *returned* with the ſlaughter of many, burning the Country where they came.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agric.

Comius ſupplieth *Cæſar* with 30. horſe.

(16) Thus the *Britaines* once againe *vanquiſhed*, foorthwith ſent their third *Embaſſage* vnto *Cæſar*, deſiring peace, with promiſe of quiet ſubiection; whom he with hard termes now reproued, and impoſed a double number of *hoſtages* to be brought him into *Gallia*, whither he made all poſsible preparation, for that the *Æquinoctium* drew neere, doubting his *crazed ſhips* would hardly brooke the *winter ſtormes*, that vſually rage vpon *theſe Seas*. And hauing gotten a faire wind, *imbarked* all his forces about *midnight*, and ſo brought moſt of his *fleet* ſafe to the continent. This enterpriſe ſo fortunately accompliſhed, *Cæſar* by his letters made knowen to the *Senate*, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour *a generall ſupplication or thankſgiuing* to their *Gods*, for the ſpace of *twentie daies* together, wherein all the *Romans*, clothed in white garments, and crowned with *garlands*, went to all the *Temples* of their *Gods*, and offred *ſacrifices* for ſo glorious a *victorie*.

The Britaines ſubmit theſelues the third time.

Æquinoctium is when the day & night are both of a length.

Cæſar was now the firſt that had 20. daies euer grãted: the greateſt victories hauing before him but 5. daies, or 10. at the moſt.

CESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAINE.

CHAPTER II.

Moſt of the Britaines breake couenant with *Cæſar*.

ÆSAR expecting the performance of *Couenants* agreed vpon in the treaty of *peace* with the *Britaines*, receiued *hoſtages* from two of their *Cities* onely, and no more: the reſt drawing backe, refuſed his ſubiection: whereupon intending not to loſe ſo rich a prey, nor to ſuffer that *Sunne* to bee *eclipſed*, whoſe glory thus farre in his *Horizon* had *aſcended*, hee appeaſed ſome troubles in *Gallia*, and in the *winter ſeaſon* began his preparation to that *enterpriſe*. And hauing had experience of his former wants, he furniſhed himſelfe accordingly, and the next *ſpring* following drew his forces towards *Calis*, the ſhorteſt cut into *Britaine*. There committing the charge of *Gallia* to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, himſelfe with fiue Legions of ſouldiers, 2000. *horſemen*, and 800. *ſhips*, about going downe of the *Sunne* looſed from the ſhoare, and with a ſoft Southerne gale were carried into

Itcium Portus ſome thinke to be *Calis*, ſome *Boloigne*.

into the streame. But about midnight the winde failing, and their sailes becalmed, the tide diuerted their course: so that in the dawning he well perceiued his intended place for landing to be passed.

Cæsar arriue landeth at the place of his first arrival

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of tide, and indeuours of their Oares, about noone the same day hee recouered the shoare, euen in the same place (and that without any shew of resistance) where he had found best landing the Summer before. There in conuenient manner he encamped his host, and by certaine *Fugitiues* got notice of the power and place of the enemie.

(3) And lest delay should afford them aduantage, he committed the gouernment of his ships at anchor to *Qu. Atrius*, and his campe on land to the guard of ten Cohorts, besides the strength of three hundred horsemen; and himselfe with the rest about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enemie, proceeding with such celeritie, that by the day dawning they were entred twelue miles higher into the Continent: where seeking to passe a riuer, which is supposed to be the water *Stower*, the *Britaines* with their darts and chariots began in most terrible manner to assault the *Romanes*. But being at length by them repulsed, tooke into a wood strongly fortified both by nature and mans industrie. For in the time of their owne dissensions they had formerly made this place one of their strongest fortresses, and had cut down many trees, which ouerthwart the waies of entrance they had bestowed.

Cæsar resisted at the riuer *Stower*.

(4) In this they secretly kept, and where they saw aduantage, would by companies sallie out vpon the enemie to their no little annoiance. Whereupon *Cæsar* commanded the seuenth Legion to raise a banke, and to build a *Testudo* of boards, couered with raw hides, by which meanes the place without much adoe was won, and the *Britaines* forced to forsake the woods. Whose chase *Cæsar* forbade both in regard the day was neere spent, as also that the countrey was altogether vnknowen to the *Romanes*. But the next day the pursuit being begun, sudden newes was brought from *Q. Atrius*, that most of his ships the night before by a violent tempest were cast on Land, their bulks shaken, their cables broken, and anchours lost. *Cæsars* experience in like mishaps the Summer before, made him so much more ready to preuent the worst. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haste returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, wherein forty of his ships were quite lost. Wherefore he wrote to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for supply of ships, thence to bee sent in all haste. Then gathering his shipwrights out of the legions, with the ruines of the bruised bulkes, he repaired the whole; and now hauing twice felt the dangers of these seas, caused his whole fleet (*a strange attempt*) to be drawn on land, euen into the midst of the fortifications of his campe, so to secure them from the like mishap, and that one strength might defend both.

The Britains driuen from their fortresse.

Cæsars Nauie greatly impaired by tempest.

Hee draweth his fleet on shoare.

(5) In which admirable toile ten daies and nights were altogether spent, before hee could returne to the place from whence he came; where now the *Britaines* through great confluence of people had increased their power, and entred againe their fortresse and wood. The chiefe command of these affaires was committed to *Cassibelan*, whose coine wee haue heere likewise set, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whose *Seigniory* was seuered from the Cities towards the Sea, by the great and famous riuer *Thamisis*, and extended into the land full foure-score miles.

This *Cassibelan* present Gouernour of the *Trinobants*, had attained to the possession of their chiefest Citie by the slaughter of *Imanuence* their former *Ruler* (a man well respected, and much lamented after death) whose sonne *Mandubrace*, a gentleman of great hope, fearing the like danger, by the new established authoritie of *Cassibelan*, had made ouer into *Gallia*, crauing *Cæsars* assistance to set him in his right.

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

(6) *Cassibelan* (if among these authenticke Authors the *British Writers* may bee heard) was the *brother of King* * *Lud*, and in the nonage of his nephewes *gouerned the Trinobants*, whose bounds hee sought to enlarge vpon the bordering Countries of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had so borne himselfe, that he was *much maligned*, and *more feared*. But now all their dangers yoked alike in a common perill, they laid aside priuate grudges, and held him *the only man* to support the strength of their troubled and declining estate, and by a common consent made him *Generall of their warres*. The expectation of whose proceedings he long *delaied not*, but with a fierce and hot encounter *did assaile the Romans*, and so manfully discharged the parts of his place, that in the sight of the whole Campe *Quintus Laberius* a militarie Tribune was *slain*, (in memorie wherof *the place* as yet, though somewhat corruptly, is called *Iul-laber*) and *Cæsar* himselfe professeth he learned many points of martiall policie by their braue and running kinde of encountring.

Flor. Hister. Fabian.

Cassibelan brother of King *Lud.*

Lamber. Perami.

(7) But his next daies seruice prooued not so fortunate; for *the Romans* hauing learned their owne defects by the former daies experience, *laid aside their weighie armour*, that with the more facilitie they might both assaile the enemies, and with like nimblenesse auoid their furie, they hauing now bestowed their powers dispersedly, and scattered their troupes into companies, wherby the *Romans* were still matched with fresh supplies. A policie no doubt of no small consequence, had not destiny determined the fatall subiection of the *Britaines*, and *Fortune* now raised the *Romans* almost to the height of their Monarchie.

(8) For this failing, the *Britaines* neuer after shewed themselues with any vnited resistance, but hauing lost the day *departed*, thinking it better to secure euerie priuate by his owne meanes, then by a generall power to hazard all, as *hopelesse* any more to vphold that which the heauens (they saw) would haue down. And *Cassibelan* himselfe despairing of happy successe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not aboue 4. thousand wagons. And fearing the *Romans* further approch, fortified the riuer *Thamisis* (then passable onely in one place) with sharpned stakes bound about with lead, and driuen so deepe into the bottome, that *Beda* and *Asser* report them so to remaine in their times. All which notwithstanding, the *Romans* passed with the repulse of their enemies, and *Cæsar*, who grew now to the height of his honour, marched further into the Continent, and comming forward, was met by Ambassadours from the chiefest Citie of the *Trinobants*, which *first* of all the States profered submission, and *promised subiection*, with this intreatie also, that *Mandubrace* (who being *Cæsars* follower, and doubtlesse the contriuer of this submission) might be Gouernour of their Citie.

Britaines retire to their seuerall Prouinces.

Thought to be *Oatland.*

Beda lib. 1. cap. 2.

The *Trinobants* submit to *Cæsar.*

Beda calleth him *Androgorius, lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(9) *Cæsar* ready to worke vpon such aduantage, *seized them* at *forty hostages*, *with* sufficiencie of *graine* for his whole armie, which with all expedition those *Suppliants* performed, *preferring* the satisfaction of their owne *discontentments before* the common cause of their *Natiue Country*, thus laid open, and betraied into the enemies hands; from whose example many other States without stroke yeelded to *Cæsars* command: yea further treacherously shewing vnto him both the power and place of *Cassibelans abode*, who had now retired himselfe into his owne Citie called *Verolam*, well fortified both with woods and marish grounds.

Ceminagues, Segontiaus, Ancalits, Bibroks, Cassians.

Thither *Cæsar* came, and with little losse or labour won the place, and many of the miserable *Britaines* both taken and *slaine*. *Cassibelan* now *despairing* of his owne power, farre vnable to match, and much lesse to ouermatch his Enemies, *instigated* the Gouernours of *Kent*, being foure in number, *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximangulus*, and *Segonax*, (whom *Cæsar* termeth

S. Albans beseiged by *Cæsar.*

The Gouernours of *Kent* ioine with *Cassibelan* against *Cæsar.*

meth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set vpon the *Romanes*. Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such successe, that the *Britaines* were on each side slaine, and *Cingetorix* taken *prisoner*, the rest sauing themselues by flight.

Cassibelan solliciteth for peace.

(10) *Cassibelan* beholding these vnfortunate proceedings, *feared* the end of vnhappie *successe*, for hee saw his Country wasted, his owne designes defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traiterous reuolt of many Cities and States on euery side. Therefore as bootlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Attrebatij* to be his meane to *Cæsar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that he determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

A great Tribute.

So saith an old written Chronicle, the Author not named.

(11) The conditions were hard, but necessitie must be obeied: for *Cæsar* imposed a grieuous Tribute to be *taxed of the Britaines*, of no lesse then *three thousand pounds yeerely* to be paid, and moreouer included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Trinobantes* taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; & lastly, that these *Couenants* should be faithfully obserued, he cõmanded *hostages* for assurance forthwith to be deliuered. These things thus compounded, he tooke the *Seas*, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arriued in the Continent of *Gallia*; Hauing rather shewed the place to posterities, then deliuered to the *Romans* the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* saith, supposing it his glory sufficient to vndergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his comming to *Rome*, to haue presented his *British Captiues*; whose strangenesse for attire and behauiour filled the peoples eies both with wonder and delight. *He offred also in the Temple of Venus genitrix, a Surcoat made all of British pearles, as a Trophey and Spoile of the Ocean.* And now his fortunes comming to the highest, the title of *perpetuall Dictator* (then which the State of *Rome* could affoord nothing greater) sufficed him not, but *a King hee will be, and sole gouernour* ouer all, though contrarie to the Law and liking of the *Romanes*; whereof in short time grew such heart-burning and hatred, that *seuenty principall men conspired his death*, and after his many dangers of enemies in battles abroad, was *in the Senate-house* amongst his supposed friends, and in peace (if treacherie may be called peace) *cruelly murdered*, receiuing in his body *three and twenty wounds*, whereof he died, after he had sate *Emperour* only *fiue moneths*.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Eutrop. Plin.

Cæsars ambition.

Cæsars death.

British Writers vary from *Cæsar*.

That *Cassibelan* repulsed *Cæsar* twice.

Nenion won *Cæsars* sword.

Beda hist. li.1 c.2.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *British Writers* doe varie from *Cæsar* in relating these his proceedings, and speake more honourably of their owne resistance then himselfe hath set downe, namely, that by the valour of *Cassibelan* their King, in his first attempts hee was twice driuen backe without his purpose, and forced to take the *Seas*, to the great hazard of his ships and men, yea and with the losse of his owne *sword*, which with great prowesse was wonne from him in a single encounter by *Nenion Cassibelans* brother. And surely howsoeuer *Polydore* accounteth their *Story* new, and *Cæsar* carrieth himselfe gloriously in his owne affaires; yet by sundry other renowned *writers* it seemeth, that the currant of his *Conquest* went nothing so smooth and vntroubled, or with so little losse of the *Romans*, nor the *Britaines* liberties forgone by so easie resistance: which may be collected euen out of some *couert passages* of *Cæsars* own words, where it appeareth, that hee *durst not* at sundry times *giue the Britaines battle*, though *they* were only harnessed *in leather*, and his Souldiers were all *old Legionaries* of long seruice, called for their huge armour, *Milites grauis armaturæ*, as hauing a helmet, corslet and boots, all of massy brasse or iron, with a large target, a strong two-edged sword, and a great staffe or clubbe headed with an iron pike; which oddes notwithstanding had not *Cassibelan* been vndermined by *Mandubrace*, and traiterously forsaken (which *Cæsar* himselfe confesseth) by the Princes which promised him assistance, but euer maligned him, and had now a faire time of reuenge, perhaps *Cæsar* might haue missed this parcell of his glory. Yet for all these helpes, *Lucan* saith expresly of him,

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis:
He Britaines found, but left them soone by flight.

Lucan.

Eutropius saith, *He was wearied out and quelled both with the fierce battles of the enemie, and crosses of tempests.* *Tacitus* saith, *Hee found out Britannie for the Romans, but could not winne it for them:* which was the very cause why (as *Dio* witnesseth) for *twenty yeeres after Cæsars* entrance, *Britannie kept* their *owne Kings* and their *owne lawes*, and had no forraine Prefects to command them. And *Beda* sheweth, that *Cæsar* in this Land was both receiued with sharpe and sore fight, and weakened by the losse of his ships, and with the most part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* also, vsing the speech of *Caractacus* to his Souldiers, hath these words: *He called* (saith he) *vpon the names of his Ancestors, which chased Cæsar the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whose valour they were deliuered from Hatchets and Tributes, and enioied freely their wiues and childrens bodies vndefiled.* Againe, in the consultations of the *Britaines* intending a reuolt, hee allegeth their arguments, whereof one was *the sudden departure of Cæsar out of this Iland, little better then a flight.* With whom *Dion Cassius* also agreeth, affirming that *Cæsar got nothing in Britaine besides the honour and renowne of that voiage, and sight of that Country, vntill then vnknown to the Romans.* And againe (saith hee) *Cæsar departed thence hauing done no memorable act, which caused the Britaines to be secure and careless to prouide themselues against his second arriuage.* Whereby is apparant (euen by *Romane Writers*) both the bold resistance that the *Britaines* made, and the deare subiection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters so farre past, it is hard for mee to auouch any thing resoluedly, vnlesse I could meet with that *aged Britaine* whom *M. Aper* conferred with heere in *Britanny* (as *Quintilian* writeth) *who* auowed that hee *was in the British Campe when they did beat Cæsar from the shoare.*

Tacitus.

Tacit. lib.12. ca.8.

In vita Agric.

Dio li.39.

Cæsar got nothing in *Britaine*, saue the sight of the Countrie.

Quintilian.

(13) Neither will I vrge that for truth, which *Authours* haue left vs in their reports, concerning the many *prodigies before* going, and forewarning *his death*: things rather to be accounted the superfluities of their owne pens, and *vaine imageries*, euer working vpon accidentall euents, and ascribing issued successe to a supernaturall cause. Such conceit had *Cæsar* of himselfe, that for his fortunes hee *would bee stiled amongst the Gods*: and *his deitie* to that credulous generation was further *strengthned* by the appearance of *a blazing starre*, which mooued (no doubt) an ouerlarge opinion of his humane power, and caused his glorie much to surmount it selfe. And therefore lest ignorance should any way blemish his immortalitie, they haue fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to foreshew the same: all which he either lightly despised, or carelesly neglected, as they would haue their Readers beleeue.

Cæsar would bee stiled amongst the Gods.

Sueton. Plutarch.

(14) Such was that of *Spurina* his diuiner, that forewarned him of great *danger*, which should not passe the *Ides of March*. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbus* reporteth, that *in the ancient Monuments of Capua, discouered but few moneths before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the reuenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein he seemed to flie in the clouds, and to shake hands with Iupiter: as also his wiues, that thought him stabbed in her armes, and to lie all bloody in her bosome.* Besides many other obseruances both of beasts and birds, and that in such plentie, that it yeelded sufficient matter for *Ouid the Poet* to furnish and fill vp the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities, and fortunes, are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke

Cæsar forewarned to take heed of the Ides of March.

His dreames.

His wiues dream.

Ouid. Meta. li.15.

His personage.

eies, and bald headed, to couer which he vsually wore the *Triumphant Lawrell Garland*. He was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent: and although so great a warriour, *thirsting after fame*, yet would he be *easily reconciled* to his enemies, yea and often times seeke the meanes first himselfe. And hee held it no lesse valour to subdue his *wrath*, then his *enemie*; as likewise in his *disasters* hee was of great temper and *moderation*, insomuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that *whiles he was in Britaine, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) hee conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as hee subdued all things where euer he came.* And of his other moderateneſſe, *Cotas* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Armie) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then so great and glorious a Commander, yet he was so *farre from outward pompe*, as that *when he came into Britannie hee had onely three seruants to attend him.*

Easie to be reconciled.

Seneca.

Cotas apud Athenæum.

(15) In his *enterprises* hee was both valiant and *fortunate*, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or *Paterne of an absolute Generall*, especially for *foure militaric properties* very resplendent in him: *first, laboriousnesse* in his affaires: *secondly, courage* in his dangers: *thirdly, industrious contriuing* of what he vndertooke: *fourthly, quicke dispatch* in accomplishing what hee had once begun: In all which he proceeded with such successe, that in *fiftie seuerall battles by him fought, he alwaies preuailed, one only excepted*, as both *Pliny, Solinus*, and others haue recorded. *Foure times* hee was created *Consul*, and *fiue times entred Rome in triumph*, bearing still the stile of *Perpetuall Dictator*. And therfore with lesse dishonour did *nations subiect* themselues vnto him; and this of *Britaine* with them, whose *lot* being cast among the hazards of the world, was drawen with an equall chance, *as the rest*, and yeelded their *freedomes* with as hard conditions, as did Countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. *But most especially the decree of God could not bee gaine-stood, who had foreshewed by his Prophets the rising of these* Chittims, *and them a meanes to make the metalline image dust.*

His successe in warre, and number of battles.

His Offices.

Num. 24. 24.
Dan. 11. 30.
Dan. 2. 35.

OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS.

Chapter III.

AFter the death of *Cæsar*, thus slaine in the *Senate*, *Octauian* (the grand-childe of *Iulia*, *Cesars sister*) whom hee had adopted, and declared his heire, returned vnto *Rome* from * *Apollonia*, where he studied *Philosophie*, intending to prosecute the reuenge of *Cæsars death*; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius* a man of great *spirit* and *power*, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their Complices, for the murder of his vncle, secretly wrought the friendship of the *Citizens*, before whose eies also *Cæsars wounds* seemed yet to bleed.

* From *Macedonia*, say some.

Cæsar against *Antony.* *Sueton. in vita August.*

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate-house* their causes were pleaded, and by the instigation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemie to the *State*: against whom *Octauian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, and *title Proprætor*, being yet not twentie yeeres of age; which duty and office he so well discharged in the parts of *a valiant Captaine*, that *Antony* was forced out of the field, albeit in this battle the *one Consul* was slaine, and *the other* deadly wounded. For which seruice so effected, he *entred Rome in Triumph*; though the glory thereof was much blemished, being obtained but in an inteſtine and *ciuill warre*. *Marcus Antonius*, to recouer himselfe, and make good his cause, ioined friendship with *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, Captaine of the horse, who together interposed themselues against *Octauians proceedings*; but by mediation of friends *all three* were *reconciled*, and iointly erected that forme of gouernment which thence was named the *Triumuirat*: for the establishment whereof they had seuerall iurisdictions assigned them: to *Lepidus*, *Africa*, whereof he was present Gouernour: to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian Sea*, entring at the *gulfe of Venice*, vnto the *riuer Euphrates*: and vnto *Octauian* all these *West parts of Europe*, amongst which this *our Britaine* was one.

Cicero against *Antonium.*

Antonius discomfited.

Octauian and *Antony* reconciled.

(3) In these ciuill broiles, and *bandings of great men* (as *Tacitus* termeth it) *the State of Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisdome (saith he) to *restraine the infinite desire of inlarging the Romane Empire*, whose extent

The Empire too great.

tent was growen to that *vaſt greatneſſe*, as it ſeemed euen *burdenſome* vnto it ſelfe, whereby this remote *Iland* lay ouerſhadowed from their ſight: whereunto may be added that the preſence of *Kymbeline the Britiſh King* (as their hiſtorie recordeth) in great fauour with *Octauian*, was a great furtherance to the peace, euen without paiment of the formerly impoſed *Tribute*. But yet the truth is (as *Dion Caſſius* hath it) that *Octauian* deſirous in all things *to be like vnto Cæſar*, ſeeing their tribute neglected, had *intended a voiage towards Britaine*; but hauing ſet forwards into *Gallia*, he had there tidings of the ſudden reuolt of the *Pannonians*, againſt whom he diuerted his prepared power, and left his firſt deſignement for that time. Notwithſtanding, he ſtill retained the deſire of their ſubiection, and foure yeeres after made *a ſecond very great preparation thitherward*, proceeding with his power againe into *Gallia*.

Fabian out of Guido. Columna.

Dio Caſſ. lib. 49.

Octauians preparation for Britaine.

(4) The *Britaines* that had felt the force of the *Romans*, and in regard of their own diſtractions at home were hopeleſſe of ſtrength to withſtand them, ſought the fauor of *Auguſtus* by their ſubmiſsion, and to that end ſent ouer their *Ambaſſadours*, who preſenting themſelues before him in *Gallia Celtica*, appeaſed his wrath, with promiſe of obedience and full ſatisfaction for their *Tributes* deteined: whereby *Cæſar* was again *ſtaied*, and the *Britaines* taken into fauour and protection. Notwithſtanding, the mindes of their *Magiſtrates* were ſo *vnconſtant*, or elſe the *money* ſo *hardly drawen* from the people, who naturally hated all ſuch obliged ſeruitudes, hauing euer liued a free Nation (as *Aegiſippus* ſpeaketh of them) that they againe *failed their paiment*; whereat *Auguſtus* was ſore offended, and *the third* time prepared his *voiage* that way, which yet a while was hindred by the reuolt of the *Byſcayans*, and ſome other Prouinces.

Dio Caſſ. lib. 53.

The Britains appeaſe Octauian.

Strabo lib. 4.

Auguſtus third preparation againſt Britanny.

(5) The *Britaines* ſeeing themſelues thus ſtill ſought after, ſent vnto *Cæſar* their excuſes, with *preſents* to be offred in the Capitoll *to the Romane Gods*, hauing now learned with the reſt of the world to appeaſe Princes by gifts and rewards, yeelding part of the *Iland*, and ſwearing him fealtie in the *Temple of Mars*, and ſo were regiſtred ſubiects to the *Romane Empire*. At which time alſo they agreed to pay tolles and cuſtomes for all wares which they tranſported into other parts, *their merchandize* chiefly conſiſting of *Iuorie boxes*, *Iron Chaines*, and other *ſmall trifles of Amber and Glaſſe*. All which agreements and compoſitions were afterward ſo loyally obſerued, and the Land ſo compoſed to quietneſſe, that *one band of ſouldiers*, with *a ſmall troope of horſe* (as *Strabo* ſaith) or foure Legions (as *Ioſephus* writeth) were ſufficient to *containe* ſo great *a multitude* in a ſetled forme of *obedience*.

The Britaines excuſes.

Cuſtomes firſt paid in Britaine.

The Britaines loyaltie.

(6) Ouer the *Trinobantes*, the greateſt and *moſt potent* State of the *Britaines*, then raigned the happie *Prince Cunobeline* (for ſo in his Coines yet remaining we finde it) corruptly written *Kimbeline*, the ſonne of *Theomantius* nephew to *Caſſibelan* before ſpoken of, whoſe abode and principall ſeat was *Camalodunum*, as by the reuerſe of the ſaid Coines may appeare. This Prince to make his eſtate more reſpectiue, cauſed his *owne Image* to be ſtamped thereon, after the manner of the *Romans*, (who now had newlie taken vp that faſhion) *his paiments* before conſiſting for the moſt part *in rings of iron*, and *plates of braſſe*, ſeized at a certaine waight, which vſually paſſed for currant amongſt the *Britaines*, as *Cæſar* reporteth, and as thoſe rings are yet witneſſes, whereof we haue ſeene ſome.

Cunobeline prince of the Trinobantes.

Malden.

The firſt ſtamped Coines in Britaine.

Cæſar. Com. lib. 5.

This man trained *his people* to a more *ciuill life* then formerly had beene accuſtomed, and *enioied peace* with the reſt of the *world*, which then ſtood *vniuerſallie in quiet*, *as waiting the comming of that Prince of peace*, *whoſe going foorth had beene from euerlaſting*, *and of whoſe kingdome there ſhall bee no end: euen Chriſt the anointed Emmanuel and ſonne of the liuing God: ſo long before expected*, *and now in the fulneſſe of time manifeſted:* at whoſe birth *warre went downe*, as *Virgil* ſpeaketh, or rather to vſe the words of the *Prophet*, *when ſwords were made into mattocks*, *and ſpeares brokē into ſithes: And as in the building of Salomons Temple neither noiſe of axe, nor the ſound of hammer was heard; ſo his bodie being the true Temple, hee came and was incarnate at ſuch time, when the ſound of warre did not awake the world, but a calme and quiet peace incompaſſed it, as by the Angels was proclaimed amongſt the Iewes*, and now was more publikely made knowen amongſt the *Gentiles* by the ſhutting of *Ianus Temple in Rome*. This *vniuerſall peace* was ſo famous and ſo *admirable*, that it found *matter for the fineſt wits* amongſt the *Heathens* to enlarge themſelues: whereupon *Virgil* framing the perſwaſions of *Iupiter* to his daughter, foreſheweth the happy ſucceſſe of her ſeed, and in what tranquillity they ſhould ſit; when the hands of *Mars* were thus reſtrained from fight, as he thus expreſſeth:

Micah 4.3.

1. King. 6.7. The birth of Chriſt like the building of Salomons Temple.

Ioh. 3.19.

Luk. 2.14.

Paulus Oroſius. Ianus Temple is ſhut.

Aſpera tum poſitis mitеſcent ſecula bellis:
Cana fides, & Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt: dirа ferro, & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ: furor impius intus
Sæua ſedens ſuper arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

Virg. Aeneid. li. 1.

Then men ſhall milder prooue: ceaſe ſhall fierce warres:
Faith, Gods, *and* Princes *all ſhall iuſtly guide:*
Warres gaſtly gates with bolts and iron barres
Faſt ſhut ſhall ſtand: and Mars caſhierd *ſhall hide*
Mongſt heapes of ruſty armour, where his hands
Bound faſt ſhall be with hundred braſen bands.

The fruits of a true peace.

And yet further in his *Eclogе* (from the *Sibyls*, who in all likelihood had it from the *diuine Oracles*) hee vſeth the very words of the *Prophets* in ſpeaking of *a Maid*, and *a Child of a new progenic borne and ſent downe from heauen*, by whom the braſſy and iron-like world ſhould ceaſe, and a pure *golden age* ſucceed. Thus he ſweetly ſingeth:

Lactan. li. 4 ca. 6. Duples. verit. c. 32.

Vltima Cumæi venit iam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro ſeclorum naſcitur ordo:
Iam redit & Virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna:
Iam noua progenies cælo demittitur alto.
Tu modò naſcenti puero, quo ferrea primùm
Deſinet, ac toto ſurget gens aurea mundo, &c.

Eclog. 4.

Now is the time of which Sibylla *ſaid,*
The old world doth his prime againe renew:
Now hath the world a pure vnſpotted Maid:
*Now raignes the** God of Gods, *whoſe off-ſpring new*
Deſcends from heauen. Bleſſ'd be the babe *whoſe raies*
Hath turn'd our iron age to golden daies.

Saturne (whom *Virgil* nameth) was eſteemed the father of the Gods.

In which *Eclogе* are ſweetly couched many other moſt diuine alluſions to *our Sauiours*[1] *Deity*, [2] *birth and humanity*, [3] *pouerty*, [4] *graces*, [5] *croſſes*, [6] *kingdome*, and [7] *redemption of the world from* [8] *ſinne*, [9] *death*, and [10] *hell*.

So likewiſe *Marcus Tullius Cicero ſaw in his dreame* (as himſelfe reporteth) *a childe of an ingenuous and beautifull countenance*, *let downe from heauen by a golden chaine*. And *Suetonius* in the life of *Auguſtus* from *Iulius Marathus* hath obſerued, that certaine predictions in *Rome* happening, were ſo reſpected and generally expounded, *That Nature was about to bring forth a King that ſhould raigne ouer the whole world*. And albeit theſe and other Heathen Writers aſcribe theſe things either to *Auguſtus* himſelfe, or to ſome of his fauorites, yet wee ſee them accompliſhed in none other but *Ieſus Chriſt the Meſſiah our bleſſed Sauiour*, in whom only the Kingdome of *God* began, with the vtter ſubuerſion of all their heatheniſh Oracles, which at his birth, or at furtheſt at his death, ceaſed all, and gaue place to HIS *eternitie*. Which time of his birth by the Scriptures moſt certaine account, was from the worlds creation, 3927. and is ſet by the *Britaines* in the fourteenth of their *Cunobelines* raigne, and by other authenticke Writers in the two and fortieth of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, euen in the top of that Empires greatneſſe,

1 *Magnum Iouis incrementum, &c.*
2 *Matri longa decem, &c.*
3 *Nec Deus hunc menſa, &c.*
4 *Aſſyrium vulgò naſcetur, &c.*
5 *Cui non riſere parentes, &c.*
6 *Pacatumq; reget patriis, &c.*
7 *Soluet formidine terras, &c.*
8 *Si qua manent ſceleris, &c.*
9 *Fallax herba veneni, &c.*
10 *Occidet & ſerpens, &c.*
Suetonius in vit. Auguſt. Sect. 94. Duples. veritat. Chriſti. 32. fol. 518. Niceph. li. 1. ca. 17. Iuuenal. Satyr. 3.

Zephan. 3. 11. Our Sauiour Chriſt borne in the fourteenth yeere of Cunobeline.

Luk. 2.

Dan. 2.

Augustus described. His raigne.

neſſe, when *Rome* was with an vniuerſall ſubiection acknowledged the abſolute *Lady of the knowne earth.* For ſo in *S. Luke* wee read, that this *Auguſtus then firſt taxed the world.* A text moſt ſtrong for the full diſſolution of the foure foregone kingdomes repreſented in *Daniels Image*, by *the fall of this ſtone Chriſt, the rocke and ſtay of our eternall happineſſe.*

(7) This *Emperour* raigned in great honour the ſpace of fifty ſix yeeres, and was obeyed both by the *Eaſterne Indians*, and the *Northerne Scythians*, with the ſubiection of the *Parthians*, a fierce and vntamed people, and generally with the loue of all. Hee was a *Prince* indued with *great wiſdome, magnanimitie*, and *Iuſtice*; yet faulty in this, that he tooke from *Tiberius Nero* his wife *Liuia*, both great with child, and hauing alſo formerly borne him a ſonne. Deuout hee was in the worſhip of the *Romane Gods*; amongſt whom in the *Capitoll* he built an Altar vnto the *Hebrew childe*, with this inſcription: *The Altar of the firſt begotten Sonne of God:* being thereunto mooued by the *Oracle of Apollo* that had anſwered his owne deſtruction by the birth of *this childe. Of Stature* he was but low, and of a good complexion; gray-eied, his haire ſomewhat yellow, and his body freckled with ſpots, which as his flatterers would haue the world beleeue, were in forme like ſtarres. Predictions foreſhewing his gouernment and death are alleged, the which I willingly ouerpaſſe, holding moſt of them rather fantaſies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the ſtanders by, whether he *had well acted the enterlude of his life vpon the ſtage of this world:* and died fourteene yeeres after *Chriſt* his incarnation; leauing after him ſo honourable an eſtimation of his glory, that as the ſucceeding *Emperours* in remembrance of *Iulius Cæſar* gloried to be called *Cæſars*, ſo they euer held the name of *Auguſti* to be *ſacred*, and only befitting perſons deſtinated to imperiall Maieſtie. And both *their names* were inſerted into the number of the moneths, that the honour of them both might *neuer periſh while Times euiternitie ſhould endure.*

His endowments of bodie.

Suetonius in vita Auguſti.

Tacit. Annal. li. 5. cap. 1.

His deuotion to Chriſt. *Niceph. li. 1. ca. 17. Suidas.*

The moneths of *Iuly* and *Auguſt.*

TIBERIVS.

Chapter IV.

Auguſtus Cæſar thus glorioufly raigning, and peaceably dying, had ordained for his ſucceſſour *Tiberius Nero*, the ſonne of *Tiberius* the *Patritian*, and of *Liuia* his wife, whom (as we ſaid before) he had taken for his *Empreſſe*, and by whoſe incitements and continuall inſtigations that matter was procured: though *Suetonius* thinketh, it was by *Auguſtus* his owne ambitious conceit, to make himſelfe the ſooner miſſed, and the more lamented, in leauing his ſonne ſo vnlike him to ſucceed, whoſe conditions as they ſtood vpon their owne baſis, hee knew to bee both reproouеable, and alſo contemptible.

Tiberius Nero his parents.

(2) But before the death of *Cæſar* could be diuulged, to write his imperiall ſtile as it were in blood, he began with the murder of young *Agrippa* the ſonne of *Iulia*, daughter to *Octauian*, and once his owne wife, and continued his raigne with ſuch *tyrannie*, that many he ſlaughtred, without reſpect of perſon or cauſe; and in his looſeſt laſciuiouſneſſe, thought of nothing but how to ſubuert the *Nobilitie*; for rare it was in his daies that any ſuch died a naturall death: and maintaining a race of *men* (*Promoters*, as *Tacitus* tearmes them, found out for *a common ouerthrow* and deſtruction of *others*) *allured* them by rewards *to accuſe* the rich, though *guiltleſſe*; only this fauour granted to the condemned, that if they ſlew themſelues before the day of execution, their *bodies* ſhould haue buriall, their *goods* not confiſcate, and their *teſtament* ſtand good in law.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 3.

His plotting againſt his Nobles. *Tacit. Annal. li. 4. cap. 7.*

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 7.

(3) A great *diſſembler* he was, *ſeeming* euer *to hate* thoſe *vices* which in truth he loued, and *to loue* thoſe *vertues* which he did moſt deadly hate: and *for life* and libidinous filthineſſe ſo extreme, that a Chriſtians pen may not expreſſe, when the *Heathen* themſelues doe *bluſh to name* ſuch *things* as *hee ſhamed not* openly *to commit:* his publike drunkenneſſe, and continuall *banquettings*, whereat hee ſpent *whole daies and nights* together without intermiſſion, cauſed exchange of names from *Tiberius Nero* to * *Biberius Mero.*

Tiberius his hypocriſie.

His libidinouſneſſe.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 1.

His Epicuriſme.

* A wine-biber.

Careleſſe in gouernment.

Mero. Diſſolute and careleſſe he was in gouernment, though ſome haue accounted him a wiſe and politicke Prince: for the *Prouinces* he left to defend themſelues, and yet daily *charged* them *with larger Tributes*, to their great impouerishment, and almoſt vtter ruine.

The prouinces vndefended.

(4) In this ſtate, amongſt others neglected, *Britaine* ſtood, wherein *Tiberius* neither maintained garriſon, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may be thought) their owne Lawes and Princes bare ſway among themſelues, howſoeuer the cauſe for *Tribute* was ballized betwixt them. And moſt certaine it is, the *Britaines*, if not in ſubiection, yet were well affected to the *Romanes*, as appeareth by *Tacitus* in the kinde entertainments, and in releeuing their ſhipwracked ſouldiers, that in croſsing the *Seas* were by tempeſt driuen vpon their Coaſts, and courteouſlie ſent thence by their *petty Kings* vnto *Germanicus* their Generall. Notwithſtanding, *Ieffrey Monmouth* ſeemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the raign of one *Guiderius*, and the valour of *Aruiragus*, the ſonnes of *Cunobeline* (of whom more heereafter) to withſtand the *Romiſh Command*, and vtterly to refuſe the paiment of *Tribute*, banding both againſt *Tiberius*, as alſo againſt *Caligula* and *Claudius* the Emperours ſucceeding.

Britaine without forraine garriſon or gouernment.

Tacit. Annal. li. 2. cap. 5.

Ieffrey Mmm.

(5) Other remembrances of theſe times concerning vs finde we none, beſides that which is common to all, namely the death of our *Sauiour Chriſt*, which vnder this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeere was accompliſhed by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy *Pontius Pilate*, who *both adiudged him to die, and to bee guiltleſſe of deſerning death*: whereby was wrought the myſterie of our *Redemption*, with ſuch ſignes and euidences of his *Deitie*, that the wicked Iudge himſelfe wrote thereof to *Tiberius*, and hee to the *Senate*, to haue him conſecrated among the *Roman Gods*. Which they refuſed to doe, that the wiſdome and diuine *power of God* in the doctrine of *Saluation* ſhould *not need* the allowance and commendation *of men*, as *Euſebius* hath well obſerued.

Our Sauiour Chriſts death.

Tertul. in Apolog. aduerſ. gentes, c. 5.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(6) Finally, when hee had raigned hated of all men the ſpace of three and twenty yeeres, with no better liking then is read of *Ioram* King of *Iudah*, that liued without being deſired, hee was ſmoothered to death (as is thought) by *Caligula*, the ſeuenteenth of the Kalends of *April*, the yeere from *Chriſts Natiuitie* thirty nine, and the ſeuenty and eighth of his owne age. He was of *perſonage* tall, and of *body* ſtrong, broad chefted, and vſed both his *hands* alike, faire of *complexion*, but great and goggle-eied, whereby he ſaw ſo cleerely as is incredible to report.

Tiberius his raigne, age, and death.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6. cap. 7.

2. Chr. 21. 20.

Tacit. lib. 6. ca. 11.

CAIVS CALIGVLA.

CHAPTER V.

Caius Caligula his parents. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

NExt vnto *Tiberius* ſucceeded his nephew *Caius Caligula*, the ſonne of *Germanicus*, (whoſe face is expreſſed aboue) the ſonne of *Druſus*. His mother was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Iulia*, *Cæſars* wife; liked rather for his fathers vertues, (who was for *learning*, *vertue*, *valour*, and *courteſie*, the moſt admired man of that age) then for any parts of his owne anſwerable to ſo high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good preſence in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Euer in condition oppoſite to all, and (which is more) moſt times to himſelfe. One while laſciuiouſly *prodigall*, in exceſsiue *banquets*, admirable *Sea-workes*, with needleſſe *leuelling of mountaines*, and filling vp their vallies: Another while extremely *couetous*, *impoſing taxes* vpon the Prouinces, and exacting gaines out of the baſe earnings of pollutions: Alwaies cruell and libidinous. His owne *mother* he defamed to bee inceſtuouſly begotten; his *grand-mother* he poiſoned; his *brother Tiberius* he murdered; with his *three naturall ſiſters* hee liued inceſtuouſly, and vpon *Druſilla* the ſecond (who was contented to be deflowred by him when they were both but children) he ſo *incredibly doted*, that he vſed to ſweare by her ſacred name, *and deified* her for a *Goddeſſe* by the name of *Panthea*, commanding diuine honours to bee done vnto her. The like *deitie* conceited he *of himſelfe*, cauſing his *Statue* to be worſhipped, and placed in his vſuall roabes amongſt the *Romane Gods*, and would haue ſet it in *Ieruſalems Temple* (as *Ioſephus* recordeth) had not that *great God* cut him off by death. His *Imperiall gouernment* was without either inlargement of circuit, or inforcing by armes a dutifull ſubiection, rather ſeeking to make himſelfe

His prodigalitie.

His couetouſnes.

His vile actions.

Philo. Iudæ. Euſeb. lib. 2. cap. 6.

Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 11.

himselfe feared by *Tyrannie* at home, then any waies famous by *Acts abroad*.

(2) How the other *Prouinces* stood affected, I leaue to themselues; but by *Tacitus* it should seeme the *Britaines* and *Germans* were not his best subiects: for these are his words, that *Caius had a meaning to inuade Britaine, it is certainly knowen: but his rash running head, and hasty repentance in his attempts against Germany, turned all to nothing.* And *Suetonius* ascribes the foolish erection of that admirable bridge ouer a creeke of the *Sea* in *Campania* (whereof *Dion* writeth at large) to his vaine-glorious conceit, that by a brute blazed abroad of so huge and monstrous a worke, he might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, vpon which Countries he meant to make warre. The issue whereof was as fruitlesse as his great cost was ridiculous. For hauing set forward for the conquest of *Britaine* with no small preparation, he proceeded no further then to those parts of *Holland* that confront against *Northfolke*, where hee suddenly pitched his tents, and staied.

Tacit. in vita Agric.

Caligula intendeth to inuade Britaine.

Dion Cass. lib. 59.

Sueton. in vita Caligulæ.

(3) At which time, *Adminius* the sonne of *Cunobelin* King of *Britaine* being banished by his father, fled ouer *Sea* with a small power, and submitted himselfe vnto *Cæsars* protection: wherupon *Caligula* wrote vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as if the whole *Iland* had beene yeelded into his hands: commanding the messenger that his letters should be carried in a Chariot into the *Curia*, and not deliuered but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent and full assemblie of the *Senate*. And hauing no further matter to worke vpon, hee caused certaine *Germane prisoners* secretly to bee conueied into a wood, and word to bee brought him in great feare and amazement of the sudden approch of the enemie; against whom with shew of great manhood and noble resolution in all haste and warlike manner he marched, and in chaines openly shewed them as his captiues taken in warre, forbidding the *Senators* the wonted celebration of their *Feasts*, or to enter their *Theaters* to take solace, seeing their *Cæsar* exposed himselfe to so many perils, and fought so great battles with hazard of his life. Last of all, as if he had meant to make a finall dispatch for euer of the warre, hee drew his forces downe to the Sea-coast of *Belgia*, and embattailed his army vpon the *Ocean shoare*; planting his *balists* and other *Engines* of artillerie in their seuerall places, no man witting what hee meant: which done, himselfe in a *Galley* launched into the *Sea*, and immediately returning, caused the *Trumpets* to sound the battle, and commanded his *Souldiers* forthwith to fall a gathering of cockles and muscles into their helmets, terming them the *Spoiles of the conquered Ocean:* Against which hee also built a Tower, as a Trophey of his victorie, the ruines whereof as yet remaine in *Holland* to this day, and is called *The Britons house*, in memorie of that fantasticall seruice: vpon which exploit he made a glorious Oration to his souldiers, commending and requiting their valours with rewards, and auowing their *shell-spoiles* worthy offrings to be presented in the *Capitoll*, writing letters to *Rome* of this his great *Conquest*, and demanding *Triumph*, and diuine honours to be assigned him: which when

Adminius banished flieth to *Cæsar*.

Caligula his vaine ambition.

His deluding of the Senate.

His warring with the Sea.

Caligula his great victorie.

Ortelius Geograp.

His ambition.

the *Senatours* made some question of, hee threatned them with death. But this *Sea-seruice* (as it seemeth) so ranne euer after in his minde, that one night hee dreampt that the *Sea* in dreadfull shape came and expostulated with him, which cast him into an incredible horrour and affright.

(4) In his last yeere of life and raigne, *Pontius Pilate*, vnder whom *Christ Iesus* suffered, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, deposed and banished to the Towne of *Lions* in *France*, where, in despaire he slew himselfe in the yeere from *Christ* his incarnation, forty one, and from his death, the seuenth, as *Eusebius* hath noted.

(5) And now both the *Ambition* and crueltie of *Caius* was growen so intolerably sauage, as that he often *lamented that some* rare and vnusuall disaster (as either some *horrible slaughter* of huge Armies, or some vniuersall *plague*, or *famine*, or *fire*, or *opening of the earth*, or *ouer-flowing of the Sea*) *happened not in his time*, whereby his raigne might be made memorable to posteritie. And *hee wished* that all the people of *Rome* had but *one necke*, that he might haue the glorie of giuing the brauest blow that euer was giuen, *whereby* so *infinite multitudes* of men *might be killed* by him *at one stroke*. But this his wish was preuented by a blow on himselfe, his death and downefall being complotted and executed by certain *Tribunes*, whereof *Chærea* was chiefe; who following him from the *Theater* with resolution for the fact, tooke the time when *Caligula* turning suddenly aside into a narrow Cloister to see certaine boies sent him out of *Asia*, lost the defense of his fore-warders, and the straitnesse of the place permitted not his guard to follow, on which aduantage *Chærea* demanded his watch-word, which he (according to his vsuall manner) gaue in great disdaine and scorne, whereunto *Chærea* replied, and with his sword wounded him in the necke, and iaw; and then the rest of the *Conspirators* comming in, with *thirty wounds* made an end of his life, after hee had most impiously raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths.

Affrighted in his sleepe.

Pontius Pilate banished killeth himselfe.

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 2.

Caligula slaine.

(6) He was of *stature* tall, of *complexion* pale and wan, of *body* somewhat grosse, and vnfashionable, his *necke* and *legges* exceedingly slender, his *eies* sunke into the hollow temples of his *forehead*, and that also frowning and full of wrinkles: his *haire* was thin and shaggie, but bald on the crowne, though otherwise so hairie of bodie, that all the time of his raigne if a man did but name a *Goat*, it was held a touch and offense of *Læsæ Maiestatis* against his imperiall person. His *Countenance* naturally sterne and grimme, which by composing and gesture he purposely made more vgly and terrible. His *apparell* alwaies costly, but not alwaies Court-like, neither ciuill: his *beard* hee wore of gold like *Iupiter* or *Æsculapius*. In his *hand* for a Scepter, a Mace three-tined, as *Neptune* or *God* of the *Sea*, and vpon his *body* the *Curace* of *Alexander* the *Great*, taken from his *Sepulchre and Monument*. Hee died aged twenty nine yeeres, whose *memory* was so *hatefull* vnto all, that all the Copper Coines or Modals stamped with *his picture* were *melted* downe by decree of the *Senate*, whereby (if it were possible) *his name* and feature might be *forgotten* vnto future ages.

His personage

Sabellic. Aeneid. 7. lib. 2.

Dion lib. 60.

His hatred after death.

CLAVDIVS

CLAVDIVS DRVSVS.

CHAPTER VI.

Claudius Druſus Emp.

Aulus Plautius Lieut.

Claudius Druſus choſen by the Pretorian Souldiers.

BVt *Claudius Druſus* a man of better ſpirit and temperature, immediately vpon the death of *Caligula*, and euen in the height of thoſe diſturbances, by the *Pretorian Souldiers* (who were encamped nere the walles of *Rome*) was nominated, and choſen *Emperor*; whereas the *Senate* had *decreed* and determined to *reduce* the *Citie* into her *ancient libertie, without* admiſſion of any *Cæſar*, or *ſubiection to* ſuch abſolute and *ſole authoritie*; notwithſtanding, the power of this *Army*, and the vote of the *Citie* ſo *preuailed*, that the election was confirmed, and the Imperiall dignity by him aſſumed, as the next, and onely man to whom it muſt of right belong: whoſe father *Druſus* was the ſonne of *Liuia*, wife to *Octauian*, to whom the *Emperours* ſucceeding held it a glorie to be any waies allied.

Ioſeph Antiquit. l. 19. cap. 3.

Claudius his Parentage.

(2) In his firſt proceedings with the *Prouinces affaires*, hee determined warre againſt the *Britaines*, whoſe *Tribute* had beene a long time *neglected*, and whoſe *ſubiection* was now to bee *feared*: all of them being raiſed in a tumultuous vprore. The cauſe pretended was certaine fugitiues, (the betraiers of their *State and liberties*) lately departed, and by the *Romans* receiued with protection of the *Emperour*: a matter that moued them to great diſcontents, and ſerued as a ſhew for their iuſt reuolt.

The Britaines detaine their Tribute.

(3) *Claudius*, as ready to preuent the worſt, being thereto further incited by *Bericus* one of thoſe Britiſh fugitiues as *Dion* reporteth, in the ſecond yeare of his Empire, and from *Chriſts Natiuitie* forty fiue, ſent *Aulus Plautius* a *Romane Senator*, well experienced in the affaires of warre, to take charge of the *Army* remaining in *Gallia*, and with thoſe old trained Souldiers to make ouer into *Britaine* to retaine their obedience. Which ſeruice vpon them thus impoſed, was generally diſtaſted, as apparantly was ſhewed by their vnwillingneſſe thitherward, muttering and complaining, *that they muſt now be inforced to make warre out of the world*, and protracting time, could hardly bee drawne forward, though the *Emperour* ſent his ſecond command.

Dion Caſſ lib. 60. Anno Domi. 45.

Aulus Plautius ſent againſt the Britaines.

His Souldiers vnwilling. Dio. lib. 60.

(4) But being at laſt embarked and croſſing the *Seas*, their ſhippes were beaten with contrary winds, which ſtill added diſcouragements vnto their proceedings, and had not an accident the ſame time happened, the edge of their courage had beene more abated: for euen in this diſtraction ſuddenly *a fiery leame* ſhot it ſelfe *from Eaſt to Weſt*, the ſame way that their ſhippes made ſaile: which preſently gaue hopes to their deſpairing hearts, being *heathenißly* interpreted for *a ſigne of good lucke*, and ſo ſent from their *Gods*, whereupon without any reſiſtance, they came to ſhoare and tooke land.

Incouraged by a ſigne from heauen.

(5) The *Britaines* that miſtruſted no ſuch ſudden inuaſion, and now thus *ſurpriſed vnawares*, diſperſedly ſecured themſelues in woodes and mariſhes, thereby to detract time, and the more to wearie the Enemy by delaies: which thing *Plautius* well perceiued, and with much labour, and hazard followed ſo extreamly, that many he ſlew, and tooke *priſoner Caratacus* their Captaine, the ſon of *Cunobeline* but lately deceaſed, which brought ſuch terrour amongſt the *Britains*, that thereupon the BODVNI, the inhabitants of *Oxford* and *Glocester-ſhires*, yeelded themſelues to *Plautius* deuotion: for which ſeruice thus effected, the *Senate* decreed his Triumphs; and it is probable that this defeat of the *Britaine* forces, and ſurpriſe of their King, fell out in the ſixt yeare of this *Emperours* raigne, by the reuerſe of his money then minted with

Caratacus taken priſoner.

with a triumphall arch and inſcription, *De Brittan.*

(6) But he following ſtill the Enemy, beeing ſeconded by *Flauius Veſpaſian* (afterward Emperour) the leader of the ſecond legion (the foundation of whoſe ſucceeding fortunes was firſt laid here in *Britaine*) gaue them againe another ouerthrow. The chiefeſt meanes whereof was a *policie* they had gotten to gall the Chariot horſes, whereby their riders were maiſtered, and their whole powers diſordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were *ſlaine*, and more in danger, had not the night ended the ſkirmiſh.

Tacitus in vit. Agric.

(7) The next day the *battaile* was againe begun and *maintained* on both parts with equall aduantage, till *C. Sidius Geta* enforced the *Britaines* to *retire*, whereby the victory reſted in the *Romanes:* for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were aſſigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Conſular degree.* In this Conflict, *Veſpaſian* hardly eſcaped, being ſore oppreſſed by the Enemy, and in ſuch ſort, that had not *Titus* (his renowmed ſonne) come to reſcue, he had beene ſlaine, whoſe *valour afterwards was tried in one and thirtie battailes, and in the Conqueſt of the Ile of Wight.*

C. Sidius Geta his valour.

(8) After this conflict, the *Britaines* withdrew themſelues into places of more aduantage, and in the mouth of *Thamiſis* neere her fall into the Sea, paſſed the ſhallowes and firme grounds in ſafetie, whereas the *Romans* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their diſtreſſed paſſage, were ſharpely aſſailed by the Enemie, in which turmoile, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodumnus a Britiſh Prince*, brother to *Catacratus*, and ſonne to *Cunobeline*, was ſlaine: Notwithſtanding, the courage of the *Britains* was nothing abated, but rather *exaſperated* to a further reuenge: for effecting whereof, *new forces* were *gathered*, and confluence of people aſſembled *from each part of the Ile. Plautius* the *Lieutenant ſeing* daily the increaſe of *their power*, *Veſpaſian imploied* in other parts, and *himſelfe* ſtreitned *in a place of danger*, proceeded no further, but ſent word to the *Emperour* of the doubtfull eſtate of their affaires.

The *Britaines* retire to places of aduantage.

Togodumnus ſlaine.

(9) At that time (ſaith *Suetonius*,) the *Senate* had by decree *allowed Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments.* But *he ſuppoſing* that *ſuch* a bare title of *honour* was *inferiour* to the Maieſtie of *an Emperour*, and *willing* of himſelfe alſo to enterpriſe ſome exploit whereby hee might winne *the glory of a compleat Triumph, made choice* before all other Prouinces, *of Britaine*, attempted by none ſince *Iulius Caſar* of famous Memory. And with great ſtrength entred into the iourney, hauing with him a mightie *Armie* both of horſe and foote, as alſo *Elephants*, a beaſt of great bigneſſe and burthen, whoſe ſtrangeneſſe then amazed the *Britaines*, and whoſe Carcaſes falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) haue bred our errour, beeing ſuppoſed to be of men, and not of beaſts.

Claudius the Emperour commeth into *Britain* with a great Army.

Dion Caſſius. lib. 60.

Elephants firſt brought into *Britaine.*

(10) With very great danger he paſſed the *Seas*, and ioining ſtrength with his *Lieutenant* and *Veſpaſian*, they all together croſſed the *Riuer Thamiſis*, where preſently they were encountred by the *Britaines*, who a while maintained the battaile very deſperately, but in the end gaue place and fled, whom the *Romanes* purſued euen to their ſtrong *Camulodunum*, then the ſeate of *Adminius*, *Cunobelins* ſonne, as may aptly be coniectured by the Medul of *Britannicus* the *Emperors* darling, figured in the front of this Chapter; which Citie they ſurpriſed and fortified with their owne Garriſons, which the *Emperour* in the eleuenth of his raigne, as appeareth by the other coine, turned to a Colony of *Romane* Citizens. *Claudius* now diſarming the *Britaines*, remitted further puniſhment either vpon their bodies or confiſcation of their goods: The which his fauourable clemencie moued thoſe diſtreſſed *Britaines* to ſuch liking and loue, that they *erected a Temple* and *Altar in his name*, and gaue him diuine honour, as a God: The reſt as vnable to reſiſt, profered their ſubmiſſions, and promiſed a peaceable ſubiection vnder the *Romanes* gouernement.

Claudius entreth *Britaine.*

He ſurpriſeth *Camulodunum.*

His clemencie maketh him to be honoured for a God.

(11) Theſe things thus atchieued, at the end of ſixe moneths *Claudius* in his ninth yeare returned and *entred Rome in triumph* with more then vſuall maner, ſtamping againe vpon his monies his Arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of our ſeruitude. After whoſe *Triumphant Chariot* rode *Meſſalina* his wife, the *Monſter* of her ſexe *for impudencie* and laſciuious life: and vpon the toppe of his *Palace* he placed a *Nauall Coronet* in memoriall of the *Ocean* by him ſailed ouer, and ſubdued: withall aſſuming to himſelfe, and ſonne, the *Sirname Britannicus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his preſence in his Triumphs for *Britaine*, giuing him the right hand, aſcending the *Capitoll*, and beſides graced diuers Captaines that ſerued vnder him in that warre with *Triumphall Ornaments.* So great an eſteeme was held of the Conqueſt of ſo ſmall a part of this *Iland.*

Claudius returneth to *Rome*, & entreth in Triumph. *Sueton. in vita Claud. Sect. 17.*

(12) The *Britiſh Hiſtorians* relate theſe things farre otherwiſe, reporting that their King *Aruiragus*, the yongeſt ſonne of *Kymbeline*, withſtood *Claudius* in his enterpriſe, with whom (ſay they) he came to compoſition by giuing him his daughter *Geniſſa* in mariage, in memorie whereof, he built the Citie *Glaueceſter*, according to his name, which now is called *Gloceſter*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wiues and children, nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octauia*, without mention of *Geniſſa* at all, and therefore not likely to haue any ſuch: And *Dion Caſſius* reporteth that *Claudius* himſelfe ſtaied not aboue ſixteene daies in *Britaine*, a time too ſhort for the ſending to *Rome*, and thence for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of ſo great a Citie as *Gloceſter* is. Neither indeede was *Aruiragus* knowne in the daies of *Claudius*: But rather liued in the time of *Domitian* the ſeuenth in ſucceſſion after him, as plainely appeareth by *Iuuenal the Poet*, in thoſe his verſes ſpoken to *Domitian*, which elſwhere we cited. Whereby appeareth that the ſtirres of this King could not accord with *Claudius* raigne, and that the trueth of this report is much weakened from more ſufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lieutenant* authoriſed ouer the *Britaines*, vpon ſome occaſion was thence reuoked, the warres not quieted, and with a ſmall Triumph (as *Tacitus* ſaith) entred *Rome*. Vnto him ſucceeded *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferiour, who at his firſt landing found all in an vprore: Of whoſe proceedings let vs heare *Tacitus* ſpeake: The *Britaines* (ſaith he) *that were yet vnconquered, ranged the Countries of the confederates, preſuming both vpon the approch of the winter, and the Propretors vnacquaintance with his Army: But he knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe breedeth either feare, or confidence, gathered the Cohorts, and made towards the Enemy, ſlaying all that made head againſt him, and diſarming thoſe whom hee moſt ſuſpected.* And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King in ſtricter aſſurance and fidelity to the *Emperour*, granted diuers Cities and States to him by way of Donation.

The *Britiſh Hiſtorians* varie in relating *Claudius* doings in *Britain.*

Dion Caſſ. lib. 60.

Aulus Plautius firſt Lord Deputie.

Tacit. in vit. Agric. Tacit. Annal. li. 13. cap. 7.

Tacit. Annal. li. 12. cap. 8.

The firſt that beganne to ſtirre, were the *Icenians*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridge, and Huntington-ſhires*, a ſtrong people vnſhaken with warres: And with them (at their inſtigation) their neighbours adioining. Theſe together choſe a fit place for fight, compaſſed in with a rude, but defenſible trench, which had only one narrow entrance whereby the *Horſemen* muſt be much impeached. This Rampire notwithſtanding the *Romane Captaine*, with the onely aide of the * *Allies* brake downe, and diſordered the Enemy euen in this their owne fortreſſe, who ſeeing all paſſages for eſcape to bee ſtopped vp, (*Oſtorius* hauing hemmed them in with Garriſons betweene the *Riuers* * *Antonia* and *Sabrina*) ſhewed great valour in defending themſelues, and

Confederates perchance is meant.

Non in Northamptonſhire, ſaith *Camden.*

XUM

and by their deaths gaue place to the *Romanes*. This ouerthrow and ſlaughter of the *Iceni* wrought a more ſtaied reſolution in thoſe that before were wauering betweene warre and peace. And the *Army* led againſt the *Cangi*, with waſte and ſpoile conſumed the Country, the inhabitants not daring to bee ſeene in field. Whereupon the *Romanes* pierced thorow the Land euen vnto the *Sea-coaſt* that lookes towards *Ireland*.

A ſmall *reſiſtance* was made *by the Brigantes*, but without much trouble *ſoone quieted* by the execution of ſome few, and pardoning of the reſt.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, thoſe of *South-wales*) could not be brought to beare the *Romiſh yoke* of ſubiection, who beſides their owne courage relied much vpon the ſtrength and valour of their *Prince Caractacus* (whoſe Coine we haue heere expreſſed) a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many aduentures both proſperous and luckie had gotten ſuch reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *Britiſh Captaines*. This *Generall* knowing his owne ſtrength vnable to match the enemie, by policie thought to ſupplie that want, and hauing aduantage of the Countrey, remooued the warre vnto the *Ordouices*, which is now *North-wales*, where all ioined to him that either feared or diſdained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Heere he choſe a place to encampe his *hoſt*, euen on the top of a hill naturally defenſed from acceſſe: and where any doubt was, there he ſtopped vp all paſſage with heapes of ſtones in maner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot whereof ran a *Riuer* with a foord ſomewhat dangerous, and not eaſily found, where a troope of his beſt ſouldiers were ſet in order to receiue the *Enemie*.

His manner of encamping.

The more to animate their mindes, the *Leaders* went about exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers, taking all occaſions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of reſolution: eſpecially *Caractacus*, who courſing hither and thither, proteſted that day and that battle ſhould bee the beginning either of a recouered libertie, or elſe a perpetuall ſeruitude and bondage: and euer hee called vpon the names of his valiant *Anceſtors*, who formerly had chaſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator* out of the *Ile*, by whoſe valour they were deliuered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enioied freely their wiues and childrens bodies vndefiled. The *Souldiers* alſo themſelues *ſhewed* as great *forwardneſſe*, and as *Echoes* redoubled his words, *vowing* according to the Religion of their Countrie, *neuer to yeeld* for wounds or life, which they all were ready to ſacrifice in the cauſe of their liberties. This their apparant reſolution much appalled the *Romans* cheerefulnes, and moſt of all the *Captaines* and *Leaders*, who before their faces ſaw the *Riuer*, on both ſides of them had the hanging hils, and the Fort commodious for the enemie, but deadly vnto them: all which notwithſtanding the common Souldiers deſpiſed, and demanded the battle. *Oſtorius*, whoſe ſtudie was chiefly to performe the parts of a *Generall*, paſſed the *Riuer* with ſome little difficultie, and leading his *Armie* vp to the *Rampire*, was met with ſuch a ſhowre of darts, that many therewith were wounded and ſlaine. Yet at length breaking downe thoſe rude compacted ſtones, ioined battle with the enemie, and afront came cloſe to handy ſtrokes; wherein the *Britaines* hauing better courage then armour (for they had neither headpeece nor coat of defenſe) were ſore galled with their Iauellings and two-handed ſwords, and ſo diſordered, that they betooke themſelues to flight.

His animating of his ſouldiers.

His reſolution.

Oſtorius his care.

The Britaines put to flight.

(14) This victorie as it was almoſt vnexpected, ſo was it made famous by the taking of *Caractacus* wife, daughter, and brethren, and himſelfe flying for ſuccor and protection to the *Brigantes*, was (as we haue before ſhewed) by *Cartiſmandua* their *Queene* betraied and deliuered into the hands of the Conquerours after his nine yeeres moſt generous reſiſtance. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the *Ilands*, and ſpread abroad thorow the Prouinces, was alſo renowned in *Italie*, and they deſired to ſee him that ſo many yeeres had contemned their forces. Neither was his name meanly eſteemed of at *Rome*; for whileſt *Cæſars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caractacus*: and againſt his comming to the Citie the people from all parts were aſſembled, as to behold ſome notable and moſt rare ſpectacle. The *Emperours Guard* in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the Captiues and Trophies were carried, and preſented after this manner: firſt the vaſſals of *Caractacus* going formoſt bowed their bodies to the people as they paſſed, and ſeemed by their ruefull countenances to diſcouer the ſenſe of their calamitie. The capariſons, his chaines, and other ſpoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and laſt of all himſelfe, whoſe attire and ſtout behauiour filled the peoples eies with wonder and delight. His *bodie*, for the moſt part, was *naked*, and *painted* with figures of diuers beaſts. Hee ware a chaine of iron about his *necke*, and another about his *middle*: the haire of his *head* hanging downe in curled lockes, couered his *backe* and *ſhoulders*, and the *haire of his vpper lip* parted on both ſides, lay vpon his *breaſt*. Neither was his behauiour leſſe noted then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: for he neither hung downe his head, as daunted with baſe feare; nor craued mercie, as the reſt; but with a confident ſpirit, and bold countenance, held on till he came before the *Imperiall Seat*, where making his ſtand, and a while beholding *Cæſars Maieſty*, at laſt with great courage ſpake to this purpoſe.

Hee reſiſted the Romans nine yeeres. *Tacit. Annal. 12. cap. 8.*

Caractacus led in triumph.

His habit and attire.

Ex hiſtor. magn. Britan.

" (15) If my *moderation* in proſperitie had beene
" anſwerable to the greatnes of my birth and eſtate,
" or the *ſucceſſe* of my late attempts to the reſolution
" of my minde, I might haue come to this *Citie* ra-
" ther as a friend to be entertained, then as a Cap-
" tiue to be gazed vpon; neither wouldſt thou diſ-
" daine to haue receiued me on termes of *amitie and*
" *peace*, being a man of roiall deſcent, and a Com-
" mander of many warlike Nations. But what cloud
" ſoeuer hath darkened *my preſent lot*, yet haue the
" *Heauens* and *Nature* giuen mee that in birth and
" minde, which none can vanquiſh, or depriue mee
" of. I well ſee, that you make *other mens miſeries* the
" ſubiect and matter of *your triumphs*; and in this *my*
" *calamitie*, as in a mirror, you now contemplate *your*
" *owne glory*. Yet know that I am, and was a *Prince*
" furniſhed with ſtrength of men and abiliments of
" warre; and what maruell is it if all bee loſt, ſeeing
" experience teacheth that the euents of *warre* are
" *variable*, and the *ſucceſſe* of policies *guided* by vn-
" certaine *fates*? As it is with me, who thought that
" the *deepe waters* like a wall incloſing our Land, and
" it ſo ſituated by heauenly prouidence, as in ano-
" ther world, might haue beene a ſufficient priuilege
" and defenſe for vs againſt forraine inuaſions: but
" I now perceiue that the deſire of *ſouereignty* admits
" no *limitation*; and if you *Romans* muſt command
" all, then all muſt obey. For mine owne part, while
" I was able I made *reſiſtance*, and vnwilling I was to
" ſubmit my necke to a ſeruile yoke, ſo farre the law
" of *Nature* alloweth euery man, that he may defend
" himſelfe being aſſailed, and to withſtand force, by
" force. Had I at firſt yeelded, thy glory and my ru-
" ine had not beene ſo renowned. *Fortune* hath now
" done her worſt: wee haue nothing left vs but our
" liues, which if thou take from vs, *our miſeries* end;
" and if thou ſpare vs, wee are but the obiects of *thy*
" *Clemencie*.

His vndauntednes.

His Oration to *Claudius Cæſar*.

Euents of warre variable.

Britaines wall.

Ambition hath no bounds.

Nature diſdaineth ſeruitude.

(16) *Cæſar* wondring to ſee ſuch reſolutions and ſo free a minde in a Captiue eſtate, pardoned *Caractacus*, his wife and brethren, who being vnbound, did their reuerence to *Agrippina* the *Empreſſe*, that ſate aloft *on a Throne Roiall*. This Conqueſt and Tri-

Caractacus wife, daughter, and brethren taken priſoners. Himſelfe betraied by *Cartiſmandua*.

umph ouer *Caractacus*, miniſtred matter of diſcourſe and admiration thorough out all *Rome*, and the *Lords* of the *Senate* held it no leſſe honourable, then that of *P. Scipio*, who triumphed ouer *Syphax* the *Numidian King*, or that of *Perſes*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquiſhed, or then any other King that had beene taken in warre, or exhibited to the view of the people. Then were alſo publicke *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Oſtorius*; whoſe fortunes vntill then had beene very proſperous, but now began to be doubtfull, or rather to decline, either becauſe *Caractacus* (the foile of his glory) was remoued, and thereupon (as though all had beene ſubdued) a more careleſſe ſeruice entertained, or elſe the courage of the *Britaines* was more inflamed to reuenge through the feruent compaſſion of the fall of ſo mightie a King.

Tacit. Annal. li. 12. cap. 8.

Oſtorius and his fortunes decline.

The *Britaines* take heart again.

(17) For immediately they enuironed the *Campmaſter*, and the *Legionary Cohorts*, which were left to build fortreſſes in the Country of the *Silures*, whom with *eight Centurions*, and the *forwardeſt Souldiers*, they ſlew, and had put all the reſt to the ſword, if reſcue had not ſpeedily come from the villages and forts adioining. The *Forragers* alſo and troope of horſe that were ſent to aid them they *put to flight*. Theſe affronts touched *Oſtorius* to the quick, and leſt their aids ſhould grow to a greater head, he ſent forth certaine light-harneſſed companies, which with the *Legionary Souldiers* vndertooke the *battle*, and with ſmall oddes was it continued till the night came, and parted them: diuers other *Skirmiſhes* afterwards were made, though for the moſt part *in woods and mariſhes*, whence taking their aduantage in ſallying forth, they many times preuailed, ſometimes by *ſtrength*, ſometimes by meere *courage*, and ſometimes by *chance*; neither were they alwaies commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary and without warrant.

Their victory.

(18) The principal motiue that induced the reſt to take Armes, was the example of the *Silure*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as beeing *exaſperated* by certaine *ſpeeches* that the *Romane Emperour* himſelfe had *vſed*, which was, that as the name of the *Sugambri* was deſtroied, and the people tranſported into *Gallia*, ſo the memorie of *Silures* ſhould vtterly bee extinguiſhed: And in this heate as men deſperate (whoſe deſtinies were read and lots caſt already) they intercepted the ſcattered troopes of the *Romanes* that vncircumſpectly waſted and ſpoiled the Country, taking of them many priſoners, and recouering rich booties, which they ſent and diſtributed amongſt their neighbours; whereby many other were drawne to reuolt: Theſe proceedings ſate ſo neere *Oſtorius* his heart, who with long cares and trauels had wearied his ſpirits, ſpent the ſtrength of his bodie, and thereunto had now added the diſcontentment of his minde, that in theſe vexations hee gaue vp the *Ghoſt*, the *Silures* reioicing that ſo worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

Caeſars threats make the *Britains* more reſolute.

Oſtorius dieth.

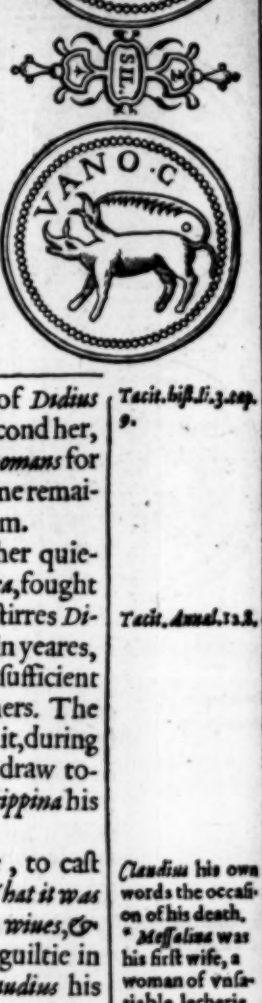
(19) But *Claudius Caeſar*, leſt the Prouince ſhould make head, preſently ſent *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenant into *Britaine*; where, notwithſtanding all his haſte, he found all out of frame. For *Manlius Valens* with his Legion had encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe, yet not ſo bad as the *Ilanders* gaue foorth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new-eſtabliſhed *Gouernour*: which report himſelfe alſo in policie was contented to augment, *thereby to purchaſe more praiſe in appeaſing ſo dangerous ſtirres*; or if hee could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. Theſe reſiſters had made many inroads into the ſubdued Countries, againſt whom vpon his firſt arriuall, *Didius* entred the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

Aulus Didius ſent Lieutenant into *Britaine*.

Tacit. Annal. 12. c. 8. *Manlius Valens* encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe.

Didius for a while keepeth them in awe.

(20) But *Venutius* a very expert man in Militarie affaires (truſty to the *Romaines*, and defended by their power ſo long as the mariage betwixt him and *Cartiſmandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartiſmandua* (in ſpeciall fauour with the *Romanes* for the deliuery of *Caractacus*) abounding in wealth, peace, & pleaſures (which commonly are the Nurſes of licentious liuing) fell in loue (as before was touched) with *Vellocatus* her huſbands ſeruant, and harneſſe-bearer, & forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, and laboured to make him *King*. The good-will of the Country notwithſtanding went generally vpon the lawfull husband: who being deepely touched with this open iniurie, raiſed a power againſt her and her *Paramour*. At the firſt this quarrell was onely betwixt them, vntill that *Cartiſmandua* by policie had taken her husbāds brother, and ſome of his neereſt kindred, priſoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purpoſes, and diſdaining to be brought vnder the yoake of a woman ſo defamed, declared themſelues for *Venutius*, & with a choice band of youthfull Soldiers inuaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* hauing intelligence, ſent certain *Cohorts* to ſecond her, and encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartiſmandua* did preuaile; yet the kingdome remained to *Venutius*, and the warres ſtill vnto them.



Tacit. hiſt. li. 3. cap. 9.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, & a Legion commanded by *Caſius Naſica*, fought luckily againſt the *Britaines*. In all which ſtirres *Didius* in perſon was abſent, as being ſtricken in yeares, and hauing receiued many honours, held it ſufficient to execute his charge by the aſſiſtance of others. The State of *Britain* thus ſtanding, let vs ſo leaue it, during this *Emperours* raigne, which now began to draw towards his laſt period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her vpon this occaſion.

Tacit. Annal. 12. 8.

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his wine, to caſt forth a word of great ſuſpition, in ſaying: *That it was fatall vnto him firſt to beare the leaudnes of his * wiues, & then to puniſh them.* She knowing her ſelfe guiltie in diſinheriting of *Britannicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne ſonne, for the adoption of *Nero* who was hers, beſides other inſolencies, wherewith ſhe might bee taxed, ſought therefore to cleare her owne way by taking him out of the way: and with *Locuſta* a woman skilfull in poiſoning, and *Zenophon* a Phyſition, as large of conſcience, conferred for the maner of his death: who in fine, concluded that poiſon was the ſureſt and the leaſt in ſuſpect, or at leaſtwiſe the moſt difficult to be proued againſt her.

Claudius his own words the occaſion of his death. * *Meſſalina* was his firſt wife, a woman of vnſatiable lecherie, who was put to death.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 13.

(23) This then reſolued, they temper poiſon in a Muſhrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and ſhortly after ended his life the thirteenth day of *October*, when hee had raigned thirteene yeares, eight moneths, and twentie daies, the yeare of *Chriſt his incarnation* fiftie ſixe, and of his owne age ſixtie foure. He was of *ſtature* tall, and of a pleaſing *Countenance*, full of Maieſtie and comely gray haires, his *Head* continually ſhaking, ſomewhat ſtammering in his ſpeech, very learned, but therewithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wiues, and domeſticall Seruants, the two ordinary banes of moſt men who are aduāced to any eminent place of gouernement & cōmand.

Ioſeph. Anti. lib. 20. ca. 5.

The continuance of his raigne.

ANNO Do. 56.

His indowments of bodie.

His imperfections.

Wiues and ſeruants moſt miſleade great perſonages.

(24) *This Emperour* (ſaith *Seneca*) *might make his boaſt that he was the firſt conquerour of the Britaines, for Iulius Caeſar did but ſhew their Iland vnto the Romans, whereas Claudius made their necks yeeld to the chaines of their captiuities.* And *Ægiſippus* ſaith thus of *Claudius*, *His witneſſe is Britan, which liued without the world, but now by him reduced vnder the Romans Empire, and thoſe whom the former ages knew not, neither themſelues any ſeruitude, are now by him both made knowen, and ſeruants to the Romans.* And againe: *As great a matter it was to paſſe thoſe Seas, as to haue triumphed ouer thoſe Britains, wherein* (ſaith he) *euen the elements haue done homage vnto Claudius.* In ioy whereof, and reuerence to the *Gods*, in his triumph he mounted the *ſtaires* of the *Capitoll* vpon his aged knees, being ſupported and lifted vp by his ſons in Law on either ſide, the glory of this *Ilands* conqueſt had ſo poſſeſſed this old *Emperours* mind.

NERO

NERO.

CHAPTER VII.

THis violent and vnexpected death of *Claudius*, gaue breath and life vnto *Neroes* further hopes: for whileſt the *Conſuls* were aſſembled to make ſupplications for their *Prince*, (not knowing him alreadie dead) *Nero* ſuddenlie ſet open the *Palace* gates, and accompanied with ſhouts and acclamations, entred the *Cohorts* that kept the watch, where of them and the reſt of the ſouldiers he was ſaluted *Emperour*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the ſame.

Nero aſſumeth the Empire.

(2) He was the ſonne of *Domitius Nero*, and of *Iulia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus* brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperour*, vitious by nature, as ſprung of thoſe parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* ſaid) no goodneſſe could proceede: and the ſame vile diſpoſition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected ſtudy and purſuit of all poſsible leaudneſſe, as one who could well fit his wanton and laſciuious humours to the vnripeneſſe of his yeeres, being not paſsing ſeuenteene when he aſſumed the *Empire*. All religion he had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting looſe the reine to all vnnaturall luſts, and licentiouſneſſe of life.

His parents.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

(3) For blood and *libidiouſneſſe* hee was held a moſt vnſatiate furie, and amongſt men a very monſter of nature. His father he poiſoned: vpon his mother he committed both inceſt and murder: vpon males, pollutions againſt nature: deflowred the *Veſtals* (a matter ſacrilegious & impious) ſlew his brother *Germanicus*, and his ſiſter *Antonia*, his wiues, *Poppæa* and *Octauia*, his aunt *Domitia*, his ſonne in law *Rufinus*, and his *renowned Tutor Seneca*; With ſuch ſauage ſlaughter of the *Romane* Nobilitie, that *Tacitus* (their beſt Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, *whileſt with a ſeruile patience* (as he termeth it) *they died honourably*.

His exceſſiue luſt and bloodſhed.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

Tacit. Annal. 16. cap. 3.

(4) The City *Rome* hee ſet on fire, charging the Chriſtians with the fact, and inflicted ſuch torments and death vpon them, that they were pitied of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whoſe *Religion*, though *Suetonius* tearmed *new*, and *a wicked ſuperſtition*; and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Chriſt*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Euangeliſts* agreeth) was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion firſt began; yet by him it is confeſſed, that theſe men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burſt forth further into many other parts, inſomuch that *Rome* it ſelfe did affect the ſame. Yea and in *Neroes* Court alſo ſome embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apoſtle* is manifeſt, who from the *Saints* in *Cæſars* houſe ſent ſalutations to the Brethren. *Phil.* 4. 22.

Rome ſet on fire by *Nero*.

Suet. in vita Nero.

Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 10.

Chriſtians in *Neroes* Court.

(5) And laſtly, to fill vp the meaſure of his bloudie crueltie, he crucified *Peter* vpon the *Croſſe*, and beheaded *Paul* with the ſword, two principall *Apoſtles* of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and worthy inſtruments of the *worlds ſaluation*; and forgetting the Maieſtie of his *eſtate*, fell into the ſinke of contempt and all *ſinnes*, giuing his *minde* leaue to digeſt all vncleanneſſe, and his *bodie* ouer to worke any *baſe exerciſes*, attending nothing beſides his *Harpes* and *Harlots*, whereby a careleſſe (but yet a cruel) gouernment was intertained, and the *Senate* faſhioning themſelues to feed his *looſe humors*, ſtroue each to outſtrip other in their *baſe flatteries*.

Peter and *Paul* put to death. *Euſeb. li. 2. ca. 25. Tertul. Apol. ca. 5.*

(6) In this ſtate the *Prouinces* ſubiections began to ſtand doubtfull, and the greatneſſe of the *Empire* to ouercharge the foundation; for the *Parthians* vnder *Vologeſes* gaue *Patus* the *Romane* a great *ouerthrow*, and that in ſuch wiſe, that thoſe which eſcaped were tearmed the *vnfortunate Armie*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good ſucceſſe; for aged *Didius* could doe no more then *keepe* that which he had already *gotten*: and *Verannius* his ſucceſſor, only with ſmall inroades *aſſailing* the *Silures*, was in his firſt yeere *cut off by death*, inſomuch that *Nero* hauing neither will, motion, nor hope to propagate and enlarge the *Empire*, minded once to haue with-drawen the forces out of *Britaine*, had it not beene for very ſhame.

A great ouerthrow of the *Romans*. *Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 2.*

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the gouernment of that *Prouince*, in skill for ſeruice, and opinion of people comparable to any, *ſought to match* his concurrent *Corbulo*, who with daily *victories* proſpered in *Armenia*, himſelfe wanting neither courage nor diſcretion to atchieue the like, only matter and occaſion *the Iland* affoorded none. Therefore determining an *expedition* into further parts, he made preparation to inuade the *Ile of Mona*, ſeparated from the *Continent* by the *Riuer Menai*, and fronted vpon the midſt of *Ireland*, both ſtrong with *inhabitants*, and a receptacle of *Fugitiues*.

Tacitus in vita Agric. *Suet. in vit. Nero.*

Angleſey inuaded

(8) Againſt his approch the *Ilanders* had gathered their powers, which *ſtood* thicke vpon the ſhoare ready

readie *armed* to make reſiſtance, their *women* running among in mourning weedes, their *haire* looſe, and firebrands in their *hands*, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with *hands* and *eies* lifted vp towards *heauen*, cried for vengeance, and powred out curſes as thicke, as haile. With *the ſtrangeneſſe* of which ſight, the *Romans* ſtood *amazed*, not offering one ſtroke; *ſeeming* rather to preſent themſelues for a *pray* vpon their enemies weapons, then for the *Conqueſt* of their land or liues: which ſudden and vnexpected diſcouragement, their *Captaine* ſoone redreſſed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted *valours*, which now was farre ouermatchable vnto a fearefull flocke of weake *women*, or a company of rude and franticke men: wherupon their *Enſignes* were diſplaied, and the *Enemy* preſently diſperſed and ſlaine, themſelues becomming maſters both of the *field*, and whole *Ile*: which no ſooner was thus obtained, but ſudden *newes* came to recall their powers, the *Prouinces* being raiſed to a preſent *reuolt*.

Romanes amazed at ſight of the *Britiſh*.

(9) For the *Britaines* in abſence of the *Generall*, laid open their publique *greeuances* growne now both common and intollerable by the oppreſſions of the *Romanes*, who from the diſeaſes of their *Head*, had ſucked and diſperſed their corruptions throughout the *Prouinces* of the Empire: and *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator* here in *Britaine*, renewed the confiſcation of their goods, which *Claudius* had formerly remitted. The *Romane Colonie* at *Camulodunum*, thruſt out the ancient *Inhabitants*, ſeating them-ſelues in their *poſſeſſions* without any other recompence, ſauing reproachfull *termes*, calling them their drudges, ſlaues and *vaſſalls*: beſides, the *Temple* there erected in honour of *Claudius*, was now become an eie-ſore vnto them, as an *Altar* of their perpetuall ſubiection, while the *Auguſtall Prieſts* there attending, waſted all their wealth vnder pretext of *Religion*. But the very *ſpring* or *head*, from whence the cauſe of this ſudden *Rebellion* iſſued, was the preſent abuſe offered to * *Boduo*, *Queene* of the *Icenians*, late wife to *Praſutagus*, deceaſed vpon the inſuing occaſion.

The Receiuer of tribute his oppreſſion. *Dion Caſſ. lib. 62.*

Tacit. Annal. 14. cap. 10.

* *Boudicta.* * *Voadica.*

(10) This *Praſutagus* King of the *Icenians* famous for his riches, which a long time hee had beene gathering, *made Cæſar* with his two daughters his *heire*, by Will, thinking by that flatterie, his *kingdome*, and *houſe* had beene ſufficiently *warranted* from future iniuries: which fell out cleane otherwiſe, for *his kingdome* of the *Centurions*, and his *houſe* by ſlaues were *ſpoiled* as lawfull booties: his *wife* whipped, and his *daughters* deflowred, and the chiefeſt in that *Prouince* diſpoſſeſſed of their rightfull inheritance, and the *Kings kindred* reputed and vſed as *Slaues*.

Praſutagus his Teſtament.

(11) Whereupon the *Icenians* began ſeriouſly to diſcourſe of their preſent *miſeries* and bondage, made ſubiect not onely to a *Lieutenant* that ſucked their blood, but likewiſe to a *Procurator*, that ſought their ſubſtance, while with a *ſeruile feare* they yeelded to pleaſe the meaneſt *Souldier*; As though the *Heauens* had framed them onely for *ſeruitude*, and the *Earth* appointed to beare their *iniuries* vnreuenged, whereas contrariwiſe, they ſaw both *heauen* & *earth* flexible to their deliuerance: For (whether by policie or chance) the Image of victorie at *Camulodunum* fell downe reuerſed without any apparant cauſe knowne: the *women* diſtempered with furie, ranne in the ſtreetes, *ſinging*, and prophecying *deſtructions*: ſtrange *noiſes* were heard in the Court, and *howlings* in the Theater, and ſtrange *apparitions*, and *Edifices* ſeene in the Riuer *Thamiſis*: the *Ocean* it ſelfe betweene *Gallia* and them, ſeemed all *bloodie*, and the prints of *dead bodies* left in the *ſands* at the *Ebbe*. Againe, waighing the preſent eſtate, they ſaw *Suetonius* abſent, and buſied to enlarge the *Confines*, the midſt but ſlenderly *guarded*, and by thoſe who were readier for *priuate gaine*, then diligent to diſcharge the *offices* of warre. The examples of other *Prouinces* alſo whetted the edge of their *encouragements*: for *Germany* (they ſaw) had well ſhaken off the yoke of *ſubiection*: The *Parthians* had reuolted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbulo*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cauſe was as iuſt, their land as well defenſed; their *anceſtors* as valiant in reſiſting the firſt *Ring-leader Cæſar*; and themſelues better experienced of their *aduerſaries* powers, and their owne *abilliments*. So now hauing attained the *hardeſt point*, which was their aſſembled *Conſultations* (a matter of as great *danger* to be taken with, as in acting their *intendments*) in fine this was reſolued, that *libertie* was to be preferred, though *bought* with their *liues*; and *bondage* to bee *auoided*, if not otherwiſe then *by* their *deaths*.

Tacit in vit. Agric. pag. 190.

Prodigies daily ſeene.

Dio. lib. 62.

Other Prouinces ſhake off the yoke. In the battaile againſt *Quintilius Varus*. *Tac. in vit. Agric.*

Their Reſolution.

(12) Theſe their often and noted *aſſemblies* brought ſuſpitions of ſome *deſignements*, and the prodigies daily happening as they were motiues of *encouragements* vnto the *Britaines*: So were they ominous ſignes to the *Romanes*, of either part framed in their owne *imaginations*, and conſtrued according to their hoped or feared euents.

(13) The *Confederates* in this buſineſſe were not to ſeeke their *Leader*: their Queenes *diſhonours* ſo apparantly knowne, (and for matter of *gouernement* they made no difference of *Sexe*) her birth extracted from their *Roiall blood*, her hearts affection approued to her *Countrie*, her indignities receiued of the proud *oppreſſors*, and her haughtie ſpirit threatning *reuenge*, aſſured them of her vttermoſt *endeuours*: which accordingly ſhe effected to her dying day, and to her neuer dying *fame*.

Queene *Boudict* choſen Leader.

(14) The *Romanes* likewiſe prouided themſelues, and in the abſence of *Suetonius*, craued aide of *Catus Dicianus* the *Procurator*; who ſent them not aboue two hundred men, and thoſe but badly armed. Theſe ioining with the reſt made no great power, al of them relying more to the *franchiſe* of the place, then ſecuring themſelues with *Trench* or *Bulwarke*: And giuen ouer to pleaſure, and *play*, as in the time of a publike *peace*. Which aduantages by the *Enemy* were wiſely *eſpied*, and by *Boduo* comming on as nobly *purſued*, when with ſword and fire ſhe *waſted all* in her way, the *Temple* onely *excepted*, whereinto part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two daies *ſiege* it was battered and taken.

She ſurpriſeth the *Romanes*.

(15) In this heate of furie, the *Britaines* proceede, and meeting *Petilius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the *ninth Legion*, on a haſty March to *reſcue* that which was already *loſt*, they encounter his forces, and *ſlew* all his footemen, himſelfe with his troope of *Horſe* hardly eſcaping to his *Campe*, where in great *feare* he entrenched, not daring to *attempt* any further matter. At notice of theſe miſhaps, *Catus* like a tall man, *tooke* to his heeles, and ſailed into *Gallia*: by whoſe crueltie and couetouſnes the *Britaines* were thus *enraged* to take Armes and *reuolt*, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, gaue *heart* and hope to further *ſucceſſe*.

She putteth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight.

She forceth *Catus* to flie into *Gallia*.

(16) For in this heat of blood and furie they ſet vpon, and ſacked the free-towne *Verolanium*, both ſtrong for garriſon, and rich in *Inhabitants*: which Citie (as alſo *Camulodunum* had) felt the rage of their *mercileſſe hands*, from whence great booties were carried, and no leſſe then *ſeuentie thouſand* Citizens and Confederates *ſlaine*. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius Tranquillus* is accounted one of the moſt infortunate loſſes to the *Empire* happening vnder *Nero*, and the *more ignominious* to the *Romanes* (as *Dion* obſerueth) in that is was *performed* vnder the command *of a woman*, neither experienced in the feates of *warre*, nor vſing the *victory* according to the Law of *Armes*: for not any *priſoner* taken in regard of ranſome was *ſaued*, nor intercourſe of exchange *admitted*, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the meaſure of their *reuenge* could neuer be ſufficiently *heaped*, or the wrath of their *Gods* ſatisfied with the blood of their *Enemies*.

She ſacketh *Verolanium*.

Seuentie thouſand ſlaine by her Army. *Sueton. in vit. Nero. ſect. 39.*

Dio. Caſſ. lib. 62.

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the *Lieutenant* was returned, and taking muſter of his forces in *London* (a Citie euen then famous for concourſe of *Merchants*, and of great renowne for prouiſion of all *things neceſſarie*)

London long ſince renowned.

sary) stood yet doubtfull whether hee should chuse that place for the *Seat of warre*, or no. But better aduising, dislodged his *Host*, and with the *fourteenth Legion*, the *Standard-bearers* of the *twelfth*, and other aids from places adioining, incamped vpon a plaine, *enclosed* with woods, hauing a narrow entrance, and free from *Ambush* or enemie at his backe.

(18) The *Britaines* likewise, inferiour neither in number nor courage, *triumphed* abroad by such troupes and multitudes, as the like had not beene seene, yea and so fierce of *courage*, and with such assurance of *hope*, that they brought their *wiues* to the place to be witnesses of their *valours*. *Boduo* in her Chariot doing the parts of a most noble *Generall*, droue from troope to troope to see and commend their *forwardnesse*; and dismounting attended with her two daughters, and *two hundred and thirty thousand* resolute *Britaines*, gat her to a seat made of marish turfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, apparelled in a loose gowne of changeable colours, wearing a *kirtle* thereunder very thicke *pleited*, the tresses of her yellow haire hanging downe to the *skirts*. About her necke shee had a *chaine of gold*, and in her hand held a light *speare*, being of personage tall, and of a *comely*, cheerefull, and modest *countenance*, and so a while shee stood pawsing, in viewing her *Armie*, and being regarded with a *reuerend silence*, at length to this effect she spake vnto them.

Boudicea furieleth her troopes.

Her attire.

Her Oration to her Armie.

Tacit. Annal. li. 11.

" (19) My *Friends* and *Companions* of equall fortunes, there needeth no excuse for this my present " authoritie or place, in regard of my *Sex*, seeing it is " not vnknowen vnto you all, that the wonted manner of our *Nation* hath beene to warre vnder the " conduct of a woman; and not only ours, but also of " the greatest Monarchies swaied vpon this vniuersall " Globe: for the *Empire* of the *Assyrians* (the first and " most famous that euer was) vnder the command " of *Semiramis* triumphed ouer the fierce *Aethiopians*; " and the gold-veined *India*; *Babylon* for strength and " beauty was both defensed and enriched by *Nitocris* " her sole Empresse. The *Scythians* vnder *Tomyris* " ouercame, and slew the great Conquerour *Cyrus*. " *Aegypt* gouerned by *Cleopatra*: yea and *Romes* Monarkes themselues ruled, if not ouer-ruled, by *Mes-* " *salina* and *Agrippina* the monsters of our Sexe. My " blood and birth might challenge some preeminence, as sprung from the roots of most *royall de-* " *scents*: but my breath receiued from the same aire, " my body sustained by the same soile, and my glorie " clouded with imposed ignominies. I disclaime all " superioritie, and as a fellow in *bondage* beare the " yoke of *oppressions*, with as heauie waight and pres- " sure, if not more. Had I with *Caesars* mother beene " suspected of *Treason*, or with *false Cartismandua* de- " filed my *Bed*, to the disturbance of their peace, my " goods might haue gone vnder the title of *Confisca-* " *tion*, and these prints of the whip vnder pretext of " iustice. But why name I *Iustice* in these grand Ca- " talogues of oppresions, whose *Actors* respect neither *person*, *age*, *sexe*, nor *cause*? For what *abuse* can " be so vile, that wee haue not suffered; or *indignitie* " so contemptible, that wee haue not borne? My " stripes, yet felt and seene against their owne *lawes*, " and the violent rapes of these my harmlesse daughters, against the *Lawes* of *God* and *Man*, doe witnesse " well what gouernment they intend: and your " *wealths* consumed by their wastefull *wantonnesse*, " your painfull trauels vpholding their *idlenesse*, doe " scale the issues of our succeeding *miseries*, if not " timely preuented by one ioint endeuour. You that " haue knowen the *freedome* of life, will with me con- " fesse (I am sure) that *libertie* (though in a poore e- " state) is better then *bondage* with fetters of gold: " and yet this *comparison* hath no correspondencie in " vs: for we now enioy no *estate* at all, nothing now " being ours but what they will *leaue* vs; and nothing " left vs, that they can *take away*, hauing not so much " as our very heads toll-free. Other subdued *Nations* " by death are quit from *bondage*; but wee after *death* " must liue seruile, and pay *tribute* euen in our *graues*. " Haue the *Heauens* made vs the ends of the *world*, " and haue not assigned the end of our *wrongs*? Or " hath *Nature* among all her *free workes* created vs " *Britaines* only for *bondage*? Why, what are the *Ro-* " *mans*? Are they more then men, or immortall? " Their slaine carcases sacrificed by vs, and their pu- " trified *blood* corrupting our *Aire*, doth tell vs they " are no *Gods*. Our *personages* are more *tall*, our *bo-* " *dies* more *strong*, and our ioints *better knit*: and (to " say as it is) euery part of vs framed more fit for the " *speare* then for the *spade*. But you will say they are " our *Conquerours*. Indeed ouercome we are, but by " our selues, our *owne factions* still giuing way to *their* " *intrusions*: for had not the *Dictator* a *Mandubrace*? " *Caligula* an *Adminius*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, and *Co-* " *gidunus*? *Nero* (that strumpet, and our still-liuing " shame) *Cartismandua*? *Romes* instruments, and *Bri-* " *taines* vipers? without which, you shall see *Caesar* in " single fight, lose his *sword*, and after flie the Coun- " try (*a dishonor indelible*) *Tiberius* forgoe his *Tribute*, " though extremely couetous, *Claudius* glad to make " peace, and be quiet: and *Nero* might still haue fol- " lowed his *fiddling trade* at home, if our *discords* had " not made vp his *Musicke* heere abroad. Our *dissen-* " *sions* therefore haue beene their only rising, and our " designes still weakened by home-bred *conspirators*. " Neither hath our *noble resistance* euer beene with- " out desert and *note of honour*: their publike *triumphs* " being made more *admirable* by one *Britaines* Con- " queste, then vsually hath beene solemnized ouer " whole Kingdomes. *Caligula* for beholding our " cliffes only would haue diuine honours: and for- " getfull *Claudius* remembred vnto posterities (in his " *Britannicus*) a glorious surname from vs. *Our* " *strengths* haue beene acknowledged the maine *sup-* " *port* of *other States*, and shall it not bee supplied to " maintaine our owne? We haue as much to keepe " as *Birth-right* hath giuen vs, that is, our *Iland* pos- " sessed by our *Auncestors* from all *antiquitie*: *Ours* " by *inheritance*, *theirs* by *intrusions*, claimes so diffe- " rent in the scale of *Iustice*, that the *Gods* themselues " must needs redresse, and set the *ballance* in their *equal* " *poise*. We haue seene their *propitious beginnings*, in " making vs instruments ouer seuenty thousand of " *our enemies*; and yet in this reuenge *our forces* not " *diminished*, but much *increased* in number and pow- " er: which thing, as it serues to *our encouragements*; " so is it to *their feare*. For *Catus* hath set the *Seas* (a " sure defense) betwixt him and vs; yet not a *Britaine* " pursuing: for surely if any had, he would haue hid " himselfe in the waues. *Petilius* the *field-mouse* doth " keepe his hole, and with the *Moale* works the earth " for his safest refuge: And *Posthumus* their *Campe-* " *master* is too wise to venture all at a cast. Only *Plau-* " *tius* fleshed by his late victorie ouer a company of " vnarmed *Priests*, whose resistance consisted only in " praiers, and a few weake *women*, whose weapons " were only fire-brands, builds the hopes of his aspi- " ring *minde*, as *Caligula* did his *Trophey* of *Cockle-* " *shels*. For see we not him encamped rather to *de-* " *fend* his owne, then to *offend* others? His *Armie* " crouched together, as fowles flocked against *a* " *storme*, or rather like to fearfull *Hares* squatted in " their bushes, who no sooner shall heare the crie of " their pursuit, but their *Muise* or *Fortresse* will bee " left: and for their last refuge, as *Hares*, trust to the " swiftnesse of their speedy feet. Suddenly, as shee was thus speaking, shee let slip a *Hare* which shee had secretly couched in her lappe, which with a great shout *escaped* thorow the Campe, and gaue occasion to the *Armie* (who little suspected it was done by her of purpose) to *construe* it as an ominous and luckie *signe* of *victorie*.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 11.

Caesar. Com. lib. 5.

Britannish vipers.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

Domesticke conspirators most dangerous.

Caesar. Com. li. 2.

Motiues inciting to pursue the *Romans*.

Her deuice at concluding her speech.

(20) And thereupon with great force they *assaile* their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewise encouraging his *Souldiers* to the like resolution. The *fourteenth Legion* by his direction kept the strait as a sure place of *defense*, till the *Britaines* in the fury of their

The custome of this and other Monarchies to be gouerned by women.

Iustin. lib. 2.

Semiramis.

Nitocris.

Tomyris.

Iustin. lib. 1.

Cleopatra.

Messalina and *Agrippina*.

Shee disclaimeth all superioritie.

Reioiceth in her innocencie.

The indignities offred by the *Romans*.

Dion Coss. lib. 62.

The *Britaines* vanquished.

first onset had spent all their *darts*, which with good successe they had *bestowed*: but then failing and wearied in their first comming on too hotly, the *Romanes* sallied out vpon the plaine, the *Auxiliaries* and *Horsemen* with long launces making their way, and beating downe all that stood before them. The *Britaines* vnable to endure or withstand such fierce *assaults*, were forced to giue backe, and at length sought to saue themselues by *flight*, but were hindred by their owne *Waggons* placed in the *rere-ward* of the Army, which gaue the more *impediment* to their *retrait*, in that they were then *full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither* to behold the fight, which were among the rest all slaine, without regard of sexe or mercie. This *day* was famous and comparable in renowne for *victorie* to any other of former times, for therein were slaine of the *Britaines* to the number of *eightie thousand* men: And the Land brought vnder an vnrecouerable subiection.

Eightie thousand *Britaines* slaine.

Boudicea poisoneth her selfe.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 11.

(21) *Boduo* seeing the ouerthrow of her *Army*, was notwithstanding *vnuanquished* in her owne *Noble spirit*, and scorning to be a spectacle in their *Triumphs*, or a vassall to their willes, after the example of *Cleopatra*, shee made an end of her miseries and life, by poison. And *Pœnius Posthumus*, *Camp-master* of the second *Legion*, seeing the good successe of the *fourteenth* and *twentith*: for that disobaying the *Generall* (contrary to the discipline of warre) he had *defrauded* himselfe and followers of their parts of *glorie* in that seruice, for verie griefe *slew himselfe*: and for their good seruice there performed, *Nero* greatly honoured the *eleuenth*, *thirteenth* and *foureteenth Legions*, reposing a most sure trust in their *valour and fidelitie*, euer afterward.

Pœnius slew himselfe. *Tacitus hist. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

(22) *Suetonius* animated with this victorie, gathered his Army, & *encamped* again, purposing *to end* the residue of the *warre*, if any resisters should remaine: And at that present were sent him out of *Germanie* two thousand *Legionarie Souldiers*, eight *Cohorts of Auxiliaries*, and a thousand *Horse*, wherby his strength was augmented, and the *ninth Legion* which had beene much weakened by the rashnes of *Petilius*, fully supplied: So that booteles se it was for the poore *Britains* to make any further resistance, and such as did, or stood *doubtfully affected*, were daily put to the sword. But nothing distressed them so much, as did *famine*, and want of *Corne*, being a people in all ages more giuen to warre then *good husbandry*, and rather relying vpon the prouisions of others, than by *the plough* to prouide for themselues, fierce of nature, and slowlie lending eare to peace, or their minde to such *Arts* as either nourish, or are nourished by peace.

The *Britaines* miseries.

Julius Classicianus a receiuer.

(23) In these stirres *Julius Classicianus*, sent from *Nero* to succeede *Catus* in his office of *receipts*, an enemie, & at variance with *Suetonius*, the more to cloud *his renowne*, gaue it forth for certaine, that a new *Lieutenant* was to be expected, who without either hostile rancour, or pride of a *Conquerour*, would intreat the yeelders with all *Clemencie*: And likewise by letters sent to *Rome*, he signified that no end of warre was to be expected, so long as *Suetonius* remained *Generall*, attributing euerie aduerse lucke to his intollerable pride, and euery prosperous successe onely to the good fortunes of *Cæsar* and *State of Rome*. These Great mens dissensions awaked *Nero*, fearing lest the *Britaines*, thereby would be more forward to *aduantage*, with whom experience had shewed there was no *dallying*, and his former losses among them being againe *recouered*, he thought himselfe discharged and *quit* from all fatall *Calamities*, as *Tranquillus* doth affirme. Therefore he sent *Polycletus*, one of his freed seruitors, with *Commission* to examine the differences, and to interpose his *authoritie* to worke a *reconciliation*: at whose greatnes it was also thought that the *Britaines* would haue quaked, and come in vnder *feare*. Which thing fell out otherwise: for howsoeuer the *Captaine* and *Souldiers* regarded him for his place, vnto whom he shewed himselfe both arrogant and terrible, yet the *Britaines* made him but their laughing stocke, as being themselues borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was, much admired that such Commanders and *Armies* which had atchieued so great exploites, could be brought to obay, and yeeld account of their actions to so base a bond-slaue, as they termed him.

Promiseth Clemencie.

Tranquillus in vit. Nero. Sect. 40.

Polycletus sent to reconcile *Classicianus* and *Suetonius*.

(24) But *Suetonius* growne great by his fortunes in these warres, and as it should seeme both suspected and feared of *Nero*, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliuer vp his Armie to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately giuen ouer his *Consulship in Rome*, a man of a softer, and more *intreatable condition*; and as a stranger to the *faults committed* before, readier to receiue to fauour and *forgiue*: who hauing *composed* the former *troubles*, not daring any further, neither egged, nor prouoked the *Enemie*, but gaue himselfe to a quiet, or rather *idle life*, which hee thought might passe vnder the title of an *honourable peace*. In which estate he gaue vp his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, and was after slaine by *Galba*, nothing obiected against him, but his faithfulnesse to *Nero*, in that he would not betray him, as the rest had done. For *Nero* now growne *Odious to God and Man*, Conspiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, vntill that *Iulius Vindex* Lieutenant of *Gallia* opposed his proceeding, being the first stirrer, and the rowling stone that (as *Tacitus* tearmes it) tumbled *Nero* out of his *Seate*.

Liberti or Freemen, were such, as being first bond slaues, by their seruice obtained freedome, and many of them about the *Emperor* came to be of great sway.

Suetonius deliuereth vp his charge.

Petronius his disposition.

Petronius Turpilianus giueth vp his charge to *Trebell. Max.*

Petronius Turpilianus slaine, because true to *Nero*.

Iulius Vindex opposeth *Nero*. *Tacit. hist. in vit. Nero.*

(25) For hauing proclaimed *Galba Emperour*, an old and weake man, at that time *Gouernor* of *Arragon*, neither priuie to the conspiracie, nor assenting to the title, he set vp daily many bitter and *biting Edicts* against *Nero*, wherby he was rowsed from his *lasciuious rest*, and began to feare the fatall end, whereunto his *impious life* and bloody raigne had now lastly brought him; who destitute of all *power* of resistance, did now set his whole *hope* and refuge, vpon that *meanes*, to which the compasse of his time had euer pointed; for relying onely vpon his *skill in Musique*, hee intended his flight into *Ægypt*, there to teach the instructions of that *Art*: into such sudden *basenes* was his minde deiected, that formerly had lashed out beyond all measure in *luxurie*, *pride*, and *prodigalitie*. Vnto this conspiracie ioined *Virginius Rufus* Lieutenant of high *Germanie*, with *Nymphidius*, *Sabinus*, and *Sophonius Tigellinus*, Captaine of the *Guard*, who after *Vindex* his death, (which happened vpon an accident euen in his entrance to *Armes*) maintained the election of *Galba*: and the *Senate* as forward to *Neroes* destruction, proclaimed him *Enemie* to the *State*, and pronounced his punishment *more maiorum*, sending out each way to apprehend him aliue.

Proclaimeth *Galba Emperour*.

Nero seeketh to fly into *Egypt*.

The *Senate* send to apprehend him.

(26) In this feare *Nero* attended with foure seruants onely, had hid himselfe in a Country *Cottage*, not passing foure miles from *Rome*; whence hearing his decreed *iudgement*, and demanding what was meant by that *sentence*, it was answered, that his *necke* should be locked in the forke of a tree, and his *bodie* all naked, whipped to death; whereupon lamenting that so good a *Minstrell* should be made away, he ran himselfe through on his sword, and so rid the world of a *Monster*.

Nero hideth himselfe.

He killeth himselfe.

(27) Of *stature* he was indifferent, his *body* full of freckles, his *haire* somewhat yellow, his *countenance* rather faire then louely, his *eies* gray and dimme, his *necke* fatte, his *bellie* bearing out, and his *legges* slender and small; A most skilfull *Musitian* he was, and in that *Art* sought to excell others, and to equalize *Apollo* himselfe, as also in his *Chariot-riding* to imitate the *swiftnes* of the *Sunne*. So prodigall in apparell, that he neuer wore one *Garment* twice, & so sumptuous in *buildings*, as is vncredible. He *raigned* thirteen *yeares* and eight *daies*, and *died* the eight of *Iune*, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our *Sauiour Christ* the threescore and tenth: as *Eusebius* doth account.

His lineaments. *Suet. in vita Nero.*

His qualities.

Ioseph. Bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 6. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 5.

His raigne and age.

GALBA.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nero the last of the *Cæsars*.

Suet. in vit. Galb. Stil. 1.

WIth the death of this *Tyrant*, ended the progeny of the *Cæsars*, and the *Emperours* succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worths, or els, (and that oftner) by the faction and *voice* of the *Souldiers*, whose violence the *Senate euer feared* to contradict, and whose *Colonies* in euerie *Prouince* sought to raise their owne *Generall* to that high *estate*. In which time of Combustion, though little be recorded of the *British affaires*, yet because the *Monarchy* of this *Iland* was then and long after inuested in the *Imperiall dignitie*, we may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing *Emperours*, as the chiefe Gouernours of this kingdome. Vpon *Neroes* declining, diuers there were (as *Vindex* and *Virginius*, *Nymphidius* and *Sophonius*) ~~set vp~~ against him, but *Galba* for his reputed integritie got the *Garland* from them all: who little dreaming of the *Imperiall Diademe*, fortune set it vpon his head before his hand had toucht the same: for *Vindex* in *Gallia* hauing proclamed him *Emperour*, and himselfe in *Arragon* not free from *Neroes* hatred, hee sought rather to hazard his life with the *Glorie* of a Crowne, then depend vpon his mercie, who had sent secretly the *sentence* of his death. And therefore mounting the *Tribunall*, the more to impresse a fresh remembrance of former cruelties, he *placed* before his throne, the *Images* of certaine *Nobles executed* by *Nero*, with some personages sent for out of *exile*, whose presence might prouoke a deeper edge of hatred; and his *Army* about him readie for mutation, these, or the like words he spake.

Galba got the Empire ere hee looked for it.

Galba his policie to make *Nero* odious.

His Oration to his souldiers.

" (2) *My fellow Souldiers and friends*, wee at this " time are assembled, to bestow that vpon others, " which wee our selues haue smally enioied, I meane, " *libertie* from bondage, and *freedome* from feares of " a Tyrant. The life that I haue hitherto lead, will " sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring con- " ceit, and my owne *Conscience* doth witnesse that " I speake not vpon malice or priuate respects: It " greeueth me to say, but it bootes not to hide, that, " which euerie man seeth. Hath euer *Bond-man* vn- " der a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, " then we haue done fourteene vnder *Nero?* what " kind of *exaction* hath he not proued to supply with " *extortion*, that which with shame hee hath spent? " what kinde of crueltie hath he not practised? If we " would conceale or seeke to suppresse it, these dumb " stones would declare them: For behold, he poi- " soned his *Father* and *brother*, abused and slew his " owne *mother*, murdered his *wife*, his *Tutor*, and " what els so euer valiant or vertuous in *Senate*, in *Ci-* " *tie*, in *Prouince*, without any difference of *Sexe* or " *Age*. I neede not to speake of the sorrowful *sighes*, " and bitter *teares* of so many yong gentlemen bereft " of their *fathers*, so many *wiues* robbed of their hus- " bands, so many great men depriued of their Coun- " try, all which cry vengeance vpon such a *Prince*: a " *Prince?* nay an Incendiarie, a Singer, a Fidler, a " Stage-plaier, a Cart-driuer, a Cryer; no Prince, nay " no man; that hath a man to his husband, and a man " to his wife, but *a monster of mankinde*: And in trueth " a subiect, vpon whom, *vice* hath made her full ex- " perience, and raised her triumphs from the base of " *Cæsars throne*. Against whom, what *Vindex* in *France* " hath alreadie intended, I am sure you doe know, " and I, for my part, am most sorrie to heare. The " whole course of my former life hath beene hitherto " remoued from *Ambition* in Court, or from aiming " too high abroad, and this little that remaines of " my daies, I could hartily wish were to be spent in " more ease: But sith I know not by what my *mis-* " *fortune*, some haue imposed vpon me a *Part* which " I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this *age*, " I will not refuse, if you will also approue it, to sa- " crifice this old *Carcase* of mine for the wealth of " my Country, not as *Emperour* or *Augustus* (which " *sacred names* I adore afarre off, not daring to " approch them) but as —— —— —— And no further heard, was with great acclamations saluted *Emperour*.

Nero described.

Nero solemnely maried one of his youths called *Doripborus*, and kept him as his wife: so likewise did he with *Sporus*, whom he endeauoured to transforme into a woman.

(3) But such is the height of *glory*, which is raised by the *blasts* of the multitude, that it fals againe as the *bubble* burst in the swelling, which leaues neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of *Galba* with one breath applauded, and placed vpon the *Imperiall Throne*; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne hastie *election*: for newes being brought that the State stood firme for *Nero*, and for certaine that *Vindex* in his quarrell was slaine, euen in his first enterprise of reuolt; that *Virginius* was sided by his *Germane Legions*, and his name inscribed in their banners; that *Nymphidius* was the man whose deserts could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely *Diademe*: These distractions so much ouer-swaied his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to *Clunia* in great deiection, repenting himselfe of that which hee had done, and wished againe his priuate estate.

Glorie like a Bubble.

(4) But the death of *Nero* commonly diuulged, and *Virginius* his refusals of the *Imperiall Title*, gaue strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the *Armie*: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though indeed a weake, sickly, and silly old man, Souldier-like in his coat of Armes shewed himselfe, and in that array passed the vast mountains for *Rome*. With whose entrance, entred the dislike of his person, as one vn-

fit

fit to ſupport the ſtate of others, that by age and imbecillitie was not able to ſuſtaine his owne: to which were added the *imperfections* of his *gouernment*, carried euery way farre vnder *expectation*. And long hee ſate not before hee ſaw his owne *defects*: to redreſſe which hee elected *Piſo Licinianus*, *Cæſar*, ioining him in power with himſelfe, and declaring him his *Succeſſor*, in a ſhort and blunt Oration, in preſence both of the *Senate* and *Souldiers*.

Galba chuſeth *Piſo Licinianus* for his *Cæſar*.

(5) Whereat howſoeuer others ſtood affected, yet *Martus* * *Saluius Otho* (one, who for commerce in leaudnes was very deare to *Nero*, and whoſe hope depended vpon the common diſturbance, for that his exceſſe in riot had now brought him to the brinke of beggery) much enuied therat; the rather becauſe himſelfe had entertained a hope that *Galba* would haue adopted him, and therefore as his concurrent ſet his own aſpiring mind for the *Crown*. And euen now this time beſt fitted his attempts, as being the wane of *Galbaes* authority, and before the full of *Piſoes* power; his *Aſtrologers* and *ſtarre-gazers* forwarding him with their vaine predictions, a kinde of people euer to

Tacit. hiſt. 1.
* *Siluius.*
Saluius Otho conſpireth *Galbaes* death.

Aſtrologers and *Starre-gazers.*

Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, and in a common-wealth alwaies forbidden, yet alwaies retained. The ſouldiers likewiſe euer diſliking the preſent, and affecting the new, fell without reſpect to *Othoes* ſide: amongſt whom *Sulpitius Florus*, one of the *Britiſh Cohorts*, ſlew *Piſo* the elected *Cæſar*; *Galba* himſelfe being murdered and mangled by the Souldiers and band of Horſemen.

Piſo ſlaine. *Galba* murdered.

(6) He was of a good *ſtature*; his *head* bald, his *eies* gray, and his *noſe* hooked, his *hands* and *feet* crooked by reaſon of the gout, and a bunch of fleſh or wen vpon his right ſide. A great feeder and *Sodomite* hee was, ſeuere in iuſtice, and ouer-ruled by his ſeruants. Hee died aged ſeuenty three yeeres, hauing out-liued fiue Princes. In proſperitie happier vnder the *Empire* of others, then in his owne; for hee ſate only ſeuen moneths, and them with ſmall contents. In his flouriſhing age with great renowne he had ſerued in *Germany*: *Africke* he ruled as *Proconſul*, and the neerer *Spaine* vprightly and well; ſeeming more then a priuate man whileſt he was priuate, and held capable of the *Empire*, had he neuer beene *Emperour*.

His deſcription.

His vices.

His age.

And raigne.

THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAINE.

CHAPTER IX.

THis ſhort time of *Galbaes* gouernement, with the conſpiracies againſt his *Predeceſſour*, admitteth ſmall remembrances of our *Britiſh* affaires: which *Prouince* (ſaith *Tacitus*) among all other ſtirres againſt both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and ſtood in quiet; whether it was the farre diſtance of place, ſeuered by *Sea* from the ſeditions of the *Reuolters*; or that by continuall ſeruice againſt the *Enemie* the malice of their humours were ſpent, it is vncertaine. Therefore a while to digreſſe from the *Succeſſion* of our *Britiſh Monarkes*, and to fill vp the emptineſſe of thoſe *Times* with matters incident to our ſelues, let it not ſeeme either tedious or ſuperfluous, to ſpeake of the planting of his *Kingdome* in this *Iland*, whoſe *Rule* in ſhort time extended to the *Ends* of the Earth; and whoſe Ambaſſadours (as ſome haue written) about the midſt of *Neroes Raigne*, and in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* ſixty three approched for the Inhabitants ſaluation, *Aruiragus* then ſwaying the *Scepter* of this Kingdome.

Britaine in quiet repoſe. *Tacit. hiſt. 1. ca. 3.*

Chriſtianity ſuppoſed to bee brought into *Britaine* in *Neroes* time. *Ex Antiq. Manuſcript. Freculphus Lexouienſis, Tom. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. William of Malmesburie.*

(2) At which time (ſay they) were ſent certaine Diſciples out of *France* into *Britaine* by *Philip* the Apoſtle, whereof *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Chriſt*, was chiefe; who firſt laid the foundation of our faith in the Weſt parts of this *Iland*, at the place then called *Aualon*, (afterwards *Inis Witrin*, now *Glaſtenburie*) where he with twelue Diſciples his Aſſiſtants preached the Goſpell of life vnto the *Ilanders*, and there left their bodies to remaine for a ioifull *Reſurrection*. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmesburie* in his *Booke* of the Antiquitie of *Glaſtenburie* written to *Henry de Bloys*, brother to King *Stephen*, and *Abbat* of the ſame place, report, and is conſented vnto (for the *matter*, though all agree not touching the *time*) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the *Teſtimonies* of the beſt approued Ancient writers: who account the moſt happy influence of *Chriſtianitie*, to haue beene by thoſe *glorious conduits* conuayed into theſe remote parts of the world: that ſo (according to the promiſe of *God* by *Eſaiah*) *The Iles afarre off which had not heard of his fame, ſhould be conuerted, and haue his glorie to them declared among the Gentiles.*

Ioſeph of Arimathea buried at *Glaſtenbury. Gildas in vit. Aurel. Ambros. Malmesburie.*

Cambden. in Brit. Bale, Cent. 1. Matth. Park. Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Polydor. Virg. & aly.

Eſay 66. 19.

(3) And if the credit of *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, (who liued to ſee the Apoſtacie of *Iulian*) weigh any thing with vs, in his tract of the Liues and Deaths of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and *Diſciples*, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an *Apoſtle* of *Ieſus Chriſt*) to preach the word, and to ſuffer Martyrdome on the *Croſſe* here in *Britaine*: with whom *Nicephorus*, and after him *Iohn Capgraue* (in his Catalogue of Engliſh Saints) agree, ſaying that the ſame *Simon* ſpread the *Goſpell* to the weſt *Ocean*, and brought the word of life into the *Iles* of *Britaine*: and, in the conuerſion of Countries wrought by the *Apoſtles*, the ſame *Nicephorus*, with *Egypt* and *Lybia* aſsigneth *Britaine* alſo to be one. And the foreſaid *Dorotheus*, as alſo *Mirmanus*, nameth *Ariſtobulus* one of the ſeuenty Diſciples (the ſame whom *Saint Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* among others

Dorotheus in the liues of Saints.

Luk. 6. 15.

Simon Zelotes martyred in *Britaine. Nicephor. lib. 2. cap. 40. Iohn Capgraue.*

Nicephor. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Rom. 16. 10.

others saluteth) to haue taught the doctrine of *Saluation*, and to haue executed the office of a *Bishop* heere in *Britaine*.

Baronius in histor. Eccles. Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, and Martha in England.

(4) To these first *Planters* and *Sowers* of this heauenly *Seed*, *Cæsar Baronius*, that voluminous Historian, ioineth *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*, who (by his relation) being banished *Ierusalem*, in a masterlesse ship without tackling arriued in *Gallia*, and with them *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, who afterward landed in *Britaine* (*vt tradunt*, as hee saith, out of an old *Manuscript* which he saw in the Vatican *Library*:) yea and with them also *Eurgain* the sister of *Ioseph*, who afterwards maried a *Britaine* named *Siarlos*, if the authoritie whereon *George Owen-Harry* doth ground that report, be of any credit.

Eurgain the sister of Ioseph maried Siarlos a Britain. Georg. Owen in his Pettigrees.

(5) But yet there are others, who vpon a very good ground from the words of *Gildas* (the most ancient of our *British Historians*) will haue the *Sunne* of the *Gospell* long before to haue risen in this our *West*, and this *Iland* of *Britaine* to haue enioied the very *morning* of his *Ascent*, the brightnesse thereof piercing thorow the mistie clouds of errour, and shining heere in *Britaine* euen in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards whose end *Christ* suffered his death, and by whose indulgence towards *Christians*, their profession was propagated farre and neere. Which assertion the said *Gildas* doth not deliuer coldly or doubtingly, but with great *confidence*, & relying vpon good grounds, as it appeareth when he saith, *Scimus*, *&c. Wee know for certainty, that this was in the latter times of Tiberius.* Which was immediately after our blessed *Sauiours Passion*.

Gildas de Conquest. Brit.

To which *vncontroleable testimonie* some others haue added (though not perhaps on so vndoubted warrant) that *S. Peter* the *Apostle* preached the word of life in this *Iland*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom *God* had chosen him, that from his mouth they might heare the *Gospell* and beleeue, (as himselfe allegeth) and that hee heere founded Churches, and ordained *Priests* and *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Metaphrastes* out of the Greeke Antiquities, and *Guilielmus Eisingrenius* in the first of his *Centurie*, who saith that *Peter* was here in *Neroes* time; whereas *Baronius* thinketh it was in the raigne of *Claudius*, when the *Iewes* were banished *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* mentioneth him not. Indeed *Baronius* and some others plead very hotly for *S. Peters* preaching heere: but I see not well how it can stand either with *Eusebius* his account, which keepes him so long at *Rome* after he was *Bishop* there, or with *Onuphrius*, who denieth that he went west-ward (being expulsed by *Claudius*) but to *Ierusalem*, and thence to *Antioch*, where he liued till the death of *Claudius*: whence it must follow, that if *Peter* were heere at all, it was before euer he went to *Rome*, and that the *Gospell* was preached heere before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter* were the first (as some hold) that preached there: both which may be the more propable, if wee consider the huge multitudes of Christians (fifteene thousand, saith *Baronius*) which dispersed themselues into all parts of the world vpon the martyring of *S. Steuen* at *Ierusalem*, (which was presently vpon the death of *Christ*) and that *Ioseph* of *Arimathea* was one of that number, *Baronius* doth confesse. I am heere contented to step ouer that Monkish tale reported by *Aluredus Riuallensis* (the writer of *King Edward* the Confessors life) that a holy man (forsooth) studious and carefull for a Gouernour to succeed, was in his sleepe told by *S. Peter* that the Kingdome of *England* was his, wherein himselfe had first preached, and would also prouide him *Successours*. For seeing it was a dreame, for a dreame wee leaue it, and *Peter* among the other *Elders* to attend his Throne, that now sitteth in glorious *Maiestie*, and who in this life minded no such earthly *preheminence*, no not to diuide betwixt brethren, though the *Kingdome* and rule of all things was his alone.

S. Peter the Apostle supposed to haue preached in Britaine. Act. 15. 7.

Metaphrastes.

Centur. 1. part. 7. lib. 8.

Baronius.

Eusebius.

Onuphrius.

A Monkish tale of S. Peter.

Apoc. 4.

Luk. 12. 13.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apostle* of the *Circumcision*, and therefore more likely to haue spent his *endeuours* on them: but for *Paul* (the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles*) his arriuall heere may seeme more warrantable, who doubtlesse (after his first releasement from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Christ* to these *Westerne parts* of the world, and among them, as may appeare, to this *Iland* of *Britaine*, as both *Sophronius* Patriarke of *Ierusalem*, and *Theodoret* an ancient Doctor of the Church, doe affirme and approoue, saying that *Fishers*, *Publicans*, and the *Tent-maker* (meaning *S. Paul*) which brought the *Euangelicall light* vnto all Nations, reuealed the same vnto the *Britaines*. That *Paul* came into *Illyricum*, *Gallia*, and *Spaine*, and filled all those parts with his doctrine, both *Eusebius*, *Dorotheus*, and *Epiphanius* doe testifie: and of this generall Ambassage the Apostle himselfe saith, that *the sound of the Gospell went thorow the earth, and was heard vnto the ends of the world*: which his sayings cannot more fitly bee applied to any other *Nation* then vnto vs of *Britaine*, whose Land by the *Almightie* is so placed in the terrestriall globe, that thereby it is termed of the ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be situated in another *world*; for so in an Oration that *Agrippa* made to the *Iewes*, and *Agricola* to his *Romans*, it is called: which made *Solinus* write, that the coast of *France* had beene the *End of the Earth*, had it not beene for *Britaine*, which was as *another world*. And in *Dion* we read, that the old Souldiers of *Gallia*, whom *Claudius* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they must bee inforced to make warre out of the *world*. And of this Land and latter *Apostle* (if credit may be giuen to a *Poet*) *Venantius Fortunatus* thus recordeth:

S. Paul preached in Britaine.

Sophr. in his Sermon of the nativity of the Apostles. Theodoret. de curandis Græcorum affectionibus, li. 9.

Euseb. lib. 3. ca. 1. Doroth. liues of Saints. Epiphan. lib. 1. Tom. 2. Rom. 10. 18.

Amian. lib. 27. c. 7. Joseph. bell. Iuda. lib. 2. cap. 16. Tacit. in vit. Agr. Solinus.

Dion Cass. lib. 60.

Transijt Oceanum, & quà facit Insula Portum,
Quasq; Britannus habet terras, quasq; vltima Thule.

He crost the seas vnto the land, and vtmost coasts of Thule,
Arriuing at the Ports and Iles where Britains bare the rule.

(7) Thus for *Paul*: well knowen in *Rome* by his long imprisonments, and (at that time) in reuerend regard for his *doctrine* with many there: among whom also there were some *Britaines* that embraced the faith, whereof *Claudia Rufina* (remembred by *Martial* another Poet) was one, whom he thus extols:

Martial. lib. 3. Epig. 34.

Claudia cæruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.

How hath Dame Claudia, borne of Britaines blew,
Won fame for wisdome with our sages graue?
Her comely forme and learning, as their due,
Rome claimes for hers, and hers would Athens haue.

This *Claudia* is by the learned commended to haue beene most skilfull in the *Greeke* and *Latine tongues*; of whom heare them (not me) speake. At the commandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (say they from *Tacitus*) many Noble *Britaines* were brought to *Rome*, who remaining there their *Confederates*, they held it an honour to haue their *children* named after the nobilitie of the *Romanes*: and from *Claudius Cæsar* was this Ladie *Claudia* named, who according to her worth was matched in mariage to *Rufus* a gentleman of *Rome*, then a *Coronell*, after a *Senator*, a man of a milde *disposition*, naturally modest, a great *Philosopher* in the Sect of the *Stoickes*, for his sweetenesse of behauiour called *Pudens*, who by his graue perswasions caused *Martial* (the wittie but wanton *Poet*) to reforme many things in his writings, and by him is cõmended for his *humanitie*, *pietie*, *learning*, and *eloquence*: as also his wife *Claudia* the *Britaine*, for her *beautie*, *faith*, *fruitfulnesse*, *learning*, and *languages*. In proofe whereof, *Bale* hath mentioned three seuerall treatises, besides others by her compiled, both in the *Greeke* and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens* to be one of the seuentie two, and *Volateranus* affirmeth them both *Pauls* disciples, from whom he sendeth greeting to *Timotheus* in these words: *Eubulus*

Matth. Park. Archb. in Antiq. Eccl. Britan. Bale, &c.

Claudia her learned writings. Doroth. of the liues of the Disciples. Volaterranus lib. 18. 2. Tim. 4. 21.

and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren ſalute thee. But ſome may obiect, that *Martials Claudia* could not be that *Ladie*, who liuing in *Neroes* time gaue hoſpitalitie vnto *Peter* and *Paul* at their being in *Rome*, for that ſhe could not retaine ſuch beautie and perfection as the *Poet* to her doth aſcribe in the raigne of *Domitian*, the ſeuenth in ſucceſsion from *Nero*, the time being too long (ſaith *Ado*, *Biſhop* of *Treuers*, *Vſuardus* and others) for beautie to be ſo freſhly preſerued. Now theſe account her age then to be ſixtie; but if we reckon according to *Euſebius*, wee ſhall ſee that hee ſets the laſt of *Claudius* in the yeare of grace *fiftie ſixe*, and the *firſt* of *Domitian* in *eightie three*, betwixt which, are but *twentie ſeuen* yeares, and yet *Paul* came not to *Rome* till the tenth of *Nero*, and in his thirteenth yeare, from the priſon wrote his Epiſtle to *Timothie*, as the ſame *Euſebius* declareth: ſo that from hence vnto *Domitian*, is left but foureteene yeeres, a time no whit vnpoſſible to retaine *Beautie*, though twentie yeares and many moe of her age had beene formerly ſpent; ſeeing that in thoſe times *Plutarch* praiſeth *Alcibiades* to be paſsingly faire when he was threeſcore yeares of age.

The ſame *Claudia* that *Paul* and *Martial* ſpeaketh of.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 22.

Alcibiades his beautie in old age.

This *Claudia* then with *Pauls* ſpirituall *Manna*, is ſaid to ſend likewiſe the choiſeſt and chaſteſt of the Poeſies of *Martial* (whoſe verſes generally are no leſſons befitting Ladies) for new-yeares gifts vnto her friends in *Britaine*, both for to feede their *Soules* with the bread of life, and to inſtruct their *mindes* with leſſons beſt fitting vnto ciuill behauiour; which thing moued the *Poet* himſelfe with no ſmall ſelfe-glorie in his verſe thus to write:

Claudia ſends both *Pauls* and *Martials* writings into *Britaine*.

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.
And Britaine now (they ſay) our verſes learns to ſing.

Martial. lib. 7. Epig. 10.

(8) It hath alſo paſſed with allowance among the learned *Senate* of our *Antiquaries*, that when *Claudius* & *Nero* began to baniſh and perſecute the Chriſtians in *Rome*, (whoſe ſuperſtitions, as *Tacitus* pleaſeth to tearme them, from *Iudea* had infected the *Citie* it ſelfe) many *Romanes* and *Britaines* being conuerted to the *Faith*, fled thence vnto theſe remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enioy the libertie of their *Profeſsions*, vntill the ſearch of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Perſecutions*, had found out all ſecret places for the ſafeties and aſſemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the daies of *Diocleſian* we ſhall finde. And from this *Sanctuarie* of *Saluation* the ſad lamenting Lady * *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lord Lieutenant* of *Britaine*) brought that *Religion*, whereof ſhe was accuſed and ſtood indited vpon life and death, which was none other, then the *Chriſtian* Profeſsion, ſeeing the ſame both by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, is euerie where termed the ſtrange ſuperſtitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Chriſtians* imbraced, and for which they were accounted vnworthy to liue.

Tacit. Annal. l. 13. 7. & lib. 15. 10. Suetonius in vita Nero. Sect. 16.

Aulus Plautius his wife became a Chriſtian in *Britaine*.

(9) And much about theſe times (as *Beatus Rhenanus* in his *Hiſtorie of Germanie*, *Pantaleon* and others doe report) one *Suetonius* a Noble mans ſonne in *Britaine* conuerted to the Faith by the firſt *Planters* of the *Goſpell* in this *Iland*, and after his *Baptiſme* called *Beatus*, was ſent by the *Brethren* from hence vnto *Rome*, to be better inſtructed, and further directed by *Saint Peter* himſelfe; and returning thorow *Switzerland*, found ſuch willingneſſe and flocking of the *people* to heare and receiue the *Doctrine of Chriſt*, that he there ſtaied and built an *Oratorie* not farre from the lake *Thun*, and neare the Towne called *Vnderſewen*, where in preaching and praiers he imploied his time to the day of his death, which happened in the yeare of grace 110.

B. Rhenan. in his Hiſt. of *Germany*. *Pantaleon.*

And that there were Chriſtians in *Britain* at theſe times I make no queſtiō, though ſome exceptions may be taken againſt the *Monk* of *Burton* the reporter thereof, who ſaith in the 141 *yeare and raigne of Hadrian, nine maſters of Grantceſter were baptized themſelues & preached to others the Goſpell in Britain*; howſoeuer he faileth in the Emperours name, which yeare was the

Holinſhed deſcript. Brit. cap. 9.

ſecond of *Antonins Pius* his ſucceſſor, and aſcribeth to theſe men Schoole-degrees, altogether vnknowne for nine hundred yeares after, yet theſe do not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Monke* was none of the beſt *Hiſtorians*. It is reported alſo that *Patricke* the Iriſh *Apoſtle*, and Canonized *Saint*, long *before the Raigne of* King *Lucius preached* the *Goſpell* in many places of *Wales*; As alſo that *Ninianus Bernicius* of the race of the Britiſh Princes *conuerted the Picts* to the Religion of *Chriſt*. Vnto theſe aforeſaid authorities and teſtimonies howſoeuer we ſtand affected: yet it is certaine by *Chemnitius* citing *Sabellicus*, that the *Britaines* were with the *firſt Conuerts*: And *Tertullian*, who liued within two hundred yeares of *Chriſts Natiuitie*, ſheweth no leſſe: Who the more to *prouoke* the *Iewes* againſt whom he wrote, *calleth to witneſſe* the fruitfull *increaſe* of the *Goſpell of Saluation*, through many Countries and Nations, and *among them* nameth *the Britaines* to haue receiued the Word of life, the power whereof (ſaith he) hath pierced into thoſe parts whither the *Romanes* could not come. Whence *Petrus Cluniacenſis* ſuppoſeth the *Scotiſh men the more ancient Chriſtians*, as *not* being *in* the like *ſubiection to* the *Romanes*, as other then were.

Patrick the Iriſh Apoſtle preached in *Wales*.

Chemnitius (in examin. Concil. Triden.) ex Sabel. lico.

Tertullian. cont. Iudæos cap. 7.

(10) *Origen*, who flouriſhed not much aboue two hundred yeares after *Chriſt*, in his Homilies *vpon Ezechiel ſheweth*, that the firſt fruits of *Gods haruеſt* was *gathered* in the Iland of *Britaine*: who conſented to the Chriſtian faith by the doctrine of their *Druides*: that taught *one onely God*: with whom *Hector Boetius* agreeth, ſaying, that ſome of theſe *Druides* condemned the worſhip of God in Images, and *allowed not* the applicatiō of the *God-head* vnto any viſible forme: which might be the cauſe why *Claudius* the *Emperour* forbad their Religion, as ſauouring in theſe things too much of *Chriſtianitie*, whom likewiſe he baniſhed *Rome*, as ſome from *Suetonius* coniecture. Of theſe *Druides* wee ſhewed before, that their offices were moſt imploied *about holy things*, and that their doctrine chiefly conſiſted *in teaching* the *immortalitie of the ſoule*, the *motions of the heauens*, the *nature of things*, and the *power of the Gods*: yea and *Poſtellus* from others *will inforce*, that they *prophecied* likewiſe of *a virgins conception*. Theſe were the helps, ſaith *Tertullian*, that cauſed the *Britaines* ſo ſoone to imbrace the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and thereupon immediately after his death doth *Gyldas* faſten our conuerſion, where he writeth, That *the Glorious Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, which firſt appeared to the world in the later time of Tiberius Cæſar, did euen then ſpread his bright beames vpon this froſen Iland of Britaine.*

Origen, in Ezec. homil. 4.

Hector Boet. Chron. Scot lib. 2. The *Druides* allowed not Images nor any viſible forme of the God-head.

Suetonius in vita Claud. Sect. 25.

Tacit. Annal. l. 14. cap. 10. Cæſar. Com. lib. 6.

Poſtellus.

Gyldas de Excidio Brit.

(11) Whereby wee ſee the waters of life, flowing from *Ieruſalems* Temple, into theſe farre ſet Countries and vttermoſt *Seas*, to be made both fruitfull & wholeſome, according to the ſayings of the *Prophet*, that *in that day the waters of life ſhould iſſue from Ieruſalem, halfe of them toward the Eaſt Sea, and halfe of them towards the vttermoſt Sea, and ſhall remaine fruitfull both in Sommer and winter:* and euen in the infancie of *Chriſtianitie*, both the *Apoſtles* themſelues, and alſo the *Proſelytes* their *Diſciples* to become fiſhers therein for the Soules of Men, as *Chriſt* in chuſing of them ſaid they ſhould bee; whereby his Kingdome was ſoone enlarged vnto theſe *Ends of the Earth*, and his Throne eſtabliſhed among thoſe *Heathen*, whom God his Father had giuen to be his. So fruitfull and famous was this ſpreading of the *Goſpell*, that *Baptiſta Mantuan*, a *Chriſtian Poet*, compares the increaſe thereof with that of *Noah*, thus alluding vnto it:

Ezech. 47. 8.

Zachar. 14. 8.

Matt. 4. 19.

Pſal. 2. 8.

Sicut aquis quondam Noe ſua miſit in orbem
Pignora ſedatis, vt Gens humana per omnes
Debita Cœlituum Patri daret orgia terras;
Sic ſua cùm vellet Deus alta in regna reuerti,
Diſcipulos quoſdam tranſmiſit ad Vltima Mundi
Littora, docturos Gentes quo numina ritu
Sint oranda, quibus Cœlum placabile Sacris.

Baptiſt. Mant.

In Engliſh thus:

As Noah ſent from the Arke his ſonnes, to teach

The

The Lawes of God vnto the World aright;
So Christ his Seruants sent abroad to preach
The Word of Life, and Gospell to each Wight:
No place lay shadowed from that glorious Light:
The farthest Iles, and Earths remotest bounds,
Embrac'd their Faith, and ioi'd at their sweet sounds.

(12) To which effect also the sayings of S. *Iohn Chrysostome*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, enforce, who shewing the increase of *Christianitie*, and the successe of the *Gospell* preached, sheweth the power thereof to haue extended, not only to the Countries farre iacent in the Continent, but also to the *Ilands* situated in the *Ocean* it selfe, and amongst them expresly nameth this our *Britaine*; *whose Inhabitants* (saith hee) *haue also consented to the word which is planted in euery heart, in honour whereof they haue erected their Temples and Altars.* And againe: Those *Britaines* (saith hee) which had formerly *fed vpon humane flesh*, making no difference betwixt the blood of man and beast, *now through* the power of *the word* by them embraced, *haue learned* the law of *true pietie*, and giue themselues to a religious *abstinence, and holy fasts.* Of which Barbarisme *S. Ierome* also complained, that some of those *Nations* vsed to eat the buttocks of boies, and Paps of Virgins, which in their *Feasts* were serued for the daintiest dishes. But elsewhere speaking of the *Britaines* conuersion, he saith, that *they had turned themselues from their westerne Paganisme, and now had directed their faces towards Ierusalem in the East, whose beautie shined in the word of God.*

(13) And thus wee see by the planting of the *Gospell* in this *Iland*, the saying of the *Psalmist* accomplished, that *God would giue his sonne Christ the Heathen for his inheritance, and the Ends of the Earth* (the proper attribute of this our *Britaine*) *to be his possession.* And the successe in *Historie* most apparantly sheweth *these parts* (by an especiall prerogatiue) *to bee Christs Kingdome.* For albeit that *Ierusalem* and *Antioch* may rightlie claime the precedencie of all other places, *the one* being as it were the *chamber* where *Christians* were first *borne*, and *the other* the *font* where they were first *Christened* with that most sacred name: yet *Britaine* in *some* other *graces* hath *outstript* them *all*, hauing the glory to be *graced* with the *first Christian King* that euer raigned in the world, which was our renowned *Lucius*, the *first fruits* of all the Kings that euer laid their Crowne at the foot of our Sauiours Crosse: as also for producing the first *Christian Emperour* that euer by publike authoritie established the *Gospell* thorow the world, which was *Constantine* the Great, borne and brought vp heere in *Britaine* by Queene *Helena*, a most vertuous and *religious British Lady*: vnto whose daies the succession of *Christianitie* did heere continue, as by the martyrdomes of many *Saints* vnder *Diocliſian* is apparant. Heerein also raigned *the King that first vncrowned* the head of the vsurping Beast, and *triple-headed Cerberus*, and *freed the Land from* his deuouring *Locusts*: putting downe *Idolatrie* with *Hezekiah that brake the Brasen Serpent*: and with *Isaack* new *digged the Wels that those Philistines had stopped.* And lastly hath this *Iland* produced that most royall and *Christian Monarke*, whose learned pen hath first depainted *Antichrist*, and pierced the heart of all *Papall Supremacie*, as the sword of *Gedeon* did *Zalmunna* (* *the Image of trouble*). *King of Madian.* And as a Lion hath he met that *crooked* * *Serpent* in the way of his vsurped authoritie; whereby in short time vndoubtedly the ᵇ *Kall* of his heart will be broken, if other *Potentates* likewise by his most godly example, cast off the yoke of *vassallage*, and in their seuerall Dominions gouerne (as *free Princes* ought) the people that GOD hath committed to their charge. So that in those and many other the like Princes of this happy *Iland*, most properly is performed that *prophetical promise* made vnto the *Church of Christ*: *that Kings should become her nursing Fathers, and Queenes should be her nursing Mothers*: Of both which may be truly said to *Britaine*, in imitation of that of *Salomon*, *Many kingdomes haue done gloriously, but thou hast surmounted them all.*

(14) And of such power hath *Christ* beene in these His Possessions, that euen the *Hostile Kings* and *Conquerours* thereof, were they neuer so sauage and *Idolatrous* at their first entrance, yet when they *here* had *seated* for a time they became milde and *religious*, and gladly *submitted* their hearts to the *Religion* of those, whose necks themselues held vnder the yoke of *subiection.*

(15) Such were the *Romans* in this *Iland*, whose *Deputies* at the day-spring almost of *Christianitie* were *conuerted*; as *Trebellius*, *Pertinax*, and others, which submitted themselues to that profession, and were motiues to *King Lucius* more publikely to maintaine the same: as also *Constantius* the father of great *Constantine*, that here in *Britaine* permitted the profession of the *Gospell*, with the erections of *Churches* for the true seruice of *God*, and prohibited the superstitious worships of the *Gentiles.*

(16) The *Saxons* after them (in time, but not in Idolatrie) had neuer tasted the liuing waters of *Siloh*, till they were here seated in *Christs* Possession, where they changed their *affections* as farre from their wonted manners, as did the *Messengers* to *Iehu*, which turned after his Chariot to destroy the *Altars* of *Baal*: or as *Saul* and his seruants, who no sooner had entred *Naioth* in *Ramah*, but that their spirits were ioined to the Prophets, and the heat of their furie, with their garments, cast downe at *Samuels* feet.

(17) The *Danes* likewise, their *Conquerours*, and Successors in this *Royall Throne*, euer vntill then were both bloudy and barbarous, and therefore of all *our Writers* commonly called the *Pagan Danes*; whose many desolations and ruines remaine as records of their *cruelties* in many places euen vnto this day: yet being a while in this Land, *King Guthurn*, with thirtie of his chiefe *Princes* and *people*, were drawen by the valour and vertue of *King Alured* to receiue the *Christian Faith*, by whose bounty thereupon they enioied the *possession* of a faire portion of this Kingdome. And afterward *Canutus*, their greatest *King*, no sooner almost had this *Imperiall Diademe* set vpon his head, but that hee held it his chiefe *Maiestie* to be the vassall of Christ, confessing him only to be *King of Kings*: and with such religious deuotion as then was taught, crowned the *Crucifix* at *Winchester* with the Crowne he wore: and neuer after, thorow all his raigne, by any meanes would weare the same: and the *Danes* his Souldiers remaining in *England*, began by little and little to embrace *Christianity*, and in short time were al conuerted to the Faith. Thus then we see the happie increase of these holy seeds springing from the furrowes of this blessed ground: and the *Tents* of *Sem* to be spread vpon the *Mountaines* of *Britaine*, wherein God (according to his promise) perswaded vs who are of *Iapheth*, to dwell.

(18) As hitherto we haue searched the first foundation of our *Faith*, so neither want wee testimonies concerning the continuance of the same in this *Land* vnto following Posterities; although the iniurie of *Time* and *Warre* haue consumed many *Records.* For the *Britaines* that were daily strengthned in their receiued faith, by the Doctrine of many learned and godly men, left not their first loue with the Church of *Ephesus*, but rather tooke hold of their skirts, as the *Prophet* speaketh, vntill the tortures of *Martyrdome* cut them off by death: And those Fathers euen from the *Disciples* themselues, held a succession in *Doctrine*, (notwithstanding some repugnancie was made by the *Pagans*) and preached the *Gospell* with good successe, euen till the same at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the fauourable *Edicts* of *Adrian*, *Antonius Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius* Emperors of *Rome* (as *Eusebius* hath noted:) and in *Britaine* was established by the authoritie of *Lucius* their King: whereby this was the first of all the Prouinces (saith *Marcus Sabellicus*) that receiued the *Faith* by publike ordinance: Of the teachers of those times *Bale* from

Chrysost. in Serm. de Pentecost.

Aduers. Iouin. li. 2

Epitaph. Marcellæ Viduæ.

Psal. 2. 8.

Act. 11. 26.

Britaine had the first Christian King. *Ex Archiu. Cinit. London.*

Britaine had the first Christian Emperour.

Helena mother of *Constantine* a Britaine.

King *Henry* the Eighth the first that quailed the Pope. Apoc. 9. 2. King. 18. 4. Gen. 26. 18.

King Iames.

*For so the word *Zalmunna* signifieth, Iudg. 7 20.
ᵃ Isa. 27. 1.
ᵇ Hos. 13. 8.

Isa. 49. 23.

Pro. 31. 29.

Britaine conuerted her Conquerors to the faith of Christ.

Hollingsh. li. 4. c. 9.

2. King. 9. 18.

1. Sam. 19. 20.

Or *Gurmo.*

Canutus crowned the *Crucifix* with the Crowne hee wore. *Hen. Hunt. lib. 6. Polycbr. li. 6. c. 10. Bale votar. li. 1. Acts and Mon. lib. 3. p. 222.*

Gen. 9. 27. *Origen* vpon *Iosbua, hom. 2.*

Apoc. 2 4.

Zecha. 8. 23.

Radulph Niger.

Zeland.

Euseb. lib. 4 c. 9. & c. 13. & lib. 5. cap 5.

Marcus Sabel. in Ennead. 7. lib. 5. Ex Bale. votar. li. 2.

from some other hath these verses.

Sicut erat celebris cultu numeroq; Deorum
Cum Iouis imperium staret, Britannica tellus:
Sic vbi terrestres cælo descendit ad oras
Expectata salus, patribus fuit inclyta sanctis.
Qui Neptunicolum campos, & Cambrica rura,
Coryneasq; casas, loca desolata, colebant.

As were the Britaines *famous for their zeale*
To Gentle Gods, whiles such they did adore;
So, when the Heau'ns to Earth did Truth reueale,
Bless'd was that Land with Truth and Learnings store:
Whence British Plaines, and Cambri'as desert ground,
And Cornewalls *Crags, with glorious Saints abound.*

Floren. Wigorn. Two learned Diuines sent to the Bishop of *Rome.*

In which number were *Eluanus* & *Meduinus*, those two learned Diuines, which were sent by *King Lucius* vnto *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, with whom returned two other famous Clerkes, whose names were *Faganus* and *Damianus*; these together, both preached and baptized amongst the *Britaines*, whereby many dailie were drawne to the Faith: And, as a worthy and ancient ⋆ Historian saith: *The Temples which had beene founded to the Honour of their many Gods, were then dedicated to the one and onely true God: For there were in* Britaine *eight and twentie Flamins, and three Arch-flamins, in stead of which, so many Bishops and Archbishops were appointed: vnder the Archbishop of* London *were the Prouinces of* Loegria *and* Cornubia: *vnder* Yorke, Deira, *and* Albania: *vnder Vrbs Legionum,* Cambria: By which meanes, *this happy Kingdome* vnder that *godly King*, was *nobly beautified* with so many *Cathedrall Churches*, and *Christian Bishops Sees*, before any other kingdome of the world.

Aly Fagatius vel Fugatius & Diuianus.

⋆*Dicetus* Deane of London: a *Manuscript* in the Kings Libratie, *ad An.* 178.

Saint *Dauids* in Wales.

That this *Lucius* should be the *Apostle* to the *Bauarians*, or that his sister *Emerita* was crowned with the flames of Martyrdome fifteene yeares after his death, I leaue to the credit of *Aegidius Scudus*, and *Hermanus Schedelius* the reporters, and to the best liking of the readers. But most certaine it is, that the *Christian faith* was still professed *in this Iland*, sound and vndefiled, as *Beda* witnesseth, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions of the bloody *Emperours*.

King *Lucius* the Apostle to the *Bauarians*. *Aegidius Scudus de Prisca Rhætia. Hermanus Schedelius, cap.3.*

Beda. Hist. Anglic lib.1. cap.4.

19 For, all this time (saith the said *Dicetus*) Christian Religiō flourished quietly in *Britanny*, til in *Diocle-sians* time, their Churches were demolished, their holy Bibles cast into Bone-fires, the Priests with their faithfull flocke bloodily murdered. In which number, about the yeare two hundred ninetie three, as we read (in *Beda*, *Malmesburie*, *Randulphus*, and others) *Albane* with his teacher *Amphibalus* were both of them martyred for the profession of the *Gospell* at the old Towne *Verolanium*: as also in *Leicester*, those two Noble Citizens, *Aaron*, and *Iulius*, with multitudes both of *men* and *women* in sundrie places (*saith Beda*) as shortly after no lesse then a *Thousand Saints* suffered death at *Liechfield*, wherupon the place was *called* another *Golgotha*, *or field of blood*: In memorie whereof, the Citie beareth for Armes to this day, in an *Escheucheon* of Landskip, sundry persons diuersly Martyred. And yet after these times also the *Britaines* continued constant in *Christianity*, and the censures of their *Bishops* (for the great estimation of their *Constancie*, *pietie*, and *learning*) required, and *approued* in great points of *Doctrine* among the assemblies of some *Generall Councels*; as that of *Sardis* and *Nice*, in the time of great *Constantine* (the first *Christian Emperour*, and this our Country man, whose blessed daies gaue free way to that *Profession*, to the Councels *Authoritie*, and to the whole world *Peace*) had wee our *Bishops* present; whose forwardnes against the *Arrian Heresie*, afterwards *Athanasius* aduanceth in his *Apology* vnto *Iouinian* the *Emperor*, among three hundred *Bishops* assembled at the Councell of *Sardice*, in *Anno* three hundred and fiftie: whose words (as *Nicephorus* reports them) are these. *Know most Christian Emperour* (saith he) *that this faith hath beene alwaies preached and professed, and that all Churches of* Spaine, Britain, France *and* Germany *at this day with one voice doe approoue the same.* As also at that of *Ariminum*, in the yeare three hundred fiftie nine, and in the raigne of *Constantius*, who caused foure hundred westerne Bishops to be there sommoned in fauour of the *Arrians*, whereof three were out of *Britaine*, (as *Sulpitius Seuerus* the good *Bishop* of *Burges* hath reported) that gaue their suffrages *against that Heresie.* These doth *Hilarie* tearme the Bishops of the Prouinces of *Britaine*, by whom they were somewhat derided, because beeing farre from their owne Countrie they liued vpon the *Emperours* charge. And *Beda* testifieth, that from *Diocliſians* time they both reedified their former *Temples*, and founded new also in memorie of their then fresh-bleeding *Martyrs*, and enioyed a generall and ioifull peace in their religious profession, till that *Arrian Heresie* hauing first filled the Continent, sought and found *passage* ouer the Seas into our *Iland*.

The Bishops of *Britaine* withstood the *Arrian* Heresie.

Nicephorus Eccles. hist. Athanasius Apol. 2.

Sulpitius Severus. lib. 2.

Hilarie in an Epist. to the Bishops.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 3.

Gennadius in his Catalogues *Illustrium Diuorum* tels vs of an other learned Bishop of *Britaine*, *Fastidius*, who in the time of *Cestius* Bishop of *Rome*, wrote vnto one *Fatalis* a booke *de vita Christiana*, and another *de viduitate seruanda*; of much diuine learning and comfort. *Chrysanthus* likewise is recorded by *Nicephorus*, to be sonne of *Bishop Martian*, who hauing beene a *Consular Deputie* in *Italie* vnder *Theodosius*, and made *Lieutenant* of *Britaine*, where with great praise he managed the common wealth, was against his will afterward made Bishop at *Constantinople* of the *Nouatians*, that called themselues *Cathari*, that is, *pure*, making a schisme in the *Church* by their deniall of *Salvation*, to such as fell into relapse of sinne after *Baptisme* once receiued. This is that *Bishop* of whom we read, that of all his *Ecclesiasticall reuenewes* he reserued only for himselfe two loaues of bread vpon the *Lords* day. And in the first *Tome* of *Councels* is mention of *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, whom (because that, as is most probable, *Christian Religion* had in those primitiue times taken *more firme* footing in *Britaine* then in *France*) the *French Bishops* called to their Nationall *Councell*, the *second at Arles*, in *Anno* three hundred thirty fiue, that he might with his *Suffrage* approoue their *Decrees*. About the yeere foure hundred seuenty, was a *Prouinciall Councell* held in *Britaine* for the *reforming* of *Religion*, and *repairing* of the *ruined Churches*, which the Pagan mariage of *Vortiger* had decaied, to the great griefe and discontent of the people, a pregnant signe of the continuing zeale, which vnto those daies had left a glorious memorie.

Gennadius in Catal. Illus. Dis.

Nicephorus in Eccles. Hist.

Tripart. Histo.

(20) And the Ensigne of *Arthur*, wherein the *Virgin with her sonne in her armes* (as is noted by *Vincentius*) was portraied, so often displaied for Christ, and his Countries libertie, against the *Pagan Saxons*, is as a seale to confirme vs of their *Profession*, and doth shew the badge of that ages *Christianitie*. But the famous Monasterie of *Banchor*, as a *College of diuine Philosophers*, and by *Clariuallensis* truly acknowledged to be the *Mother of all other in the world*, and her *Monkes* distributed into seuen seuerall parts, euery part numbring three hundred soules, and earning their bread by their daily labours, doth notably witnesse to all succeeding ages, that *Christian Religion* was then both *planted* and preached in *this Iland*. And in the *Synod* held at *Austins Oake* were *seuen* old *Britaine Bishops*, besides other *Doctours*, who met with that Romane Legate, and *not in* points of *doctrine*, but rather in their seuerall *rites* and *ceremonies* did *varie*, by any thing that in that Assemblie appeared. For as it is most vndoubted, that (if we speake properly) *Ierusalem is the Mother of vs all, and of all Churches*; and our former allegations doe euince, that the first Plantation of the *British Faith* was altogether by *Iewes* and others of the *Easterne Church*: so the very rites of this *Religious College* of *Banchor* do euidently proue, that their first *institution* in Religion came from the *East*, *Beda* shewing that in all of them they dissented from the *Romane* Church; yea, and that they neuer did, nor then would *acknowledge* any authoritie of the *Bi-*

Arthurs Ensigne. *Vincentius* in his *Speculo Historiali.*

Clariuallensis. *Bangor* in Wales the first Monasterie in the world. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. 2. c. 2.*

Beda lib. 2. cap. 2.

Dicetus ad annum 287.

Malmesburie. Randulphus.

Beda lib. 1. ca. 7. At *Liechfield* 1000 Saints suffered death. Matth. 27. *Liechfields* Armes.

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ſhop of Rome ouer them in matters of the Church and ſeruice of God. All which accordeth right well with that before cited out of *Zachary, that the waters of life ſhould iſſue from Ieruſalem.* And *S. Hierome*, who ſpake moſt properly; in ſaying, *the Britaines leauing Paganiſme, had turned their faces to Ieruſalem in the East.*

The foundation of the ſaid College is aſcribed to *King Lucius*, from whoſe time vnto the entrance of this *Auſtin the Monke*, foure hundred thirty eight yeeres were expired: in all which ſpace we haue ſeene that the *Chriſtian Faith* was both taught and *embraced in this Iland*, notwithſtanding the continuall perſecutions of the *Romans, Huns, Picts*, and *Saxons*: which laſt made ſuch deſolations in the outward face of the *Church*, that they droue the *Chriſtian Biſhops* into the deſerts of *Cornwall* and *Wales*. In which number were *Theomis* and *Thadioceus* Biſhops of *London* and *Yorke*, chuſing rather to ſuffer aduerſitie with the people of *God*, then to enioy the pleaſures of ſinne for a ſeaſon. By whoſe labours the Goſpell was plentifully propagated among thoſe vaſt mountaines, and thoſe parts eſpecially aboue all other made very glorious, by the multitudes of their holy Saints and learned Teachers.

The Biſhops of *Yorke* and *London* driuen into the Deſerts. Acts and Monuments, *lib.* 2. Heb. 11. 25.

(21) Laſtly, (for the cloſe of all) that theſe teſtimonies are ſincerely by vs produced, for the firſt preaching and planting of the Goſpell, and by ſuch meanes and men as we haue declared, and particularlie by *Ioſeph of Arimathea* and his aſſociates, the conſent of all Writers, both forraine and home-bred, doth ſufficiently *approoue*: and the reuerend regard had of the *place*, with the many *Charters* thereof to this day remaining, are ſtrong *inducements* for thoſe our firſt *Apoſtles Reſidencies* and *Burials*: whereof one, exemplified vnder the *Seale* of *King Edward* the third, is to be ſeene at this day, reciting that the *Abbey of Glaſtenburie* being burned in the time of *King Henrie* the ſecond while it was in his hands, at the requeſt of the *Patriarke of Ieruſalem* (then preſent in *England*) inſtigated further both by the *Biſhops* and *Nobilitie*, hee did reedifie the ſame, cauſing diligent ſearch to bee made for the *ancient Charters* of that foundation, and among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called, *Origo Religionis in Anglia*: in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum, ab ipſis diſcipulis Domini adificatum, fuiſſe venerabilem.* Alſo in the ſame *Charter* amongſt many other *Kings*, there is mention made of *King Arthur*, to be a great *Benefactor* vnto that *Abbey*; whoſe *Armes* vpon the ſtone walles, both in the *Chapell* (called *S. Ioſeph*) and in diuers other places of the *Abbey*, are cut: which is an *Eſchucheon*, whereon a Croſſe with the *Virgin Mary* in the firſt quarter is ſet, and is yet to this day remaining ouer the *Gate* of entrance, and is held to be alſo the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. This place is ſaid to haue beene giuen to *Ioſeph* and his brethren, by *Aruiragus* then King of *Britaine*: and from hence were thoſe two diuine Doctors ſent to *Eluetherius* by King *Lucius*, as by their Epithetes doth appeare: the one of them called *Eluanus Aualonius*, or of *Glaſtenburie*; and the other, *Meduuinus* of *Belga*, that is, *Welles*, neere vnto this place. And to theſe perſons and place, *Polydore Virgil*, that dwelled among vs, and had peruſed moſt of our *Antiquities*, aſcribeth the originall and precedencie of our *Chriſtian Faith*, in theſe words: *Hæc omnia Chriſtianæ pietatis in Britannia extitêre primordia, quam deinde Lucius Rex accendit & adauxit, &c.* And our other latter *Writers* likewiſe with him agree of this place, further affirming, that at firſt but poore, and without all pompe, it was their *Oratorie*, built only of *wrethen wands*, as both [a] *Capgraue*, [b] *Bale*, [c] *Maior*, [d] *Scroope*, [e] *Harding*, [f] *Thorne*, and others affirme: Afterwards by diuers *Princes* raiſed vnto greater glory, with many large *priuileges* & *Charters* granted; to wit, of *Edgar, Edmund, Elfred, Edward, Bringwalthius, Kentwin, Baldred, Ina, Kenwall, the Conquerour, Rufus*, and others: all which were diligently peruſed by *King Henry* the ſecond, as we haue ſaid, & that *Rectorie* in theſe Charters continually termed *The Graue of Saints: The mother Church: The Diſciples foundation, and dedicated vnto Chriſt, as the firſt place in this Land wherein his Goſpell was firſt preached and embraced.*

Glaſtenbury Abbey burnt.

Glaſtenburie Abbey new built by *Henry* the ſecond

King *Arthur* a great benefactor to *Glaſtenburie* Abbey.

The Armes of King *Arthur* at *Glaſtenburie*.

Glaſtenburie Abbey giuen to *Ioſeph* by *Aruiragus*

Two diuines ſent by *Lucius* to *Rome* from *Glaſtenburie*.

Welles called *Belga*.

Ang. hiſt. lib. 2.

Many Kings benefactors to *Glaſtenburie* Abbey.

(22) To conclude this *digreſsion*, growen much greater then was intended, we ſee it is moſt apparant, that the *Britaines* had a ſettled opinion in *Chriſtianitie*, before the ſound thereof was heard from *Rome*; and that the Lord had heere ſet vp *his Standard*, whereunto theſe *Ilanders* reſorted as to the *Tower of their ſtrength*, and was the *firſt Kingdome* of the *Gentiles*, that are ſaid to *bring their ſonnes* thus in their armes, *and their daughters* thus vpon their ſhoulders, *vnto the Lords Sanctuarie*: whoſe knowledge continually increaſing, hath hitherto, to *Englands* great ioy and fame, beene ſtill continued, though the ſpirituall ſparkes thereof for a ſeaſon haue ſometimes beene couered in the cinders of the *Pagans deſolations*, or with the ſuperſtitious worſhips of *mans inuentions*; both which now *diſperſed* as clouds before the Sunne, *the light appeareth* in his full ſtrength, and the moſt pure waters of *the word* run vntroubled. This *Iland* then, in this thing made happy before the moſt, the *Inhabitants* became *Inſtructers of others*, and in their *earthly veſſels* bare this *heauenly liquor*, which thorow their *golden Conduits* ran into many other Countries, and filled their Ceſternes with this *water of life*. For from hence was *Netherland* conuerted to Chriſtianitie, as teſtifieth the ſtory of *Swithbertus*: *Burgundie* by our *Columbanus*, ſaith *Sigebert*: *Scotland* by *Brandanus*, as *Bernard* the French Monke affirmeth: *Swedia* by *Gallus*, as ſaith *Petrus de Natalibus*: and *Friſia* by *Wilfred*, as is recorded by *Beda* and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*: the *Franconians, Heſſians*, and *Thuringians*, by *Winifred* our Deuonſhire man: the *Norwegians* by *Nicolas Brekſpere* of *Middleſex*: and the *Lithuanians* by *Thomas Walden* of *Eſſex*. Againe, if we ſhall caſt our eie on all the *Reformed Churches* in *Chriſtendome*, and with them on *Luther, Huſſe*, and *Prage*, they will all confeſſe, they firſt deriued their light from the *learned Wickleffe* of *Oxford*; the *Lampe* of whoſe ſacred *knowledge* hath illumined not onely all the corners of this *Kingdome*, but alſo all thoſe forraine *States*, whom it hath pleaſed *God* to deliuer from the thraldome and *vengeance of Babylon*: ſo that with the *German Poet*, to *Gods glorie*, and *Britaines praiſe*, the *Engliſh* thus may ſing:

Britaines profeſſed Chriſtianity before it came from *Rome*.

Eſay 49. 22. Dan. 11. 31. Micah 4. 8. Eſay 2.

Quin ſe Relligio multùm debere Britannis
Seruata, & latè circùm diſperſa, fatetur.

Religion doth confeſſe, to Britaine deepe ſhe ſtands
In debt, by whom preſeru'd, ſhe now fils forraine Lands.

Swithbertus.

Sigebert.

Bernard.

Petrus de Natalibus.

Matthew of Weſtminſter.

The *Britaines* conuerted many Countries.

In which regard, *Polydore Virgil* doth rightly call *England* the Parent or *Mother-Monaſterie* of all *Europe*. As likewiſe *Peter Ramus* termeth *Britaine* to bee twice *Schoole-miſtreſſe* vnto the Kingdome of *France*. And the *Annals of Flanders* teſtifie, that no Nation had ſo many *Diuine Nobles* (they might likewiſe haue ſaid, ſo many *Noble Diuines*) as *England* hath had; neither any more *bountifull to Gods Saints*. Our *Kings* for ſanctitie ranked before all other *Potentates* of the earth, as *Vincentius* recordeth: Our *Nobles* truly honourable, and the ſonnes of Princes: Our *Diuines* and renowned *Nurſeries of learning and Religion*, ſhining like the two greater lights in our Britiſh firmament. And all of vs claiming our *ſpirituall* lots of *Inheritance* in the midſt of the Tribes of *Iſrael*.

Polydor. Virgil.

Peter Ramus.

Annals of *Flanders*.

Vincentius.

Eccleſ. 10. 17. Ier. Lam. 4. 7.

Ezech. 47. 22.

[a] In his catalogue of Saints. [b] *Vota, lib.* 1. [c] In his preface. [d] *De Antiq. cap.* 7. [e] *Chap.* 47. [f] *Thorne.*

OTHO.

CHAPTER X.

Ann.Do.70.

BVt leauing *Chriſts* proceedings to the diſpoſe of himſelfe, let vs returne to the *ſubiect* from whence wee haue wandered, and continue the ſucceſsions of *Great Britaines Monarchs*, vnto them that haue held it, whether by chance of *warre*, or voice of *Election*: In which ſort (as is ſaid) *Galba* got it, and but ſhort time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a ſhorter time enioied it.

Otho his original. *Tacit. Hiſt. 2. cap. 17.*

(2) Whoſe Originall (*ſaith Tacitus*) was from *Ferrentium*, his Father a *Conſull*, his mothers blood ſomewhat diſparaged, but yet not baſe; his *youth* run ouer with voluptuous *wantonneſſe* and prodigall *expences*, more ready for *diſturbances*, then depending vpon preferment or dignitie of *State*; and hauing gone thorough all his *wealth*, retained onely the heartie affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Galba* had vtterly alienated. Neither did *Otho* himſelfe bandy againſt *Galba*, but *Vitellius* in Germanie was fauoured againſt both; Two perſons ſo vile and ambitious, as was much feared, would proue the ſcourge of the *Empire*, and the ruine of *Rome*.

Vitellius much fauoured.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* ſided the *Britaines*, vnder the Conduct of *Tribellius Maximus*, (remembred before) a man vnfit for *warre*, and vnexperienced of ſeruice, compounded altogether of *couetouſneſſe*, and for his niggardly ſparings, and vnmercifull pollings, exceedingly hated of his *Armie*: which was further aggrauated by *Roſcius Cælius*, Lieutenant of the *twentieth Legion*, his ancient Enemie, betwixt whom the ſparks of *enuie* ſhortly burſt forth into flames of reciprocall accuſations. *Trebellius* being charged of inſufficiencie for command, with the beggering of the *Prouince*, and *Legions*; and he againe accuſing *Cælius* of factious behauiours, & diſſoluing of *diſcipline*: through which diſſenſions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themſelues arrogantly, euen againſt both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In theſe ſtirres *Maximus* finding himſelf vnable to withſtand *Roſcius*, (the common affection ſwaying on his ſide) with his friends and followers entred *Germanie* in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and ioined thoſe Britiſh forces to maintaine his cauſe, who now preſuming vpon his owne ſtrength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiouſly plaied the Prince, growne to that height euen of nothing.

In chap. 7. ſect. 24.

Roſcius Cælius & Trebellius accuſe each other.

The Souldiers thereby diſordered.

(4) *Otho* his Concurrent (in this thing only commendable) ſought by all meanes to ſtay the effuſion of more ciuill blood, and that alreadie ſpent, ſo poſſeſt his thoughts, that his minde was ſtill diſtracted and nightly affrighted with the ſeeming appearance of *Galbaes* ghoſt: for which cauſes hee ſent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equall part in the *Empire*, and to giue him alſo his daughter in mariage. But *Vitellius* diſdaining any *competition*, refuſeth all Capitulations, and prepares himſelfe for the *warre*. *Otho* thus conſtrained, ſets forth his forces, and in three ſeuerall skirmiſhes had the victorie, but in the fourth at *Brixellum* loſt the daie; yet not ſo much weakned or vnrecouerable, (his *Armie* in number and courage ſurmounting the other) as himſelfe was vnwilling to trie the chance of *warre* any more; for beeing importuned by his *Captaines* and *Leaders*, to reenforce the *Battaile*, with many reaſons, and probabilities of an aſſured *victorie*, in a thankfull and ſhort *Oration*, anſwered thus their *Petitions*.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Suetonius vita Othonis. ſect. 7.

His offer to *Vitellius*.

Hath the victory in three skirmiſhes.

Loſt the day in the fourth.

" (5) To hazard your *vertues* and *valours* for one " *Mans* eſtate, I hold dangerous, and needleſſe it is, " that my *life* ſhould be prized at ſo deere a rate; alrea- " dy *fortune* and I haue had ſufficient *experience* each " of others, and not the leaſt in this my ſhort time of " glorie, wherein I haue learned, it is harder to mo- " derate *affections* in the exceſſe of *felicitie*, then ei- " ther induſtrie or hazard for attaining the ſame. " Theſe ciuill warres *Vitellius* beganne; which I for " my part purpoſe not to continue; and hereby let " *Poſteritie* eſteeme of *Otho*, that others haue kept the " *Empire* longer, but neuer any that left it more vali- " antly. Let this minde therefore accompany me to " the *Graue*, that you for your parts would haue died " for my ſake, and I to ſaue your liues die voluntarie " and vnuanquiſhed. I blame not the *Gods*, nor enuie " your *Emperors* riſing glorie: It is ſufficient that my " houſe hath touched the higheſt ſtraine of *Honour*, " and my ſelfe to be left in records, *The ſoueraign Mo-* " *narch of the World.*

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell, is vnwilling.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

(6) And thereupon ſolemnely taking his leaue of the whole Army, went to his *Tent*, and with his dagger wounded himſelfe vnder the left pappe, whereof immediately he died, in the yeare of his age thirty ſeuen, and daies of his raigne ninetie fiue. He was of *ſtature* but lowe, feeble in his *feete*, and vnto ſo great a *minde*, his *bodie* not any waies proportionable; his face without *haire* and woman-like, his *attire* nice and delicate, and his *life* and *death* nothing at all conſonant or agreeable.

He killeth himſelfe.

His age and raigne.

His lineaments and habite.

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER XI.

Ann. Do. 70.

WHen certaine newes of *Othoes* death was brought *Vitellius*, he presently assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and administred the affairs of the *Empire*, with no lesse authoritie then the absolute *Commander* of the *World*. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherewith it was done, vnto *Mars* in his *Temple* at *Colleyn*, as the luckie instrument of his aduanced *Estate*.

Vitellius glad of *Othoes* death.

(2) Naturally *ambitious* hee was, and now the same the more inhaunced by his strengths of the *German* Souldiers, and the flatteries of the *Senate*, which euer bare saile with the faireſt winde. His entrance into *Rome* was aboue measure magnificall, hauing the naked sword of *Iulius Cæsar* borne before him, with sound of Trumpets, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Armie worthie of a better Prince then *Vitellius* was.

Suetan. in vit. Vitell. cap. 10. Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 8.

Otho magnificall aboue measure.

(3) His originall is diuersly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of deprauing backe-biters; & both in extremes, extremely disagreeing. For *Q. Eulogius*, as *Suetonius* writeth, deduceth his descent from *Faunus* King of *Aborigines*, and Lady *Vitellia* his wife, worshipped in many places for a *Goddesse*. But *Cassius Seuerus* affirmeth him to bee sprung from no better roote then a Cobler, and a common naughty-packe the daughter of a Baker. Howsoeuer, true it is, that *Lucius* his father bare thrice the *Consulship* in *Rome*, was *Prouost of Syria*, and in such credit with the Emperour *Claudius*, that in his absence and expedition into *Britaine*, he had the whole charge of the *Empire* committed vnto him: himselfe in speciall fauour with *Tiberius*, and in vse for his strumpets: with *Caius*, for his Chariot-running: with *Claudius*, for his dice-plaiing: and with *Nero*, for his flatterie: vnto whose Ghost in publike shew hee sacrificed, and disposed the Emperiall affaires at the discretion of *base Stage-Plaiers*.

His diuersly reported.

Cap. 1.

Tacit. hist. 3. c. 13.

Vitellius in fauor with diuers former Emperours.

(4) His vnmeasurable gluttony was such, that the whole imploiments of his Captaines were to prouide him Cates, and that in such excesse, that *two thousand dishes of fish*, and *seuen thousand of fowle*, were *serued* to his Table *at one supper*; and yet was he not ashamed to commend his owne Temperance, in a set Oration before the *Senate* and *People*, who well knew him to be guiltlesse of that vertue: insomuch that *Tacitus* reporteth, in those few moneths wherein hee raigned, he had wasted *nine hundred millions of sesterces*, which amounteth to *seuen millions, thirty one thousand, two hundred fiftie pounds sterling*. And *Iosephus* thinketh if he had liued longer, the whole reuenues of the *Empire* had not beene sufficient to maintaine his *Gluttonie*. A *Prince* otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of *Armes*, without *counsell* in matters of the greatest *importance*, commonly drowned in *surfet*, and farre vnmeet to weld weighty affaires.

His excessiue gluttonie. *Suetan. in vit. Vitell. cap. 13.*

Tacit. hist. 2. c. 27. His huge expence of treasure. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. c. 13.*

(2) These *defects* found ready vent to his *Opposites*, and gaue libertie of speech in the *Assemblies* of their *Estates*: amongst whom *Vespasian* was held the only *Morning-Starre*, worthy to ascend on the setting of this darkend *Sunne*; vnto whom *Licinius Mutianus*, Gouernour of *Syria*, was no aduerse, *Marcus Clunius Rufus* of *Spaine* stood very well affected, and *Tiberius Alexander* of *Aegypt* for him the formost. Also with him sided the Kings *Sohemus*, *Antiochus*, and *Agrippa*, with the beautifull *Queene Berenice*: vnto whom *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* were well knowen, Gouernours together in the Prouinces of *Syria* and *Iudea*.

Vespasian his Abettors for the Empire.

Tacit. hist. 2. c. 23.

(6) The first that did reuolt were the *Illyrian* Bands: to suppresse which, *Vitellius* sent vnto *Vectius Bolanus* Lieutenant of *Britain*, for aid of that *Prouince*, hauing had good experience of their seruice in his warres before. As when *Hordeonius Flaccus* brought eight thousand *Britaines* to his quarrell against *Otho*. As also when *Trebellius Maximus* (formerly mentioned) ioined them to the *German* forces. Which last man had now againe resumed his former place in *Britannie*, without either Maiestie or *Authoritie*; but rather ruled by way of intreatie, and at the discretion of the Souldiers.

The first reuolters from *Vitellius*.

Tacit. hist. 2. c. 30.

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

(7) Vnto whom, this *Vectius Bolanus* succeeded for Deputie: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperate, and not odious for any crime. His answer vnto *Vitellius* was, that the Countrey of *Britaine* stood not so quiet, that he might spare any number thence, the *Souldiers* and *Confederates* hauing their hands full, to hold all vpright. Neither (in truth) were they fast to his side, but rather affected *Vespasian*, whose reputation in warlike affaires was first gotten amongst them in *Britaine*, in the raigne of *Claudius*: though we find in *Tacitus*, that the *Vexillaries* of three British Legions followed *Vitellius* in his expedition against the *Illyrian* Armie, wherein the flower and strength of all the *Britaines* are reported to haue been, and that their *fourteenth Legion* came to his aide, in whom notwithstanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily reuolts of the *Prouinces*, and the approch of *Vespasian*, was minded to resigne his dignitie vnto him, had not the out-cries of the people beene against it.

Hist. 3. c. 9.

Hist. 2. c. 29. *Hist. 3. cap. 1.*

(8) Finally, when he had raigned only eight moneths, and fiue daies, as *Iosephus* accounteth, he was slaine in most ignominious maner: for his hands were bound behinde his backe, a halter fast about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a sword point set vnder his chinne, and head held backward by a bush

His raigne.

His death. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. cap. 23.*

bush of haire, as condemned malefactors were vsed, to the end, that he might see and bee seene of all, to satisfie their malice and augment his miseries. Hee died aged fiftie seuen; and as hee is set in the Table after *Malmesburie*, *Huntington*, and others our English writers, the ninth Calends of *Ianuarie*: But yet it should seeme by his edicts set out against *Astrologers*, that commanded all of that profession to depart out of *Rome* and *Italie* before the first day of *October*, that much about that time he should die: for *Suetonius* recordeth, that the said *Astrologers* set another against him in the words as follow. WEE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

Suet. in vita Vitel. Sect. 14.

His age.

(9) Of stature he was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, and somewhat limping vpon one legge, by a hurt formerly receiued.

FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.

Vespasian.

Petilius.

Ann.Do.72.

SO acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and such hopes reuiued at the entrance of his *Successour*, as that all mens mindes were raised to an expectation, that the glorie of the *Empire*, so much Eclipsed through the ciuill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this last *Vitellius*, should now shine againe in the beautie of her former libertie, by the *desired gouernement* of aged *Vespasian*; whose *integritie*, *valour*, and *seruice*, had beene sufficiently *approued by* his many *Expeditions* in all the *Prouinces* wherein he had to doe.

Vespasians worth and estimation.

His originall. *Sueton. in vit. Vespas. sect. 1.*

(2) His descent was from the *Flauian* family, and that but base and obscure: his *Father* called *Titus Flauius*, his *Mother Polla Vespasia*, his *Wife Domilia*, and his *Sonnes Titus*, and *Domitian*, both *Emperours* succeeding after him.

His imployments in former times. *Tacit in vita Agric. fo. 189.*

(3) In his yong yeares, hee serued as a *Militarie Tribune* in the Countrey of *Thracia*, and as *Questor* in the Prouinces of *Crete*, and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the *Emperour*, he went forth into *Germanie*, as *Lieutenant* of a Band, and from thence was sent into *Britannie*, to be *Leader* of the second *Legion*, where the foundation of that greatnes whereunto after hee attained, was first laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victorie hee fought *thirty set Battailes*, and was also *Conquerour* of the *Ile of Wight*: whereby two mightie Nations were subdued to the *Romanes*, and twentie Townes wonne from the *Britaines*: for which exploits he had *Triumphall ornaments*, worthily assigned him by *Claudius*, whose owne Triumph, (as *Iosephus* saith) was gotten without his paines, but by the only prowesse of *Vespasian*. After this, he gouerned *Africke* with singular integritie and much honour, and was lastly sent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* vpon this occasion.

Iosephus Bel. Jud. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Sueton. in vit. Vespas. Sect. 4.

(4) There had beene spread thorow all the *East-parts*, an old *Prophecie* and setled *opinion* constantly *beleeued*, that it was appointed by the *Destinies*, *there should come out of Iurie him that should be Lord of the whole world*: which how it serued for the *Iewes* to reuolt, or for the *Romanes* to apply onely vnto *Vespasian*, the euent sheweth, which cannot agree to any other, then to the person and power of *Christ Iesus*, *there borne, and throughout the whole world still raigning*: Yet vpon the confidence of such an accomplishment, the *Iewes* reuolted from the *Romanes* obedience, and slew their President *Sabinus* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant Generall of *Syria*, that came to his aide, and got from him the maine *Standard*, or *Ensigne* of the Eagle. This *Nation* was so populous and strong, that none was thought fitter to stay their attempts, then was *Vespasian*, who with great honour and approbation, reduced that *Prouince* vnto their former subiection, and there remained the short time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* their Raignes; of whose proceedings there *Iosephus* writeth at large, vnto whom I must referre the vnsatisfied Reader.

An ancient prophecie in all the East parts.

The cause of the Iewes reuolt.

Iosephus de Bello Iud.

(5) All which times, the ciuill stirres amongst the *Romanes*, gaue the Prouinces occasion to attempt their former liberties; as did the *Batauians*, *Germanes* and *French*, with whom the *Britaines* also tooke hart to reuolt: But the first that sided with *Vespasian*, were two thousand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Mesian* Legions, and sent to aide *Otho* against *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the aduantage of the offred opportunitie, with an *vncontrolled libertie*, committed many robberies and *outragious villanies*: In so much, that fearing *condigne punishment*, they held it their best policie, to combine some speciall man by their *fauours* vnto them, whereby their *facts* might bee either quite smoothered, or lightly *reprehended*; neither in their opinions was any so gracious for desert or power, as was *Vespasian*, and therefore with one assent they proclaimed him *Emperour*, and wrote his name in their *Banners*, thinking themselues as worthy to make an *Emperour*, as were the *Legions* either of *Spaine*, or *Germany*.

Tacit. Hist. 3. cap. 9.

Vespasian chosen Emperour by the *Mesian* Souldiers.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne *Legions* in *Syria* and *Iurie*, growne now so famous by the prosecution of those warres, that they highly conceited his

his *valour*, and their owne *ſufficiencie* to bee inferiour to none: And therefore all on the ſudden at *Cæſarea*, both *Captaine* and *Souldier* ſalute him *Emperour*; which title when he reſolutely gainſaid and refuſed, with drawne ſwords they threatned his death. Thus then being brought into danger euery way, he ſent his letters vnto *Tiberius Alexander*, Lieutenant of *Aegypt*, who likewiſe at *Alexandria*, preſently proclaimed him *Emperour*.

By his owne. *Ioſeph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

(7) At this time *Vellius Bolanus* ſent by *Vitellius*, was Lieutenant of *Britaine*, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner then was fit for ſo fierce a *Nation*: for the *Souldiers* hauing gotten head, by the remiſſe Gouernment of *Trebellius Maximus*, continued the ſame looſeneſſe in diſcipline ſtill: and *Bolanus* in ſtead of awe and *Obedience*, retained onely their affections and *good wils*. But moſt eſpecially the ſhort Raignes of theſe laſt *Emperours* (whoſe beginnings were altogether imploied to ſatisfie their licentious pleaſures, and latter times ſpent for the defenſe of their *Liues* from violent *Deaths*) gaue way to many imperfections of the *Gouernors*, and miſdemeanours of the common *Souldiers*.

Tacit. in vit. Agric. fol. 287.

(8) But when *Veſpaſian* had aſſumed the *Empire*, great Captaines and good *Souldiers* were ſent into the *Prouinces*, and into *Britaine*, *Petilius Cerealis*, that had formerly there made proofe of his ſeruice vnder *Nero*, in the warres againſt *Boduo*, and afterwards in other parts, as againſt the *Gaules* and *Batauians*, with proſperous victories. The fame of this man ſtrooke great terrour into the hearts of the wauering *Britains*, and amongſt them of the * *Brigantes*, the moſt populous *State* of the whole *Prouince:* againſt whom at his firſt approch he warred, and in many *battles*, and ſome of them bloudy, the greateſt part of theſe *people* were waſted, and their Countrey came into the Romiſh *ſubiection*.

Petilius Cerealis Deputy in *Britaine.*

Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmerland, and the Biſhoprticke of *Durham.*

(9) Whereby the glory of *Cerealis* might well haue dimmed the fame of his *Succeſſour*, had not *Iulius Frontinus* a great Souldier alſo, ſuſtained the charge with reputation and credit, in ſubduing the ſtrong and Warlike nation the **Silures:* where he had, beſide the force of the enemie to ſtruggle with, the ſtraits, and difficult places of rockes and mountaines, for acceſſe.

Iulius Frontinus ſubdueth the *Britaines.*

* *South-Wales.*

(10) After whoſe *gouernment* (no further Acts being mentioned) *Iulius Agricola*, who in *Rome* had beene *Queſtor*, *Tribune*, and *Pretor*, and *Lieutenant* in *Aquitania*, was ſent Generall into *Britaine* by *Veſpaſian* the *Emperour*, the yeere before his death. This man formerly had there ſerued vnder the command of *Petilius Cerealis*, whereby hee had gained experience both of the *People* and *Prouince*; and at his firſt approch gathered the *Enſignes* of the *Legions*, and other aids of the *Auxiliaries*, (who for that yeere attended an end of their trauels, becauſe the *Summer* was almoſt ſpent) left by protracting time, the violence of the *Ordouices* ſhould further burſt foorth, who a little before his entrance, had vtterly almoſt cut off a *wing* which lay on their *Borders*, the reſt of the Countrey, as men deſirous of *Warre*, allowing their example.

Iulius Agricola Lieutenant in *Britaine.*

Againſt theſe *Agricola* addreſſed, who kept themſelues in places of aduantage, and durſt not deſcend into indifferent ground. Hee therefore being himſelfe formoſt, lead vp his *Armie* to their encounter, and ſeconded with the courage of his trained *Souldiers*, put them all to ſword and flight, whereby the whole *Nation* was almoſt quite deſtroied.

Hee ouercõmeth the *Ordouices.*

(11) And now that his fame began to aſcend, he knew well that with inſtance it muſt be followed, and as the firſt affaires had iſſue, the reſt would ſucceede; he therefore deliberated to conquer the *Iland Mona*, from the poſſeſsion whereof *Paulinus Suetonius* was reuoked, by the generall Rebellion vnder *Boduo*. But in a purpoſe not purpoſed before, and ſhips wanting, the policie of the Captaine deuiſed a paſſage; for hee commanded the moſt choice of the Aids, to whom the ſhallowes were well knowen (and without whom the *Romans* did almoſt attempt nothing) to put ouer at once, and ſuddenly to inuade them. Theſe *Britaines*, after the vſe of their Countrey manner, were moſt *skilfull ſwimmers*, and in ſwimming *armed*, able to gouerne themſelues and horſes. The *Monaans* thinking themſelues ſecure, for that no Ships were ſeene in their *Riuer*, now thus ſuddenly ſurprized, as men amazed, firmly thought that nothing could bee inuincible to them, who came with ſuch reſolutions to *Warre*, and therefore they humbly deſired *Peace*, and yeelded the *Iland* vnto *Agricolaes* deuotion.

He winneth the Iland of *Mona.*

(12) Who now in theſe proſperous proceedings of his *fortunes*, ſought not with any glorious relations or letters of aduertiſements, to improoue and augment the greatneſſe of his honour; but rather in ſeeking to ſuppreſſe his fame, made it ſhine more bright; and addreſsing himſelfe for ciuill gouernment, reformed many abuſes in his Houſe, his *Campe*, and in the whole *Prouince*, and thoſe eſpecially that moſt touched the poorer ſort, as by moderating the increaſe of *Tribute* and Corne, wherewith the *Britains* were daily burdened: by the ſuppreſsing of which enormities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was euery where entertained, and a generall inclination vnto *Peace*, which partly by the negligence, partly by the auarice of former *Gouernours*, had beene no leſſe feared then *Warre* it ſelfe.

Agricola good to the poore.

(13) And whereas the *Britaines* hitherto ſtill harried with Oppreſsions and *Warres*, had little leiſure or will to apply themſelues to things which accompany *Peace*, and are the ornaments of Ciuil and ſettled *Societies*, and therefore were prone vpon euery occaſion to reuolt and ſtirre: to induce them by pleaſures to quietneſſe and reſt, he exhorted them in priuate, and helpt them in publike, to build *Temples*, *Houſes*, and *Places of Aſſemblies*, and common reſorts, and likewiſe prouided that the *ſonnes* of their *Nobles* ſhould be inſtructed in the liberall Arts and Sciences, commending the induſtrie, and preferring the wits of the *Britaines* before the *Students* of *France*, as being now growen curious to attaine the Eloquence of the *Roman Gentrie*, (yea euen the *Gowne*, the *habit of peace* and peaceable *Arts*) and to delight in gorgeous *Buildings*, *Banquets*, and *Baths*.

His good courſe in winning the people from wildneſſe.

The *Britaines* ciuilized.

(14) And thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded before the death of *Veſpaſian*, whoſe managing of the *Imperiall dignitie* was euery way anſwerable to ſo high a place, and whoſe *death* was as much *lamented*, as his Vertues did ſurmount his *Predeceſſours*. But as touching *his miraculous cures* of the *Blind* and the *Lame*, as they ſerue not either to bee vrged or inſerted in this our preſent *Hiſtorie*; ſo yet may they *conuince* the indurate *Atheiſt*, whoſe conſcience is ſeared with the ſinne of incredulitie of the *Miracles* wrought by our bleſſed *Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt*. For if the wiſeſt *Hiſtorians* of thoſe times haue beleeued themſelues, and left *Records* vpon their credit to *following poſterities*, that by his touch onely hee cured a *Lame-man*, and with his ſpittle opened the eies of the *Blinde*, being a mortall and ſinfull man; ſhall it then bee doubted, that hee which *knew no ſinne*, neither receiued the *gift by meaſure*, either in power could not, or in act did not worke ſuch *Miracles* as were the witneſſes of his *Godhead*, and for ſuch are recorded to confirme our *faith?* But to our purpoſe.

Agricola cureth the blinde and the lame, and that miraculouſly.

Suet. in vit. Veſpaſ. fol. 7.

Tacit. hiſt. 4. c. 35.

Agricolaes miracles conuince Atheiſts that deny our Sauiours miracles.

(15) When *Veſpaſian* had liued threeſcore and nine yeeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſeuen daies, and had raigned ten yeeres, as *Euſebius* ſaith, he died peaceably in his *Bed*; which no *Emperour* ſince *Auguſtus* euer did, hauing beene a great *Scourge* and Inſtrument of *God* againſt the miſerable *Iewes*; whoſe kingly race from *Dauids* line he ſought by all meanes to extirpate, that ſo all their hopes and expectations might for euer be cut off.

Veſpaſian dieth peaceablie. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3. ca. 12. & 13.*

A great ſcourge of God againſt the *Iewes.*

(16) Hee was of a middle ſtature, well ſet, and ſtrongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable, neither any waies deformed: *a great fauourer of Learning, very Liberall, a Iuſt, Wiſe, and Moſt Valiant Prince.*

His endowments of body. *Sueton. in vit. Veſpaſ. fol. 23.* His vertues.

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

Titus Emp. — *Agricola* Lieut.

Ann.Do.81. PResently vpon the death of this Emperour, *Titus* his eldeſt ſonne, ſirnamed *Flauius Veſpaſian*, without al contradiction was receiued and obeyed for his *rightfull ſucceſſor*: aſwell for that his Father in his life-time had made him his Partner in the *Empire*, and at his death by Teſtament declared him his *Heire*; as alſo for the generall opinion conceiued of him, for his inbred goodnes and noble conditions; called & eſteemed *the louely darling and delight of mankinde*. Indeed of a moſt comely *preſence* he was, & fitted thereunto with all heroicall *vertues*, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Oratour*, a skilfull *Muſitian*, and could by artificiall characters write both very faſt and very faire.

Titus made *Emperour* without all contradiction.

Called the delight of mankind.

Sueton in vit. Tit. Sect. 1. Fitted with all heroicall vertues.

(2) His youth he ſpent in Militarie qualities, and ſerued in *Germanie* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Iurie* warred with the like glorie; which is nothing impaired by the learned ſtile of his Recorder *Ioſephus*, vnto whom againe for theſe affaires I muſt referre the curious Reader.

His imployment in former times.

Joſeph. bell. Jud. lib. 6. & 7. He wonne *Ieruſalem* in the life-time of his father.

(3) *Ieruſalem*, with the ſlaughter of eleuen thouſand *Iewes*, euen on the birth day of his daughter, with ſuch honour he wonne, that thereupon preſently he was ſaluted *Emperour*, euen in the life time of *Veſpaſian* his Father: and from that day carried himſelfe as his Aſſociate in the *Empire*; for with him hee Triumphed, and with him he iointly adminiſtred the *Cenſorſhip*, his *Colleague* he was in the *Tribunes authoritie*; and his Companion alſo in ſeuen *Conſulſhips*: In all which, though the *Edicts* went forth in his fathers name, yet were they penned by himſelfe. Of this his victorie ouer the *Iewes*, hee left the remembrance to poſteritie by ſtamping vpon the reuerſe of his coines IVD. CAP. with pictures expreſsing his Triumph and the *Iewes* ouerthrow, which in the front of this Chapter we haue alſo placed.

His faults.

(4) Somewhat he was blemiſhed with the loue of *Berenice*, the beautifull Queene of *Iewrie*, and much more with the murther of *Aulus Cinna*, only through iealouſie conceiued of her: and whether that was the ſinne whereof at his death he repented, is vncertain, when lifting vp his eies to *Heauen*, hee complained why his *Life* ſhould be taken from him, that excepting one offence deſerued not to die. As himſelfe in glorie wielded the *Emperiall Scepter*, ſo did his Subſtitutes gouerne the *Prouinces*; at which time in *Britaine*, *Agricola* was Preſident, and therein had ſpent almoſt two yeares vnder the raigne of *Veſpaſian*, in ſuch maner as wee haue declared.

His repentance at his death.

(5) In his third yeare, he diſcouered new Countries, and parts of this *Iland*, yet vntouched, or at leaſtwiſe not thoroughly ſubdued, as altogether vnſatiate of that which was gotten, & ſought to draw the confines of the *Empire* with a larger compaſſe: therefore marching Northward to the *Frith* of * *Taus*, waſted all as he went, and without any reſiſtance fortified the places with *Caſtles* and *Bulwarkes*, which hee ſtored with ſufficient prouiſion, where euerie *Garriſon* wintring, garded it ſelfe, and with the Summers ſeruice, euer repaired the Winters euents, whereby euermore the Enemie went to the worſe, and his deſignes proſpered as himſelfe wiſhed.

Tacit. in vit. Agric. *Agricola* enlargeth the Empire.

TVVEEDE, as is thought.

(6) The fourth Summer was ſpent in peruſing and ordering that which he had ouer-runne. And if the glory of the *Romane* name could haue permitted, or ſo beene ſatisfied, it needed not to haue ſought other limits of *Britaine*: for [a] *Glota* and [b] *Bodotria*, two armes of two oppoſite *Seas*, ſhooting farre into the *Land*, and onely diuided aſunder by a narrow partition of ground, the ſame was both garded and fortified with Caſtles and Garriſons: ſo that the *Romanes* were abſolute *Lords* of all the South-ſide, and had caſt the Enemie as it were into another *Iland*.

[a] The frith of *Dunbretton*. [b] *Edenborough* frith.

(7) In this ſtate ſtood this *Prouince* of *Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, whoſe ſhort raign hath left no long matters of *diſcourſe*, and his *Acts* greater vnder other *Emperours*, then when he was *Emperour* himſelfe; yet that little time wherein he gouerned, was with *Iuſtice*, *Liberalitie* and *Loue* of all. A great Enemie he was to *Promoters*, *Pettifoggers*, and *Extortours* of penall lawes, which *Cancker-wormes* of *Common-wealths*, and *Caterpillers* to Courts of *Iuſtice*, he cauſed to bee whipped and baniſhed out of *Rome*. Louing and familiar hee was to all his *Subiects*, and ſo deſirous to giue them ſatisfaction, that his vſuall ſaying was, *No man ought to goe ſad from the ſpeech of a Prince*. Mercifull he was to the poore, and ſo readie to do them good, that one day being ſpent by him without any notable action, in ſorrow he ſaid: *I haue quite loſt a day*. He died the thirteenth of *September*, the yeare from *Chriſts Natiuitie* eightie three, when he had *raigned* two yeares and two moneths, and in the two and fortieth yeare of his age, beeing poiſoned by *Domitian* his Brother and *Succeſſour*.

Titus gouerned with loue of all.

His propenſitie to do good. *Euſeb. li. 3. ca. 11.* His age & raigne. *Eutrop. l. 3. & 4.*

FLAVIVS DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

Domitian Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

Ann. Do. 83. DOmitian attaining the *Empire* by the death of *Titus*, (wrought by himselfe) as farre differed from him in vertuous conditions, as he was linked neere him in consanguinitie of blood: His youth not spent in *Armes*, with his *Father* and *Brother*, but inertiously consumed in lasciuiousnesse and penurie.

Suetan. in vit. Domit. sect. 1.

(2) At *Rome* hee was in the *Vitellian* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, he had beene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister vnknowen, thence escaped: which place afterwards, when hee came to be *Emperour*, he gorgeously built for a *Temple to Iupiter* his supposed Preseruer, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of that heathenish *Idoll*. Hee very speedily apprehended the hope of an *Empire*, for no sooner was his Father made *Emperour*, but that hee assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and in *Rome* caried himselfe with such prodigalitie, and so liberally made promises of the *Imperiall Offices*, that his father hearing thereof, said, *he maruelled why his sonne sent not one to succeed him in his place*. But to dissemble and cloake his idle conceits, he gaue himselfe to the study of *Poesie*, (although with little affection, as the end prooued) for which notwithstanding both *Pliny* and *Martial* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the *very shadow* of a good quality in Princes and great ones: and so doth *Iuuenal* and *Suetonius* praise his braue minde, for his shewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not only men, but women also were brought, and forced to fight for their liues with wilde beasts: a cruell spectacle neuertheless, and vnbeseeming to humanity.

His escaping killing.

Tacit. hist. 3. c. 33. He dedicateth a Temple to *Iupiter*.

Plinie in his Proeme of naturall historie. *Martial* in his Epigram. Ro. Emp. fol. 134. *Suton. in vit. Domit. sect. 4.*

(3) His first entrance into state and dignitie was neither greatly applauded nor gainsaid, hee seeming to carrie an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold leuell with his vice. But Ambition now supported with Soueraignty, did quickly set the scale onely for the worse side. The affaires of the *Empire* hee altogether neglected; and impatient of labour, or affection to Armes, daily retired into a priuate chamber or Gallery, wherein hee vsually applied himselfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a bodkin to pricke them thorow: whereupon one being asked what company was with the *Emperour*, replied, *Not so much as a flie*. In which princely exercise let vs a while leaue him, and returne to his better emploied Lieutenant *Agricola*.

His vaine misspending the time.

Tacit. in vit. Agr.

(4) Who now in the fifth yeere of his gouernment tooke the seas, and with many prosperous conflicts subdued some adiacent places and people, before that time vnknowen, and furnished with forces those parts of *Britaine*, which lay coasted against *Ireland*: to which *Countrey* also hee had a minde, and would often say, that if the *Romans* were therin planted, the *Libertie* of the *Britaines* would soone be banished quite out of sight, and out of hope.

Agricola his opinion of *Ireland*.

(5) Now in the sixth yeere of his Prefecture, because a general rising of al the farther *Nations* beyond *Bodotria* was feared, and passages were all beset with power of the Enemies, he manned a Fleet to search the creekes and harboroughs of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Armie marched further North. The *Britaincs* heereat, especially at sight of their ships, much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the secrets of their Seas were all discouered, and no refuge left if they were ouercome, armed themselues with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a most puissant and strong Nation in those parts) the formost; who, as challengers, braued the *Romans* so boldly, and in such manner, that some counselled the *Generall* to retire his forces on this side *Bodotria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to bee repelled with shame.

He searcheth the creekes and harboroughs.

Caledonians most puissant.

(6) *Agricola*, whose courage could not be clouded with any dastardly feare, held on his intents; and hearing by prisoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordereth his host accordingly, diuiding his armie into three battles, and so lay entrenched; the weakest whereof, containing the *Ninth Legion*, the *Britaines* by Night assailed, and hauing slaine the Watch, brake into their *Campe* with a furious noise: to whose rescue, *Agricola* sent his Light horsemen, and a Band of foot, whose *Ensignes* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, so rebated the edge and further purposes of the *Britaines*, that they gaue backe to the gates of the Trench, where, in the straits the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battle so manfully fought, and so famously won, the *Romans* presuming that to their prowesse all things were now easie and open, cried to lead into *Caledonia*, and to finde out the limits of *Britaine*, with a course of continued Conquests: and those which erewhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward and bold after the euent, and grew to speake bigly: such being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise, the *Britaines* presupposing that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by vsing the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their Children and Wiues into places of safety, and sought by Assemblies & Religious rites to establish an *Association* of the *Cities* together. And so for that yeere both parties did depart, incensed to further preparations.

Agricola searcheth out the limits of *Britaine*.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* sending his Nauie before, which by vnexpected spoiling in

in ſeuerall places, ſhould induce a greater and more vncertain terrour, followed himſelfe with his *Armie* by Land: hauing drawne to his partie ſome of the valianteſt *Britaines*, whom by long experience in Peace, he had found moſt faithfull for his Warres: and ſo arriued at the Mount *Grampius*, where the *Britaines* had lodged themſelues before, and as men nothing deiected by the vnfortunate chance of the former battaile, had now prepared themſelues attending only for *Reuenge* or *Seruitude*. And being taught, that common danger muſt be repelled with mutuall Concord, by Leagues and Embaſſages they aſſembled the power of all their *Cities* together, aboue thirtie thouſand armed men, as by view was taken, beſides an endleſſe number of youth which daily flocked vnto them, and many luſtie Old men renowmed in the former warres, and bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time, *Galgacus*, for vertue and birth, of all the *Leaders* the Principall man, ſeeing the multitude hotly demaund the *Battell*, is ſaid to haue vſed this, or the like ſpeech.

*Grantzbaine.

The *Britaines* gather a great power.

Galgacus their Generall.

His Oration to the *Britaines*. *Tacit. in vit. Agric.*

" (8) When I behold this preſent Aſſemblie, and
" conſider the cauſe of this inſtant neceſsitie, I haue
" reaſon to preſume, that this day, and this our agree-
" ment in conſent, will giue a happie beginning to
" our freedome, and an end of troubles vnto our *I-*
" *land*. For, wee which inhabite theſe furtheſt Pro-
" montories, know no Land beyond vs whereunto
" wee may flie, nor no Seas left vs now for ſafetie, the
" *Romane* Nauie thus (as you ſee) ſurueying our
" Coaſts: So that combat and armes, which men of
" valour deſire for honour, the very daſtard of force
" muſt now vſe for his ſecuritie. Wee that are the
" flower of the *Britiſh Nobilitie*, and are ſeated here
" in the vttermoſt part of the *Ile*, ſaw neuer yet the
" borders of thoſe Countries which ſerued in ſlaue-
" rie, our eies being vnpolluted and free from all con-
" tagion of Tyrannie. Our former *Battailes* fought
" with the *Romanes* had their euents, yet ſo, that re-
" fuge and hope reſted ſtill in our hands; wee haue
" hitherto liued in libertie, whereas none beſide vs
" are free; vs hitherto this Corner and ſecret receſſe
" hath defended, now the Vttermoſt point of our
" Land is laid open: and things the leſſe they haue
" beene within knowledge, the greater the glorie is
" to atchieue them. But what Nation is there now
" beyond vs? what elſe ſee we but *Water* and *Rocks*,
" and the *Romanes* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay ra-
" ther *Robbers* of all, both in Land and Sea? whoſe
" intollerable pride by humble ſubiection in vaine
" ſhall wee ſeeke to auoid. If the Country bee rich,
" they ſeeke to winne wealth; if poore, to gaine glo-
" rie: but neither *Eaſt* nor *weſt*, can ſatisfie their gree-
" die affection, much leſſe this cold *North* can ſet an
" end to their deſires. To kill, to ſpoile, and take a-
" way by force, that falſely they terme *Empire* and
" *Gouernement*: and when all is made a waſte wilder-
" neſſe, that they call *Peace*. Moſt deare vnto man
" are his Children and blood; but thoſe are preſſed
" for their warres, and ſerue as their ſlaues, we know
" not where; our Goods are their tributes, our Corne
" their prouiſion; our Wiues, Siſters and Daughters,
" in *Warre* violently forced, in *Peace* vnder title of
" friends and gueſts, ſhamefully abuſed, and our
" own Bodies worne & conſumed in pauing of Bogs
" and other ſeruile drudgeries, with thouſands of
" ſtripes, and many indignities more. Slaues which
" are borne to bondage are ſold but once, and after
" are fed at their Owners expences; but *Britanie* dai-
" ly buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her
" owne Bondage. We are the laſt to be conquered,
" and therefore is our deſtruction moſt ſought, as be-
" ing the moſt vile in account: No Fields we haue to
" manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade
" in, and to what purpoſe then ſhould they reſerue
" vs aliue? Beſides, the Manhood and fierce cou-
" rage of the ſubiect, pleaſeth not much the iealous
" *Soueraigne*: and this Corner being ſo ſecret, and out
" of the way, the more ſecuritie it yeeldeth vs, in them
" it workes the greater ſuſpition. Then, ſeeing all
" hope of fauour is paſt, let vs take courage to de-
" fend and maintaine our owne ſafetie as well as our
" honour. The *Icenians* led by a *Woman*, fired the
" *Colonie*, forced the Caſtles; and if that luckie be-
" ginning had not beene ended in a careleſſe ſecurity,
" the *Southerne Britaines* might with eaſe haue ſhaken
" off the yoake. We as yet neuer touched, neuer ſub-
" dued, and borne to bee free, not ſlaues to the *Ro-*
" *mans*; wee (I ſay) now are to make proofe of our
" valour, and to ſhew in this encounter, what men
" *Caledonia* hath reſerued for her ſelfe. And do you
" thinke, that the *Romanes* are as valiant in Warre as
" they are wanton in Peace? I aſſure you, nothing
" leſſe: for not by their Vertues, but by our Iarrings,
" they are growne into fame: and of the enemies
" faults they make vſe to the glory of their owne *Ar-*
" *mie*, compoſed (we know) moſt of diuers *Nations*;
" and therefore as in proſperitie they hold not al-
" alwaies together, ſo doubtleſſe, if fortune turne a-
" ſide, their ſeruices will appeare: vnleſſe you ſup-
" poſe the *Gauls* and *Germanes*, and (to our ſhame be
" it ſpoken) many of our owne *Nation*, (which now
" lend their liues to eſtabliſh a *forraine Vſurper*) bee
" lead with hearts affection; whereas contrariwiſe it
" is apparant, that *Terrour* and *Diſtruſt*, (weake work-
" ers to conſerue loue) are the onely cauſe; which
" once remoued, then thoſe that haue made an end
" to feare, will ſoone begin to hate. All things that
" may incite vnto victorie are for vs: the *Romanes*
" haue no *Wiues* to harten them on, if they faint; no
" *Parents* to vpbraid them, if they flie; moſt of them
" haue no Countrie at all, or if they haue, it is by in-
" truſion taken from others: A few fearefull perſons
" ſtand here before vs, trembling and gazing at the
" ſtrangeneſſe of the heauen it ſelfe, at the Sea, and at
" the Woods, whom the Gods haue deliuered, mew-
" ed vp and fettered into our hands. Let not their
" braue ſhewes of gliſtering *Gold* or *Siluer*, any way
" diſmay you, which of themſelues neither offend
" nor defend. And be you well aſſured, amongſt our
" enemies wee ſhall finde many on our ſide; The
" *Britaines* will agnize their owne Cauſe; The *Gauls*
" will remember their wonted libertie and former e-
" ſtate; And the reſt of the *Germanes* will leaue and
" forſake them, as of late the *Vſipians* did. What then
" ſhall we feare? The *Caſtles* are emptie; the *Colonies*
" peopled with aged and impotent perſons; the free
" Cities diſcontent, and in factions, whileſt thoſe
" which are vnder, obey with ill will, and they which
" doe gouerne, rule againſt right. Here you ſee be-
" fore vs is the *Generall* and the *Armie*, on each ſide
" Tributes, Seruitudes and other miſeries inſepara-
" ble; which whether we ſhall continue for euer, or
" caſt off ſubiection as free-borne *Britaines*, it lyeth
" this day in this *Field* and your approued manhoods
" Wherefore I beſeech you in ioyning Battell, beare
" in your Minds your worthy *Anceſtors*, your Selues,
" and following Poſterities, which if you faile, ſhall
" for euer liue in ſubiection and ſlauerie.

Womens valour ought to ſhame mens cowardize.

This time the beſt teſt to proous our valour.

The *Romanes* wanton in peace.

Their Armie compoſed of diuers nations.

They are deſtitute of many encouragements.

(9) This ſpeech was ſo vehemently deliuered, and ſo cheerefully of them all receiued, that with ſongs and confuſed acclamations (after their accuſtomed faſhion) they cluſtered together on heaps, and ſome of the boldeſt aduanced forward, whileſt *Agricola* likewiſe was incouraging his men, who ſtraightwaies ranne to their weapons, and ruſhed on furiouſly toward the Enemie.

(10) The *Britaines* were marſhelled in the higher ground, fitly both to the ſhew, and to terrifie: the firſt Battalion ſtanding on the plaine, the reſt on the aſcent of the hill, knit and riſing as it were one ouer another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots and horſemen. *Agricola* ſeeing their number to exceede his, drew his battaile in length, and leauing his horſe, aduanced himſelfe before the *Enſignes* on foote.

The number of *Britaines* exceed the *Romanes*.

(11) In the firſt aſſault before the ioyning, both ſides encountred with diſcharge of their darts, wherin the

The firſt encounter.

Many Cities in factions.

The laſt to bee conquered ought moſt to reſiſt.

Manhood and fitneſſe of place more ſuſpected of a iealous Soueraigne.

Subiection will not auaile.

The *Romans* gouernement and peace.

Former battailes not vnfortunate.

A diſhonour for the cheiſe of a Nation to be daſtards.

The cauſe of a flouriſhing eſtate.

The neceſſitie of reſolution.

the *Britaines*, employing both art and valour, with their great ſwords and little Targets, auoided the volue of the *Romans*, ſhowring down withall great ſtore of theirs vpon them, wherewith they were both galled and ſore wounded. *Agricola* ſeeing his men thus ſtoutly reſiſted, tooke another courſe: for, ſpying the aduantage, he commanded three [a] *Batauian Cohorts*, and two of the [b] *Tungrians*, to preſſe forward, and bring the matter to handy ſtrokes and dint of ſword, a thing which (in reſpect of their long ſeruice) they were very expert in, but contrariwiſe to the *Britaines* very preiudiciall, by reaſon of their little Bucklers, and huge ſwords, being blunt pointed, and no waies fit for the cloſe in fight. This command aduantaged the *Romans* much; for theſe with the pikes of their Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, ſo mangled the faces of the *Britaines*, that they were not able to ſtand before them; and the reſt, gathering courage vpon emulation of theſe, aſcended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way, ſo that many halfe dead, and ſome wholly vntouched, were ouer-paſſed, and left for haſte of winning the field. In the meane while the *Chariots* mingled themſelues with the battle of footmen, and the troopes of horſemen began for to flie: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now diſtreſſed themſelues, by the vneuenneſſe of the ground, and thicke rankes of the enemy, and were forced to fight ſtanding ſtill, and by the maine weight of horſes to beare downe one another. The wandring Wagons alſo, and maſterleſſe horſes, as chance or feare did guide them, ouer-bare many times their friends, and thwarted their way that met them.

[a] Hollanders.
[b] Liege in the Low Countries.

The Britaines Chariots diſorder the horſemen.

(12) The other *Britaines* that kept the hill, and had leiſure to behold the manner of fight, beganne to come downe by little and little, and ſought to compaſſe the backe of the enemie; which intent *Agricola* ſoone preuented, by ſending foure wings of *Horſmen*, retained purpoſely about him for ſudden diſpatches and chances of warre. Theſe ſo fiercely aſſailed them, that a moſt ſharpe and bloody battle enſued, wherein the *Brutaines* on each ſide were beaten downe and ſlaine, notwithſtanding many of them ſhewed both valour and reuenge euen to the end: the reſt disbanded, turned their backes, and fled towards the deſert; whoſe purſuit was followed vntill Night, and fulneſſe of blood made an end of the chaſe.

The fight fierce on both ſides.

The Britaines diſcomfited.

(13) Of the *Romans* ſide were ſlaine (if wee muſt credit their owne friends) onely three hundred and fortie perſons, and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus* [a] *Articus*, *Captaine* of a *Cohort*, who vpon a youthfull heat, and fierceneſſe of his horſe, was carried amidſt his enemies. Of the *Britains* fell ten thouſand, and their deſignes ſo defeated and broken, that as deſperate men, they forſake their houſes, and in deſpight ſet fire on them themſelues: the hurt perſons they carrie and draw with them, and call them that are vnhurt, hoping to be releeued by them. One while they chuſe out holes to lurke in, for their liues ſafetie; eftſoones in great haſte forſake them, as doubting therein their owne ſecuritie. Diſperſed aſunder, they lament, and attend death: aſſembled together, expoſtulate of their meanes and life: one while conceiuing a glimmering of ſome ſmall hope, another while deiected with vtter deſpaire: Sometimes at the ſight of their deareſt beloued, mooued to pitie; but much oftner ſtirred to rage, for reuenge; and many of them, euen by way of compaſsion, ſlew their deareſt *Wiues* and *Children*, to rid them from their future miſeries.

The Romans loſſe.
[a] *Atticus* perchance.

The Britaines that died.

(14) *Agricola* hauing made euery where a deſolation and ſilence, withdrew his Armie towards the [a] *Horreſtians*, where taking hoſtages for their fidelitie, ſent the *Admirall* of his *Nauy* to ſaile about the *North Coaſts* of *Britaine*, who with ſtrength and ſtore tooke the Seas, their terrour gone already before, himſelfe with eaſie and gentle iournies diſpoſed his foot and horſemen in their Wintring places, and planted Garriſons vpon the Borders betweene *Glota* and *Bodotria*. And his Nauie with proſperous winde and ſucceſſe arriued at the Port [a] *Trutulenſis*.

[a] *Angus* in Scotland.

Agricola ſendeth to diſcouer the North coaſts.

(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the ſpace of one hundred thirty ſix yeeres from *Iulius Cæſars* firſt entrance, the vtmoſt limits of *Britannie*, and the *Iles* of the *Orcades* lying on the North ſide of it, were by the valour and induſtrie of *Iulius Agricola* firſt diſcouered, and made knowen vnto the *Romans*: and the *South* part of the *Ile*, in the fourth yeere of the raigne of *Domitian*, (being the yeere of our Sauiour eightie ſix) reduced into a full Prouince, the gouernment whereof was euer annexed and appropriate to the *Roman Emperours* themſelues, and not at the diſpoſition of the *Senate*, as other Prouinces were.

[a] *Richborow.*

Hiſtor. magn. Brit. lib. 2. cap. 17.

Britanny wholly diſcouered by *Agricola*.

Ann. Dom. 86.

(16) This ſtate of affaires in *Britannie*, *Agricola* ſignified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Domitian* the *Emperour*, who (after his manner) with *a cheerefull countenance and greened heart*, receiued the Newes, being inwardly pricked with feare and diſdaine, that his late counterfet *Triumph* of *Germanie* (wherein certaine ſlaues bought for money, were attired, and their haire dreſſed as *Captiues* of that *Countrey*) was had in deriſion, and iuſtly skorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victorie of ſo many thouſand enemies ſubdued and ſlaine, was currant and famous in euery mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a priuate mans name ſhould be exalted aboue his Prince. In vaine then had hee ſuppreſſed the ſtudie of *Oratorie*, and other worthy politicke Arts, thereby to keepe downe other mens reputation, if he ſhould in *Military* glory be diſſeiſed by another. And to be a good Commander of an *Army*, was to be aboue priuate eſtate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a *Prince*, and therefore not lightly to be paſſed ouer. With theſe and the like incentiues his minde was tormented; yet thought he it beſt to diſſemble his malice, vntill the heat of his glory, and loue of his ſouldiers were ſomewhat abated. And foorthwith he commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, ſtatue, honours, and what elſe vſually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; hee yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like policie alſo, hee was ſhortly diſplaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, lay deſtitute of a *Lieutenant*; and that place reſerued for Men of great qualitie, *Domitian* gaue foorth was purpoſed for *Agricola*, and ſent him both his *Patent* and *Succeſſor* into *Britaine*; who thereupon deliuered vp the Prouince in a peaceable eſtate vnto *Saluſtius Lucullus*, and returned to *Rome*.

Agricola writeth to *Domitian*.

Agricola receiueth Triumphall ornaments.

(17) Where the life of *Domitian* was now grown vnmeaſurable vaine. The ſurname *Germanicus* he aſſumed to himſelfe, for ſome ſmall ſeruice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* he changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, becauſe that in the one hee entred his *Empire*, and in the other was borne. He cauſed his Statue to be made in gold, and commanded, himſelfe to be called GOD. His cruelty euery way matchable to his pride. The *Senatours* and *Nobles* vpon ſmall ſurmiſes hee murdered: many new tortures hee inuented: *Confiſcations* and *Baniſhments*, were fauours, not puniſhments. Amongſt all which, the *Chriſtians* bare a part, whoſe *Second Perſecution* this *Tyrant* raiſed and began. The great *Euangeliſt Iohn* hee baniſhed into the *Ile* of *Patmos*, where hee receiued his *Reuelations* from *Ieſus Chriſt*, appearing vnto him in no leſſe Maieſtie then *Daniel* before time had ſeene him in his *Viſions*, and both (after a ſort) in one and the ſame manner: their *Viſions* alike, and almoſt to the like end: For as *Daniel* ſaw a *Lion*, *Beare*, *Leopard*, and *Monſter* with *Ten horns*, perſecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the *Stone cut without hands*, which brake into powder the *Image* of their Tyrannicall Gouernment, to giue place to the peaceable *Birth* and *Kingdome* of *Chriſt*; ſo *Iohn* ſaw one *Beaſt* compacted of theſe foure, mouthed like a *Lion*, footed like a *Beare*, ſpotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Monſter*, retaining their *Tyrannie* in raiſing *Perſecutions* in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and clouding with *Idolatry*

Suetonius in vita Domitiani. Domitian his vices.

Hee baniſhed *S. Iohn. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 15.* Apocal. 1. 9. Daniel 10.

Apocal. 13. 2.

2. Theſſ. 2.8.

the brightneſſe of his *Word*: which ſhall bee caſt into the Lake of fire and brimſtone, when *Chriſt* ſhall binde vp *Satan*, and by his appearance aboliſh the *Man of Sinne*.

Saluſtius Lucullus put to death. *Sueton. in vit. Domit ſect.* 10.

(18) Among many others ſlaine by *Domitian*, *Saluſtius Lucullus* whom he had made *Lieutenant Generall* of *Britanie* was one, and the onely cauſe is reported to bee, that hee had deuiſed and madé certaine Speares or Launces for ſeruice, which hee cauſed to be called *Lucullians* after his owne name; which was a matter held very ſuſpitious by *Domitian*, who thought euerie memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his plume. And in theſe courſes continued ſo long, that laſtly hee grew odious to all, euen to his neareſt friends and followers which himſelfe had raiſed, who, together with his *Wife*, conſpired his death.

His offence.

(19) The chiefeſt in the Action was *Stephen*, a Procurator and Steward to *Domicilla* his *Empreſſe*, who faining himſelfe lame of the left arme, in deliuering him a ſcroll containing the names of the conſpirators, ſtroke him into the *bellie* with his ſword, & the reſt comming in, with ſeuen wounds made an end of his life; whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the *Senate*, that they diſgracefully abuſed his carcaſe, caſt downe his ſcutcheons and Images, and forbad all maner remembrance of him; albeit ſome of the Souldiers aſmuch ſtormed, ſeeking to reuenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

The actors of his death, and their treacherie

The Senats glad.

The Souldiers enraged.

(20) Of ſtature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modeſt, his head verie bald, his eies red, full, great and dimme, of a comely forme, onely his bellie bearing out, his legges ſmall, and his foote ſomewhat ſhort. He died the eighteenth day of *September*, aged forty fiue, when hee had raigned fifteene yeeres, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninetie eight, with whom both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* end their Hiſtorie.

His perſonage.

His death, age & raigne. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. cap.* 18.

The Reſiſters of the *Romans* proceedings in this our Iland of *Britaine*, in the daies of this Emperour *Domitian*, for theſe *Southerne* parts, was *Aruiragus*, as from *Iuuenal* wee haue ſaid; and in the *Northerne Caledonia*, was *Galgacus* their Captaine; whoſe Coines, as Remaines and Monuments of their neuerdying fame, wee haue heere againe inſerted.

NERVA.

CHAPTER XV.

Nerua Emp.

Ann. Do. 98.

Itherto haue wee purſued the ſucceſsions in the Britiſh monarchie, together with the Inuaſions, attempts, and ſucceſſe of affaires, for the *Conqueſt* of this *Iland*, vnder the firſt twelue *Emperours* of *Rome*: And that from ſuch writers, who though they were the moſt fauourable *Regiſters* of things done by the *Romanes*, yet had they beſt meanes to know, and publiſh their *Hiſtories* with warrantize of truth. But after the death of *Domitian* died many Records, and the *Prouinces* proceedings (eſpecially thoſe that moſt concerne *Britaine*) left vncertaine; and therefore are neither with the like largeneſſe proſecuted, nor with the like authoritie auouched. And were it not that theſe *Romane Emperours* ſucceeding, did onely continue the ſucceſsion of our *Britiſh Monarchs*, many of them might be quite omitted, as neither themſelues, nor deputies, allies, or enemies once ſpoken of concerning our affaires, and the *Gouernement* of this *Prouince*, during thoſe times ſo maimed and defectiue (in reſpect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can bee obſerued to the fitting of a continuall *Hiſtorie*. Yet as we finde it, let vs haue libertie to deliuer it, and rather to expoſe *Truth* in the meane attire that *Time* hath left her, then by diſguiſing her in richer roabes to abuſe the World, and make her ſeeme nought elſe but a counterfeit, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles* hath complained.

Domitian beeing dead, ſoone after many Records were loſt.

Hiſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3 *cap.* 1.

Plutarch in the life of *Pericles*.

(2) *Domitian*

Cocceius Nerua aged & prudent.

(2) *Domitian* therefore thus made away, *Cocceius Nerua*, a prudent, honourable, and aged perſon was elected *Emperour* by the *Senate*, aſsiſted by *Petronius Secundus*, Captaine of the *Pratorian Armie*, and *Parthenius* chiefe *Chamberlaine*, and one of the Murtherers of *Domitian*. His birth was noble, and of *Italy* in the Citie *Narnia*, and of the *Prouince Vmbria*: ruling ſo well as he may be eſteemed too good a Prince, long to continue in ſo bad an age.

Gaufr. Monumetenſis.

(3) What *Lieutenants* vnder him were in *Britain* or vnder his Succeſſor *Traian*, I find not in Record: but our *Engliſh Writers* from the *Arch-Deacon* of *Monmouth*, bring a ſucceſsion of *Britiſh Kings*, and amongſt them *Marius*, who conquered *Rodorick*, King of the *Picts* accompanied with the *Scots*, whoſe *Trophie* erected neere vnto *Carleill*, remained a long time after, bearing the inſcription of his victorie: and after him his ſonne *Coilus* brought vp in *Rome* all the time of his youth, retained their fauours, and paid them tribute without conſtraint. Albeit by *Iuuenal*, it ſeemeth that *Aruiragus* the father of *Marius*, a great reſiſter of the *Romanes*, liued in the raigne of *Domitian*, as hath beene touched, vnleſſe you will ſay; that *Meurigus* and *Aruiragus* was the ſame *Marius*, as a worthy *Antiquarie* affirmeth. But through theſe vncertainties and diſagreements occaſioned by the ſilence of better Authors, our *Hiſtories* reſt doubtfull, and ſo muſt wee leaue them; returning to finiſh vp briefly the Raigne and Life of this good *Emperour Nerua*.

Flores Hiſtoriar. Wil. of Malm. aſcribeth this memorial to be erected for *Marius* a Conſul of Rome. Polydr. lib. 4. c. 12.

Aruiragus the father of Marius. Chap. 6. ſect. 12.

(4) Who hauing reformed many enormities, and remitted many greeuous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reuerſe of the prefixed Coine, minted by authoritie of the Senate, in eternall memorie of his goodnes; recalled from baniſhment the *Chriſtians* ſeuerally diſperſed, and ſuffred them to enioy the freedome of their profeſsion. At which time *Iohn* the Euangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*, (wherein he had beene confined) vnto *Epheſus*, a Citie in *Aſia* the leſſe. And *Nerua* raigning only one yeare, foure moneths and nine daies died (of a paſsionate anger conceiued againſt a *Senator*) in the yeare of Chriſt his incarnation ninetie nine, the twentie ſeuenth day of *Ianuary*, & ſeuentie ſixth of his own age.

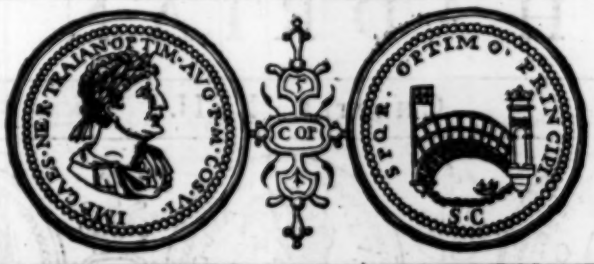
Humfrey Lhoyd in the Breuiary of Brit.

Alſo in an old Manuſcript is called *Weſtmer. cap.* 43. *Cocceius Nerua* recalled from baniſhment the Chriſtians. *Dion. Caſſ. lib.* 68. *Iohn* the Euangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*. *Euſeb. lib.* 3. *ca.* 18. *Eutropius*.

Dion Caſſius.

TRAIAN.

CHAPTER XVI.



Traian Emp.

Ann. Do. 99.

NTo *Nerua* ſucceeded *Vulpius Traian* in the *Roman Empire*; borne neere vnto *Seuill* in the Territories of *Spaine*: of a noble familie, but was much more ennobled in himſelfe for his princely endowments, which moued *Nerua* in his life time to adopt him into ſo high a calling, and the whole *Senate* after his death ioifullie to confirme his *Election*, and ſo often to honour him with the title of the *Moſt Excellent Prince*, in publike dedications, as on the Coine aboue.

Sextus Aurelius.

Traian raiſed the Romans to the higheſt glory.

(2) Hee raiſed the *Romane Empire* vnto the very higheſt pitch of glory, and ſpread the power of their Command into the largeſt circuit that euer before or ſince hath beene poſſeſſed. For the Kingdome of *Dacia* hee ſubdued; *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Meſopotamia* made ſubiect; *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Babylon* conquered; paſſed *Tigris*, and ſtretched the confines of the *Roman Empire* vnto the remoteſt dominions of the *Indies*, which neuer before that time had heard of the *Roman Name*. And indeed, if wee looke vpon his politicke managing of the gouernment, he may ſeeme (in compariſon of others) a right worthy, memorable and *louely Prince*, of much *affabilitie*, and *familiaritie* euen with his inferiours, and of ſuch cariage towards his *Subiects*, as he himſelfe would wiſh his *Prince* (he ſaid) to vſe towards him, if he were a *Subiect*. A great obſeruer alſo of Iuſtice, inſomuch that when he inueſted any *Pretor*, in giuing him the *Sword*, he commanded him to vſe the ſame euen againſt his owne perſon, if he violated Law or Equitie. But yet againſt the good *Chriſtians* he vſed neither of both: nay hee ſtirred vp their *Third Perſecution*, wherein *Ignatius* and many other worthy *Saints* of God, receiued the Crowne of Martyrdome, in ſuch cruell manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that taxation: for mollification whereof, he was compaſsionately intreated by *Plinius Secundus* his Tutor; whoſe Epiſtles to that purpoſe are yet extant.

Dio. Caſſ. lib. 68.

Indians neuer heard of the Romans till Traians time.

Traians affability and moderation towards his ſubiects. Eutropius.

The third perſecution of the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 30.

(3) The *Iewes* in his time roſe vp in armes againſt the *Gentiles*, and in *Cyrene*, *Aegypt*, and *Cyprus*, ſlew a great number: againſt whom *Traian* ſent his Captaines with forces ſufficient, and in diuers parts of the *Empire* put the *Iewes* to death, in ſuch infinite numbers, as that Maſſacre is accounted the *greateſt Execution* that euer had beene in the world, God ſuffring this their puniſhment to light vpon them for their infidelitie and obſtinacie againſt his *Chriſt*.

Iewes made war againſt the Gentiles.

Traian his ſlaughter vpon the Iewes the greateſt that euer was.

(4) Finally, after his *Conqueſts* in the *Eaſt*, returning towards *Rome*, at *Selencia* in *Aſia the leſſe* himſelfe was conquered by the ſtroke of death, by a fluxe the ſeuenth day of *Auguſt*, after he had raigned nineteene yeeres, ſix moneths, and fifteene daies, the yeere of our Redemption one hundred and eighteene, and of his age ſixtie foure: whoſe aſhes brought to *Rome*, were incloſed within the Crowne of a goodly *Pillar*, wrought of one intire ſtone, containing one hundred forty foot in height.

Dion Caſſius. Polybr. lib. 4. cap. 13.

(5) Of ſtature he was bigge, of complexion ſwarthie, thinne of haire both head and beard, a hooked noſe, brode ſhoulders, long hands, and a pleaſant eie; whoſe liuely *Image* was borne in *Triumph* after his death, and that in moſt glorious and pompous manner, in celebration of his great renowne and fame attained in his life.

Traians portraiture.

(6) How

Rewardes in Pretribunal.

(6) How ſilent ſoeuer writers haue beene for this *Emperours* affaires in this our *Iland*, yet it is to be thought that vnto this, as wel as vnto other *Prouinces*, both *Propretors*, *Lieutenants*, *Preſidents*, *Pretors*, and *Proconſuls* were ſent, and euery *Citie* to haue their municipall Magiſtrates. The *Pretor* that yearely proclaimed ſolemne Seſsions, wherin himſelf ſate aloft vpon a high tribunall ſeate, and guarded with his lictors about him in great eſtate, did execute his authoritie throughout his owne iuriſdiction, and determined all cauſes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were enforced to receiue a new Ruler euerie yeare. And ſurely as this yoke of bondage was grieuouſly borne of euery *Prouince*, vpon whoſe necke, it was impoſed & laid: So the *Britaines* vnderwent the weight of that ſubiection with ſuch vnwillingnes, that in the time of this *Traian*, they reuolted and rebelled, though preſently ſuppreſſed, as it is euident out of *Spartianus*.

(7) The care that this good *Emperour* had for the weale of his Subiects is proiected by his prouidence in making waies paſſageable from place to place, whereof remaine many teſtimonies by thoſe his *Cauſeies* drawne with wonderfull diligence, euen thorow the whole *Iland*, which now, though diſmembred and cut in peeces by the Countrie people, where-thorow they paſſed, yet doe many remnants thereof remaine, eſpecially in paſtures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes ſo high, that euidently they ſhew themſelues. Of theſe *Cauſeies Gallen* writeth as followeth: *The waies* (ſaith he) *Traian repaired, by pauing with ſtone, or raiſing with bankes caſt vp ſuch peeces of them as were moiſt and miry: by ſtocking vp and ridding ſuch as were rough and ouergrowne with buſhes and briers: by making bridges ouer Riuers that could not bee waded thorow: where the way ſeemed longer then needed, by cutting out another ſhorter: if any where by reaſon of ſome ſteepe hill, the paſſage were hard and vneaſie, by turning it aſide thorow eaſier places: now in caſe it was haunted with wilde beaſts, or lie waſte and deſert, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and withall laying leuell all vneuen and rugged grounds.* *Galen lib. 9. aq. 8. Metho.*

Along theſe *Cauſeies* the *Emperour* cauſed to bee ſet little pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in thē, to ſignifie how many miles was from place to place. Of theſe *Sidonius Apollinaris* writeth thus:

Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger;
Cuius per ſpatium ſatis vetuſtis
Nomen Caſareum viret columnis.

Breake not the ancient Cauſeies ſtrong,
Whereon the Columnes ſtand along,
Nor names of Caſars doe not wrong.

HADRIAN.

CHAPTER XVII.

Hadrian Emp.

Cneus Trebel. Lieut.

An. Do. 119.

AFter the deceaſe of *Traiane*, his Nephew *Ælius Hadrianus*, by the conſent of the Armie, who ſwore to him obedience, was proclaimed *Emperour*, the *Senate* likewiſe confirming their choice, as beeing a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature, anſwerable to the fortunes of his *Eſtate*.

Polyeb. lib. 4. c. 14.

His birth was of *Spaine*, in the Citie *Italica*, neere vnto *Cicill*, where *Traian* was born, his Father Noble, and his Mother in *Cales* deſcended of an honourable ſtocke.

(2) A great *Mathematician* he was, skilfull in *Arithmeticke*, *Geometrie*, *Aſtronomie*, and *Iudicious Aſtrologie*; learned in the *Greeke*, and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages he wrote both Poeſie and Proſe: well ſeene in *Phyſicke*, and knew the Vertues of *Hearbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stones*: A ſingular Muſitian both for *Theorie* and *Practiſe*; and could both limme & carue with approbation of the skilfull: but aboue all, is the admirable report of his Memorie, who neuer forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

Spartianus. Hadrianus of an admirable memorie.

(3) His firſt buſineſſe for the *Empire*, was rather a care to hold ſecurely what was gotten, then by enlarging the bounds to endanger the Beſt: and therefore leſſening the Compaſſe, and bettering the ſtrength, he planted his forces along the Riuer *Euphrates*, and aſsigned that for the *Eaſterne* limits, leauing out *India*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Meſopotamia*, as Countries too remote for the *Romans* to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Prouinces* tooke occaſion to reuolt, thirſting after *Libertie*, and among others the *Britaines* (as euer moſt impatient of Seruitude) attempted alterations, whoſe *Lieutenant Cneus Tribellius* (Succeſſour to *Iulius Agricola*) could not ſo gouerne his *Souldiers* which were growne out of diſcipline, and by long reſt farre out of Order, but that they fell at variance among themſelues, and diſquieted the moſt peaceable of the *Britaines* by their licentious maners.

Hadrianus policy.

Britaines attempt alteration.

Hollingſhed lib. 4. cap. 20. Cneus Trebellius Lieutenant of the *Britaines*.

(4) The *Northerne Inhabitants*, that were more at libertie, and imboldened by their Bogs and Rocks vnacceſſable, ſet themſelues to withſtand their wrōgs, to whom alſo many others ioined their affections and forces, whereupon ſome bickering inſued with loſſe and blood; to repreſſe which *Iulius Seuerus* was ſent by *Hadrian*: but ere hee could ſettle the Commotion, was againe recalled and imploied in *Syria*, to ſuppreſſe the *Iewiſh* rebellion.

Iulius Seuerus ſent to ſuppreſſe the Commotions of the *Britaines*.

(5) Theſe ſtirres here ſtill continuing, the *Emperour* tooke it to be of ſuch importance, that he reſolued in *Perſon* to addreſſe for *Britannie*, which he performed in his third Conſulſhip, the yeare of Chriſt one

Hadrian himſelfe came into *Britaine* to ſuppreſſe rebellion.

XUM

One hundred twentie foure, attended on by three *Legions*: of which, his *Army* for this exploit was then compoſed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memorie of this vndertaking: With theſe hee encountred the Northerne Riders, recouered ſuch holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Woodes* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romane Horſemen* without danger could not purſue them. But perceiuing the Aire too ſharpe for the *Romanes* conſtitution, and the Soile rough and of leſſe profit then the reſt, hee made a *Fortification* or ſtrong *Wall* of *Earth*, which (as *Lampridius* ſaith) did continue on the *Weſt* from *Ituna*, (that is, the Riuer *Eden* in *Cumberland* neere *Carleil*) vnto the Riuer *Tina*, or *Tine* at *Newcaſtle* in *Northumberland* in the *Eaſt*, and was no leſſe then *Eightie miles* in length. This Wall (ſaith he) was made of ſtakes driuen deepe into the ground, and bound together in the maner of an hedge; and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwarke* to defend the Incurſions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours that daily moleſted the peace of the *Romanes*. *Hadrian* his worke finiſhed, and the *Prouince* reduced to the obedience of the fatal Gouerneſſe *Rome*, at whoſe feet he had laid againe the name of *Britaine*, as appeareth in the firſt Reuerſe of his *Coine*, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome*, and for his honourable aduenture and Expedition had his name inſcribed vpon his *Coine* with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

Adrians wall. Aelius Lampridius.

Adrians Coines.

(6) Neither after this ſeemed the *Southerne Britaines* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of ſubiection, which *Time* and *Cuſtome* had made leſſe painfull, the rather, for that they ſaw themſelues to ſtand in neede of the *Romanes* helpe againſt the inroades of their owne *Countrimen*, whoſe crueltie was now as much feared, as in former times the Inuaſion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themſelues more willingly to the *Romane* Lawes, both in *Martiall* and *Ciuill* affaires: which were then principallie directed by *Licinius Priſcus*, who had beene not long before imploied by *Hadrian* in the ſeruice of *Iewrie*, and was at this preſent *Lieutenant* of *Britannie*.

Licius Priſcus Lieutenant of Britaine. Hiſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(7) This *Iewiſh* warre happened in the eighteenth yeere of the Raigne of *Hadrian*, who ſuddenly aſſailed and ſlew where they came, both *Romanes* & *Chriſtians*: for reuenge whereof, beſides an infinite number of them ſlaine and tortured, their Citie *Ieruſalem* was alſo raced euen to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the ſame place; and the name therof changed to AELIA: the *Iewes* vtterly baniſhed thence, and (as *Ariſtion Pellaus* writeth) not lawfull for them to looke towards that *Citie* nor *Soile*, no not through the Chinke or Creuice of a dore. And vpon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, hee cauſed a *Swine* to be engrauen, a Beaſt by the Law accounted moſt vncleane, and by them abhominable.

Dion Caſſ.

Ieruſalem raced to the ground.

Euſeb. lib. 4. cap. 6. Iewes not permitted to looke to Ieruſalem.

A ſwine ſet on the Gate of Ieruſalem.

(8) But as this *Emperour* was exaſperated againſt the *Iewes*, ſo was hee gratious and fauourable to the *Chriſtians*, and the rather at the requeſt of *Quatratus*, a Diſciple (as is ſuppoſed) of the Apoſtles, who wrote vnto him concerning them; and of *Ariſtides* a learned *Philoſopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apologie* for their defence; ſo that the *Perſecution* then in practiſe was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publicke *Edict*; who (as *Lampridius* writeth) was minded to haue built a *Temple* to the ſeruice of *Chriſt*, had not ſome diſſwaded him therefrom. In extremitie of ſickneſs he deſigned *Caeſar*, *Lucius Aelius*, whoſe Coyne wee haue hereunder expreſſed. A man deare to this *Emperour*, if we conſider at how great a rate hee bought for him the acceptation of the Commons and Militarie men: And how ſhort a time the blaze of that Honour continued: for hee died ſo ſoone, that *Hadrian* himſelfe had wont to ſay,

Adrian fauorable to the chriſtians.

Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec vltra
Eſſe ſinent. —

Lampridius in vit. Seueri.

(9) When hee had raigned in great honour and loue the ſpace of one and twenty yeeres, fiue moneths, and fifteene daies, hee died, the eighth or tenth of *Iulie*, of a *dropſie*: which maladie ſo tormented him, that willingly he refuſed all ſuſtenance, and languiſhed away through faintneſſe. Hee was of perſonage tall, and very ſtrong, of a good complexion and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, and died aged ſixty two, the yeere of our Lord God, One hundred thirtie nine.

Spartianus. Dion Caſſius. Polychr.

Vnder this Emperour M. F. CL. PRISCVS LICINIVS, was the Propretor of Britannie, and imploied in the Iourney of Iurie with Hadrian; as appeareth by this antique Inſcription in a broken Marble.

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE LEG. AVG.

LEG. IIII. GALLICIAE. PRAEF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL.
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.

ANTONINVS PIVS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Antonin. Pius Emp.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieut.

An.Do.139. NExt vnto whom ſucceeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) ſurnamed the *Pious*: and by the *Senate*, *Father of his Countrey*. This man did not onely equall his *Adopter* and *Predeceſſours*, in wiſdome and other princely qualities, but was alſo compared, for his peace and policie, vnto *Numa Pompilius* the ſecond *King* of *Rome*, who for his renowned gouernment, is ſo famouſly in their Hiſtories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the ſon of *Aurelius Fuluius*, and *Nephew* to *Titus Aurelius Fuluius*, that had beene *Conſul*, and held other Offices of dignity and *State*. The whole time of whoſe *Raigne* was ſo ſpent in peace, that ſmall remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires: yet ſuch as we finde in *Britannie* we will deliuer.

Antoninus raigned in peace.

(2) At his firſt entrance into the *Empire*, about the yeere of Chriſt, One hundred thirtie nine (as appeareth by the money minted in memorie of the reduction of *Britaine*) the *Northerne Britaines* in that part of this *Ile* began to ſtirre, and made inroads into the *Prouince*, notwithſtanding the *Rampire* or *Wall* that *Adrian* had made. Againſt whom *Lollius Vrbicus Lieutenant* heere vnder *Antoninus*, brought his power, and with ſome skirmiſhes put them backe: taking from the *Brigantes* part of their Land, as a *Mulct*, for the waſte they had done to the *Genounians*, a Prouince adioining vnto the *Brigantes*, whoſe people had put themſelues vnder the Emperours protection. Which done, he repaired the *Wall* with ſtronger *Fortifications*; or (which is more probable) raiſed vp another not farre from the ſame, to double the defenſe: for (ſaith *Iulius Capitolinus*) *Lollius the Legate to Antoninus ouercomming the Britaines, built another turfe Wall to diuide the Prouince, and to impeach the incurſions of the barbarous.* Notwithſtanding the honour of this ſeruice (as is teſtified by the ancient Panegyricke) was (by one *Fronto*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himſelfe: who, *although abſent and in his Palace at* Rome, *yet ſitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterpriſe*, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This *Wall* alſo (as *M. Clarenceaux* coniectureth, hauing ſeene it ſo tracted in an ancient Chorographicall Chart) was drawen from the Riuer *Tine* vnto *Carleill*: but *Time* and *Warre* haue worne it now away.

Adriens Wall fortified.

Iulius Capitolinus.

(3) In the meane while a new inſurrection was kindled among the * *Brigantes*, that annoied ſome of the *Romane* Confederats. But by the diſcretion of the *Generall*, it was quenched before it came to flame: for vpon the firſt rumour of the Reuolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Armie, commanding *Seius Saturnius*, Admirall of the *Britiſh Fleet*, to waffe vpon the *North* of the *Iland*, both to defend the *Coaſt* from danger, and alſo vpon occaſions to further the Land-ſeruice, if need were: by which meanes, the *Brigantes* were eaſily reduced to obedience, euen by the preſence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good ſeruice done in *Britaine*, during the ſhort time of his imploiment there, obtained the ſurname *Britannicus*. This may by the firſt figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third Conſulſhip of this *Emperour*) be coniectured to haue hapned in the yeere of *Chriſt* one hundred forty one; and by inſcription of the laſt *Coine* in that ranke it is manifeſt that there was ſome other expedition againſt *Britaine* the yeere following.

The Northerne Britaines rebell in the beginning of *Antoninus* raigne.

Mamertinus in a Panegyricke Oration in praiſe of *Maximian.*

Cambden Brit.

* *Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmerland, Northumberland. Hoſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 11.*

Seius Saturnius Admirall of the Britiſh Fleet.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpoſe, the care that this good *Emperour* generally had for the diſtreſſed and perſecuted *Chriſtians* (who no doubt by his bounty enioied much tranquillitie heere in *Britaine* alſo) in whoſe defenſe hee wrote to his *Deputies* in *Aſia*, and publiſhed an *Edict* againſt their Accuſers, the effect whereof (from *Euſebius*) is this:

Antoninus Pius great defender of the Chriſtian.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 13.

The Edict of *Antoninus* for protection of the Chriſtians.

" (5) The Emperor *Caeſar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus*, *Armenicus*, *Pontifex Maximus*, " fifteene times *Tribune*, thrice *Conſul*, vnto the *Commons of Aſia* ſendeth greeting. I doubt not but the " *Gods* themſelues haue a care that wicked perſons " ſhall bee brought to light: for it much more doth " appertaine vnto them, then it doth vnto you, to " puniſh ſuch as refuſe to yeeld them worſhip. But " this courſe which you take doth confirme them " whom you perſecute, in this their opinion of you, " that you are impious men, and meere *Atheiſts*; " whereby it commeth to paſſe, that they deſire in " the quarrell of their *God* rather to die, then to yeeld " to the wils of ſuch as you are, and to embrace your " forme of *Religion*. Let it not ſeeme vnſeaſonable to " call to your remembrance the *Earth-quakes*, which " lately happened, and which yet are to your great " terrour and griefe; becauſe I vnderſtand that in " ſuch like accidents you caſt the enuy of ſuch com- " mon misfortunes vpon their ſhoulders, whereby " their confidence and truſt in their *God* is much the " more increaſed: whereas you being ſtill ignorant of " the true cauſes of ſuch things, doe both neglect the " worſhip of the other *Gods*, and alſo baniſh and per- " ſecute the ſeruice of the *Immortall God*, whom the " *Chriſtians* doe worſhip, and you perſecute to the " death all the embracers of that *Profeſſion*. In the " behalfe of theſe men many of the *Prouinciall Preſi- " dents* haue written before vnto our *Father of famous " memory*: to whom he anſwered, that they ſhould not " bee moleſted, vnleſſe they were proued to haue " practiſed *Treaſon* againſt the *Emperiall State*: and " touching the ſame matter ſome haue giuen notice " vnto

" vnto me; to whom I haue answered with like moderation as my *Father* did before me. And by this our *Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any hereafter bee found thus busie in molesting these kinde of men without any their offence, we command that hee that is accused vpon this point, be absolued, albeit he be proued to be such a man as he is charged to bee, that is, a *Christian*: and he that is his Accuser shall suffer the same punishment, which he sought to procure vpon the other.

Iulius Capitol.

Antonius person and vertues.

This *Edict* was promulged at *Ephesus* in the *Generall Councell* of all *Asia*: so fauourable was this good *Emperour* to the true *Professours*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, hauing that *Apothegme* of *Scipio Africanus* rife in his mouth: *That he had rather saue one Subiects life, then kill a thousand Enemies.*

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a seemely presence, in countenance Maiesticall, in maners milde, of a singular wit, verie learned and eloquent, a great louer of *Husbandrie*, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that thereby he set going whollie his owne priuate estate & demaines, whereat when his *Empresse* much repined, he told her, that when hee vndertooke the Title and State of an *Emperour*, he then did forgoe the interest and proprieties of a priuate Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his priuate wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may bee aduanced. In fine, this large *Euloge* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth he did anie thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, hauing raigned twentie and two yeares, (some say twentie three) seuen moneths, and twentie sixe daies, he died of a feuer at *Lorium* the seuenth of *March*, the yeare of his life seuentie fiue, and of *Christ* one hundred sixtie two.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

Chapter XIX.

Marcus Aurelius Emp.

Calphurnius Agric. Lieut.

An. Do. 162.

FRom the vertuous examples of the good *Emperour Pius*, proceeded a *branch* of no lesse towardlinesse and fruitfulnesse, *Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, Verus, Philosophus* (for by so many honourable names is he remembred:) and although hee sprung not from *Pius*, as from his natiue roote, yet was he his *adopted Sonne*, and graffed into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his daughter *Faustina*: Hee was the Sonne of *Elius Verus* who died *Prator*, and whose Pedigree is brought from *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitia Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus.*

Iulius Capitol. Lucius Verus chosen Caesar.

(2) This man chose to him for his *Associate* in the *Empire*, *Lucius Verus*, the sonne of *Luctus Ceionius Commodus*, whom *Pius* had adopted (but died before him) and therefore this *Verus* was respectiuely commended vnto *Aurelius*; betwixt whose natures and conditions was as much oddes, as betwixt *Day* and *Night*; The one very moderate, louing, and industrious, the other proud, careless and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Christians* felt, whose chiefest pillers, *Polycarpus*, *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, and *Iustinus Martyr*, an excellent *Philosopher*, with infinite more, were put to most cruell deaths; and by him the *fourth persecution* of *Gods Saints* was begun: whose licentious and bloodie life, lasting in Authoritie the space of nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apoplexie* in the presence of *Aurelius* beeing then in expidition towards *Germanie*, whose Coine wee haue here expressed as wee finde it minted with his face and reuerse.

(3) *Aurelius* the *Emperour* following the warres against those, who there reuolted, was inclosed about with his *Enemies*, called the *Quadi*, and suffered great mortalitie both by Pestilence, and much more by want of *Water*, whereby himselfe and Host were almost consumed: At which time many Christian Souldiers being in his *Campe*, and commanded (as *Ionas* was) to call vpon their *God*, they fell prostrate on the ground in praiers, and obtained of him so plenteous a shower of raine, as therewith after fiue daies extreamest drouth and thirst, the whole *Army* was refreshed, and the *Quadi* contrariwise by *Thunder* & *Lightning* were quite dispersed and ouerthrowne.

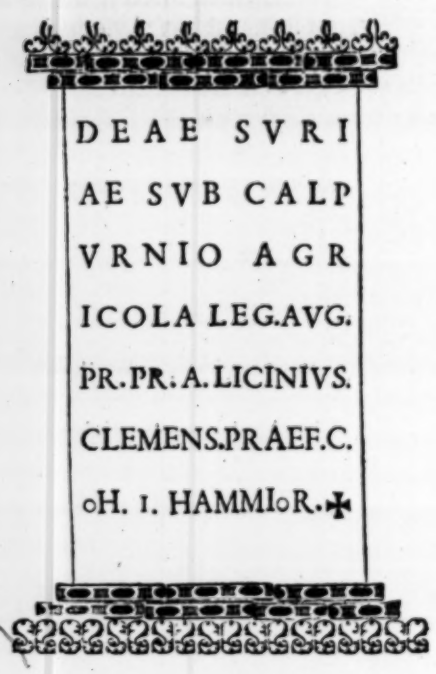
Aurelius obtaineth raine by the Christians praier. *Eutropius. Euseb. lib. 5 cap. 5. Acts and Monuments.*

(4) This *wonder* (saith *Eusebius*) is reported euen by those *Historians*, who fauoured not *Christianitie*: and the prudent *Epistle* of the *Emperour* himselfe, (which hee wrote to the *Senate* for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the same: whereupon he both mitigated the rage against *Christs Professours*, and (by testimonie of *Apollinaris*) named that *Legion* of the *Christians*, for an euerlasting remembrance, *The lightning Legion.*

Capitolinus. P. Orosius. Tertullian.

(5) In his Raigne *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent *Lieutenant* into *Britannie*, where the inhabitants sought some alterations of the *State*, sore repining at the oppressions of the *Romanes.* But the *Surname Agricola* reuiuing the remembrances of their former ouerthrowes, so daunted their Courages, that at the presence of the *Generall*, who came amongst them to preuent all occasions, they gaue ouer their intended enterprise: for which, and for many other his policies there vsed, he worthily deserued great commendations, but (for the most part) the glorie of all such seruices

ſeruices was attributed to the *Emperours* themſelues, and the paines in attempting, and perrils in obtaining did commonly breed nothing but diſgrace and enuy after victorie, to thoſe by whom it was atchieued. Yet beſides the ſtories, the memorie of his being heere Lieutenant, is deliuered to poſteritie, by this Inſcription, once erected in the *Picts Wall*, an Altar to the *Goddeſſe Surta*, and now preſerued by S^r. *Robert Cotton* of *Connington*, amongſt other Monuments of like qualitie.



So alſo *Lucius Verus*, (whom this excellent Emperour had in the yeere 162. as appeareth by his Coine of *Concord*, ſet in the entrance of his life, elected his *College* in the Empire) to ſupply the defect of merit in himſelfe, tooke from the Conqueſt of *Auidius Caſsius*, and other his Captaines in *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Media*, the *Trophies* of their victories, with which he filled vp his Title, and adorned his Money, expreſſed in the beginning of this Chapter.

(6) About theſe times, albeit other things went not ſo happily with *Britaine* as might haue beene wiſhed, yet one felicitie then befell her, which did both counteruaile her owne calamities, and ouerpoize the good fortunes of all other Nations: and that was the bleſſed reſt of the *Goſpell* of peace in this warring and vnpeaceable Kingdome, a great part thereof being gouerned at that time by King *Lucius*, ſurnamed *Leuer-Maur*. For that was the policie and ancient cuſtome of the *Romans* (as *Tacitus* ſaith) to vſe euen *Kings* themſelues for their inſtruments, to bring the people into bondage. And *Antoninus Pius* ending warre, permitted Kingdomes to be gouerned by their owne Kings, and Prouinces by their owne *Comites* (as ſaith *Capitolinus*.) This *King* diſliking the Paganiſme and Idolatry of his people, (though, as wee haue ſhewed, among many of them the truth of *Chriſts Doctrine* was both taught and embraced, euen from the firſt planting thereof) and being incited both by the exemplary life and piety of the *Chriſtians*, and alſo by the manifeſt miracles wrought amongſt them, and encouraged moreouer by the fauourable Edicts of the *Emperours* in their behalfe, and by the good affections and forwardneſſe of their Deputies heere, *Trebellius* and *Pertinax*; he gaue leaue to their Religion by publike warrant, and was the firſt *Chriſtian King* in the world, and *Britaine* the firſt Prouince that embraced the *Goſpell* by publike authority, as *Sabellicus* ſaith.

(7) This *Lucius* (as before wee haue touched) to be better furniſhed with Chriſtian Lawes for himſelfe and Subiects, *miſſa legatione ab Imperatore Romanorum, & à Papa Romano Eleutherio*, (as *Nennius* ſaith) for in this purerage the Church was ſo humble, to vaile (as farre as might be) her actions in the Imperiall licence, ſent two learned *Clerkes*, whoſe names were *Eluanus* and *Meduuinus*, skilfull in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*: whoſe Reply to his moſt godly Demand (becauſe the fauourers of the *Papall Authoritie* either doe doubt it, or altogether deny it) I haue thought good heere *verbatim* to inſert, as I my ſelfe haue found it, in a moſt ancient Manuſcript, amongſt the authenticke *Records* and *Conſtitutions* of the Citie of LONDON.

Nennius.

Lucius and *Leuer-Maur* doe both ſignifie *Great Brightnes.*

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Capitolinus.

Monument. Hæreſis Martyrolog. Sanctorum.

Lucius the firſt Chriſtian King.

Aeneas. 7. lib. 5.

Nennius.

Liber Landauenſis Eccleſ. Florentius Vigorn. Beda lib. 1. cap. 6. Flores hiſtoriarum.

This Record is now in the hands of the right worthy Antiquarie, Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight.

The originall Epiſtle of *Eleutherius* Biſhop of ROME vnto *Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King of BRITAINE.

(8) *SCripſit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ ad correctionem Regis & Procerum Regni Britanniæ. Petiſtis à nobis Leges Romanas, & Cæſaris vobis tranſmitti, quibus in Regno Britanniæ vti voluiſtis. Leges Romanas & Cæſaris ſemper reprobare poſſumus, Legem Dei nequaquam. Suſcepiſtis enim nuper (miſeratione diuina) in Regno Britanniæ, Legem & Fidem Chriſti. Habetis penes vos in Regno vtramq; Paginam: ex illis (Dei gratia) per Conſilium Regni veſtri ſume Legem, & per illam, * de patientia veſtrum rege Britanniæ Regnum. Vicarius verò Dei eſtis in Regno, iuxta Prophetam Regem; Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo eius; orbis terrarum, & vniuerſi qui habitant in eo. Et rurſum, iuxta Prophetam Regem: Dilexiſti iuſtitiam, & * o.ĩ. ꝑꝑ. u. te Deus Deus tuus o.l.ꝑ.cõ.c.a. Et rurſum, iuxta Prophetam Regem: Deus iudicium tuum, &c. Non enim dixit iudicium, neq; iuſtitiam Cæſaris. Filij enim Regis, gentes Chriſtianæ & populi Regni ſunt, qui ſub veſtra protectione & pace in Regno degunt & conſiſtunt, iuxta Euangelium: Quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos ſub alis. Gentes verò Regni Britanniæ & populi veſtri ſunt; quos diuiſos, debetis in vnum, ad concordiam, & pacem, & ad fidem, & legem Chriſti, ad ſanctam Eccleſiam congregare, reuocare, fouere, manutenere, protegere, regere, & ab iniurioſis & malitioſis, & ab inimicis ſemper defendere. Væ Regno cuius Rex puer eſt, & cuius Principes manè comedunt: non voco Regem propter paruam & nimiam ætatem, ſed propter ſtultitiam, & iniquitatem, & inſanitatem: iuxta Prophetam Regem: Viri ſanguinum & doloſi non dimidiabunt dies ſuos, &c. Per comeſtionem, intelligimus gulam: per gulam, luxuriam: per luxuriam, omnia turpia & peruerſa, & mala: iuxta Salomonem Regem: In maleuolam animam non introibit ſapientia, nec habitabit in corpore ſubdito peccatis. Rex dicitur à regendo, non à regno: Rex eris dum bene regis: quod niſi feceris, nomen Regis non in te conſtabit, & nomen Regis perdes, quod abſit. Det vobis Omnipotens Deus, Regnum Britanniæ ſic regere, vt poſſitis cum eo regnare in æternum, cuius Vicarius eſtis in Regno prædicto. Cui cum Patre, &c.*

* *Lege Dei patientia.*

* *Odiſti iniquitat, propterea vnxit t Deus Deus tuus t leo lætitiæ præ cõſortibus cæteris.*

Forte propter paruam nimiam ætatem.

The ſame in Engliſh:

POpe Eleutherius *thus wrote to* Lucius *King of* Britannie, *for the reformation of the King and the Nobilitie of the Kingdome of* Britaine: *You deſired vs to ſend vnto you the* Romane *and Imperiall Lawes, which you would vſe in your Kingdome of* Britannie. *The* Roman Lawes *and the* Emperours *wee may at all times miſlike, but the Law of* God *by no meanes. By the Diuine Clemencie you haue of late receiued in your Kingdome of* Britannie *the Law and Faith of* Chriſt: *You haue with you in your Kingdome*

Kingdome both the Old *and* New Teſtament: *out of them (in* Gods *name) by the Counſell of your State, take you a Law, and therewith by* Gods *permiſſion, gouerne your kingdome of* Britannie: *For you are* Gods Vicar *in your Kingdome, as the kingly Prophet ſaith,* The earth is the Lords and the plenty thereof, the whole world and they that dwell therein. *And againe in the ſame Propheticall King;* Thou haſt loued righteouſneſſe and hated iniquity, wherefore, God, euen thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. *And againe:* Lord giue thy iudgements vnto the king, and thy iuſtice vnto the Kings ſonne. *He ſaith not,* The iudgement or iuſtice of the Emperor. *And the* Kings ſonnes *are the* Chriſtian Nations, *and* People *of the kingdome, ſuch as line and abide together in your* Kingdome, *vnder your Protection and peace; according to that in the Goſpell:* As the Hen gathereth her Chickens vnder her wings. *The* Nations *of the* Kingdome *of* Britanny *are your* People, *who being now ſeuered, you ought to gather them vnto* Vnity, Concord *and* Peace, *and reclaime them to the* Faith *and Law of* Chriſt, *and to the* holy Church, *to foſter them, cheriſh them, protect, and rule them, and alwaies to defend them from all iniurious, malicious, and hoſtile attempts. For,* Woe be to the kingdome, whoſe King is a child, and whoſe Princes riſe early to banquetting: *Neither doe I call a King a child, for the tenderneſſe of his Age, but for the folly and wickedneſſe and madneſſe of his diſpoſition: As that roiall Prophet ſaith:* Wicked and bloud-thirſty attaine not to halfe their Age. *And by banqueting I meane gluttony; by gluttony, luxury; by luxury all filthineſſe, peruerſity, and lewdneſſe: according to that of King* Salomon: Wiſedome ſhall not enter into the wicked ſoule, nor ſhall it dwell in a Body enthrald to Sinne. *A King hath his name from* Ruling, *and not from his* Kingdome: *and ſo long ſhall you be indeed a King, while you rule well; which if you doe not, the name of a King will not continue with you, but you ſhall loſe that roiall title; which* God *forbid. Almighty* God *grant you ſo to rule your* Kingdome *of* Britanny, *that with him, whoſe* Vicar *you are in your ſaid Kingdome, you may raigne eternally. To whom with the Father, &c.*

Pſal. 89. 11.

Pſal. 45. 7.

Pſal. 72. 1.

Math. 23. 37.

Pſal. 55. 23.

(9.) The date of this *Epiſtle* (as by ſome other Copies it appeareth) being the yeare of the *ſecond Conſulſhip of Commodus and Veſpronius*, may giue great light and ſatisfaction to ſuch as are curious to know the truth, and to reconcile the differences of our *Hiſtorians*, touching the time: That *Conſulſhip* being about the yeare of *Chriſt* one hundred and eighty: which was at the beginning (if not a little before) of *Commodus* his raigne; and therefore whereas ſome refer it to the one hundred ſixty ninth yeer after *Chriſts Paſſion*, it is apparant to be the only error of tranſcribers, who ſo writ in ſtead of one hundred ſeuenty nine after his birth; which was, *anno currente*, the very time of *Commodus* being *Conſul* the ſecond time: and on this yeere agree, both forrain and domeſtick writers of this matter. And albeit the very texture of this *Epiſtle*, carieth with it the true Character of Antiquity, yet becauſe our worthy writers, mentioning this *Epiſtle*, are charged of flat forgery (by ſuch who challenge to be Maſters in all ancient knowledge) we will adde ſomewhat, to waſh off thoſe falſe aſperſions, both from the *Record*, and from the *mentioners thereof.*

Cambden.

Sabellicus. Iouvell. Fox.

Parſons 3. Conuerſions. Part. 1. c. 4.

Their *firſt exception* is, that *the Latin Copy would doubtleſſe haue been produced by them, if it had not beene counterfeit.* Whereto what need we anſwer, ſith now we haue produced it, and can produce as many, as there are Copies of King *William* the Conquerors Lawes, wherein it is expreſly repeated? The *next* is, *that the Engliſh tranſlations of it differ each from other.* A reaſon more childiſh then the former, ſith euery man hath a ſeuerall conceit of that he tranſlateth, and ſometimes the very Originalls, (by tranſcribers ignorance or omiſſion) cauſe variety of tranſlation, as may appeare in the *varia lectiones* of this Copy prefixed. The *laſt*, but moſt ſaucy and ignorant *exception* is, that *the places of Scriptures* mentioned in the letter, are ſo *ſottiſhly* and *ſenſeleſly applied*, as is vnworthy to be fathered on the learned *Eleutherius.* Let vs therefore in a word, bring the diuinity of this *Grand-cenſurer* to the touchſtone: For *Eleutherius* proueth, firſt, that *Kings* are *Gods Vicars* in their kingdome, becauſe the *whole Earth* is properly *Gods*, and therefore *Kings* haue it not as their owne, but as his Lieutenants: Next, that as *Dauid typically*, and *Chriſt impliedly*, was by *God* anointed *King*, for the execution *of Righteouſneſſe* and *Iuſtice*, ſo euery *godly King* ought to make that the only end of his *high honor*, that being by God aduanced, he might likewiſe aduance *Righteouſneſſe, Iuſtice*, and the ſeruice of *God*, whoſe vaſſall he is: and that therefore *Gods iudgements* and *Lawes*, are *to be preferred* by *them, before all* humane *Lawes: with which they ſhould* rule and *cheriſh* their *godly ſubiects as their children*: and protect them and *gather them vnder one faith* as *Chriſt* (their maſter) doth, who therefore compareth himſelfe, to a *Hen gathering her Chickens vnder her wings.*

Parſons ibid.

The defects of which Princely duties, *Eleutherius* moſt liuely expreſſeth afterward; in ſo proper applications, as if the learneſt fathers on theſe places be duly examined, they will be found no whit to exceed the apprehenſions of this *Godly Biſhop.* But if *Robert Cowback*, would haue caſt his eie on the moderne Popes, and their Cardinals applications of Scriptures, what would he then ſay? *God made a greater light and a leſſe*: therefore *the Pope* is as much *greater then* the *Emperor*, as the *Sunne* is *bigger* then the *Moone.* Chriſt ſaid to *Peter, Kill and eat:* therefore the *Pope* may *excommunicate* and *depoſe Kings* (*yea* and *kill them too for a need.*) *Peter* ſaid, *Behold two ſwords*; therefore *the Pope* hath both *Temporall* and *Spirituall Iuriſdiction* ouer the world. So *God* ſaid to *Ieremy*, he ſhould *plant and tranſplant:* therefore *the Pope* may *diſpoſe* and *tranſpoſe* all *Kingdomes* at his pleaſure. *Chriſt* to *Peter, thou art Cephas*, and *Cephas* is a *head*; therefore the *Pope is head of the Church. Domini ſunt Cardines Terræ. The earth is the Lords:* therefore the *Cardinals are the Lords of the Earth.* On ſuch pillers and applications of Scriptures, is the whole Papall greatneſſe founded, and yet theſe *late Scribes* can ſcoffingly cauill at the godly applications of *ancient Eleutherius.* But to our purpoſe.

Cephas is a ſtone but all ſerues their turne.

(10.) This Epiſtle with two other Preachers, *Faganus* and *Damianus*, ſent vnto King *Lucius*, did not a little encourage him in his godly purpoſe, in ſomuch that receiuing *Baptiſme*, the Temples of the Heatheniſh *Flamines* and *Arch-Flamines* euen thirtie one in number, were conuerted into ſo many Chriſtian *Biſhops Sees*, whereof *London, Yorke* and *Carlain*, now *Saint Dauids*, were made the *Metropolitants* of the Prouince.

Capgraue. Marianus.

Lucius his reformation of matters vpon the Biſhops letter. Records of Saint Aſaphs Church Cheſter as ſaith an old Manuſcript. chap. 34. S. Peters Church in Cornhill builded by Lucius.

(11.) A table remaining in the Pariſh Church of *Saint Peter* in *Cornhill London*, recordeth that the foundation thereof was by this *King Lucius*, and that Church to haue been the Cathedrall to that *Archbiſhops See.* There be that aſcribe the foundation of *Saint Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter* vnto him; vnleſſe the places are miſtaken. Others affirme that this *King Lucius* likewiſe built a Church within *Douer-caſtle*, to the ſeruice of *Chriſt*, endowing it with the *Toll* or cuſtomes of that *Hauen.* Differences there are about the time of his *Raigne*, but none at all for his conuerſion and eſtabliſhing of the Chriſtian *Faith.* As for thoſe who would haue this *Lucius* after his *Baptiſme* to ſaile into *Gallia* and other forrein parts, where ſubduing many Pagans, he became the Apoſtle to the *Bauarians*, and that his ſiſter *Emerita* fifteene yeeres after was martyred in the City *Auguſta*: I find thereof no warrant in any ſufficient writer; but in this all others agree, that he raigned twelue yeeres, and lieth buried in *Glouceſter.*

Polidor. Vngl. Wil. Harriſon. W. Lamb. Peramb.

Fabian.

Emerita a Martyr in the City Auguſta.

(12) This good *Emperour* poſſeſſed the Seate of *Maieſtie*, nineteene yeares and eleuen daies; wherein he alwaies approued himſelfe, in wit excellent, in life vertuous, verie learned and eloquent, full of *Clemency, Iuſtice*, and *Temperance*, nothing inferiour to

Terull. by Gruter. Dion. Cassius.

most of the worthiest *Emperours* before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the *Monarchs* that followed him: He died the seuenteenth day of *Aprill* the yeare of our Sauiour one hundred eighty one, and of his owne age fiftie nine: leauing to the world a misse for the present, and to posterities a perpetuall memorie of his vertues; and happy had he been, saith *Capitolinus*, had he not left behind him a Sonne. *Valerianus lib. 2.*

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS.

CHAPTER XX.

Ann. Dom. 181.

Eutropius.

THE prudent life, and loue conceiued of so good a *Father*, gaue hopefull signes and ioifull entrance vnto the *Raigne* of yong *Commodus*, his soone degenerating Sonne; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that also much suspected: The knowne Adulteries of *Faustina*, his *Mother* strongly confirming the opinion of *Bastardie*.

Commodus his qualities.

(2) At nineteen yeeres of age, he was inuested Emperor, his raigne not long, but life as loose and impious as the worst: in sottish pride equalizing *Caligula*, for intemperancie another *Vitellius*, and in cruelties a second *Domitian*. Three hundred *Concubines* continually he kept, and vpon one of them, named *Martia*, so doted, that he wore her painted *Picture* vpon the outside of his Garment; and instiling his money *Herculi Commodiano* or *Romano*, which was stamped about the yeere 193. Sometimes (*Hercules*-like) would shew himselfe roabed in a Lions skinne, bearing a Club in his hand in stead of a Scepter. Other whiles wantonly clad in the habit of an *Amazon* woman; alwaies costly, but seldome ciuill. *Cassiodor.*

Commodus altered the Months.

(3) The Month *August*, he named *Commodus*, September, *Herculeus*, and December, *Amazonius*, according to his owne or his Concubines names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darting, and for some small breathing of the persecuted *Christians*; which came not of himselfe, but (as *Xiphilinus* writeth) by the mediation of *Martia* his beloued *Concubine*, who was found very fauourable to their doctrine: But the outragious wickednesse of his life made him so hatefull to all, as that his death was often plotted; and once by some of the Noblest, with whom *Lucilla* his owne *Sister* conspired; for which fact he put her, with the rest of the conspirators, to death. The Empire and all things els he wielded at the discretion of others, attending only his voluptuous pleasures, howsoeuer the *State* or *Prouinces* fared vnder him. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 19.* Acts and Monuments.

(4) In *Britanny* the *Northren Borderers* brake thorow the *Wall*, and finding the Frontiers but weakly guarded entred the *Prouince*, where suddenly they surprized the *Roman Generall*; and killing many of the *Souldiers*, ranged the Country, wasting (without resistance) all where they went. *Commodus* at *Rome*, hearing these stirres in *Britaine* rouzed vp his spirits, and sent one *Vlpius Marcellus* to stay their fury; who with great difficulty forced them back beyond the *Wall*: and seeing the careless seruice of the *Souldiers*, reuiued againe the ancient *discipline* of *Warre*, that by long ease had been left off by the *Romans*. The repressing of this incursion, as it seemeth by some reuolt of the prouince, was about the yeere of Christ one hundred eighty six, as appeareth by the monies of this Emperor set in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of some worthy expedition and victory against the *Britains* he stamped them. Vlpius Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(5) This Lieutenant *Marcellus* is reported to be of a maruellous great temperance and strange diet; for all the time of his abode here hee would eat no *Bread*, but such as was baked in *Rome*, neither slept he more then would maintaine nature, whereby both his priuate businesses and proiects for publike seruices were commonly dispatched by *night*. Seuere he was in the execution of his place, not led by fauour of the person, nor staid from iustice by corrupted Bribes; esteeming *Money* only for necessity, and riches no further then made for publike good: But those his vertues though now with vs they get him honour, yet then did purchase him *Enuie* with the Emperor. *Who liued* (saith *Lampridius*) *for his Subiects mischiefe and his owne shame*: For *Commodus* hearing *Marcellus* daily commended, construed his Praise to be his owne Reproch; and doubting least he should grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and so sent him Letters of discharge. *Dion. Cas. lib. 72.* Vlpius Marcellus a man of great vertues. *Lampred.*

(6) The Armie then feeling the raines loose that ere-whiles had beene borne with a stiffer hand, fell straight to a disordered mutinie, and therein proceeded with such boldnesse as they openly refused any longer to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Soueraigne: At which time *Perennius* was a chiefe Agent and so ruled all in *Rome* for the *Emperor*, as that he entertained a hope to be himselfe (in time) an absolute and sole-ruling Emperour, and hauing now fit occasion offred to spread his power further; he tooke vpon him to redresse these disorders (whilst *Commodus* wallowed in his lasciuious idlenesse) and displacing some worthie *Captaines* at his owne pleasure, sent other persons of meane respect or parts, to command those Legions in *Britaine*, that formerly had been led by Noble Senators and men of *Consular* dignity, whereby greater mischiefe began to accrew and ciuill dissensions daily to burst forth, the *Armie* scorning their vpstart Perennius the greatest substitute vnder Commodus.

vpstarst Commanders, and the *Captaines* insulting ouer the *Souldiers*, (of all sides) the *Aides* so disquieted, that had the *Britaines* followed the aduantage, the whole Prouince at that time had been in hazard to be lost: vpon which distractions no lesse then fifteene hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to *Rome* to complaine their wrongs vnto *Commodus:* where charging *Perennius* to bee the stirrer of these troubles, with an intent thereby to raise himsefe or his sonne to the Emperiall Maiesty (a string that cannot be touched without sound in a Soueraignes eare) they were so farre heard and beleeued that *Perennius* was to them deliuered to be put to death, which accordingly they accomplished with all extremity.

Perennius deliuered to the British Souldiers to be put to death.

(7) Then was sent for Lieutenant into *Britaine* *Heluius Pertinax*, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being risen from the state of a common Souldier, to the dignity of a Consull, and had been Commander before that time ouer many Prouinces. Him had *Perennius* discharged from *Britaine*, and with disgrace sent and confined into *Liguria* where hee was borne, whose credit *Commodus* again with such fauors repaired, that he gaue him the Sirname *Britannicus*, which glorious title also himselfe had taken about the yeere 184. At his first entrance and ariuage, he assaied by rough hand to suppresse the rebellions of the Army, and aduentured his person so farre in some tumults that he was stricken downe and left for dead: but afterwards proceeding with better aduice he composed those troubles with most seuere punishments of the principall offenders: whereby notwithstanding he presently grew odious to all, and thereupon so far feared his own safety, that he made suit to the *Emperor* to be discharged of his Lieutenantship.

Lamprid. Heluius Pertinax sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

Out of a coine of this Emperors instiling him Brit. in the 8. yeere of his Tribunesship and 4. of his Consulship.

Heluius Pertinax made suit to be discharged of his office.

(8) Vnto him succeeded *Clodius Albinus* in the Gouernment of *Britaine*, a man of great birth, forward enough, and fortunate, for which the *Emperor Commodus* either vpon fauor or feare, did honour him with the title of *Cæsar*, though *Albinus* seemed vnwilling to accept of the same, and afterwards discouered his disposition more openly in approuing the Ancient and free state of the *Romans*. For vpon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration to the *Legions* in *Britanny* in fauour of the Senate, whose kind of Gouernment he much commended and preferred before the rule of the Emperors: Of which his affection when *Commodus* vnderstood, he sent *Iulius Seuerus* in all haste, to take charge of the Armie: and *Albinus* retired himselfe from all publike affaires, vntill the death of *Commodus*, which not long after followed, and was wrought vpon this occasion: He hauing assigned many to die, and to that end had inrolled their names in a scroll, it chanced *Martia* his Concubine to light on the same, wherein she saw her selfe allotted for one: And reuealing this his purpose to others, that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their owne liues by his death: and with poison, stabs and strangling made him away, when he had liued one and thirty yeeres, foure moneths, and viciously raigned thirteen yeeres eight moneths and fifteen daies, the yeere of Christs natiuity one hundred ninety and three: the night before the Kalends of *Ianuarie*.

Clodius Albinus more affecting Senators then Emperors.

Iulius Seuerus Deputy.

Commodus purpose discouered by his Concubine.

Eutrop. Lampid. Maximus.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of Body, very faire of complexion, with cleere eies and golden locks, neither in person nor in Princely parts resembling his Father: How ioifull the death of this *Tyrant* was both to *People* and *Senate*, their execrations pronounced against him, and their assemblies in the *Temples* to giue thanks for their deliuerance, do manifest, as is at large reported by *Lampridius*, who wrote his life, and stiled by al, *Hostis humani Generis*, *The enemy of Mankind:* The very name of the diuell.

Commodus his portraiture.

Lampridius. Maximus.

PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

CHAPTER. XXI.

UPON the person of this *Heluius Pertinax* (of whom we are now to speake) *Fortune* (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her power, and from a very slender foundation to raise the building of her owne *Pride:* His birth was but poore, and parents as meane, whose Father from a seruile condition got to be free, and traded in *Mercery* wares for his liuing: himselfe educated according to his birth rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all wordly glory, and to be the *Monarch* of the whole world.

An. Do. 194.

Dion. Cass. lib. 73.

(2) At first a *Schoole-master*, and taught the *Grammar*; next a *Ciuil-Lawyer*, and pleaded causes in *Courts*; and lastly, a *Martial-man*, and serued in *Campe*: where *Fortune* attended him with such fauourable successe, that within fiue daies, out of the ranck of a common Souldier he was preferred to bee Captaine of a *Cohort*, in the *Syrian* warres against the *Parthians*, which ended, he was imploied into *Britannie*, *Missia*, and *Germany*, and also had charge in chiefe of a Fleete vpon the *Flemmish Seas*: he serued likewise in *Dacia*, with such honourable proofe of his valour, as that wise *Emperour Marcus Aurelius* held him in high esteeme, and afterward made him *Senator* of *Rome*. Then was hee assigned Gouernour of all *Syria* and *Asia*, the greatest place of Credit and reputation that might be; and from thence sent againe into

into *Britaine*, choſen out as the principall man, of note for to ſtay the Commotions there raiſed againſt *Commodus*, where in the Field he was left for dead: but thence alſo returning after hee had gouerned foure ſeuerall *Conſular Prouinces*, was created *Proconſull* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Praefect* of *Rome*. Neither yet made he his ſtand there, (though the greateſt of any ſubiectiue degree) till hee had mounted the *Throne of Maieſty*, and had obtained the command ouer *All*: which fell to his lot by the death of *Commodus*; and by the meanes of *Martia*, *Ælius Latus*, and other Conſpirers of his end.

Heluius Pertinax made Emperor.

(3) For the Murther being done in the dead of the night, *Latus* in great haſte repaired to *Pertinax* his lodging; at whoſe ſight the Old man in bed, expected nothing but Death, as ſuppoſing him ſent from *Commodus* to no other end. But *Latus* ſalutes him by the vnexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations vnto the *Army*, and in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great ioy, he was confirmed *Auguſtus*.

Heluius Pertinax enuied by the Pretorian Coherts.

(4) His firſt buſineſſe was to bridle the Licencious liues of the *Pretorian Cohorts* & iniuries done by them vnto the *Romane Citizens*, which gained him ſuch hatred, that it was cauſe of his death: For theſe men growne diſordered and lawleſſe in the raigne of *Commodus*, held themſelues wronged, to be nowlocked vnder the conſtraint of *Lawes* ciuil Gouernement: and theſe only enuied the peace & proſperity of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Prouinces* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* vertues, laid aſide their weapons, and diſired to embrace peace with a *Prince* ſo nobly qualified.

Sabellicus.

(5) The firſt that conſpired againſt his life, was one *Falco*; whom notwithſtanding he freely forgaue, yet puniſhed certaine *Souldiers* thereto acceſſary: whereupon, the reſt aſſembling themſelues in tumultuous and furious manner, with their drawn ſwords inuaded his *Palace*. Hee ſeeing their purpoſes ſought no eſcapes, but deſcending the *Palace*, met them in the baſe Court: At whoſe preſence and Maieſty they were much amazed, and a while made a ſtand: vnto whom with great grauity, and without ſhew of any feare, he thus ſpake vnto them.

Heluius Pertinax aſſaulted by his Souldiers.

Heluius Pertinax his ſpeech to his Souldiers.

" (6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you come to " kill me, (as I thinke you doe) you ſhall therein per- " forme an act neither valorous, nor otherwiſe very " commendable for you, no, nor any way grieuous " vnto my ſelfe, for euery mans life hath his limit, and " to mine, by *Natures* courſe, the laſt period cannot " be farre: Or thinke you that I feare *death*, who now " am ſo ripened for it, and haue already gotten the " very height of all renowne vnto my Name? Surely " you are deceiued: but at this I grieue, that my life " and ſhort time of Gouernment, which I had deuo- " ted to the good of all, ſhould ſeem ſo diſguſtfull vn- " to any, as to deſerue a violent and haſtned death, eſ- " pecially by you, who are by office, the Guarders of " my Perſon: you (I ſay) whoſe charge and Oath is, " to ſecure your *Soueraigne* from perill, and now ſeek " to ſheath your Swords in his breaſt, ſhall either " leaue a Teſtimony of my bad life deſeruing it, or " brand your places with ſuch ſtaines of Treaſon, as " *Time* ſhall neuer weare away. And what I pray is " mine offence? for maintaining your *Lawes*? why, it " was the charge your ſelues impoſed vpon me. Are " *Lawes* too ſtrait? ſurely, not to the vertuous, who " are euen a *Law* vnto themſelues: are they need- " leſſe? why then were they made? and being made, " why ſhould they not be executed? If the death of " *Commodus* grieue you, was I the cauſe? If he were " made away by *Treaſon*, your ſelues are conſcious of " my innocency. And this I aſſure you, in the word " of a *Prince*, that his death ſhall depriue you of no- " thing, which you require, if you require nothing " but that which is honeſt and iuſt. My life, whilſt I " was a *Subiect*, was ſpent with you in *Warre*, now (be- " ing your *Soueraigne*) is conſumed with cares for " your Peace: which if you free me of, by taking it a- " way, my troubles ſhall thereby end, but your con- " ſcience ſhal begin to grone vnder the guilt of blood " and perchance bee touched with *too late Repen-* " *tance*.

(7) His words were ſpoken with ſuch a mouing grauity, and vnmoued reſolution, that the formoſt in the attempt gaue back, and were aſhamed of their audacious enterpriſe, but the reſt furiouſly driuing forward, one *Truſius* with a *Lance* ran him into the *Breaſt*, whereupon *Pertinax* couering his *Head* with his robe, quietly yeelded his body to the traiterous ſtrokes of them all, and ſo died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperor*. The yeeres of his life, ſaith *Iulius Capitolinus*, were ſixty, ſeuen moneths, and twenty fiue daies: But *Dio*, *Spartianus* and *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to ſixty eight: *Euſebius* to aboue ſeuenty: The like diſagreement there is for the ſhort time of his *Gouernment*: for *Euſebius* ſaith that he raigned not fully ſix *Moneths*: *Eutropius* ſaith but three: *Iulius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor*, eighty fiue daies: *Dio*, *Herodian*, and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twenty eight daies: how long ſo euer, thus he liued, and thus he died, the fift *Calends* of *Aprill*.

Pertinax killed by his Souldiers.

Pertinax his raigne.

Euſeb. li. 5. c. 24. Eutrop. l. 8.

(8) He was of an honorable and Maieſticall preſence, ſtrong of body, large and full breaſted, long bearded, curle-headed, ſmooth of Speech, and indifferently eloquent.

DIDIVS IVLIANVS.

CHAPTER XXII.

An. Do. 194.

THE ſtate of man continually attended with vncertaine chance, apparantly doth ſhew, the weake condition that nature enioieth, and with what vnſureneſſe the ſeat of maieſty is poſſeſt, as is ſeene by the precedent *Emperor*, who ſitting at peace in his *Palace* at *Rome*, renowned, beloued, and guarded with the ſtrengths of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *AEgypt*, and *Greece*, was notwithſtanding ſurpriſed and ſlaine at noone day, by a *Band* of *Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all eſcaping vnpuniſhed, the deed was ſo ſuddaine and mens minds ſo diſtracted, that it could not be fully beleeued, though witneſſed by ſight.

(2) The *Senators* miſtruſting each others, abandoned the *Citie*, and the *Citizens* in ſecret ſecured them-

themſelues, all in an vprore, but none for reuenge of the treaſon: The *murtherers*, in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand ſtood vpon their guard: But ſeeing all in a maze, and nothing againſt them attempted, a further boldneſſe (the like before neuer heard of) enſued: for by a *Common Crier* they made *Proclamation* for the ſale of the *Empire*, to any man that would giue them moſt: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honeſty of life, and a Lawyer, ſaith *Euſebius*) who with larger promiſes then euer were performed, obtained the Emperiall Diadem.

Aelius Spartianus Proclamation for the ſale of the Empire.

Didius Iulianus buieth the Empire of the Roman Souldiers.

(3) His birth was in *Millen*, the ſonne of *Petronius Didius Seuerus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himſelfe brought vp in ſeruice vnder *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, by whoſe fauours, he was firſt made *Queſtor*, next *Edile*, & then *Prætor* in *Rome*. In *Germany* as a Captaine hee ſer[illegible] vnder *Aurelius*, then was he appointed Gouernour of *Dalmatia*, *Bithinia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was *Conſul* with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconſul* in *Affrica*. Theſe were his riſings and meanes to that *Maieſty*, which not long he kept: for hated in *Rome* and not approoued abroad, *Syria* choſe for Emperor their owne *Generall*, *Peſcenius Niger*, *Germanie*, *Septimius Seuerus*. By whoſe conſent *Clodius Albinus* leader of the *Britaine* Armie was firſt elected *Cæſar*, and then his fellow in the Empire, whereby the *Ægle*, the faireſt of Birds became monſtrous, and in one *Body* bore three *Heads*.

Didius Iulianus his imploiments in State before he was Emperor.

Syria chuſeth their Generall.

Germany chuſeth theirs.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time hauing gotten againe the gouernment of *Britaine*, where erecting his owne *Statues* and ſtamping his picture in his *Coynes*, gaue great ſuſpition that he intended to be a Competitor, and with his Army a foot meant to haue gained the Emperiall ſeat it ſelfe, by aduantage of *Septimius* forces, abſent in ſuppreſſing of *Peſcenius*; which to diuert inforced *Seuerus* vntill better oportunity, to declare *Albinus* his companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former: Becauſe *Didius* in *Rome*, and *Peſcenius* in *Antioch* conſumed their times in banquetting, and vnmartiall diſports, whiles *Albinus* managed his office moſt ſouldierlike, and was highly eſteemed and honored of them.

Albinus Gouernour of *Britaine*, a Competitor for the Empire.

(5) *Seuerus* haſting towards *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by Ambaſſadors from *Didius*, with faire offers of peace, and poſſeſſion of halfe the *Empire*: but refuſing compoſition and making ſtill forward, the *Senate* that ſo lately declared him a traytor, now proclaimed him an Emperor: And the *Souldiers* vnſatisfied of the couenanted promiſes, and in hope to purchaſe fauour with *Seuerus*, ſlew their Chapman *Didius* in his Palace, the Calends of *Iulie*, being but fiue daies after he had done himſelfe as much for *Pertinax*, when he had raigned, as *Eutropius* ſaith, ſeuen months: *Spartianus* ſaith but two, and *Dio* ſixty ſix daies: the yeere of his age fifty ſeuen, and of our *Sauiours* appearing in our fleſh, one hundred ninety and foure.

Seuerus wageth warre for the Empire.
Refuſeth compoſition.
He is proclaimed Emperour.

Iulianus ſlaine.
His raignes continuance.
Eutropius.
Spartianus.
Dio.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS

Chapter. XXIII.

Sept. Seuerus.

Clodius Albinus.

An. Do. 194.

Seuerus hauing by this bloudy accident of the giddie multitude gained with more facility then he expected, the fatal ſeat of gouernment, it was his next in place to ſuppreſſe *Peſcenius* by force, and *Albinus* by falſhood: whoſe Actions & liues ſince they hapned with this Emperor, and ended with his ſword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Peſcenius* firſt, ſince firſt he fell vnder the fortune of this man.

This olde man in the yeere of *Chriſt* one hundred ninety foure, was elected Emperor by Acclamation of the *Syrian Armie*, of which (though begun but by a handfull in reſpect of all the other Emperiall forces) he had good hope, ſince to the honor of that *Goddeſſe* he dedicated the firſt marke of his Soueraigntie, the minting of his mony.

A perſon he was of ſeemly ſtature, louely feature and faire skinne, except his Neck, which differing ſo farre from the reſt gaue him the ſirname of *Niger*: his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voice ſo piercing, that it would be heard a mile off: and his haire for more ornament long hee wore in reflected curles vpon his ſhoulders. A commendable ſouldier and well bearing himſelfe in the military offices hee vnderwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was ſeuere, and at home he ſo well acted his part when hee was Conſul, as in his Clemency and Iuſtice hee ſeemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enioied the goodneſſe of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had ſo parted: For no ſooner had hee put on the Robe Emperiall, but *Seuerus* defeated his Armie at *Cizicum*, purſued him to *Antioch*, and tooke him at *Euphrates*, ſending to *Bizantium* his head a Trophie of the Conqueſt, and to his wife, children, and followers (vnto whom at firſt this *Victor* granted baniſhment) in the end denied life.

(1) Now as ſoone as *Seuerus* made his approch neer *Rome*, he gaue command that the *Pretorian Cohorts* ſhould attend him diſarmed; which done, he vehemently checkt them for their proditorious trechery againſt *Pertinax*, and pronouncing ſentence, depriued them both of name, honor, and armes of *Souldiers*, and baniſhed them from *Rome*, and the circuit thereof for one hundred miles diſtance: which act of his

wonne him such reputation, that in *Rome* the whole Story of *Pertinax* his ruine, and *Seuerus* his aspiring to his Throne, was at large portraited in an excellent peece of worke, of solide molten brasse, as *Herodian* relateth, though he ascribeth the occasion of it, to a dreame of *Seuerus*.

(2) Those two obiects *Didius* and *Niger*, who gaue some hinderance to *Seuerus* his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, seemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether ouer-cast his brightnesse & glory, if it were not dispersed or blown back in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, hee created him *Cæsar* and his *Successor* in the *Empire*, but afterwards his good fortunes thus swelling in the *East*, and himselfe still courted by *Ambassadors* from all parts, with their tender of subiection, he began to grow proud, and to disdaine any Copartner in *State*: and thereupon first secretly sought the destruction of his *Cæsar*; which failing, he then proclaimed him Traitor and *Enemy* to *Rome*.

Albinus made Successor in the Empire.

His death practised.

Proclaimed Traitor.

He wageth warre against *Seuerus*.

(3) *Clodius Albinus* brought into these vnexpected dangers, prepared his strengths, and with the choice of all *Britaine* entred *France*, and neere vnto *Lions* tooke the field against the Emperour; but with no better successe, then *Pescennius* had done in *Asia* the lesse, in the same place (as *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and *Spartianus* affirme) where *Darius* was first ouerthrowne by *Alexander*. The *Armies* ioining, a bloody *Battaile* was fought, which through the great prowesse of the *Britains* went at first so sore against *Seuerus*, that being beaten off his Horse, despairing of *Victorie*, and almost of *Life*, cast off his Imperiall *Robe*, and flying, ignobly hid himselfe. *Lætus* one of *Seuerus* his Captaines, kept aloofe all this while, of purpose as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine, and now vpon report that *hee* was slaine, came on most furiously with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himselfe: whereupon the *Emperor* drawne againe into the field, the day was his by the meanes, but not the meaning, of *Lætus*: whom on attainder of his Treason he afterward put to the sword. That day a great part of the flower of *Britaine* was slaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Seuerity and Martiall discipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio's* he thought them rather fortunate then valiant, and in the time of his seruice in this *Iland*, there was no toile which hee commanded his souldiers, but himselfe would beare therein a part, euen in carrying of burdens on his Backe: and yet so farre from vaunting of his valour, as that when an Historian would haue recorded his noble Acts, he willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom he need not to flatter; holding it a foppery to write of those, of whose fauour or wrath the Inditers stood in hope or feare: Being such a one, no maruaile if *Seuerus* so feared him, as he did, which he shewed euen after hee was slaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Personages both in the City and Prouinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all, *that they wished well to Albinus*.

Albinus vanquished by *Seuerus*.

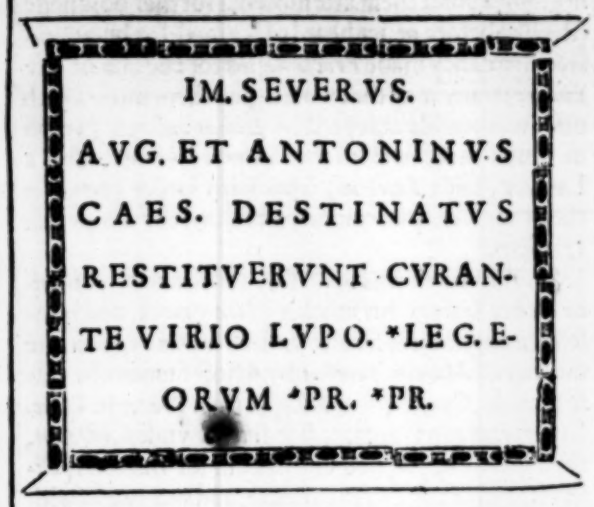
After this ouerthrow *Seuerus* forthwith sent *Heraclianus* hither, to keepe the rest of the *Britaines* in quiet, and to be *Lieutenant* in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* writeth: Of whose affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it seemeth by a Coine of *Seuerus* minted in his second Consulship, which fell in the yeere of our Sauiour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his last Competitor, that the *Britaines* gaue not at first their seruice and seruitude to this man, vntill he had made the purchase of it by his sword; the brand of which he hath left to posteritie in figuring the Goddesse Victory seated vpon spoiles, and writing in a shield, *Victoria Britan.*

Spartianus.

Vnto this Lieutenant, *Virius Lupus* succeeded President of *Britaine*, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Christ one hundred ninety seuen, as appeareth by this Inscription erected at *Olinacæ* amongst the *Brigantes*, in memory of the reedifying of that place by this Emperor and his eldest Sonne, then first designed *Cæsar*, by which the time is discouered, and in this stone inserted.

Virius Lupus made President of *Britaine*.

Hekely in *Yorkshire*.

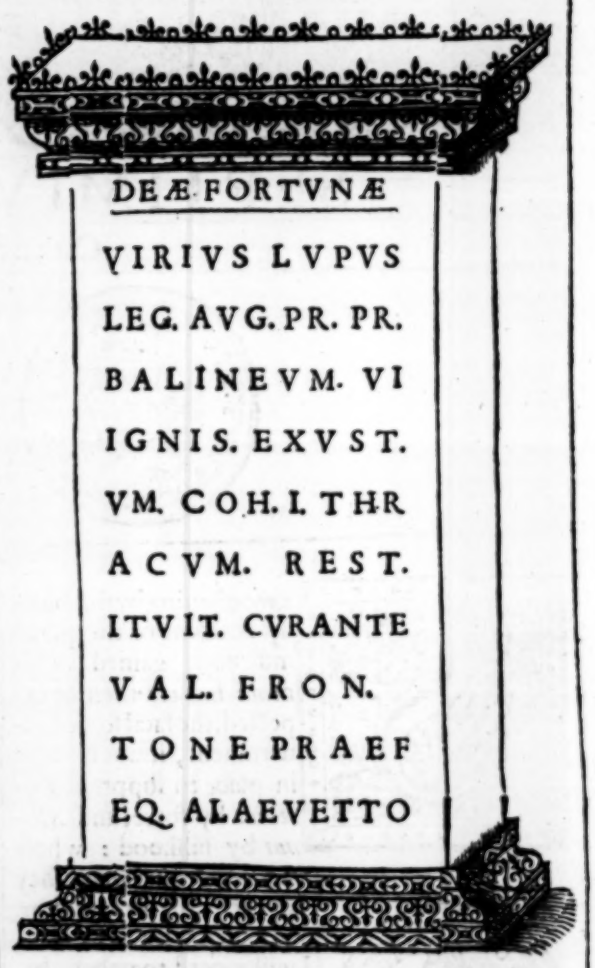


Legatio.

Pro Prætore.

(4) This man strengthned the Prouince especially in the North, with many strong Castles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the bordering swords: Of which **Lauat Ræ*, where the first Cohort of the *Thracians* lay, was one, as appeareth by this Altar there erected to the Goddesse *Fortune*, and since remoued to *Conington* the house of Sir *Robert Cotton* in *Huntingdonshire*.

**Bowes*: vnder *Stanmore* in *Richmondshire*.



He warred against the *Maata* and North *Britaines* with such bad successe, that he was forced to redeeme his peace with mony, and was so much weakned by losse of his men, that he sent to *Rome* for present supply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies strength: which newes touched *Seuerus* to the quick; and notwithstanding his yeeres (sixty at the least) and gout wherewith hee was continually grieued, yet would he vndergoe that iourney in person himselfe, aswell to satisfie his owne vaine glorious humours, as to traine his Sonne *Bassianus* from his licentious life, wherein he wallowed idly in *Rome*, who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into *Britaine*.

Bassianus why brought into *Britaine*.

Æmilius Papinianus a famous Lawyer.

(5) The *Britaines* then hearing of the *Emperors* approch, sent him their Embassage for intreaty of peace

peace, whereby the *Iland* might haue been ſetled and ſecured without blood, but the old man (ſaith *Sabellicus*) had ſo vnſatiable a deſire to beare the glorious Sirname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred warre, and accepted not their proffered ſubiection.

(6) *Seuerus* thus entred, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the *South* of the *Prouince*, and to gouerne thoſe parts that ſtood in quiet, aſſiſted by *Æmilius Papinianus* the famous *Lawyer*, whoſe *Tribunall* ſeat was held in *Yorke*; himſelfe and *Baſſianus* marching further into the North againſt the *Meata* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themſelues boldly vpon the aduantage of their Countries, their waters brackiſh, and vnholſome drinke for their Enemies, the aire ſharpe and contagious to their conſtitutions, and the ſoile it ſelfe ſo peſtred with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the *Romans* were forced to make way by continuall Labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of Bridges, and in draining of Meares, ſo that by diſtemperature of diet, continuall labour, contagiouſneſſe of Aire, and afflictions by ſickneſſe, fifty thouſand of them periſhed, and that without Battaile, ſaith *Dio*: many Souldiers alſo, whoſe ſpirits were ſpent, and through feebleneſſe could not keepe ranke in their March, were for meere pitty ſlaine by their fellowes, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of their Enemies.

Fifty thouſand of Seuerus army dead through toyleſome labor and ſickneſſe.

Sabellicus.

Herodian.

Caledonians deſire peace.

(7) Theſe miſeries, notwithſtanding old *Seuerus* indured and fought many Battailes, but (as *Sabellicus* confeſſeth) *euer with more difficulties to the Romans then to the Britaines*, and yet in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes he went away *Victor*, and continued his courſes with ſuch reſolution, that laſtly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreate their peace; which vpon theſe conditions was granted: firſt, that they ſhould forthwith lay aſide all hoſtile Armes, without any further reſiſtance: next, that they ſhould deliuer into the *Romans* Poſſeſſion, thoſe Countries that were next abutting on their Prouince: and laſtly, that thence-forth they ſhould liue in quiet, attempting nothing againſt the *publike Peace*.

(8) The State thus ſetled, *Seuerus* bethought himſelfe of ſome further meanes to ſecure the Prouince, by building many In-land ſtrengths anew, and repairing thoſe with Stone and Cement which formerly were but of Turffe and earth, as appeareth by this Inſcription found in the Ruines of one of his workes neere vnto the Riuer VRE, in the County of *Richmond* erected.

IMP CÆS. L. SEPTIMIO
PIO PERTINACI AVGV.--
IMP CÆSARI. M. AVRELIO
APIO FELICI AVGVSTO--

BRACCHIO CAEMEN—
TICIVM VI NERVIO—
RVM SVB CVRALA SE-
NECINON AMPLISSI-
MIO PERIL. VISPIVS—
----- PRAELEGIO -----

A wall from Sea to Sea.

Herodian. Spartian. Pol. Virg. de Rob. Anglic. lib. 2. Hiſt. Boetius.

And neglecting the vttermoſt and vaſt Northerne parts of this *Iland*, drew a *Wall* or *Fortification*, which might ſerue as a *Rampire* and diuiſion betwixt the ſauage and more ciuill people, ſtretching it ſelfe thorow the whole *Iland*, euen from *Sea* to *Sea*; that is, from the *Bay* of *Itun* (otherwiſe *Solweyfrith*) in *Scotland*, to the doore of *Tine* or *Tinmouth*, containing in length *One hundred thirty and two Miles*, as *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and others account them, and by ſome more. This *Wall* he built of *Turfes* and *Timber* ſtrong-lie fenſed with *Bulwarkes* and *Turrets*, neere vnto (if not vpon) the foundation of *Adrians Wall*, the tract whereof thorow the Countries of *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleaſing to bee ſeene, then eaſie in word to be expreſſed. For which his *Acts* thus heere atchieued about the yeere of grace two hundred and eleuen, he aſſumed to himſelfe his much deſired Sirname *Britannicus Maximus*, cauſing in his owne and his ſonnes *Coines* that inſcription to bee ſtamped.

Seuerus ſurnamed *Britannicus Maximus*.

(9) And recording to poſteritie the glory of his firſt atchieuement heere, vpon the reuerſe of thoſe his moneies, whereon he ſometimes formed a *Trophy* erected vpon ſpoiles with two *Captiues*, vnderſetting the word VICT. BRIT. ſometimes a winged victorie: grauing a *Shield*, hung on that tree which is the meede of *Conquerours*, VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE: and ſometimes in ſuch a forme and phraſe as is expreſſed in the entrance of this his life. And now retired to *Yorke*, he left his eldeſt ſonne to finiſh this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather allaied then altogether ended.

Baſſianus diſloyaltie.

(10) *Baſſianus* thus ſet in the one part of the *Iland*, as *Geta* was in the other, ſought rather to gaine the affections of his *Army*, by a looſe libertie to doe what they liſt, then to manage the truſt repoſed on him, by the reſtraint of *Martiall Diſciplane*, and exaction of *Militarie duties*: hoping by ſuch his plauſibilitie and indulgence, to purchaſe to himſelfe their beſt concurrence for the obtaining of the *Empire*, which hee ſo thirſted after, as that hee often tampered with them to raiſe him, by the fall of his father.

Caledonians rebell.

(11) The *Caledonians* vnderſtanding the diſſoluteneſſe of his *Campe*, and the want of a better *Captaine*, ſuddenly aſſailed the *Romans*, putting many to the ſword, and taking great booties, (which they diſperſed amongſt their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former *Couenants*: whereat the teſtie old man was ſo much diſquieted, and ſo farre enraged to reuenge, that hee gaue an expreſſe charge to make a generall *Maſſacre*, without exception of any; vſing in his ſpeech to his *Souldiers*, theſe verſes borrowed out of *Homer*:

Nemo manus fugiat veſtras, cademq; cruentam:
Non fœtus, grauidâ Mater quem geſtat in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem. —

Let none eſcape your bloudy rage; with terrour let all die:
Spare not the mother, nor the child that in her womb doth ly.

A generall Maſſacre of them by *Seuerus*.

(12) This (which ſeemeth to haue beene the worke of *Seuerus* ſecond yeere in *Britannie*, *Anno* two hundred and twelue for ſo it is expreſſed vpon the monies of himſelfe and ſonnes) may (and with a fit and eaſie inference from the ſame authoritie) ſeeme to haue beene heere the fortune and effect of two encounters and *Conqueſts* that ſame yeere: for whether we obſerue the two ſeuerall coines of victorie then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed and winged *Goddeſſe*, at whoſe feet are two Captiues proſtrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that Lady, grauing the ſculpture of the former, VICT. BRIT. vpon a *Shield*, it can conclude no leſſe in probabilitie.

(13) *Seuerus* remaining in *Yorke*, where the *Sixth Legion* called *Victrix* kept, (which place afterwards grew to be one of the chiefeſt for account among the *Brigantes*, as commonly the *Stations* of the *Romans Colonies* were the ſeed-plots of all our *Cities*, and principall *Townes*) grew feeble and ſicke, being weakened with age, and wearied with trauell, his maladie more increa-

The ſeed-plots of our Cities and Townes.

Baſſianus diſloial.

increaſing by the diſturbances of the *Enemie*, and the daily diſloialtie of *Baſſianus* his ſonne, inſomuch that deſpairing of life, hee called his *Counſell* and *Captaines* before him, and vnderlaid with pillowes, he thus addreſſed his ſpeech.

Seuerus his ſpeech to his Counſell and Captaines.

(14) Eighteene yeeres almoſt haue I wielded " the affaires of the *Empire*, and borne on my ſhoul- " ders the burden of her encombred eſtate, both at " home and abroad; at my firſt entrance, troubled " euery where, now at length quiet, euen here in *Bri-* " *taine*, the moſt vnquiet and moleſtious Prouince of " all: The profit of which trauels I muſt now leaue " for others to enioy, and with eaſe in peace to keepe " that which I with care and warre haue gotten. If " therefore amity and mutuall concord, be embraced " (the only ſinewes of a *Common-wealth*) the glory of " the Empire ſhall yet ſhine more bright, ſith by con- " cord we ſee that ſmall things grow to greatneſſe, " whereas contrariwiſe, diſcord is the ruine of all. I " die and muſt leaue the ſucceſſe of all to my Succeſ- " ſors and Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder vnna-* " *turall:* I meane *Baſſianus* new made *Antoninus* and " your *Emperor*, who often ere this hath ſought to " gaine that title by his ſword and my death; but " knoweth not the dangers that attend a *Diadem*, nei- " ther remembreth that high places are continually " garded with Enuie and Feares. But ſo blind is Am- " bition, as it ſeeth not that a Soueraignes greatneſſe " is ſuch vnto others, but leaſt in himſelfe, and that " the things poſſeſſed are not the very things they " ſeemed: It is not theſe *Titles* therefore can make " man happy, the line of his life being drawne forth " with ſo many vncertainties, and the height of his " power laid vpon ſo weake foundations. My ſelfe *Spartianus.* " at this inſtant may ſerue for example, of whom this " may bee ſaid, *I was all things, yet nothing*, ſeeing I " I muſt pay my debt to *Nature*, and leaue my ex- " ploits in *Eaſt* and *Weſt* to bee regiſtred (either at " your diſpoſall) for matters of moment, and good " of the *Empire*, or blotted to the reproch of my " gouernement, with the ſhadowing pencile of Ob- " liuion. That therefore my care for the welfare of " this State may ſuruiue my ſelfe, and bring forth " the happie fruits thereof when I am withered, this " ſhall be my laſt and onely requeſt, that you will e- " uer aſſiſt my ſonnes both with your counſell and " aide, whereby they may rule according to *Lawe*, " and you obay according to *Right*, that ſo in you " both, the good of the *Empire* be aboue all things re- " ſpected. With which words hee ended both his " ſpeech and his life.

(15) This *Emperour* by Hiſtorians is rancked with the beſt, both for his warres, wherein hee was verie fortunate, and for his wiſedome in gouerning the *Empire:* and yet is he taxed very ſharply both by *Sabellicus* for ſundry vices, and by *Euſebius* for ſtirring vp the fift *Perſecution* of the *Chriſtians* in the tenth yeere of his Raigne. In which *Ireneus* the learned writer, among many others, ſuffred Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, he became more milde to them, as ſaith Saint *Ierome:* as alſo that he was a diligent reader of the excellent workes of *Tertullian*, whom vſually he termed his Maſter.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection & graces were ſo much, that the illuſtrious Citie of thoſe parts, recorded vpon their coyne his many fauours by this Inſcription, I N- DVLGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH. and in- *Beda.* ſhrined him amongſt the Gods of that Nation. He was the ſonne of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fuluia:* himſelfe rough, cruell, couetous, and ambitious, and his nature, reliſhing too much of the Punick craft and ſimulation: otherwiſe a moſt expert Soldiour, and a worthy Prince, more battles hee fought, and more victories obtained, then any other that euer had ruled before him the *Romane Empire*. In a word, of vertues and vices ſo equally compoſed, that laſtly this grew into a cuſtomed ſpeech: *It had beene good that this* Emperour *had neuer beene borne, or beeing* Emperour, *that hee had neuer died.*

Seuerus his deſcription.

(17) Of ſtature he was tall, and of a comely perſonage, his countenance ſeuere and repreſenting Maieſty, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head he wore vſually curled. He was very learned in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philoſopher, an eloquent Orator, and of a deep ſounding voice. Hee raigned eighteene yeeres (ſaith *Euſebius*) by *Dion Caſſius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, ſeuenteen yeeres, eight months, and odde daies. He died in *Yorke*, the fourth day of April, in the yeere of Chriſt two hundred and twelue, not ſo much of ſicknes, as of diſcontent and greefe, or (if our *Britiſh* writers may bee credited) of a deadly wound giuen by *Fulgence*, Captaine of the *Picts*, who as the *Monke* of *Cheſter* ſaith, was brother to *Martia*, the firſt wife of *Seuerus* and mother of *Baſſianus*. His ſecond wife was *Iulia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though ſome thinke that ſhe was mother to both) a woman of a ſurpaſsing beauty, and an earneſt inſtigator of the two Bretherens reconciliation, had ſhe not been blemiſhed with other vices, as after we ſhal here.

Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 6 ca. 7.

Seuerus dieth at Yorke. The firſt Ides of Ianuary, ſaith *Samils* Table.

Polydor. l. 4 fol. 3.

MARCVS

M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTO. BRIT.
P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT. } Brethren.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

Bassianus Caracalla.

Septimus Geta.

An. Do. 212. BAssianus *Caracalla*, and his Brother *Septimius Geta*, together were declared *Emperours* by old *Seuerus* in his life time, and both of them by their father surnamed *Antoninus*, a name very gracious in the esteeme of the *Romans*, the elder so stiled about the yeere of Saluation two hundred and fiue, and the yonger foure yeeres after, (as it appeareth by the mintage of their moneys;) were approued and applauded by people and *Senate*, and of all men saluted and acknowledged for *Emperours*. *Bassianus* the Elder, stiling himself *Britannicus Maximus*, as it should seem, was admitted his Fathers fellow *Emperour* at *Yorke* at his residing there, to quiet the Northern Britains; wherein also hee gaue him the name *Antoninus*, for so implieth that famous Law, bearing iointlie the names of *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*, enacted by them at *Yorke*, touching the interest and right that masters haue to the goods and possessions of their seruants. His mother, the first wife of *Seuerus*, was *Martia* a British Lady (say our British Historians, though *Sabellicus* doth iudge her to be an *African*) and himselfe better beloued of the *Britaines* for her sake, then for his owne.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. de rei vindicatione leg. 1.

Geff. Monmouth. Sabellicus.

Geta was the sonne of the Empresse *Iulia*, a second wife, a woman of passing beautie and surpassing lust, who beeing perswaded (by some Oracle or dreame) that her husbands successour should be an *Antoninus*, lest her Sonne should lose his hope of the Empire, she importuned *Seuerus* to bestow the name of *Antoninus* also on *Geta*; who with it gaue him likewise the title of *Caesar*, about the yeere two hundred and two.

Some say it was Seuerus his dreame. Sabellicus.

And to vnite the affections of his two sons, aswel as to eternise their memories, he minted their features vpon one Medall, inscribing the one side ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII. the other, P. SEPT. GETA. CAES. PONT. hauing the yeere before matched thē together vpon the reuerse of his owne money, and incirculing their heads with this word, AETERNITAS IMPERI. as if the separation of their affections were the dissolution of his and the worlds *Empire*.

Herodian. Sabellicus.

(2) Vpon *Seuerus* his death, *Antoninus Caracalla*, hastning for *Rome*, profered good conditions of peace to the *Britaines*, who long tired with warres accepted thereof, and hostages were giuen for conseruing the same. Whereupon the Empresse *Iulia* accompanied with both the *Caesars*, departed hence, carying with them the funerall ashes of the deceased *Emperour* in a goldē *Vrna* to *Rome*, where they solemnly consecrated him a *God*: the ceremony wherof (because it concerneth so great an *Emperour* and *Monarch* of this kingdome) is not vnworthy the inserting.

In the Porch of his *Palace* was a bedsteed all of *Iuory*, dressed with richest bedding and furniture of gold, wherein was laid his image protraited to the life, but yet in manner of a sicke man. On the left side sate all the Senators and Princes in blacke mourning weeds; on the right, all the great Ladies, cladde in white (which then was the mourning colour of that Sexe.) The Physitians diligently comming to visit him, and feeling his pulse, as if he were aliue, doe signifie that his disease did still increase vpon him. This they all did seuen daies together: at last, as if then hee were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carrie him in his Iuorie Bed to the * *Forum*, where all the *Patrician youth*, & Noble *Virgins*, incompassed him with most

Forum was the chiefe place of publicke meetings and pleadings.

dolefull Hymnes and ruefull ditties. Thence againe he was remoued to *Mars his field*, where was erected a foure-square frame of Timber, of a huge height and compasse, the stories still mounting to the toppe with sundry ascents, and richly beautified with strange varieties of gold and purple ornaments, and images of great Art and price: On the second of which ascents, was placed the *Emperours* said Bed and Statue, with infinite store of sweetest odours, brought thither from all parts of the Citie: which done, the yong Nobles brauely mounted on Horsebacke, rid round about in a kinde of dance or measure, and another sort likewise (who represented great Princes) in their Coaches, whereupon his successor in the Empire, first setting fire to the frame, forthwith all the people did the like on all sides: and when the whole began to be on flame, an *Eagle* secretly enclosed within, was let fly out of the toppe; which soaring a great height, and out of sight, the people followed it with shouts and praiers, supposing that therewith the *Emperours* soule was carried vp to heauen. And thus *Seuerus*, which was before a man of Gods making, was now become a God of mans making: and the more to preserue the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he instiled *Seuerus his Porch*, wherein with most exquisite Art, and admired workmanship, were portraited all his Fathers warres and triumphs, atchieued here in *Britaine* or elsewhere.

Sabellicus.

(3) But presently after, these two vngodly sonnes of this new supposed *God*, so much emulated each others glory, that the deadly sparkes of enuy, blowne a long time with the bellowes of their ambitious desires, brake out into the flames of murther and blood, being brethren by one Father, but not by the same mother (as it is said) & in this only like, that they were both starke naught, though both in contrarie kinds of *Vices*. And albeit the Empresse *Iulia* had sought by all meanes to make peace betwixt them, both formerly, here in *Britaine*, and now, after their returne to *Rome*: yet the desire of a sole *Soueraignty*, had beene a long time so rooted in *Bassianus* his heart (for which he had twice attempted his Fathers life, and so much hasted his death, that hee slew his *Physitians*, because they had dispatched him no sooner) could not indure an equall (much lesse a confronter) in authority, and therefore in the Court and in the armes of the *Empresse*, he slew her sonne *Geta*, in a time least suspected, when he had sate with him in state and disdaine, the terme of one yeare and twenty two daies.

Geta slaine in his mothers armes.

Herodian.

(4) And to cloake this fratricide with shew of constraint, first to the *Souldiers*, and then in the *Senate*, he accuseth his Brother to haue sought his death, and that in defence of his owne life, he was forced to slay the other, and flying to the *Pretorian* Cohorts for the safetie of his life, as though further conspiracies had been intended against him in the City, & at his return commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Ciuilian*, to excuse the murther in his *Pleas* at the Barre: which when he refused, hee caused him to bee slaine, as also all those, that had beene acquainted with *Geta*; whereby so many of the Nobilitie perished, that he was thereby accounted another *Nero* in *Rome*: and by his fauorites the name of *Geta* was raced out of all monuments & imperiall inscriptions, as we haue seene some of thē defaced vpon some Altar stones found here in *Brit.*

Dio Spartianus.

Papinianus slaine for refusing to defend a murther.

(5) Of nature he was subtile, and could well dissemble with them whom hee feared, and make shew of loue where hee deadly hated; alwaies fitting himselfe to the humours of flatterers: Among the *Germans*, counterfetting their gate and garments; In *Greece*, be like *Alexander*, bearing his necke somewhat awry; In *Troy*, would resemble *Achilles*; alwaies so *Camelion-like*, as the *Romans* (his followers) were therewith ashamed. In a word, *Caracalla* (saith *Dio*) *neuer thought of doing good, because (as himselfe confessed) he neuer knew any goodnes.*

Dio.

(6) And to fill vp the measure of all iniquitie, as one regardlesse of humanity or shame, he married *Iulia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne Father (a sinne (saith *S. Paul*) not to be named among the *Gentiles*) and by *Sext. Aur. Eutrop.* and *Spar.* reported vpon this occasion. It fortuned that *Iulia* in presence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpose rather, let fall the vaile which she wore, discouering thereby her naked breasts and beauty, which was great; whereat the *Emperour* casting his lasciuious eie and bewraying his affection, presently said, *Were it not vnlawfull, I should not be vnwilling:* to whom she replied (without respect of modesty) *that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but was subiect himselfe to none:* forgetting at once both the murther committed vpon *Geta* her sonne, and the scandals that accompanied so foule a sinne, the pleasure wherof they did not long enioy, both their deaths (by Gods vengeance) soone after ensuing.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Sextus Aurelius Eutropius. Spartianus. Sabellicus.

Iulia her wicked speech.

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Mesopotamia*, and carrying (as it seemeth) a guilty conscience, and suspition of his life, sent to *Maternus*, whom hee had left Gouernour of *Rome*, to assemble all the *Astrologers* & *Mathematicians* (vnto which learned impostors he alwaies gaue especiall credit) and of them to enquire how long he should liue, and by what death he should die. *Maternus* hauing so done, wrote for answere, that *Macrinus* his *Prefect* of the *Pratorium* (then with him in his expeditiōs) went about to murther him. Which is thought rather in enuy of *Macrinus* to haue beene fained, then by any *Astrologicall* directions so giuen forth. This letter and others comming to *Caracalla* his hand, at such time as hee was busie about his disport, he deliuered them to *Macrinus* to reade, and giue him the report at his returne. In perusall whereof finding himselfe to be accused of Treason, and fearing lest by the sequell hee might bee brought into greater danger, he incensed one *Martial* a Centurion (whose brother the *Emperour* had lately slaine) to murther him; which was soone performed, and occasion in the fields offred: for *Caracalla* stepping aside from his traine to ease nature, *Martial*, as though he had beene called, ran hastily in without hindrance or suspect, and with his dagger stabbed him to death; but being too late perceiued, was yet so hastily pursued, that he was hewed to peeces before his tongue could reueale the principall Traitour. *Iulia* his incestuous wife hearing of his death, with poison slew her selfe at *Antioch*, leauing her shame to suruiue her life.

Antoninus Sabellicus.

Antoninus Caracalla kild.

(8) *Antoninus Caracalla*, saith *Eusebius*, raigned *Emperour* seuen yeares and sixe moneths, but *Herodian*, *Spartianus*, and *Dio* allot him sixe yeeres and two moneths: he died the eight of Aprill, and yeere of Christ two hundred eighteene. The testimonies of these many writers notwithstanding, together with the place and circumstances of his death, and the person by whom it was committed, the *British* Historians do contradict, reporting him to bee slaine in *Britaine* in Battaile against the *Picts*, by one *Carauceus* a man of a lowe and obscure birth. But by this it may seeme some wounds receiued by him in those British warres, gaue occasion to that errour. He left a sonne not by his incestuous mother, nor by *Glantilla* his wife, whō he exiled into *Sicily*; but by a mistris, whose name was *Iulia Simiamira* his cosen German, and indeed no better then a common strumpet: which corrupt rootes brought forth as bitter fruits, euen *Heliogabalus*, of whom hereafter we shall haue occasion to write.

Antoninus Caracalla his raigne. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. ca. 30.*

Old *Mamsit. cap.* 136.

Antoninus seeketh to succeed.

Eutropius calls her *Soaiam, alij Soæm*, and her monies *Iulia Soæmis*, that she was his whore, not his wife. *Sabellicus.*

OPILIVS MACRINVS.

Chapter XXV.

Opilius Macrinus.

Diadumenus.

An.Do.218. IN profecuting our intended course for [illegible] downe the [illegible] of [illegible] hereafter [illegible] how I shall [illegible] Readers be[illegible]

the troubles (much lesse to in[illegible] of the *Empire*, refused their offers, [illegible] of as many thankes as they had [illegible] Whereupon they againe con[illegible] determined for *Macrinus*, which as willingly [illegible] *Antonius* [illegible] : vnto whom they [illegible] &c. but not [illegible] failed in perform[illegible]

Diadumenus appointed for *Cæsar*. Called *Antoninus*

membrances concerning [illegible] till the raigne of *Diocletian*, the[illegible] *rius* may seeme imperf[illegible] on the other side, con[illegible] Succession of all our *British* [illegible] rupted (that Royall Title being [illegible] those other *Emperours*) I suppose it [illegible] that somwhat also be said of the[illegible] their affaires in places farre remot[illegible] the continuall striuing for the *Imperiall* [illegible] their neerer hazards at home, made them [illegible] to giue *Britaine* some peaceable breathing, an[illegible] priue vs of the *Romane Records* of those times [illegible] want if I should suppl[illegible] of our home-bred *Writers*, I might be thought, not so much to [illegible] the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heape mo[illegible] bish vpon them. And therefore (necessitie so [illegible] cing) I must craue patience, if I proceed to the [illegible] our Countries *Monarkes*, though I cannot to the [illegible] sidue of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in th[illegible] daies.

An.Do.218. (2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obscure and base pa[illegible] rentage, by fauours of the *Emperour*, without any no-table desert in himselfe, first aspired to the *Office* of a *Prefect*, and at last by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the *Dignitie Imperiall*. So farre from suspicion of [illegible] *racallaes* death, by the outward appearance of a [illegible] ming sorrow, that hee was held of all most free [illegible] the Treason, and the second person worthy of [illegible] voice. For first, the Title was conferred vpon a[illegible] *Audentius*, a man of good sort [illegible] such experience, [illegible] an excellent *Captaine*; whose [illegible] could not [illegible] drawne to aduenture [illegible] li[illegible] the weight [illegible] vneasie and dangerous [illegible] but excusing [illegible] selfe by the priuiledge of his a[illegible] farre vnfit t[illegible]

Audentius refuseth the Empire.

ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

Chapter XXVI.

Antoninus Heliogabalus Emp.

An. Do. 219.

YOung *Bassianus*, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, the sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his entrance, gaue hopes to his raisers, of many princely parts, and signes of those things that in sequele by better proofe appeared to be onlie signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his mind beene answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was ouer-prodigall and lauish in his outward forme, so was the other as sparing and defectiue in bestowing of her inward gifts: insomuch that both in minde and garment, he seemed to bee that which in truth he was not. This *Emperour*, as appeareth by the reuerse of his money, tooke it no meane addition of honour to his *Imperiall Dignitie*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sunne*; which in the *Assyrian Tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*.

Heliogabalus exceedeth in wickednesse all others before him

(2) Assoone as hee had settled the *Empire* firme vpon himselfe by the death of *Macrinus*, he began to discouer his owne dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparell, lightnesse, and diet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre differed from the manners of men, that modestie will not suffer vs to record his greatest vices.

(3) His apparell was rich, and most extreme costlie, and yet would he neuer weare one garment twice: his *Shooes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Diamonds*; his *Seats* strowed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* couered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Iewels*; his *Way* strewed with the *Powder* of *Gold* and *Siluer*; his *Vessels* (euen of baset vse) all *Gold*; his *Lamps* burning with no other *Oile* then the *Balmes* of *India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Roses*; his *Ships* (in his *Naumachies* or *Ship-fights*) floted in a *Riuer* of *Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once vsed, presently pluckt downe; his *Plate* of finest *Gold*, but neuer serued twice to his *Table*; his *Rings* and *Iewels* most rich, yet neuer worne twice; his *Concubines* many and chargeable, but not one laine with twice; his *Diet* so profuse, that at euery supper in his *Court*, was vsually spent a *Thousand Pound Sterling*: inuiting the chiefe Citizens to a *Feast*, hee strewed all the *Roomes* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Rushes*, saying, *That such Cattle were worthy of such costly Litter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eaten: in the *Land*, no *Flesh*: whole *Meales* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Braines* of most costly creatures, alwaies saying, *That meat was not sauorie, whose sauce was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the reuenewes of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Italie*, *Sicilia*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Arabia*, and all the *Ilands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresse*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him, laden with *Strumpets*, *Boyes*, and *Bawdes*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Harlot*, made to them solemne and set *Orations*, terming them therein his *Fellow-Souldiers*, and *Companions* in *Armes*, with *Instructions* for them how to practise with most varietie their filthy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kinde of actions, one doth make this doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigalitie*, his stupendious *Lecherie*, or his foppish *Foolerie*: the last of which his *Imperiall Vertues*, he gaue proofe of, when he gathered in the *City ten thousand waight of Spiders*, professing that thereby he vnderstood *how great a City Rome was*: at another time, *ten thousand Mice*, and a *thousand Wizels*, which hee brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purpose*, like the former. *Aelius Lamprid. Herodian.*

(5) In *Rome* he built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sunne*, (like to that in *Phœnicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*) commanding the *Christians* therein to worship: as also a *Chatter-house* for women to meet and determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate-house* his mother *Semiamira*, allowing her a *Voice* among the *Senators*. In modestie I forbeare to write the particulars of his *vn-manly* libidinous filthinesse, adding only that which a iudicious *Author* speakes of him: *Kings* (saith he) *as they haue greater power to sinne then other men, so haue they lesser safety in sinning then any man*; for being set aboue others in the eie of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aimed at, and lie open to the shute of *Reuenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlatiue Monster*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, euen in the midst of his sweetest sinnes, and therefore euer expecting some violent end, hee prepared *silken Halters* richly wrought to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Knines* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of inualuable cost, that thence he might cast himselfe headlong, hauing these words oft in his mouth, *That howeuer he died, his death should be pretious in the eies of all men*. But he failed of his hope, though not of his desert; for against him the *Pratorian Souldiers* suddenlie arose, no wrong offred them, more then vnto others, but out of a *Iustice in God*, who repaieth sinne with sinne, and suffreth not such outragious wicked ones to escape vnreuenged.

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place suteable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *Acclamations* thorow the streets of *Rome*, more like a *Dogge* then a *Man*, they dragged him with his mother, saying, *The Bitch and her whelpe must goe together*: and after their furie spent, threw their bodies into the *Common Sinke* of the *City*, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great

A Priuy. *Sabellicus.*

great ſtones, leſt the carkaſes caſt vp with the waues, ſhould either find buriall, or infect the aire. The *Senate* approuing all that was done, decreed that his name ſhould be obliterated out of all monuments in *Rome*, and neuer any *Antoninus* (a name before very gratious) ſhould rule againe their *Empire:* ſo odious was the remembrance of this *Image of Ignominy*.

(7) He was aged but foureteene yeeres when hee became *Emperour*; by *Herodians* computation, he raigned ſixe yeeres, and died at twenty: By *Aurelius Victor* he died at ſeuenteene, & raigned not fully three yeeres: *Euſebius* ſaith, that he raigned fully foure: *Onuphrius* would haue him to liue eighteen yeeres, & to dy the 8 day of March, *Anno* two hundred twenty three.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6 cap. 20.

ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Alexander Seuerus Emp.

An. Do. 223.

BEfore the death of *Heliogabalus*, his Coſin German *Alexianus*, by the working of his mother *Mammea*, was made his *Ceſar*, whoſe vertues daily increaſing, with his age, gaue hopes to the better ſort of ſome happier times by his meanes: but ſo farre incenſed *Heliogabalus* (who hated nothing more then vertue), and ſo dimmed his fame, that he often aſſaied to take away his life by trechery: But ſuruiuing him, whom no man wiſhed to liue, he was with publicke bleſſings, and vnſpeakable ioy elected *Emperour*; * his name they changed from *Alexianus* to *Alexander*, and his ſurname giuen of old *Seuerus*.

Lampridius ſaith, he was borne on the day that *Alexander* the great died, and had therefore his name.

(2) He was the ſonne of one *Varius*, a *Syrian* borne, and of *Mammea*, ſiſter to *Simiamira*, though there are who ſay that both the ſiſters attending on their Aunt *Iulia* the *Empreſſe*, were gotten with child by yong *Caracalla*, and ſo he father of *Alexianus:* howſoeuer, he was brought vp in learning from his childhood, hauing a naturall propenſion to all humane vertues, and diuine pieties: He was very skilfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometrie*, *Muſicke*, *Caruing*, and *Painting*, & compoſed ſome *Bookes* alſo of *Poetrie*; ſo great a louer of the liberall Arts, that he allowed the profeſſors thereof annuall ſtipends for their further encouragement: and that which moſt is, hee much fauoured the *Chriſtians*, from whom he tooke to himſelfe examples of life, and vrged their Precepts vnto others, and this one eſpecially * NOT TO DO TO OTHERS WHAT WEE WOVLD NOT HAVE DONE TO VS. Their *Chriſt* he honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would haue had him conſecrated among the *Romane Gods:* vnto whom he alſo was minded to haue built a Temple, had not his *Idol-Prieſts* hindred the ſame, but a place of their holy aſſemblies he allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant:* for when certaine *Vinteners* or *Victuallers* laid claime to the place whereunto the *Chriſtians* reſorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therein ſhould be worſhipped, then belly-gods ſhould be pampered to ſurfet there.* (A good document of a Heathen for ſome *Chriſtians*, who turne places conſecrate to Gods diuine ſeruice into Sheep-Coates, or to the like prophane vſes) This good inclination of *Alexander* the ſonne, was vndoubtedly ſtirred vp by the inſtigations of *Mammea* his mother, who, as *Euſebius* witneſſeth, had ſent for *Origen* (the Chriſtian Doctour) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch:* by whom ſhe was ſo wel inſtructed, that *Ierome* giues her the honourable Title of a *moſt holy Woman*.

Alexander Seuerus incited to Chriſtianity by his mother Mammea Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 6 cap. 20. Ierome.

(3) Himſelfe, though yong, ruled the *Empire* with great *Wiſedome* and *Iuſtice:* admitting onely ſuch for his Counſellors, as were men vncorrupt, ſage and learned, skillfull in the Ciuill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office or charge by ſuite, but only by the commendation of each mans worth and fitnes for the place: In regard whereof, he cauſed *Turinus* (one of his Courtiers who tooke money of diuers, with promiſe to procure the *Emperours* fauour in their ſuites) to be put to death by ſmoake, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had ſold ſmoake, and therefore with ſmoake he ſhould die.* And likewiſe to cut off, in Lawyers their continuall ſelling of *Iuſtice* (the bane of all Common wealths) for a fee, hee granted a publike & ſet reward to ſuch as ſhould plead *gratis*. By which courſes, his ciuill affaires were nobly managed, and his warres likewiſe proued as proſperous: for hee triumphed with great glory ouer the *Parthians*: The *Germanes* alſo, who in furious manner had paſſed the Riuers *Danuby*, and the *Rhine*, in many skirmiſhes he put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Sabellicus.

Bountifull and liberal he was both to the people & ſoldiers, as by the reuerſe of his Coine aboue prefixed is ſeene, wherin is expreſſed the fourth *Donatiuum* and *Congiarium*, beſtowed by the bounty of this *Emperour* vpon the Souldiers and common people, of which *Lampridius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Enuy* euer attends perſons of Eſtate, and a deſire of change, breeds a diſlike of the preſent, ſo the *Roman Legions* growne farre out of order by the prodigious Gouernement of the laſt *Emperour*, proued now vnnaturall to their dread Soueraigne: whoſe warres drawing him into *Germanie*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, hee found ſome of his Souldiers here ſo tumultuous, that he thought fit to vſe exemplary ſeuerity towards them, whereupon they, being

Sabellicus and others.

Herodian.

Sabellicus.

Lampridius the trueſt relator of this Emperours acts: (for Herodian ſpeakes on ſpleene) ſaith, he cauſed this Chriſtian poeſie to be written all about his Pallace, and ſometimes commanded by voice of a publike Crier. Lampridius. Sabellicus.

Seuerus and his mother murthered.

ſecretly backt, (as is ſuppoſed) by *Maximinus* (a potent man in the Armie, raiſed onely by the *Emperours* fauour) they traiterouſly aſſailed him, and together with his mother *Mammea*, murthered him in a village then called *Sicila*, though others ſay he was ſlaine in *Germany*, in the Citie *Mogunce*, and ſome in *France*, no other cauſe mouing them, but onely his vertue, the eight day of March, when hee had raigned (by *Lampridius*) thirteene yeeres and nine daies, aged by *Herodian*, and *Iulius Capitolinus*, twenty nine yeeres, three moneths and ſeuen daies, the yeere of our Sauiour, two hundred thirtie ſixe.

Seuerus the time of his raigne.

CAIVS·IVLIVS·VERVS· MAXI·EMP·

Chapter XXVIII.

Maximinus Emp.

CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. CAES.

Maximus Cæſar.

An. Do. 236.

Aximinus, a man barbarous by birth and diſpoſition, (himſelfe a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gotland*, very obſcure, his mother *Ababa* of little better rancke) ſpent his youth in keeping of Cattell, the pouerty of his parents admitting no better maintenance: yet afterwards his fortunes brought him vnto great aduancement, and that by working vpon the outward obiect of his perſon, being for ſhape and ſtrength (if the reporter deſerue credit) rather to be thought a vaſt *Giant*, then deſcribed for a goodly man: For *Iulius Capitolinus*, affirmes his height to be eight foote and an halfe by Geometricall meaſure, and his Body anſwerable in euery proportion, inſomuch, as he did weare as a Ring on his thumb, the * Bracelet which his wife vſed to weare on her arme, a ſtature thought vncredible; and yet *Ioſephus*, an Author of great credit, doth confidently record, that one *Eleazar* a Iewe accompanied *Darius* the Kings ſonne of *Perſia* vnto *Rome*, (ſent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hoſtage) whoſe height, as he ſaith, was fully ſeuen cubits, a meaſure ſurmounting this.

Iuli. Capitol. *Maximinus* of a huge ſtature.

Capitolinus calles it *Dextrocherium*, being a broad plate of gold, ſet with rich Iewels, an ornament in vſe amongſt the *Romane* Ladies.

Ioſeph. Antiq. l. 18 cap. 6.

(2) This *Maximinus* increaſing ſtrength with growth, left his trade of Cattle-keeping, and reſorted to the *Romane* Campe then in *Syria*, where for his admirable height, he was admitted by *Septimus Seuerus* into the rancke of a common Souldier, and ſhortly after, preferred to bee one of his Guarde. *Paſſianus* made him a *Coronell*, and *Heliogabalus* gaue him the leading of certaine foote: but the laſt Emperour *Alexander*, aduanced him to be a *Captaine* of the fourth Legion, whoſe death notwithſtanding hee diſſoiallie practiſed (of ſuch force is the deſire of Soueraignty, which makes men forget all bonds of gratitude and loiall truſt) and was thereupon by the Souldiers elected *Emperour*, with fealty ſworne vnto him.

Maximinus his meanes of riſing to preferment.

Herodian and *Aurelius* Victor ſay tha this was done, *Alexander* yet liuing.

(3) The ignoble *Vpſtart* thus borne from the dunghill, vpon the wings of *Fortune*, vnto the ſeat of Maieſtie, thought the increaſe of his pride was an increaſe of State; and knowing hee had nothing for which he might deſerue to be loued, he ſtudied in the whole managing of his eſtate, how by all meanes hee might be feared. Hee therefore diſplaced *Senatours*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom not? with murders, baniſhments, and confiſcations of their goods: all ſuch eſpecially he did cut off, whom hee ſuppoſed to haue knowledge of his baſe beginnings. The *Chriſtians* likewiſe vnder him were martyred, (whereof *Origen* wrote a Booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the ſixth Perſecutor of Gods Saints: ſo that, whereas his flatterers at firſt called him *Milo*, *Antæus*, and *Hercules*, for his ſtrength; now they all tearmed him, *Buſiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his ſauage crueltie.

Maximinus of a naughty diſpoſition.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 17. *Maximinus* perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

(4) But his life being odious to *God* and *Man*, was often attempted to be taken away; firſt, by *Maximus*, a man of a Conſular dignitie; then by *Quarcinus* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Ticus*) ſet on by the old Souldiers of *Septimus Seuerus*, that had beene diſgraced by *Maximinus*; and laſtly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconſul*, a very worthy and learned man of foureſcore yeeres old) *Emperour*, and his ſonne (of the ſame name and Princely qualities) his *Cæſar*: the Senate likewiſe confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himſelfe the ſurname *Africanus* either in reſpect of his Pro-Conſulſhip which he exerciſed in that Prouince, or elſe as deſcēded from *Scipio* his family who bore that ſurname: His ſonne *Gordianus* likewiſe was ſtiled *Auguſtus*, as appeareth by his Coines, whereon hee writeth himſelfe A V G. and vpon the Reuerſe, *Liberalitas* A V G. I. two *Emperours* ſitting.

His death attempted.

Herodian.

Gordianus elected Emperour, and his ſonne elected his *Cæſar*.

Maximinus then in *Hungarie*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man raged at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wiſe forecaſt endeuoured to redeeme them.

(5) In

An.Do.238.

(5) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Ensignes and glory of an Emperor, entred *Carthage*, with blessings and acclamations of ioy: whereat his old enemie *Capelianus*, Gouernour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Prouinces in *Africke*) much enuied; and gathering forces in *Maximinus* his name, made head against him, and shortly gaue him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was slaine before the walles of the Citie. The father seeing his *Cæsars* disastre, and himselfe an Emperour onely nominall, and his new risen Sunne to haue passed the circle of his height, and now to approch to the setting and fall, wished againe his priuate estate; and in despaire, griefe, and disdaine of his enemies successe, with the *Girdle* which he wore, strangled himselfe to death, when hee had beene stiled Emperour only twenty six daies: whereat *Maximinus* was not a little ioifull, and the *Senate* no lesse perplexed, seeing themselues depriued of their hopes, and now laid open to the *Tyrants* will, who like a Lion came raging on, threatning reuenge in all their blouds.

Gordianus the younger slaine.

Gordianus the father strangled.

(6) The State thus standing, all the Peeres and Princes thereof assembled themselues together at *Rome*: and in the *Temple* of *Iupiter*, after long debating of their present dangers, concluded, that *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together should bee Emperours; men of great account and fauour with the people. These taking Oath and Imperiall Robes, leuied forces to maintaine their cause: and *Balbinus* taking charge of the Citie, *Pupienus* marched to meet *Maximinus*, who in great pride had passed the *Alpes*, entred *Italie*, and now laid siege against *Aquileia*; in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens wiues cut off the haire of their heads, to make bow-strings for resistance of so hatefull a Tyrant:* where after long assault preuailing little, his discontented Souldiers fell to mutinie: and entring his Pauilion, at noone day without resistance slew both him and his sonne, bearing the same name whom hee had created his *Cæsar*, and whose monies, as he minted them, we haue inserted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a *Trophy* they sent before them to *Rome*, where with such acceptations they were receiued, as that the *Senate* acknowledged themselues to be rid of a Monster.

Maximinus and his sonne slaine.

(7) Hee was, as is said, exceedingly tall, his body great, and ioints proportionable, faire of face, full eies, and of such strength as is vncredible: and according to his limmes, so was his diet; for hee daily deuoured forty pound waight of flesh, and thereto dranke six Gallons of wine. He died aged sixty yeeres and odde, when he had raigned three yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

Maximinus his intemperance in diet. *Iul. Capitol. Eusseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 27.*

PVPIENVS MAXIMVS
CLODIVS BALBINVS
Emperours.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Pupienus Maximus Emp.

Clodius Balbinus Emp.

An.Do.238.

Vpienus Maximus and *Clodius Balbinus* thus elected together for *Emperors*, the one in action, and the other resident, a great sedition chanced betwixt the *Senate* and *Souldiers*, which grew to a bloudie issue among the *Citizens*, and *Rome* it selfe was set on fire in sundrie places; the *Emperours* presence and authoritie little preuailing: which strucke such feare into their hearts, that they accounted these times most vnfortunate, and themselues and present estate to be most desperate. But the death of *Maximinus* (and his head happily brought them at the instant) gaue present life to their dying hearts. And *Pupienus* comming to *Aquileia* as much quieted the *Armie*, sent backe the *Lieutenants* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and praise returned to his Fellow-Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both

both noble and ancient, made Citizens of *Rome* by great *Pompey*, and himſelfe borne at *Cales* in *Spaine*. *Pupienus* Auncestors were much latter, yet had hee borne many Offices of Magiſtracie, and euer diſcharged them with wiſdome and valour: both of them highly accounted of in *Rome*.

(3) Peace thus eſtabliſhed beyond all expectation, with ſhoutes and applauſes the *Emperours* enter the *Senate-houſe*, where (according to the cuſtome and their deſerts) they were ſtiled, *The Fathers of the Senat*, with thankes as to the onely preſeruers of their liues and eſtates: and ſome extolling the *Senate* highly for their prouident foreſight, in electing ſuch ſapient and worthy *Emperors*, contrarie to the raſh and vndiſcreet practiſe of ſuch as choſe their Gouernours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they aduance them; and whoſe bad liues brought commonly their vntimely, but deſerued deaths. The Pretorian Souldiers tooke themſelues to bee taxed with thoſe aſperſions, and the rather, becauſe the *German Strangers* were brought in to be of the *Guard*, as if themſelues were not to bee truſted: ſo turning their ſpleene againſt the preſent *Emperours*, ſought to ſet vp a new, which ſhortly after they found opportunitie to effect.

Iul. Capitol.

The Emperours enuy one another.

(4) For theſe *Emperours*, though aged and wiſe, were not ſo linked together in affection, as they were neere ioined in authoritie: and therefore the winde of emulation had the eaſier paſſage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wiſdome and gouernment to be more iudicious; the other, his birth and Nobilitie to be more honorable: and each of them hauing his owne Guard, ſtood vpon his owne Guard, though one Palace contained them both: and both their endeuours euer well conſorting for the buſineſſes of the Empire.

(5) At this time the Prouinces of *Parthia* and *Germanie* grew vnquiet, and by ciuill diſcords, endangered their ſubiections: to repreſſe which, the *Emperors* agreed to goe in perſon, the one into the *Eaſt*, the other into *Germanie*. Now whileſt theſe great preparations were in making, the *Capitoline-Games* were celebrated in *Rome*, whereunto all (almoſt) reſorted, but eſpecially the new-come *Guards* of the *Emperours*. The *Pretorians* finding the aduantagious time, which they had long waited for, ſuddenly in armour aſſailed the *Court*; which *Pupienus* perceiuing, ſent in all haſte for *Balbinus*, and both their Guards for defenſe. But his Fellow-Emperour, vpon a vaine ſuſpicion detracted time himſelfe, and hindered the forwardneſſe of the Guards, ſo that theſe Traitours had eaſie acceſſe into both the Emperours Chambers, where in their rage they diſpoiled them of their *Imperiall Robes*, and haled theſe poore aged and innocent Emperours, like two Theeues thorow the middeſt of the Citie: Laſtly, they ſlew them, and left their bodies to deſpightfull ignominie.

(6) Theſe Emperours raigned together one yeere, and ſomewhat more, and died the yeere of Chriſt two hundred thirty nine: in which yeere happened ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun, that the noone-day thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS.

Chapter XXX.

M. Antoninus Gordianus Emp.

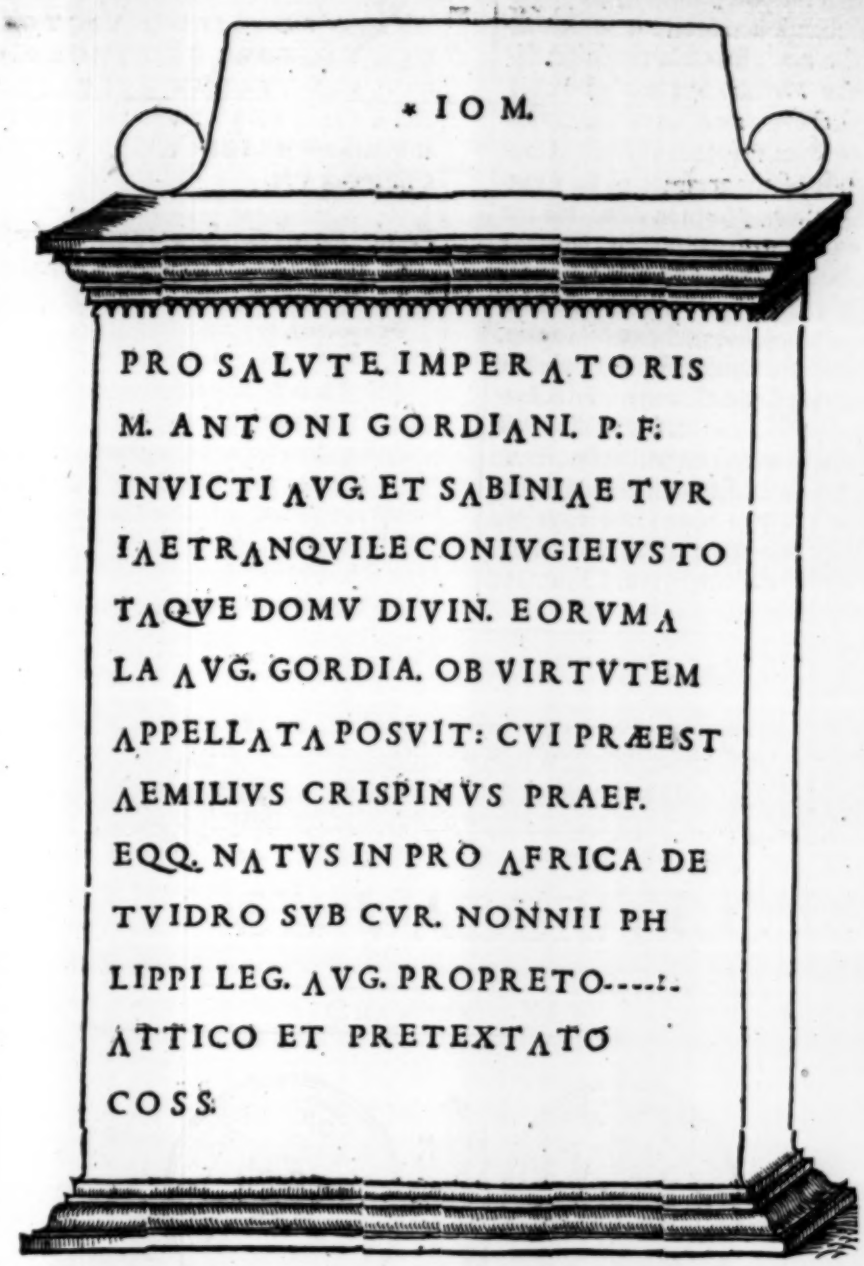
An. Do. 239.

Ordianus (for *Antoninus* he might not be called, a law formerly acted inhibiting the ſame) was the ſonne of a daughter to old *Gordianus* (that had made away himſelfe in *Carthage*, as is declared) at the age of eleuen yeeres was created *Cæſar* by the Senate, with *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*; and at their deaths by the *Pretorian Souldiers*, elected *Emperour*, not yet fully fourteene yeeres of age. Greatly was he ſtrengthned by the Alliance and Counſell of one *Miſitheus*, his Prefect and Inſtructer, whom for his great learning he ſo honoured and loued, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whoſe onely direction, he proſperouſly adminiſtred his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Prouinces proceedings, or what *Lieutenants* were imploied in *Britaine* ſince *Virius Lupus* there placed by *Seuerus* (ſince whoſe death our *Storie* hath ſpent twenty ſeuen yeeres) we finde not recorded. Yet now in the raigne of young *Gordianus*, ſome glimmering light for her Gouernour appeareth by an *Altar-Stone* found in *Cumberland* at a place then called * *Caſtra Exploratorum*, with an inſcription for the happy health of the Emperour *Gordian* the third, his wife *Furia Sabina Tranquilla*, and their whole Familie: which votiue *Altar* was erected by the Troupe of Horſemen ſurnamed *Auguſta Gordiana*, when *Æmilius Chriſpinus* a natiue of *Africa* gouerned the ſame vnder *Nonnius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of *Britaine*, in the yeere of *Chriſt*, two hundred forty three, as appeareth by the *Conſuls* therein ſpecified: whoſe forme and inſcription wee haue followed by the *Stone* it ſelfe, now remaining at *Connington* among many others, in the cuſtodie of Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight.

* Old Carleil.

* IOM.



In his fift yeere, the *Parthians* vnder the Leading of *Sapor* their King, had paſſed into the confines of the *Romane* Prouinces, as farre as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which Citie they had taken, with ſpoile of the Countries adioining: againſt whom, the yong *Emperour* in warlike maner addreſſed himſelfe, and in perſon prepared to vndergoe the warres.

Empiat. Gordianus openeth the Temple of *Ianus*.

(3) In *Rome* the Temple of *Ianus* that long had ſtood ſhut, he cauſed to be opened, a ſure token that warres were in hand: and departing the *City*, paſſed the *Straits* of *Helleſpont*, and tooke his way thorow *Myſia*, to ſtay the *Gothes* that were come downe to inhabit *Thracia*. Thence marching to *Antioch*, recouered the *Citie*, forcing *Sapor* to forſake the *Prouince*, and to content himſelfe with his owne demaines.

Homer. Iliades 4. Miſitheus poiſoned by *Philip*.

(4) But long this *Sunne* went not without a *Cloud*, nor his fauourable fortunes without a checke; for *Miſitheus*, his *Neſtor*, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poiſoned by *Philip*, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counſell, & miſſed for truſt: to ſupply which, *Philip* (an *Arabian*, and of ignoble parentage) was made his Prefect; wiſe (I muſt needs ſay) had hee beene moderate; and valiant in Armes, had he beene true. But the glory of a Diademe beheld with the falſe light of ambition, ſo dimmed the eie of his dutifull affection, and blinded the ſenſes of his aſpiring mind, that he, who from nothing was riſen to be ſomthing, thought that alſo nothing worth, whilſt it was ſhadowed with the name of a ſubiect. Firſt therefore he ſought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom he was facible; to regard the poore, to whom hee was liberall; and in all things to outſtripe his Soueraigne, to whom he was treacherous. Yong *Gordianus* vnable to endure his Prefectors deſignes, or his owne diſgraces, and perceiuing the marke whereat he aimed, complained his wrongs in open aſ-

Philip his treachery.

ſemblies, and to the Souldiers after this tenor.

Gordianus his ſpeech to the Souldiers.

" (5) I got not this ſtate from my Parents by " birth, nor yet by any deſerts (I muſt confeſſe) in my " ſelfe, being the leaſt of many that did deſerue it bet- " ter: but it was you, my fellow Souldiers (vpon what " fate I know not) that haue made me what I am. If " then I haue defrauded your hopes, by carrying my " ſelfe vnder your expectations, I wiſh to bee ſet " in the place where I firſt was; or rather (if I ſo de- " ſerue) my life, and ſtate, may at one inſtant be en- " ded by your vnerring hands: For Noble mindes " cannot brooke to be curbed with the bitte of baſe " indignities, nor ſuffer their vaſſals to bee Corriuals " of their Maieſtie. It is a icalous obiect (I muſt needs " confeſſe) and many times caſts great ſuſpition whē " is ſmall occaſion, but I, for my part, haue alwaies " thought of that humour, that men cauſleſly ica- " lous, doe moſt iuſtly deſerue what they vniuſtlie " feare; and both your ſelues will bee my witneſſes, " how farre I am from the touch of that ſtaine, and " alſo the dailie occurrents of my *Caſar*, (if ſo low I " may terme him) doth make more then manifeſt. I " am but yong, yet elder by ſixe yeares then I was; " my body tender, yet expoſed to the chaunce of " warre; my counſell raw, yet bettered by your wiſe- " domes; and my conqueſts in my ſelfe nothing, but " yet in your valours both glorious & famous. What " then are mine errours, that I may amend them? or " your diſcontents that I may redreſſe? for by the " powers of heauen I proteſt, it is your loues which " I moſt eſteeme, and the good of the Empire, for " which I onely wiſh to liue; the firſt is in your pow- " ers to beſtow at your pleaſure, but the other in me " (if it be poſsible) ſhall liue euen after death.

(6) Theſe complaints notwithſtanding, *Philip* ſo politickly, nay, rather traiterouſly brought his owne

proiects to passe, as that the yong innocent *Emperour* was displaced, and abandoned of all: in which distresse he first sued to be made his *Cæsar*, and that denied, to be his *Prætorian Prefect*: but neither would bee had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Captaine*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatnes of *Gordianus* his blood, his loue and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Prouinces*, and his owne vertues equalising any, hee commanded him to be slaine in the twenty two yeere of his age, and the sixt of his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcius*, and after him again, *L. Aurel. Seuerus, Ostulianus*. But *Philip* through the giddie multitude, preuailed against both. This *Emperour* though yong, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authoritie added to his titles TVTOR REIPVBLICAE, and PARENS PRINCIPVM POPVLI ROMANI, and after his death euen by his owne murtherers, his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Persia*, and vpon his sepulchre this inscription set

Gordianus slaine.

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM VICTORI GOTTHORVM VICTORI SARMATARVM DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM VICTORI GERMANORVM SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred Gordianus vanquisher of the Persians, Gothes, and Sarmates, extinguisher of the Romane Ciuill discords, and subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians.

(7) He was of condition most noble and louely, of behauiour gentle, very studious and giuen much to learning; hauing in his *Librarie* no lesse then *threescore and two thousand Bookes*, as is reported. The truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enioy so vertuous, so clement, so peereles an *Emperour*. He died in the moneth of March, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty fiue.

Gordianus his vertues.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Iulius Philip. Emp.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS CAES.

Iulius Philip. Cæs.

An. Do. 245.

WHat man is there, who considering those forepassed murthers, of so many, and so mightie Monarchs, would not, by the spectacle of others calamities, be induced to preferre the securitie of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soueraignty*; whose glorious content is onely in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both reall and perpetuall. But of so attractiue vertue is the *Load-stone* of *Maiesty*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawne to that one point of the Compasse, and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them; they will launch forth with their full sailes into that *Mare incognitum, a Sea of vnknowne calamities*. And amõgst others, such were the blinde desires, and such the vnhappy euent of this *Iulius Philippus* the *Arabick Barbarian*. Of parentage obscure and ignoble, as *Victor* and others affirme, who pluckt off the imperiall robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to inuest himselfe.

(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the Souldiers in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feareof his *Parthian* Souldiers, obtained their consents; whereupon shuffling vp a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his sonne *Philip* for his *Cæsar*, (whose Coines with his, we haue set in the beginning of this Chap.) hee made all speede towards *Rome*: where, the yeere insuing, his shewes and games were exceedingly magnificent, for the Celebration of the Birth-day, (as we we may terme it) of *Rome*, that beeing, the thousand yeere from her foundation.

An. Do. 245. *Victor. Eutropius.*

Aurelius Victor.

(3) It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a sense of his owne forepast sinnes, and also with the light of heauenly truth, that he hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptised into the faith of Christ, together with his sonne *Philip*, and his wife *Seuera*: though the publike

Sabellicus. Orosius. Eusebius.

like *authorizing* of the ſame *Profeſsion* was reſerued for the bleſſed times of our *Britiſh Conſtantine*. The meanes of his conuerſion from *Idolatrie*, were *Fabianus* and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him therunto: and for the ſame *Profeſsion*, were both himſelfe and ſonne murdered by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Chriſtianitie* for their ſakes, then them for their *Profeſsions* ſake. And howſoeuer *Pomponius Latus* accuſeth him to bee a *diſſembling Prince*, yet *Euſebius* declareth the effects of his *Profeſsion* farre otherwiſe: for *Philip* (ſaith hee) *ſeeking to communicate with the Saints, could not bee admitted, till ſuch time as he had made open confeſsion of his Faith; at which time he ioined himſelfe with thoſe, who for their ſinnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the roome of the Penitents, becauſe that in many things he had beene faulty: which willingly he obeied, and declared by his workes his ſincere and religious minde towards God.* Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellicus* and *Bergomenſis*, who ſhew, that the hatred of *Decius* againſt *Philip* and his ſonne was conceiued, for that they had committed the cuſtodie of their *Treaſures* vnto *Fabianus* the *Chriſtian Biſhop* of *Rome*, who baptized them, as ſome write; though others ſay, *Poncius* the *Martyr* did it.

Pomp. Latus.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.6. cap.33.

Sabellic. Ennead. 7. lib.7.

(4) The *Gothes* againe deſcending from *Scythia*, infeſted *Miſia* and *Thracia* with a mighty *Armie*, ſeeking their habitations in thoſe Countries as formerlie they had done: againſt whoſe itruptions, the Emperour ſent one *Marinus* a moſt valiant *Captaine*, who no ſooner came into thoſe parts, but drew the *Souldiers* into a *Rebellion*, and proclaimed himſelfe *Emperour*, taking (as he ſaid) his example from *Philip*, that had in like ſort raiſed his title by his *Soueraignes* fall. But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as ſuddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections ſlew him.

Polychron. lib.4. cap.21. Gothes infeſt Miſia and Thracia.

Marinus ſlaine.

(5) Into whoſe *Charge* was ſent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who alſo no ſooner was in the *Armie*, but they forced the *Imperiall Enſignes* vpon him, and (as ſome report) againſt his will: hee therefore ſent ſecretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how hee meant to make eſcape from them with perſiſting in his dutifull allegeance. But the *Emperour* fearing this to be but policie in *Decius*, leſt by delay he might giue him more ſtrength, omitted no time to vphold his owne, and with a mightie *Armie* vndertooke theſe affaires himſelfe, not truſting any more to the diſpoſall of his *Captaines*. And immediately departing *Rome*, with a ſterne reſolution, and ouer-hard hand, held the reine of that begun *Expedition*, whereby he preſently loſt the loue of the *Armie*, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed *Emperour*, and cut off *Philips* head thorow the teeth, before they had departed *Italie*. At newes whereof, the *Pretorians* ſlew *Philip* his *Caſar* and ſonne, a man of ſo obſeruable compoſedneſſe, as that he had beene neuer ſeene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their raignes.

Decius enforced to be Emperour.

Philippus and his Caſar ſlaine: Eutrop. Capitol.

(6) *Iulius Philippus* (ſaith *Euſebius*) raigned ſeuen yeeres: but *Eutropius* and *Victor* giue him onely fiue; whoſe death happened in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus*, two hundred and fiftie.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.6. cap.38.

GN. MESSIVS QVINCTVS, TRAIAN, DECIVS.

Chapter XXXII.

Tra. Decius Emp.

Decius Hoſtil. } *Caſ.*

DEcius elected *Emperour* by the *Perſian Legions*, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Romane Souldiers*, and in *Rome* confirmed by the *Voice* of the *Senate*, was of them all with wonted flatteries ſtiled *Auguſtus*.

An. Do. 250.

(2) His *Birth* was noble, of the City *Cabali* in the *Lower Pannonia*, now knowne by the name of *Hungarie*: himſelfe well experienced, wiſe, and valiant, and wielded the *Empire* as a worthy *Prince*, had he not blemiſhed his raigne with a ſtaine of *Tyrannie*, and perſecuted *Gods Saints* with ſuch a Heatheniſh rage, that he is rightly noted by learned *Writers*, to be the ſeuenth Horne of the *Perſecuting-Imperiall-Beaſt*, whoſe ſauage cruelties towards the innocent Chriſtians, is moſt lamentable to be heard, but more to their ſmart that ſuffred and felt it.

Decius his parentage.

Decius a great ſcourge of the Chriſtians.

Apocal. 13.

Paul. Oroſius.

(3) The

Ambr. lib.2 de Virgin.

(3) The *Grid-iron* he made the *Altar*, whereupon *bleſſed Laurence* offered his body in ſacrifice; the *Stewes* the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the vnſpotted *Virgin* worſhipped her *Chriſt*; the comfortleſſe *Deſerts*, the refuge of aged *Charemon*, Biſhop of *Nilus*; and the *Caue*, the *Sanctuarie* of the *ſeuen Souldiers*, fabuled by *Nicephorus* for *ſeuen Sleepers*: and ſo barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdome* many children, as *Vincentius*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Fabianus* and *Cornelius*, both reuerend *Biſhops* of *Rome*, hee ſlew; *Alexander*, *Biſhop* of *Ieruſalem*, impriſoned to death; and *Great Origen*, after he had ſcourged him at an *Iron-ſtake*, his feet hee lockt in the *Stocks* foure paces aſunder, where he ſo continued certaine daies, inuenting ſuch tortures and ſtrange temptations againſt the guiltleſſe *Chriſtians*, as are moſt admirable to heare. But long hee raged not, ere *God* in his iuſtice tooke reuenge, and *brake him to peeces as a Potters Veſſell.*

Euſeb. Eccleſ. biſt. lib.6 cap.41. Vincent. Nicep. lib.5 cap.27.

Pſal.2.9.

(4) For the *Gothes* that had inuaded *Myſia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Irruptions* into the bordering *Prouinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for thoſe parts, where being betraied by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne *Captaine*, he ſaw his two ſonnes, *Decius* and *Hoſtilianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowſhip of Empire with him, and whoſe monies wee haue with his expreſſed) ſlaine before his face; and himſelfe to intombe his body, as a laſt refuge, in a deepe whirlepoole; wherein it was ſo ſwallowed vp, as it could neuer be after ſeene; hauing no other honour of *Buriall*, nor place of remembrance where his bones ſhould reſt. And according to his *Death*, ſo was his *Deſcent*: for neither hath he *Father*, *Mother*, nor *Wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Saluſtia Barbia Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his ſonne *Hoſtilian* ſhe were wedded) nor his Acts ſo exactly regiſtred, as were thoſe of the preceding *Emperours*, his ſinnes ſo deſeruing it, and God in his reuenge ſo puniſhing it.

Pomponius Lætus. Fornandes.

Decius and his Ceſar their deaths. Caſſiodor.

(5) *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* ſay, that hee raigned two yeeres and odde moneths: but *Euſebius* affirmeth his raigne, not fully two yeeres: moſt hold him to haue died at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of Chriſt, two hundred fifty two.

Decius his raigne Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.7.cap.1.

C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS, CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIANVS, Emperours.

Chapter XXXIII.

Tre. Gallus Emp.

Vibius Volusi. Emp.

An.Do.252.

THis ouerthrow of the *Romans*, and death of *Decius*, in outward ſemblance was ſo greeuouſly taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was ſo forward for reuenge as hee, and therefore the laſt in ſuſpicion of *Treaſon*. The *Armie* hee ſtrengthned, and daily encouraged, pretending great ſeruice againſt thoſe barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby hee ſoone atchieued his deſire, and with their applauſes was proclaimed *Emperour*.

Gallus elected Emperour.

(2) By *Birth*, he was deſcended of an honourable Familie in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery and falſhood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Gouernour* of *Myſia*, and to keepe the paſſages from the inuading *Gothes*, the deſire of *Rule* ſo corrupted his minde, that he plotted with them againſt the *Armie*, and betraied the truſt and life of his *Soueraigne*.

His parentage.

(3) Neither is he ſtained with the blot of *Treaſons* only, but alſo with a careleſſe and cruell gouernment; for with the *Gothes* hee made a diſhonourable peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *World*) became *Tributarie* by a yeerely pay to thoſe vnciuill *Scythians*, who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time brake their *Truce* with him, ſacking and ſpoiling the *Prouinces* of *Thraſia*, *Myſia*, *Theſſalia*, and *Macedonia*: the *Perſians* then alſo by their example entring *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, made ſpoile euen thorow *Armenia*.

Pomp. Lætus. Blondus. Sabellicus.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding theſe troubles abroad, conſumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Bondman* to his owne voluptuous deſires, then a *Conquering Monarch*; taking for his companion and *Fellow-Emperour*, his ſonne *Voluſianus*, as appeareth by inſcription

tion of Coine placed before, a very childe, whose yeeres did quit him of any Capitall Crime. But himselfe not perceiuing the infortunate succeesse of *Decius* for persecuting the innocent *Christians*, stumbled (as *Eusebius* saith) at the same stone, and banished them whose *Praiers* preserued his prosperous estate: at which time followed so vniuersall a *Pestilence*, that no *Prouince* in the world was free from the same: and his wicked Life and most vnfortunate Raigne hastened now vnto their period.

Gallus persecuteth the Christians. *Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 7. cap. 1.* Vniuersall Pestilence thorow all the world. *Paul. Orosius.*

(5) For the *Gothes* continuing their furies begunne, his General *Aemilian. Maurus* ouerthrew them with a wonderfull slaughter; whereby hee grew so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (euer affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperour*, the newes whereof soone rouzed *Gallus* from the Bed of his lasciuious pleasures, and with his sonne entred the quarrell against *Aemilianus*, whose fortune was to slay them both in fight, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after hee had raigned not fully two yeeres, and liued (as *Victor* testifieth) forty and seuen: whereupon the *Armies* ioining their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall Title* and *Ensignes* vpon the *Conquerour*.

Aemilian. Maurus his victorie.

Gallus and his sonne slaine. *Eutrop. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 9.*

C. IVLIVS AEMILIANVS.

Chapter XXXIV.

Æmilianus Maurus Emp.

An. Do. 253. *Emilianus* succeeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *Mysian Armie*, was by birth an *African* in the Prouince *Mauritania*, of Parentage base and obscure; who being risen by the Warres from meane places of seruice, and no better then a Common Souldier, aspired to the charge and credit of a Captaine Generall.

Aemilian. Maurus his descent.

(2) His *Election* at first was contradicted by the *Italian Bands*, in fauour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they sought to raise *Emperour*, the Senate also inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was so renowned. The most voices therefore heard on his side. Some haue rather accounted *Æmilianus* an Vsurper, then ranked him in the catalogue of lawfull *Emperours*.

Eutropius.

(3) But seeing *Eutropius* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claime: only his short time of gouernment admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the budde, before the graft had time to spring. For his *Armie* disliking what themselues had done, and hearing of the worths and election of *Valerianus*, laid down their weapons born in his defense, and tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their blouds, after hee had raigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure moneths.

Aemilian. Maurus his end, and continuance of his raigne.

(4) So vnconstant is the state of *worldly felicitie*, and may bee compared to a mastlesse *Shippe*, which without *Tackle* is left to the mercie of the raging *Seas*, that is one while caried with the faire windes of hope towards the *hauen* of wished desires, but straightwaies ouerwhelmed with the waues of despaire: and most especially him that is borne vpon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft vpon the flouds of their fawning fauours, and anon left in the sands of their retiring ebbes, with a sudden shipwracke of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these aduentures too soone *Æmilianus* felt, who the same yeere that hee thus put foorth to Sea, lost all his aduenture, and therewith his life, *Anno* 253.

P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Anno Dom. 254.

IF euer the saying of the wise *Athenian Solon* (spoken to *Cræsus* the rich king of *Lydia*) was true, *That no man can be happy before the day of his death*: then most truly may it be verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperor*: whose yeers were multiplied with increase of honour, vntill they came to seuenty and seuen, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had neuer hapned to any Romaine Emperour before him, and (I may well say) to no other Monarch in the world before liuing: Such is the Ordinance of *our great God*, sometimes from the *Dunghil* to raise men of low degree, and to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire* of *Maiestie*; then againe to bring down the *Mighty* from their *Seate* of *Glory*, & to leaue them chained with the poorest *Captiues*, & basest Vassals. For such was the *State* of that *Great* & *Proud King* of *Babel*, who from the height of *Maiesty* fell into the cõditions of an vnreasonable Beast. And so was it with *Valerianus*, though not vtterly abandoned frõ the *Societie of men*, as *Babels King* was: yet was he caried *Captiue* vnto a Nation whose *Society* was scarce humaine, and where his vsage was more then barbarous.

Herodot. in Clio.

Dan. 4. 27.

Valerianus his descent.

(2) This man was both nobly descended, and of so great esteeme among the *Romans*, that beeing but a priuate, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censor*, an Office of high dignitie, conferred euer vpon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his Life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to haue beene gracious and milde towards the *Christians*, aboue any of his Ancestors whatsoeuer; yea euen those who were themselues openly accounted Christians: insomuch, that his *Clemencie* was their *Protection*, and his *Court* the *Sanctuarie* of their safeties. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred vp an *Egyptian* Sorcerer against them, who so inchanted the *Emperors* heart, that with great crueltie he began the *Eighth Persecution*, & so raged, that some haue appropriated the sayings of the Apocalyps in the thirteenth chapter vnto him, as to whom *power was giuen for two and fortie monethes ouer the Saintes of God, and a mouth to vtter great blasphemies*: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horrible tortures to die, and more had done, if the iust reuenging hand of *God* had not cut him off.

Treb. Pollio.

Valerianus a protector of the Christians.

Paul. Orosius. a Necromancer seduceth *Valerian.*

Apocal. c. 13.

Dionysius in Epist. ad Hermamonen apud Eusebium.

(3) For *Sapores* the sauage *King* of *Persia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage, where striking Battell with him was left (either by *Treason* or *Chance*) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken *Prisoner* by the *Persians*, hauing then raigned seuen yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the bloud of Saints) and thence forward, the rest of his life was enthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse seruitude: For the *Tyrannizing Persian* puft vp with this fortunate gale, to an excessiue swelling of pride; whensoeuer he was disposed to take *Horse*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stoole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch* of the *World* to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his necke and backe for himselfe thereon to tread, and mount into his *Saddle*: In which vnsufferable slauerie, his old body indured without release, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some Authours account was full *seuen yeeres* more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

Sapores taken prisoner by *Sapor*

Trebel. Pollio.

Pompon. Lætus.

Aurelius Victor.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus* is much greater then *Nabuchadnezars* was, in that *God* both restored him to his former glory, and indued him with heauenly grace to confesse his sinnes; whereas *Valerianus* perished in the desperate calamitie whereinto he was fallen; as *Eusebius* sheweth in these words: *And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subiects of God, therefore hast proued vnto vs the righteous Iudgement of God, in that thy selfe wast bound in Chaines, and caried away for a Captiue Slaue with thy Glorious Purple and thy Imperiall Attire, & at length also cõmanded by Sapors King of the Persians, to be slaine, & powdred with salt, hast set vp vnto all men a perpetuall Monument of thine own wretchednesse.*

Eusebius in serm. ad Conuentum Sanctorum.

(5) How vnspeakeable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperor* endured by that Tyrant, may hence appeare, in that not only those which were Allies to the *Romaine Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapores* were moued with commiseration, and distaste, as *Trebell. Pollio* proueth by their own letters sent for his release, the copies whereof he there produceth. Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Bactrians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and *Scythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had such sense of these ignominious vsages, that they disdained to receiue the letters from *Sapor* of his *Victorious* successe, and sent their *Ambassadors* to *Rome*, profferring their assistance for the redemption of their *Emperour*; yet all auailed not, and *Sapor* held still his *Prisoner*, abating nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captiues* miserie, but in the end (so hellish a fiend is reuenge) commanded his *Eyes* to be pulled out, and so for *age* and *griefe* he died, as *Eusebius* saith: being, as *Agathus* (a writer of credit) reporteth, flaied aliue by direction of this vnhumane King. Thus did *God* punish one *Tyrant* by another, and thus himselfe felt those torments vnpittied, which hee had without pitie inflicted on others. The race of whose *Raigne* is accounted to bee *seuen yeares* before his *Captiuitie*, wherein he liued almost so long as *Galienus* his sonne sat *Emperour*, and died in the yeere two hundred sixty one.

Valerianus had his Eyes puld out.

Flaied aliue.

P. LICI-

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

An.Do.261.

VAlerian now Captiue in *Perſia* (while *Odenatus* graſping the aduantage, tooke vpon him the *Empire* of the *Eaſt*; & the now guideleſſe *Armie* of *Rome*, occupied onely in ſpoile and mutinie, their leaders in faction, and the whole State aſtoniſhed in affrighted terrour and amazement) *Baliſta* (a gallant gentleman) firſt of the *Romans* mooued with the inſtant miſerie of the *Common-wealth*, reſolued by electing anew an *Emperour*, to preuent the apparant ruine of his owne Country: yet neuer in this his worthie reſolution, once dreamed of *Gallienus*, (though before choſen *Auguſtus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Armie* forcibly ſetled the *Garland* vpon *Macrian* and his two ſonnes, as the moſt worthie; who with his eldeſt not long after ſubdued by *Aureolus* vſurping *Illyria* (againſt *Gallenus* then receiued *Soueraigne* by the *Roman Senate*) and his youngeſt betraied to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the diſtracted Empire to thoſe three, of which the laſt diſdaining much the indignitie offred to the *State* of *Rome*, by that baſe captiuitie of *Valerian*, whoſe calamity nothing touched the ſenſe of his vnnaturall ſonne, entred a warre againſt the *Perſians*, and tooke from them their Cities *Niſabis* and *Carras*. But ſuch was the moderation of this man, that although hee had power of an independant Soueraignety, yet he held ſtill a good correſpondencie and intelligence in all his actions of Gouernment, with *Gallienus*, to whom he ſent (as monument of *Victorie* and *Reuenge*) ſuch of the *Perſian Nobilitie* as became his *Priſoners*: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Gallenus* triumph. But ſuch was the baſeneſſe of the other, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himſelfe, eclipſe the true merit of *Odenatus*, he endeuoured to deface by treacherie what he could not ſuppreſſe by valour. But in this failing, hee made him then (through feare) copartner of his *Empire*, ſtiling him *Auguſtus*, and ſtamping his face and the *Perſian Triumph* vpon the publike *Coine* of the *State*, by approbation of the *Senate*, leauing him alone to defend thoſe *Frontiers* of the *Empire*, whileſt himſelfe, neither regarding his old fathers miſeries, (moſt miſerable that he had ſo vnnaturall a ſonne) the diſhonour of the *Romane State*, nor the reuolts of the *Prouinces*, wherof newes was daily brought him, ſpent his vnprincely thoughts vpon fruitleſſe deuices, as in reſeruing ſundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow greene and flouriſh all ſeaſons of the yeere; and (which was worſe) vpon women and wanton dalliances. Yet had hee a Ladie of excellent beauty and allurements, *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Marcomanni*, whoſe feature wee finde often minted vpon her Monies. His ſonne by her *Saloninus* hee adopted *Cæſar*, of whom there is no more remembred in *Storie*, then that hee was borne noble, trained vp princely, and periſhed through the errours of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinius Valerianus* (to whom the father had giuen the title of *Cæſar*) he added the honour of *Auguſtus*. And therefore we haue not held it improper, to adioine to his their monies in the front of his life.

Rome in diſturbance for election of an Emperour.

Marianus with his ſonnes elected, ſubdued and ſlaine.

1. *Aureolus* in *Illyria*.
2. *Gallienus* in *Rome*.
3. *Odenatus* in the Eaſt.
Odenatus ouercommeth the Perſians.

Galienus ſeeketh *Odenatus* his death.

(2) The *calamities* of this *Emperours* time were ſo many, as almoſt exceed credit: and *Signes* ſhewed both in the *Heauens* and the *Earth*, manifeſted his wrath, that *ſate vpon the Throne of Iaſper, from whoſe preſence iſſued Thundrings, Lightnings, and Voices.* For (by Writers of beſt credit) the *Sunne* was clouded as vnder ſackcloth, and not ſeene for many daies together. *Earth-quakes* great, and fearfully reſounding, ouerthrew Cities and other edifices, ſhaking the ground ſo terribly, that vaſt Caues, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and whereout (no leſſe ſtrangely) flowed great ſtreames of ſalt waters. The *Earth* roared, and ſeemed to thunder, when there was no voice heard in the aire. The *Sea* ouer-ſwelled her bankes, and brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries*, *Cities*, and *People*: and (beſides all theſe) ſo violent a *Peſtilence* raged, that in *Rome* no leſſe then 5. thouſand perſons died in a day.

Apoc.4.3.
Trebell. Pollio.
Strange ſights in the Heauens.

Great and mighty Earth-quakes.

(3) Theſe miſeries ſomewhat mooued this *Heathenish Emperour* to remorſe: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Diuine Powers*, hee ſtaied the *Perſecutions* of the *Chriſtians*, ſending out his *Edicts* in fauour of them. For not only the *Heauens*, *Earth*, and *Seas* declared the anger of their *God, out of whoſe mouth went a two-edged ſword*, but the *Prouinces* alſo ſeemed to be remoued out of their places. The *Souldiers* of all parts electing their owne *Generals*, aduanced no leſſe then *Thirty* at once, who aſſumed the title of *Emperours*, but are recorded to *Poſterities* by the name of *Vſurping Tyrants*. And as they were all deadly oppoſite each to other, ſo were they iointly almoſt all bent againſt *Galienus*; whereby the *Roman Empire* was more oppreſſed with her owne forces, then euer it had been by forraine *Powers*. And ſince ſixe of them aſſumed the *Purple Robe* in this Weſterne Angle of the *Empire*, it will not be impertinent to the courſe of Story, with a light touch to remember them, and to expreſſe their *Monies*, as we haue done the reſt of thoſe that held the reines of gouernment in theſe parts of the *Romane World*.

Galienus ſtaied the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.7.cap.12.*
Apoc.1.16.

Thirty Emperors at once.

M. Cassius Labienus Posthumus after the death of *Saloninus* (who was committed to his education by *Gallienus*) assumed the Empire, by aide and encouragement of those of *Gallia*, ouer whom he had born the office of liefetenancie by fauour of *Valerian* the Emperour. And these againe, as all Populars greedie of Innouation from him and *Iunius Cassius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after ten yeares gouernment. This opportunity either made by *L. Ælianus*, or fitly taken, mounted him vp with ease into that Emperiall throne, in which he sate not with like fortune of continuance, though of conclusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Victorinus*, and *Lucius* his son; both in a Tumult neere *Colayn* by their souldiors murthered. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, he had to al the most excellent Emperors bin nothing inferiour, in the best of their other vertues.

(7) The restlesse humor now of the giddy Commons, next setleth it selfe vpon *Aurelius Marius*, a soueraigne sutable in his meane condition to their base affections (for he was no better then a Black-smith) yet to him a man of their own meanes & making, they were no lesse vnconstant and cruel, then to the rest: after three daies, setting an end of his gouernment, with a sword of his own forging. And therfore *Piuesius Tetricus*, the father and sonne, though ascending the throne of Maiestie, with the greatest applause of that people, and filling it vp with much merit and happy successe of their own, when they considered the insufferable insolencies and desperate practises of that prophane ranke, chose rather to adorne *Aurelians* Triumph, in a voluntarie captiuitie, then to liue and rule at the deuotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder, and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannonians* raised *Ingenuus*: The *Mysians*, *A. Regillianus*: The Egyptians, *Æmilianus*: In *Africa Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Illyricum*, *Aureolus*: and in the *East*, *Odenatus* (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous Wife; Whose valour was so feared of *Galienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his *Fellow-Emperor*, with the *Stile* of *Augustus* as we haue remembred before.) The [a] *Germans* inuade *Italy*: The [b] *Gothes* waste *Greece*, *Pontus* and *Asia*; The *Samartians* seize [c] *Austriche* and *Hungary*: The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Franks* into *Spaine*: In a word, all are in vproares, *the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battaile*, whose *Rider* had receiued a great and sharpe *Sword*, with Commission giuen him to take *Peace from the Earth*: and these times of troubles are so famous in Storie, and the reuolutions of Acts so agreeable to the words of the *Prophetie*, that they may seeme iustly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred *vision*.

(5) Finally, when *Gallienus* had raigned from his first Associating with his *Father* the terme of fifteene yeeres, *Martian*, *Heraclianus*, and *Ceronius*, three of his principall *Captaines*, (compounding together that one of them should bee *Emperour*) plotted his death, whiles hee besieged the Citie *Millan*, where they traiterously murthered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that hee had suffered the *Empire* to be rent in peeces, and vsurped by many *Forraine* and barbarous *Nations*.

Pomp. Letus.

[a] *Paulus Oros.*
[b] *Cassiodor.*
[c] *Iornandes, Eusebius.*

Apoc. 6.4.

Galienus times prophesied of by the Euangelist *S. Iohn.*

Galienus his death and continuance of his raigne.

M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Fla. Claudius Emp.

An. Do. 269.

ROMES glory thus declining, and the *Imperiall Foundations* thus vndermined, the aſpiring tops of all that *beautious frame* beganne to ſhake, and to foreſhew the ſignes of her approching fall. And had not the *Fates* euen at that inſtant raiſed a ſtay to vnderprop the *Walles*, thoſe mounted *Towers* which ſo long had braued the *Skie*, had beene laid leuell with the *Ground*, and made the ruines of All-conſuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the ſtrange confuſions vnder the late Emperour, the *Eagles body* was burdened with the waight of thoſe *thirty heads* at once: of which number though many of them by their owne mutuall rauening were conſumed before the death of *Galienus*, yet the mightieſt, as *Aurelius* Gouernour of *Dalmatia*, *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, who held *Britaine* and *Gallia*; and *Zenobia* (the *Heroicke Queene* and wife of *Odenatus*) all the Eaſt; to omit the *Murderers* of *Galienus*, that durſt not make their claime, (their deed ſo ill diſgeſted) all theſe were ſtill remaining and ſtrong, at ſuch time as *Flauius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Walles of Milan*, and confirmed with much ioy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

His deſcent.

(3) This *Flauius* was deſcended of noble *Parentage*, out of *Dalmatia*, by ſome; or as others ſay, of *Dardania*, and ſprung from the *Troian Bloud*. But *Aurelius Victor* will haue him the ſonne of *Gordianus* the Emperour before ſpoken of. Howſoeuer, a moſt worthy man he was, an excellent Captaine, of ſingular continence, a iuſt Iudge, a louer of ſtrangers, ſeuere to the wicked, but moſt benigne to the vertuous: ſo that we may well ſay, *In Rome was a new world*; or at leaſt, *In the World was a new Rome*.

Aurel. Victor.

Flauius Claudius his vertues.

(4) His firſt *Expedition* was againſt *Aurelius*, that held *Milan*, whom he there ſlew, and ioined his Souldiers to his owne ſtrength. But preferring the generall good before his particular quiet, he addreſſed his warres for the *Eaſt*, againſt the *Gothes*, who (as *Iornandes* their *Story-writer* reporteth) had infeſted thoſe parts of the Empire (for fifteene yeeres continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entred friendſhip with many other like barbarous *Nations*, inuading *Thracia*, and the Countries before them, euen vnto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungarie*, came downe the Riuer *Danubie*, with *two thouſand Saile* of *Ships*, fraught with *Munition* and *Men*. To meet theſe, *Claudius* prepared: but before his *Encounter*, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

Iornandes. Gothes inuade the Empire.

Paul. Oroſius.

Two thouſand ſaile of Gothes.

Claudius Letter to the Senate.

(5) "*Renowned Fathers* and *Reuerend Lords*, vnderſtand ye for certaine, that *three hundred and twentie thouſand men of warre* are entred our Confines, whoſe waight doth ſeeme to burden the Earth it ſelfe, and whoſe warre-like preparations make theſe parts of the *Empire* to tremble and quake; with whom I am now to ſtrike Battle: wherein if the Conqueſt be mine, the ioy will be yours. But if I fall, yet I pray remember that I fight after *Galienus* hath raigned, and rent the ſtrength of the *Romans* in theſe remote *Prouinces*, and after the *Rebellions* of *Lollianus*, *Poſthumus*, *Eugenius*, *Regillianus*, *Celſus*, and others, who haue ſo weakened the ſinewes of our *Armes*, and broken the *Swords* and *Launces* of our defenſe, that I may well ſay, wee want, if not ſtrength, yet weapons wherewithall to fight. And to our ſhame be it ſpoken, *Zenobia* a *Woman* commands all our *Croſſe-bowes*, and bends them againſt our vnarmed breſts. How ſmall ſoeuer therefore our performance ſhall bee in this ſeruice, repute it (I pray) for great, and wiſh our proceeding may ſort to the weale of the Empire.

Gothes vanquiſhed.

(6) Which done, with no daunted ſpirit he entred *Battle*, and with more then wonted courage fought ſo valiantly, that he ſlew and tooke *Priſoners*, to the number of *three hundred thouſand* fighting men, with two *thouſand Shippes* laden with *Munition*, ſo that whole houſes were filled to their toppes with *Targets*, *Shields*, *Swords*, and *Launces*, and other abiliments for Warre, whereof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the Enemie with ſucceſſe of Victorie, in *Thracia* neere *Bizantium*, in *Macedonia* neere *Theſſalonica*, droue the *Gothes* out of thoſe parts which they had ſo long infeſted, and reſtored the wonted bounds of the Empire. Thence marching into *Germanie*, neere the *Lake* called *Garda*, gaue that reuolted *Nation* a great ouerthrow, where (as *Eutropius* and *Victor* doe report) hee vanquiſhed two thouſand of thoſe ſtrong *Germans*, and there eſtabliſhed againe their ſubiection to the *Romans* power. And now minding to goe forward againſt *Tetricus* and the puiſſant *Zenobia*, a *Feuer* did firſt cut off his purpoſe, and ſhortlie after his life: a thing very ſtrange and rare in that age, as by the courſe of their raignes wee haue hitherto ſeene; not that ſo great a *Monarch* ſhould die, (they being all of the ſame earthly mould that meaneſt men are) but that in thoſe daies a *Roman Emperour* ſhould die in his bed, as other men doe, of a naturall death.

Flauius Claudius died a naturall death.

His perſonage and qualities.

(7) Hee was of perſonage tall, his bodie well compoſed and ſtrong, bright and cleere eies, his face great and full; and of life moſt temperate and chaſte. Hee raigned one yeere, tenne moneths, and fifteene daies, and died the fourth of *Februarie*, in the yeere of Chriſt, two hundred ſeuentie one. His *Statue* of *Gold* was ſet vp in the *Capitoll*, and his *Target* of the ſame metall hung vp in the *Senate-houſe*, himſelfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Romane Emperours* that were deified for *Gods*: ſuch an eſtimation and loue did his vertuous life procure vnto him euen after his death.

M. AVRELIVS QVINTILIVS.

Chapter XXXVIII.

A. Quintilius Emperor.

An. Do. 271.

Entropius.

Quintilius brother to the last Emperour.

QVintilius, the Brother of *Claudius*, and *Vice-Roy* in his abſence for the Guard of *Italy*, was by the *Armie* whereof hee had command, proclaimed *Emperour* immediately vpon the Newes of *Claudius* his death: The *Senate* as ioifully confirming his Election, as they were ſorrowfull for their loſſe of his moſt worthy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much vnlike; ſo that what ſeemed to bee paſt in the one, was in the other ſupplied and ſtill remaining: For this *M. Aurelius Quintilius*, was both wiſe for *Ciuil Gouernment*, and experienced for *Warres*, wanting no complements of an abſolute Prince.

(2) But long his glaſſe ſtood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fauning without a frowne. For the victorious *Souldiors* which in his expeditions had followed *Claudius*, and thought themſelues worthy of the firſt voyce in *Election*, proclaimed *Aurelianus* for Emperour, a moſt valiant *Captain*; and of whoſe proweſſe there had been ſo ſufficient experience, as that *Quintilius* knew hee could not ſtand againſt him.

And therefore miſtruſting the ſtrength of his *Title*, and affections of his *Souldiours*, reputed it ignominious for a noble minde, to die with leſſe honour then he attained vnto, and enioied by his life: and therfore reſoluing to die an *Emperour*, choſe rather by a voluntary cutting of his own veines, to powre out his life with his bloud, then to hazard the chance of vncertaine warres, or to returne to his priuate eſtate.

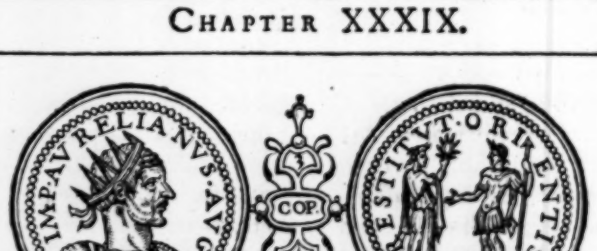
Quintilius cut his own veines, and ſo bled to death.

And thus no longer raigning then ſeuenteen daies, (which ſhort time could miniſter little matter of larger diſcourſe) hee died with his brother the ſame moneth of *February* the twentith day, and yeere of *Chriſt* his incarnation, two hundred ſeuentie one.

He raigned but ſeuenteen daies.

L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER. AVRELIANVS.

Chapter XXXIX.



Val: Aurelianus Emperor.

An. Do. 271.

SO ſhort was the *Raigne* of the laſt *Emperour Quintilius*, that *Aurelianus* who followed him may be ſaid to be the *Succeſſor* of *Claudius*, and not of him: being elected by his *Legions* in the *Eaſt*, as ſoone as the other had beene in *Italy* (though confirmed before him of the Senate in *Rome*) continued ſtill his riuall for Maieſtie, and attained the top of that high ſet Gole, whereof *Quintilius* failed, before his foot had well mounted the firſt ſtep.

Aurelianus his deſcent.

(2) This *Valerius Aurelianus* was of parentage neither honourable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of *Dacia*; others of *Myſia*; both ſo doubtful that *Flauius Vopiſcus*, (the copious *Writer* of his Life) leaues it vndecided, and to the cenſure of his Readers. His riſings were by the *Warres*; wherunto from his child-hood hee had a naturall inclination: and for continuall carying of his weapons, was commonlie called *Aurelianus* the Sword-bearer.

Fla. Vop.

(3) His

(3) His ſeruice was ſufficiently knowne to the *Generals* of diuers *Prouinces*, who had forty ſundry times imploied him in the charge of a *Lieutenant*: and vnder *Claudius* in *Perſia* he was the *Coronell* of the *Horſe*. In the warres of *Sarmatia* he is reported to haue ſlaine *forty Enemies* with his owne hands in one day; and at other ſeuerall times, to the number of *nine hundred men*, as both *Vopiſcus* and *Theoclius* haue affirmed. And generally ſo famous were his deeds, both before he was *Cæſar*, and after, as that he is by ſome compared with *Iulius* and *Alexander*.

Aurelianus comparable with *Cæſar* and *Alexander*.

(4) Vpon the ratifying of his election by the *Senate* at *Rome*, hee haſted not thither to be ſaluted and enſtalled *Emperour*, but foorthwith marched againſt the *Sueuians* and *Sarmates*, who ſore infeſted the Empire with warres: and hauing ſoone ſubdued them, and quieted thoſe parts, in great haſte hee came into *Italie* againſt the *Germans*, who with *Fire* and *Sword* had gone as farre as *Milan*: and them likewiſe with great valour hee forced thence. Then entring *Rome* with great pompe, cauſed the *Walles* to bee repaired and inlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for *Victorious Emperours*. But long he ſtaied not, ere he returned into *Syria*, againſt the ſtout *Queene Zenobia*, whoſe braue reſolutions, and warlike power for fight, her Letter in anſwer vnto him (when being ſorely tired, he profered her wealth, life, and liberty to yeeld) doth manifeſtly declare: the tenour thereof being as followeth.

Aurelianus inlarged the walles of *Rome*.

(5) "*Zenobia*, the moſt mighty *Eaſterne Queene*, "to *Aurelianus*, *Romes Auguſtus*, ſendeth greeting. "Neuer *Captaine* to this day, in vſing *Penne* in ſtead "of *Speare*, or filed *Words* for *weapons points*, hath "more ſufficiently diſcharged the parts of Warre, "then thou to me in Writ haſt done: wherein I well "perceiue thy drift, and blame thee not, that ſeeſt me "but a Woman: which Sex you men make ſubiects "only by your ſmoothing tongues. But know, *Au-* "*guſtus*, thou dealeſt not with a *Roman Dame*, nor "with her who vpon baſe conditions will ſubſcribe "her honour; but with *Zenobia*, the * *Palmyrean* "*Queene*, in whoſe womanly breſt the manly heart "of great *Odenatus* doth ſtill liue and lie. Theſe cour- "ting tearmes doe ill beſeeme a Campe, and worſer "him who would be ſtiled a *Mars*. But yet thy *Gol-* "*den Showre* hath rained beſide our Lappe; nor wee a "*Venus* to meete thee for thy ſport, but with our "*Launce* in hand to trie our lawfull right, and with "our *Swords* to anſwer thy demands in bloud. I am "a *Woman*; ſo was *Tomyris*; thou knoweſt the reſt: "in *Armes* againſt *Auguſtus*; ſo was *Cleopatra*, who ra- "ther choſe to ſting her ſelfe to death, then liue a *ſub-* "*iect* (though a Prince) vnder great *Octauian*. Art "thou his better? thou art deceiued: or I her worſe? "nothing leſſe: who from her perſon doe deriue my "*Pedigree*, and from her courage will maintaine my "cauſe. I am a *Queene*, and raigne beloued, was *Romes* "*Empreſſe*, obeied and honoured; and the wife of "*Odenatus*, whom all you *Romans* greatly feared. Are "my powers weake? The *Perſians* (whoſe ſtrength "you well haue tried) will ſupplie. Are my *Souldiers* "few? The *Saracens* haue more that will aſsiſt: and "the *Armenians* are wholly at my command. If then "*Theeues* and *Robbers* in *Syria* were ſufficient to ouer- "throw thine *Armie*, what hope is left thee to eſcape "our hands, when all theſe our ſtrengths ſhall be thus "conioined in one? Therefore the ſame offers that "to me thou haſt ſent, the ſame to thee I heere re- "turne, and will performe, if thou in time embrace "this truce.

Chap. 37. *Sabellicus* ſaith ſhe both tried him, and put him to flight alſo.

Zenobia her Letter to *Aurelianus*.

*The great Citie *Palmyra* (ſuth *Joſephus*) was built by King *Salomon*; whence their Nation tooke the name. It bordered vpon the *Parthians* Kingdome in the middle betwixt it and the Roman Empire.

(6) This haughtie anſwer of that vndaunted *Queene*, put more fire to the furie of *Aurelianus*, who tooke the Letter in ſuch ſcorne, that hee threatned death to the *Inditer*, (whom he ſuppoſed to be *Longinus* the *Philoſoper*, who was alwaies with her, and her Inſtructer) which afterwards he did accompliſh: for deſtroying her ſeuerall *Aids* before they could meete together, and beſieging *Palmyra* her ſtrong Citie, hee brought the ſame to ſuch diſtreſſe, that in the end hee tooke her Captiue; and glad of ſuch a prey, carried her himſelfe to *Rome*, where following his *Chariot* of *Triumph*, attired in Tiſſues and richeſt Robes of price, ſhee was lead his *Priſoner* in *Chaines* of *Gold*: vpon whoſe preſence the Spectators with admirations ſo much gazed, that ſomewhat it dimmed the Maieſtie of *Aurelianus*: for ſhee is ſaid to be exceedingly faire, though not very white, but ſomewhat browne: her eies blacke and bright, her teeth ſhining like pearles, her bodie tall, and of moſt ſtately proportion, her countenance modeſt, milde, and pleaſing, her voice ſweet, her conuerſation honeſt, her minde chaſte, and body continent, wiſe, temperate, and learned in the *Greeke*, *Latine*, and *Egyptian* tongues. Yea the atchiuement of this Conqueſt was held ſo notable, that hee reputed himſelfe the Reſtorer of the Eaſt, as it appeareth by the reuerſe of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

Zenobia vanquiſhed.

Zenobia her beautie.

Flau. Vopiſc.

(7) Theſe Acts of *Aurelianus* made him ſo famous abroad, and feared at home, that *Tetricus* which had held out againſt *Galienus*, came in vnder his protection, holding it more ſafe to bee a *Subiect* in quiet, then a *Commander* againſt an Oppoſite of ſo inuincible a minde: by whom thereupon hee was made *Gouernour* of *Campania*, and of other *Prouinces* in *Italie*.

(8) Hitherto this *Emperours* ſucceſſes were very proſperous (we may well ſuppoſe) for his indulgence to the Chriſtians, whoſe aſſemblies he permitted, and whoſe *Biſhops* he ſo fauoured, that at their requeſt hee baniſhed *Paulus Samoſatenus* the *Heretike* out of their *Councels*, and publiſhed an *Edict* in the behalfe of their *Synods*. But afterward *Satan* minding to ſift the *Wheat*, that the *Chaffe* might be his, ſtirred vp this *Emperour* to raiſe the *Ninth Perſecution*, and to ſend foorth his *Edicts* for the deſtruction of *Gods Saints*: which whileſt he was in peruſing, and about to ſet his hand and ſeale, a *Thunderbolt* from *Heauen* ſtrucke into his preſence, and ſo neere vnto his perſon, that all accounted him to be therewith ſlaine, God warning him by this his *Meſſenger* to be wiſe, leſt he periſhed in his own waies; as ſhortly after hee did, being ſlaine by his *Seruants*, through the Treaſon of *Meneſtheus* his *Secretarie*, the nine and twentieth day of *Februarie* following, neere vnto the *Citie Bizantium*, when hee had ſate *Emperour* foure yeeres, eleuen moneths, and ſeuen daies, the yeere of our happineſſe, two hundred ſeuenty ſix.

Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 7 cap. 39. Paul. Oroſius.

Aurelianus at firſt a fauourer, now a perſecutor of the Chriſtians.

Aurelianus ſcard with a Thunderbolt from heauen Pſal. 2. 10.

Aurelianus ſlaine.

Eutropius. Aurelianus.

(9) He was of ſtature tall, of body well ſhaped, a pleaſing countenance, and of a ſeemely preſence, a great feeder, and very ſeuere, whereby he was as much feared as beloued, and therfore reported to be a good *Phyſitian*, but that he miniſtred too bitter *Potions*; and was *Canonized* after his death among the *holy Emperours*: in the ſecond yeere of whoſe raigne, the *Great Conſtantine* of *Helena* in *Britaine* was borne.

His feature of body and minde.

Bucholcer.

Ouid. Metam. li. 6.

Tomyris was a valiant *Scythian* Queene, who ſlew King *Cyrus*, and all his Hoſt: and filling a veſſell with their bloud, did caſt in *Cyrus* head, ſaying, Bloud haſt thou thirſted, now drinke ther-of thy fill. To this doth *Zenobia* allude.

M. CLAV-

M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

CHAPTER XL.

Claudius Tacitus Emp.

An. Do. 276.

Aurelianus being dead no man ſought to be Emperour.

THE former ſeditions ended by *Aurelianus*, and the ſtate of the Empire remaining now in quiet, no man appeared to ſue, much leſſe tumultuouſlie to ſtriue for that Royal Diadem; but all the great Commanders (as though they made courteſie in giuing way each vnto others) ſtoode at the foot of Maieſtie; no man attempting higher to mount. The *ſouldiors* ſent to the *Senate*, to deſigne the man whom they beſt liked; the Senate requeſted the ſouldiers to elect him whom they held worthieſt; in which reſpectiue complements, and moſt kinde correſpondencie of all parts, eight moneths paſſed with a peaceable *Interregnum*, as writers report.

Senate and Souldiers ſtrain courteſie who ſhall chooſe the Emperour.

(2) It ſeemeth, the freſh ſenſe and fearefull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wiſe, then to ſeeke their owne deaths, and eſpecially the *Generals* to be better aduiſed, then to runne deſperately vpon their owne deſtructions. A change vncredible, that *Thirtie* ere whiles would needs be ſtiled Emperours, among the tumultuous *Souldiours* (though they were ſure to buy the vſe of that name with their deareſt bloud) and not one now in peace could bee found, either haſty to ſeeke it, or verie willing to accept it.

Eutropius Vopiſcus. Orosius Onuphrius.

(3) At laſt both *Senate* and *Souldiours*, hauing in their eye *M. Claudius Tacitus*, a man very Noble and of *Conſular* degree, of great age, ſingular learning, & long experience in Magiſtracie; him by a ioint and conſpiring ſuffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he hauing before hand ſome inkling of this their purpoſe, got him out of the way, liuing very ſecretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (ſaith *Vopiſcus*) that high dignity which he fore-ſaw would proue his ouerthrow. And when they did by Embaſſages often ſollicite him to accept of their Election; ſending him the Enſignes and Stile of *Auguſtus*: hee againe returned them, though with harty thanks, yet abſolute deniall, alledging by reaſon of his age and infirmitie, that hee was euery way vnable to diſcharge their ſo great expectations.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperor

(4) But after much inter-courſe, and many intreaties paſſed, at length (the neceſsitie of the State ſo requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with much contentment to himſelf, who knew the waight of ſo great titles would proue heauy & alwaies dangerous for him to beare; but with vnſpeakeable ioy, was receiued by the whole State, which promiſed all bleſſed hopes to the ſtate vnder ſo worthy, ſo wiſe, ſo vertuous, learned, and ſo iuſt an Emperour.

(5) For as before his aduancement, he was of *Exemplary* compoſednes and vertuous diſpoſition, ſo in this high *Eſtate*, his life was temperate, and without al pride, & ſo deſirous to be a Preceder of moderation, & ſingularity vnto others, as that he would not permit his *Empreſſe* to weare any *Iewels* of high price, nor to vſe other cuſtomable ſuperfluitie, or exceſſe in his owne houſe. For learning and learned men, whom he euer embraced in his priuate *Eſtate*, he now by all meanes endeuored to honour and aduance, and publikely profeſſed that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was to aſcribe them to his ſtudy of good letters: For which cauſe, hee was wont to call *Cornelius Tacitus* (that worthieſt *Hiſtorian* of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preſerued in euery Library throughout the Empire; and ten times euery yeare to be tranſcribed on publique coſt. All which notwithſtanding, many of that worthy *Authours* Bookes haue ſince miſcaried.

Claudius Tacitus his vertues.

Claudius Tacitus his care to preſerue the works of *Cornelius Tacitus*.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enioy: and ſith his *Raigne* was but ſhort, it is booteleſſe to lengthen it with long diſcourſes: For his *Peace* continued without any memory of *Warres*; and his ſhort time (wherein hee did nothing without conſent of the Senate) was ſpent rather reforming other mens vices, and abuſes of the Lawes and State, then in diſplaying his owne vertues; which doubtleſſe (if their faire ſtreame had not beene vntimely ſtopt) would haue proued incomparable to any his *fore-goers*, and vnmatchable by any his followers. What death hee died is left vncertaine; *Eutropius* thinketh him ſlaine, by his rebellious *ſouldiers* in *Aſia*, vpon his voiage againſt the *Perſians*: but *Victor* reporteth that hee died a naturall death, and that of a *burning-feuer*, in the citie of *Tharſus*: And *Flauius Vopiſcus*, (who wrote his life) ſaith his death came vpon a ſurcharge of griefe, by reaſon of factions; whereby (the infirmitie of his age thereto helping) his vnderſtanding was crazed, and his heart broken, whereof hee died, when he had raigned ſix moneths, and twenty daies, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, one hundred ſeuentie ſix.

Eutrop. l. 9.

Aurel. Victor.

Vopiſcus.

Claudius Tacitus his Raigne.

M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

CHAPTER XLI.

M. An. Florianus Emp.

An. Do. 277.

NO sooner was the death of *Tacitus* diuulged, but his brother *Florianus* (much vnlike him in that point) tooke vpon him the *Name* and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any election either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*, and therfore not likely long to stand sure. And although in all other princely parts hee was not much vnlike his brother, yet hauing so great an Opposite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Easterne Armie* had conferred the same Title, the blossomes of his conceited hope withered euen in the budde, and perished before they had any time of growth.

Florianus made himselfe Emperour.

(2) For no sooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady and precipitate attempts were pleasing in their *Beginnings*, but full of difficulties in their *Proceedings*, and most disastrous in their *Successe*: and therefore despairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raise the *Building*, whose foundation he had so hastily (but too weakly) laid, he caused his owne veines to be cut, as *Quintilius* before him in like case had done, whereby he boldly bled to death, after hee had enioyed a Titular Soueraignty only eightie daies, saith *Eutropius*: but *Vopiscus* saith, not altogether two moneths, and thinkes him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the Citie *Tharsus* likewise, in the yeere of Christ two hundred seuenty and seuen.

Florianus his death.

Chap. 38.

Eutrop. lib. 9. Vopiscus. Florianus his raigne.

M: AVREL. VALER. PROBVS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Val. Probus Emp.

An. Do. 277.

THE *Easterne Armie* most potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from them was expected the new Emperours election, which accordinglie they did, but with much more wisedome and deliberate circumspection, then the *Souldiers* of those times were accustomed to doe. For euery Captaine of the *Armie* singled out his owne Companies, and in seuerall *Assemblies* exhorted, that all affections laid aside, they would applie their mindes to thinke of the worthiest man, on whom they might conferre their voices and fauours. At which time, the opinion of *Probus* his worth had so generally possessed the hearts of all men, that the shout and crie of all was vniforme, *Let vs haue Probus for our Emperour*. This being signified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applause and thankes approoued and confirmed his Election, with additions to his Title, *Augustus*, *The Father of his Countrey, and the highest Bishop*. For in those times, euen amongst *Heathens*, the sacred Title of a *Bishop* was accounted an additament of honour euen to an *Emperour*.

Probus called the father of his Countrey, and the highest Bishop.

(2) He was borne in *Hungarie* in the Citie *Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, especially by his mothers side. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Militarie Seruice*, who died *Tribune* at the warres in *Egypt*: and himselfe very young, but very valorous,

His descent.

Sabellicus.

by the Emperor *Valerianus* (who ſo loued him for his vertues, that he vſed to ſay of him, *that of all men he beſt deſerued the name Probus*, that is *vertuous*) was made a *Tribune* alſo. In which *Office*, with great praiſe he ſerued vnder *Galienus*, *Aurelianus*, & *Claudius* the Emperours; vnder whom beſides other exploits he fought ſeuerall ſingle-combats to the great honour of himſelfe and *Countrey*, and receiued as markes of victories, many Ciuicall Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Enſignes of Martiall deuice and Priuiledge. Preferred to be *Generall* in *Africa*, he ſubdued the *Marmarides*: In Egypt the *Palmerines*; vnder *Aurelianus* the *Sarmates* and *Germans*; vnder *Claudius* the *Gothes*; and in all places ſo famous for his Acts, that hee was compared with *Hannibal* and *Cæſar*.

Probus comparable with *Hannibal* and *Cæſar.*

Probus ſlayeth 400000. *Germans.*

(3) His firſt ſeruice after hee became Emperour was in *Gallia*, againſt the *Germans*, that had made themſelues *Lords* thereof, where in one *Battell*, continuing two daies, *he ſlew foure hundred thouſand of them*, and recouered ſeuentie *Cities* from the *Enemy*, as himſelfe ſignified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Sclauonia*, he quieted the Prouinces of *Muſcouia*, *Ruſsia*, and *Polonia*: And entring *Thracia*, did no leſſe in *Greece*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtina*, and *Iudea*; whence paſsing into *Perſia*, hee had honourable compoſitions of *Narſeus* their mighty King. Wherupon iſſued ſo vniuerſall *Peace*, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Prouinces* of the *Empire*; inſomuch that it was a common *Prouerbe*, *The very mice durſt not gnaw for feare of Probus.* But long this laſted not, ere hee was diſturbed: for the *Egyptians* erected one *Saturninus*, a *Captaine* both wiſe and valiant, for Emperour, and that ſo ſore againſt his will, as he was like to be ſlaine by them for gaine-ſaying their deſires; and by a ſpeech deliuered to his Erectors, he made known to them his aduerſnes from ſo dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

Henr. Mutius.

Saturninus choſen Emperour.

His ſpeech to his Electors.

" (4) *Fellowes* and *Friends*, by my whole ende-
" uours I haue alwaies ſought to preuent that, which
" now I ſee I cannot ſhunne, I meane the *Throne* of
" *Maieſtie*; which howſoeuer to others, it may ſeeme
" full of glory and ſecuritie, yet to my ſelf, I fore-ſee it
" will proue, both baſe and dangerous. Baſe, for that
" I am no more the maſter of mine owne affections;
" which hitherto in my priuate eſtate were beſtowed
" freely, & where I thought beſt, but muſt hēce-forth
" be caried at other mens diſpoſe, and caſt vpon thoſe
" that deſerue them leaſt. That little time that I vvas
" wont to take, in retyring my ſelfe to my ſelfe, muſt
" now be ſtraitned to ſerue others; and my thoughts
" wholly ſpent to preuent thoſe weapons, which are
" borne (in ſhew) for my defence, but are (in truth)
" the keyes of mine Impriſonments. I cannot go with-
" out a *Guard*: I cannot ſleepe, without a watch; I
" cannot eate without a Taſter; theſe are but bonda-
" ges to a free condition, and neuer neede in a pri-
" uate fortune. That it is *dangerous*, it is no leſſe appa-
" rant: for beſides the *ſharpe-pointed* & *waighty ſword*,
" hanging onely by a *twiſted-thred* ouer our heads,
" *Probus* is not a *Galienus* to compound for the *Dia-*
" *dem*, but to touch his *ſcepter*, is to awake a ſleeping
" Lion: What ſhould moue you then, to ſtir vp his
" wrath, to ſeeke my death, and your owne deſtructi-
" ons? For aſſure your ſelues when I die, I ſhal not die
" alone: So all our fame purchaſed in ſo many yeers
" imploiments, ſhal be loſt by this one daies worke:
" and my Conqueſts in *Africa*, of the *Mores*, and in
" *Spaine*, branded laſtly with the eternall ſcares and
" infamie of Rebellion.

(5) Theſe ſpeeches (as *Flauius Vopiſ.* the *Writer* thereof receiued them from the report of his *Grand-father*, who was there preſent and heard them) could nothing at all diuert the reſolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they perſiſted and maintained their Election againſt *Probus*: who vpon notice thereof haſtning toward them with a mighty power, offred them pardon, as one vnwilling to ſhed *Ciuill-bloud*, or to loſe ſo *worthy* a man as *Saturninus* was: but vpon refuſall of his proffered Clemencie, hee gaue him a moſt ſharpe battell, wherein moſt of the Reuoulters were ouerthrowne, and *Saturninus* in the aſſault of a *Caſtle* beſieged, was ſlaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who ſought to haue ſaued his life.

Saturninus his death.

Vopiſcus.

(6) But with his death ended not all Ciuill Broiles: for *Bonoſus* & *Proculus* two monſters of that age (though of different kinds of vices) oppoſing themſelues againſt him, and aſſuming the Title and Robes Imperiall, vſurped the *Prouinces* of *Britaine*, *Spaine* and ſome part of *Gallia*, knowing that in theſe places *Probus* was not much beloued. *Bonoſus* vvas borne in *Britaine*, but brought vp in *Spaine*, without note of action, but onely in his cups, for hee was eſteemed the greateſt drinker of all men liuing: inſomuch as *Aurel.* ſaid of him, he was born, *nō vt viueret, ſed vt biberet; not to draw breath, but to draw in liquor*: & yet (as it ſeemeth) hee was in good account vnder the ſaid *Aurelianus*, hauing a charge of *Ships* vpon the *Germane Seas*, which either by *treacherie* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the mouth of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the priuitie of *Bonoſus*: who therefore not daring to ſtand to the triall, made all his powers againſt the Emperour, but was in Battell ouercome, and deſpairing euer againe to make head, put his owne in a halter, whereupon it was ſaid, that a Barrell was hanged, and not a Man.

Bonoſus and *Proculus* rebell againſt *Probus.*

Sabellicus.

Bonoſus death.

(7) *Proculus* was a *Lygurian* borne, as vnſatiate a vaſſall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall ſo impiouſlie impudent, that as hee had a heart to commit any filthineſſe, ſo a forehead to boaſt of it openly, as appeareth by his owne Letters, wherein hee vaunteth, how many ſcores of faire *Virgins* hee depriued of that faire name in one fortnight; but this Graund-General of *Venus* Camp was ſuddenly forſaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deſerued end.

Sabellicus.

Sabellicus.

(8) Some ſtirs there were at that preſent in Britany, by the incitements of their *Gouernor*, vvhoſe name though Hiſtories doe not ſpecifie, yet he may ſeeme to bee that *Cl. Corn. Lælianus*, whoſe ancient *Coynes* are found in this *Iland*, and not elſe-where: and his meanes to the place, was *Victorinus* a Moore, in great fauour with *Probus*: who taking himſelfe not cleare from ſuſpition got leaue of his *Emperor* to repaire vnto Britaine, where giuing it out that he was come thither for ſafetie of his Life, was courteouſly receiued by the Generall. Whom ſecretly in the Night, hee murthered, and then ſpeedily returned to *Rome*; hauing by this *Expedition*, both appeaſed the tumults in the *Prouince*, and approued his fidelitie to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Vandals* and *Burgundians* that had inuaded *Gallia*, were ſent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabite, who though they had troubled the *Romans* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good ſeruice in *Britaine* to ſtay their ſubiection; and the *Britaines* themſelues for ſome good ſeruices were now ſuffred by theſe *Emperours*, to plant *Vines*, and make Wines, with other matters aſwell for pleaſure as profit.

Victorinus a Moore his Stratagem.

Hiſt. Mag. Bri. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Vandals and *Burgundians* ſent to inhabite in *Britaine.*

Vopiſcus Sabellicus.

Wine made in *England.*

(9) At length the *Empire* in theſe *weſt* parts ſtanding vniuerſally quiet, *Probus* determined a iourny into the *Eaſt*, to end at once all forraine wars; ſaying, he would ſhortly bring it to paſſe, *that the ſtate ſhould need no more Souldiers*: (which ſpeech they tooke very indignely) & hauing paſſed *Illyricum* in *Sclauonia*, was by ſome of his own Army (for curbing, as they cōceiued, with an ouer-hard hand their diſſolute & idle maners) conſpired againſt & treacherouſly murthered, in Nouember the ſecond, and yeere of Chriſt, two hundred eighty two, hauing raigned fiue yeeres and foure moneths: others ſay, ſix yeeres: where notwithſtanding they erected for him a moſt honourable Sepulchre, wherein was engrauen this Epitaph: *Here lieth the Emperor Probus, iuſtly for his goodnes called* Probus, *of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants a Conqueror.*

Probus his death.

Vopiſcus Eutropius. Euſebius Eccleſ. lib. 7. cap. 29.

M. AVRE-

M. AVRELIVS CARVS, VVITH CARINVS AND NVMERIANVS HIS SONNES.

CHAPTER XLIII.

M. Aurel. Carus Emp.

Carinus, Numerianus, Cæsars.

Anno 282.

ROBVS thus ſlaine in the midſt of his Army, without any apparant cauſe miniſtred, the Souldiers were ſtricken into a great feare and miſtruſted each other to be guilty of the *Treaſon*, no man therefore diligent to finde out the beginner, nor haſtie to puniſh the bloudy executors; but holding the right of *Election* to remain in themſelues, they preſently choſe *Carus* for their Emperor, who had been the *Prætorian Præfect* valiant, ſufficient, of worth and eſteeme; whereunto the *Senate* likewiſe conſented.

Carinus ſlaine by a thunderbolt.

(2) From whence or what parents we ſhould deriue his birth, is vncertaine, and of diuers writers diuerſly reported. For *Flauius Cæcilianus*, who wrote the ſtorie of his time, as *Vopiſcus* doth report, ſaith, that he was borne in *Sclauonia*, or as we call it *Moſcouia*. *Oneſimus* an ancient writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Sclauonian* indeed, but held for a citizen, as he citeth by letters from *Vopiſcus*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Euſebius*, and *Paulus Oroſius* wil haue him a French man, and borne at *Narborne*: but whence ſoeuer, his princely parts deſerued theſe his princely preferments, and no waies for the ſhort time of his raigne, carried he himſelfe vnder expectation. Two ſonnes hee had of vnequall conditions, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, theſe both he made his *Cæſars*, with the Name and Power of *Auguſti*.

Flauius. Cæcilianus. Vopiſcus.

Victor. Euſebius. Oroſius.

Carinus and Numerianus Cæſars.

(3) His firſt proceedings was to finde out the murtherers of *Probus*, whom hee ſeuerely puniſhed, which tooke away all ſuſpition of treaſon in himſelfe. Then marching againſt the *Sarmates*, whoſe furie had pierced ſo far into *Panonia*, that they threatned *Italy* it ſelfe, he ouerthrew with the ſlaughter of ſixteen thouſand, and tooke twenty thouſand of them priſoners. And leauing *Carinus* (his elder ſonne) to gouerne *Britaine*, *Gallia*, *Illyricum*, and *Spaine*, himſelfe with the younger, *Numerianus*, prepared for the *Eaſt* againſt the *Perſians*, in which expedition he tooke in his way *Meſopotamia*, *Seleucia*, and certaine cities whom the enemie had entred: and being ſurprized with ſicknes, and not able to trauel, pitched his Pauilion vpon the ſhore of *Tigris*, where in the midſt of his armie (about the yeere of our ſaluation 283.) garded from all ſuppoſed dangers and aſſaults of man, felt the vnexpected ſtroke of death euen from the hand of God himſelfe: for in his bed by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, he was ſlaine, with many others then preſent with him in his tent, and the ſame conſumed altogether with lightning fire.

(4) The terrour thereof ſo daunted the courage of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in their enterpriſe: and his death was ſo grieuous vnto *Numerianus* now elected Emperor, that with continuall weeping (a fault in few Sonnes who are raiſed by their fathers fall) his eies were ſo weakened, that he could not indure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius Aper*, (his wiues father) tooke occaſion to conſpire his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Empire himſelfe. For hauing at all times free acceſſe to his preſence, at length in his cloſet hee ſecretly murthered him; pretending to the armie, that his infirmitie only kept him from ſight; and ſo leauing his body to putrifie and corrupt, in ſhort ſpace by the very ſauor thereof the treaſon was deſcried, and the Traitor ſlaine by the hands of *Diocleſian*, who was both his Iudge and executioner.

(5) His *Empire* thus ended before it was well begunne, the Armie proclaimed *Diocleſian*, a *Principall* man in the *Campe* for *Emperor*: who to vphold his election, made al his power for *Gallia*, againſt his Concurrent *Carinus*, a man of profuſe ſenſualitie, who there had cauſed himſelfe to bee proclaimed, and in his fathers abſence had ſo ruled there and in *Britaine*, that *Porphyrio* liuing at the ſame time, gaue out this teſtimonie, that *Britaine* was a fertile Prouince of tyrants. Betwixt theſe two *Captaines*, many skirmiſhes were fought with variable ſucceſſe, till laſtly in a ſet battell, *Carinus* was ſlaine by a *Tribune*, whoſe *Wife* he had defiled; whereby the *Imperiall Title* was ioyntly conferred vpon *Diocleſian*.

Hieronc.

(6) The time that theſe three, the father and two ſonnes raigned, is reported to be two yeers and ſomewhat more; and this laſt to die the yeere of Chriſts natiuitie, two hundred eighty foure.

C. AVRE-

C. AVRELIVS VALER. DIOCLESIANVS IOVIVS AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

Chapter XLIIII.

Val. Dioclef. Emp.

Val. Maximian, Caſar and Emp.

THe Empire thus deuolued to *Diocleſian*, with approbation of the Senate, hee euery way ſtudied to bee accounted worthy of the ſame, as knowing well his birth was no way anſwerable to his preſent lot: and therefore choſe for his *Caeſar*, *Maximianus*, a man of better deſcent, very honourable, wiſe, and valiant, as was manifeſted in his firſt ſeruice againſt the *Gaules*, whom with an infinite number of peſants in that prouince, troubling the peace of the *Romans*, hee with much ſlaughter ouercame. For which exploit ſo fortunately accompliſhed, the Emperor made him his Conſort in the Gouernment.

Paulus Oroſius. Eutropus.

(2) *Diocleſians* parentage is vncertainly reported by Writers, ſome making him the ſonne of a *Notary*, and others of a meere *Bondman*; but all agreeing that his Country was *Dalmatia*, and his offspring very baſe. This man being but a *Common Souldier*, conſulted with a *Witch* for his future ſucceſſe; who told him (if you pleaſe to beleeue the reporters) that he ſhould become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore: to which he gaue credit, and euer after was a great enemie to that beaſt, and in time grew vnder *Probus* to ſo great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made *Steward* of his houſe, and now laſtly elected to the Empire.

(3) The very firſt thing that he attempted, was the puniſhmēt of his predeceſſors death: for which *Arrius Aper* being conuicted before his tribunall ſeat, himſelfe riſing ſuddenly from the Throne, ran him thorow with his ſword, in outward ſhew for zeale of Iuſtice, as not able to endure ſo foule a fact: but in truth to fulfill the *Prediction* of his hoſteſſe, the *Druid*; for that *Aper* ſignifieth a Bore. After which act, he held his *Empire* fully eſtabliſhed.

Flauius Vopiſcus.

(4) To let paſſe many imploiments and troubles of the *State*, theſe two Emperors choſe to themſelues two *Caeſars*, whereby the *One-bodied Eagle* became againe *foure-headed*, and each almoſt of an equall authority. *Diocleſian* choſe *Galerius Maximinus*, and *Maximianus*, ſurnamed *Herculius*, choſe *Conſtantius Clorus* a *Roman Senator*, enforcing them to put away their former *Wiues*, & to take their *Daughters*, for an aſſurance of loue by the bonds of that *Alliance*; of whom the former was imploied for defence of *Illyricum*, and the other afterwards into *Britaine* againſt the *Rebellions* there raiſed by *Carauſius*, whoſe coine is here ſet.

Eutrop. Signonius. Onuphet.

Pomp. Laet. An. Do. 286. An. Do. 291.

Carauſius a Britaine raiſeth rebellion in An. 28[illegible] Bed. hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(5) This *Carauſius* by birth a *Menapian*, but of low *Parentage*, as *Beda* and *Eutropius* ſaith; who being appointed *Admirall* by the *Romans* to guard the *Britiſh Seas*, from the *Pyracies* of the *Saxons* and *Lower Germans*, who with continuall robberies waſted the coaſts, abuſed his authority both in ſuffering thoſe Pirats to paſſe vnder *Compoſitions*, and in taking many *Shippes* and much ſubſtance from the true *Subiect* to his owne vſe: whereby in ſhort time hee became very rich, and (like a cat ſet to keepe mice from the larder) did more miſchiefe then the *Robbers* themſelues. *Sabellicus* reports, one very politike cuſtome whereby he inriched himſelfe; and that was by ſuffering the Pirats to take as much ſpoiles as poſsibly they could before hee would ſurpriſe them; whereby they were his inſtruments to rob others, and nothing to better themſelues.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(6) *Maximianus* then warring in *Gallia*, and fearing the greatnes of his wealth and power, ſent ſecretly to ſlay him by treacherie; and in the meane while ſurpriſed many of his principall men at * *Geſſoriacum*.

Now called Boleyn in Picardy.

(7) *Carauſius* now rich & compaſſed with friends, ſeeing his deſtruction thus intended and ſought, thought

thought that death was but death as well to *Prince* as to *Peazant:* and therefore with a bold reſolution, and aid of the *Picts* or *Northerne Britaines*, (who had been alwaies enemies to the *Roman Subiection*) put on the *Purple Robe*, and vſurped the Authoritie and Title of *Emperour*, which hee moſt valiantly maintained in ſundry Battles, and ſo kept it for the terme of ſeuen yeeres.

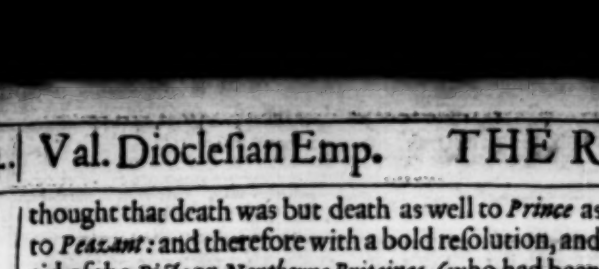
Carauſius defendeth his vſurpation ſeuen yeers. *Maximianus* againſt *Carauſius*.

(8) Againſt him *Maximianus* ſet forward with a puiſſant Armie, and marched to the *Britiſh Ocean:* but there vnderſtanding the power of his *Enemie*, and finding himſelfe in want of men for Sea-ſeruice, hee pitched downe his Tents: and knowing *Carauſius* a man meet to command the *Ilanders*, and able to defend them againſt the other *Warlike Nations*, ſent him offers of peace: the making of which is remembred vnto vs by the *Coine* of *Carauſius* before expreſſed, whereon are ſtamped the *Portraitures of two Emperours* ioining hands. So himſelfe returning againſt the *Batauians*, left *Carauſius* for *Britaine*, who gouerned the *Prouince* with an vpright and vnſtained reputation, and with exceeding peaceableneſſe, notwithſtanding the incurſions of the *Barbarous*. He reedified the wall (as *Ninnius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus* writeth) between the moneths of *Cluda* and *Carunus*, fortifiing the ſame with ſeuen *Caſtles*, and built a round houſe of poliſhed ſtone vpon the banke of the Riuer *Carun*, which (ſome thinke) tooke name of him, erecting therewith a *Triumphall Arch* in remembrance of *Victorie*. Howbeit, *Buchanan* thinkes the ſame to bee the *Temple of Terminus*, and not the foundation of *Carauſius*.

Ninn.

But the date of his noble Gouernment was brought now to a period, by the *Treaſon* of *Allectus* his *Familiar friend*, one whom he had imploied in managing of the *State*, who thirſting after the *Supreme Authoritie*, betraied his truſt, and treacherouſly murdered him by a wile, putting on himſelfe the *Purple-Robe*, ſtamping this his Image vpon the publike *Coine* as an abſolute *Soueraigne*, and aſſuming the *Title Imperiall*, about the yeere of Chriſt 294.

A periſidious friend.



(9) *Conſtantius* who had leuied an Armie, and was come with great ſpeed vnto *Bulloigne* in *France*, (a Towne that *Carauſius* had ſometime fortified and kept) hearing now of his death, determined the recouery of *Britaine*; and after great preparations, at length paſsing the *Seas* in a darke fogge or miſt, landed his men without impeachment: which done, hee fired his owne Ships, therby to fruſtrate all hopes of eſcape. *Allectus*, who had laien to intercept his comming, forſooke alſo the *Seas*, and meeting at vnawares with *Aſclepiodotus*, great *Seneſchall* of the *Prætorium*, as a deſperate man, haſted vpon his owne death: for encountring with him, hee neither ordered his Battle, nor marſhalled his men, but fought at randome very vnfortunately: for hauing put off his *Purple Garment*, he was among many other ſlaine, when hee had held his eſtate the terme of three yeeres.

Allectus ſlaine.

The *Frankners* and others of the *Barbarous Souldiers* eſcaping the Battle, ſought to ſacke *London*, and ſo to be gone: but as good happe was, the *Souldiers* of *Conſtantius*, which by reaſon of a miſtie and foggie aire were ſeuered from the reſt, at vnawares came to *London*, where they reſcued their *Allies*, and making great ſlaughter of the *Enemie*, ſlew *Gallus* their *Leader*, caſting his body into a *Brooke* that then ran thorow the Citie, which thence after was called by the *Britaines Nant-gall*, and by the *Engliſh*, *Gallus his Brooke*, where now a faire Street is built, called (vpon that occaſion) to this day *Walbrooke*.

Walbrooke in *London* of *Gallus*. *Cambden Trinob.*

(10) The deaths of theſe two *Vſurpers*, with the recouerie of the *Britaines* vnto their wonted obedience, was accounted ſo great a benefit to the *Romans*, that it is moſt gloriouſly commended, and Rhetorically ſet downe in a *Panegyricke Oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, in the praiſe of *Diocleſian*, *Maximianus*, and *Conſtantius:* where (after hee had extolled the fertilitie of the *Britiſh Soile*, and the *Riches* that the *Empire* reaped thence) he ſet forth the ſtrength of the *Enemy*, growne to ſo dangerous a head: and concluded with this *Acclamation*; *O what a manifold Victory was this, worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable Triumphs, by which Victorie Britaine is reſtored to the Empire, their Confederates brought to obedience, and the Seas ſecured to a perpetuall quietneſſe! Glory you therefore (inuincible Emperour) for that you haue as it were gotten another World, and in reſtoring to the Romans puiſſance the glory of the Conqueſt by Sea, haue added to the Roman Empire an Element greater then all the compaſſe of the Earth, that is, the mightie maine Ocean it ſelfe: and afterwards now by your Victories (Inuincible Conſtantius Cæſar) whatſoeuer did lie vacant about* Amiens, Beauois, Trois, *and* Langres, *beginneth to flouriſh with Inhabitants of ſundry Nations. Yea and moreouer, that your moſt obedient City* Autum, *for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioice, by meanes of this* Triumphant Victorie *in* Britaine, *hath receiued many and ſundry ſorts of Artizans, of whom thoſe Prouinces were full. And now by their workmanſhip the ſame Citie riſeth vp, by repairing of* Ancient Houſes, *and reſtoring of* Publike Buildings *and* Temples: *ſo that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherly Incorporation to Rome is againe reſtored, when ſhee hath you eſt-ſoones for her Founder.*

Mamertinus Panegyr. Orat.

The Emperours extolled for recouering *Britaine*.

Mamertinus Paneg. Orat.

Many Artificers in *Britaine*.

(11) But leauing *Conſtantius* to be further ſpoken of in his due place, let vs purſue the *Raignes* of theſe two *Tyrants*, who new began the *Perſecutions* of *Gods Saints* in all the parrs of the *Empire*, wherein the rage of *Satan* ſo preuailed, that *ſeuenteene thouſand* men and women were crowned with martyrdome, within the ſpace of one moneth, beſides infinite numbers of ſuch as were otherwiſe puniſhed.

Gildas. Damaſus. Sabellicus.

As in other Countries, ſo heere in *Britaine* the Chriſtians Churches were demoliſhed, their Bibles and other godly writings burned, and themſelues tormented with a more cruell and longer continuance then formerly had beene vſed: for this endured the terme of ten whole yeeres together, leauing no time of intermiſsion, nor place free from the ſtaine of *Martyrs Bloud*.

Euſebius. Beda. Rad. de Diceto.

The Chriſtians torments for ten yeeres together.

And amongſt others, it made *Britaine* to be honored with the glory of many holy *Martyrs*, which conſtantly ſtood and died in the Confeſsion of the Faith; whereof the firſt is reported to bee *Albane* of the City *Verolanium*, who was beheaded at *Holmehurſt* (ſince called *Derſwold*) where now the Towne of *S. Albans* (bearing his name) is built, and in whoſe honour, *Offa* the great King of *Mercia* founded a moſt magnificent *Monaſterie*. Of this *Alban* the ancient *Fortunatus Priſcus* in his booke of the *Praiſe of Virginitie*, maketh mention thus:

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert:
Britaine *fertill of all good,*
Waſht with glorious Albans *blood.*

S. Albane put to death at *Saint Albans*.

(12) His Inſtructor *Amphibolus* afterwards apprehended, was brought to the ſame place, and whipped about a ſtake, whereat his intrailes were tied: ſo winding his bowels out of his body, was laſtly ſtoned to death. Sundry others alſo in other places laid downe their liues for their *Profeſsions* ſake, as *Iulius* and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter*, ſaith *Beda*, or rather at *Caer-leon* in *Monmouth-ſhire*, as our *Grand-Antiquarie* iudgeth: and in *Leichfeild* ſo many, that the place became another *Golgotha*, *A Field of dead Corps*. For which cauſe the Citie doth beare an *Eſcocheon* or *Field* charged with many *Martyrs*, for their *Seale* of *Armes* euen vnto this day.

Amphibole a *Britaine* put to death.

Iulius and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter*.

At *Lichfeild* great multitudes in *Cambden*. Ioh. 19. 17. *Joh. Roſſus Warwicenſ. in lib. de Regibus Angl. Epiſ. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

(13) This *laſt rage* is by *Oroſius* and *Beda* accounted the *Tenth Perſecution* from *Nero*; and by others,

Apoc.13. Dan.7.

the *Tenth Horne* of the *Imperiall* Beaſt, who had receiued his *Power* from the Dragon (the diuel) and *Forme* from thoſe foure *Beaſts* deciphered by the Prophet *Daniel*, whoſe mouth was as the Lyons mouth of *Aſſhur*, his feete like the Beares feete of *Perſia*, his ſpots as the Leopards of *Greece*; and theſe ten hornes taken from the Monſter of the *Grecians* parted kingdome, the *Seleucies* and the *Ptolemies*, called in *Ezekiel*, *Gog* and *Magog*, and here alluded vnto by S. *Iohn*, that thus made battel againſt the Saints. But as thoſe foure Beaſts periſhed and were cruſhed by the fall of *The ſtone cut without hands*, *Emmanuel* borne in our fleſh: ſo this *Beaſt* compounded of them *Foure*, fell in the deſtructions of theſe moſt wicked *Emperors*, whereof all almoſt died ſo vntimely and vnuſuall deaths, as the like is not read of elſewhere.

Ezek.38.2.

The violent deaths of many Emperors.

(14) For ſome *ſlew themſelues*, as *Nero* and *Otho* did; ſome were *ſmothered* to death, as was *Tiberius*; ſome *poiſoned* by their *wiues*, as *Claudius* and *Commodus*; ſome tugged and *torne* in pieces by their own *Subiects* and *Souldiers*, as *Vitellius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*; ſome *ſtabbed* by them whom they moſt *truſted*, as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, *Didius*, *Gallienus*, and many others; ſome *tumultuouſly murthered*, as *Pertinax Seuerus*, *Maximius*, *Æmilius*, and *Probus* were; ſome ſlaine in *battell* and defence of their *titles*, as *Macrinus* and *Gallus*; ſome *hanged themſelues*, as *Gordianus* and *Maximianus* did; ſome *drowned* and *ſwallowed* vp, as *Decius* and *Maxentius* were; ſome ſlaine by a *thunderbolt* from *heauen*, as *Carus* was; ſome died in moſt miſerable *captiuitie*, as *Valerianus* did, whoſe skinne was fleaed off, he yet aliue; ſome cut their owne *veines* and bled to death, as *Quintilius* and *Florianus* did; ſome dying mad, as did this our *Diocleſian*; ſome few, and them ſomewhat fauoring Chriſtians, died in their beds, a thing moſt ſtrange to ſee in theſe times, wherein the *Wrath* of *God* thus fought againſt them in his *Iuſtice*, and the power of his *Goſpell* preached by his *Apoſtles* and *Diſciples*, that as a *Conqueror crowned*, and riding vpon a *White horſe*, bare a *Bow* in his hand, and ſhot the ſharpe *Arrowes* of death into the *hearts of theſe the Kings enemies*, as in the opening of the *Firſt Seale* is ſeene; and in the *Second* is deſcribed and made manifeſt by a *Red Horſe* prepared for *Battell*, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Bright ſword*, and had commiſsion *To take peace from the earth*; which moſt effectually wee haue ſeene performed in moſt of theſe preceding *Emperours*. And as *Famine* in great *Warres* is not greatly ſtrange; ſo *Scarſitie* exceeding *Plentie*, was ſeene vnder the opening of the *Third Seale*; whence a *Blacke horſe* ſent from *God*, paſed through the earth, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Ballance* to weigh *Corne*, as it were *Spice*, for dearth: and in the raigne of this laſt Tyrant *Diocleſian*, they that had *Eagles* eies might ſee the threefold iudgements of *God* in the opening of the *Fourth Seale*, when *Sword*, *Famine*, & *Death* went all together as a pale-horſe, ſent from the preſence of the *Lamb*, whoſe rider was *Death* and *Hell*, following as his *Page*. Theſe were the times of calamities, whē as the *Soules* of the righteous in the opening of the *Fifth Seale*, cried for vengeance *for the bloud of the Martyrs*, whom theſe ten hornes had gored to death: and vnder the *Sixth Seale*, both then, and for euer the wicked are ſaid to call for the *Mountaines to fall vpon them*, and for *the rockes to hide them* from the preſence of *Him* that ſate vpon the *Throne*, and from the wrath of the *Lambe*, before whom none could ſtand.

Pſal.45.5.
The firſt Seale.
Apoc.6.
The ſecond Seale.
The third Seale.
The fourth Seale.
The fifth Seale.
The ſixth Seale.

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the *Curtaines* of *Gods* moſt ſacred *Tabernacle*, to behold the *Mercy-ſeate* of his diuine *Myſteries* in the accompliſhments of theſe holy *Oracles*, when as they who haue worne the *Ephod*, and in whoſe hand *Aarons Rod* hath *Budded*, with a religious reuerence haue feared to look into the ſame? Therefore with the charge of *Ioſhua* I will not approach neere the *Arke*, and with *Iobs hearers* will *Lay my hand on my mouth*, and returne to the proſecution of my purpoſe.

Exod.39. Numb.17. Ioſh.3.4. Iob 29.9.

(15) It was the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, in the month of March, when this Tyrant ſent forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; That all churches ſhould bee vtterly ouerthrowne; that the Scriptures ſhould be burnt; that all Chriſtians for honour ſhould bee held infamous, and all Chriſtian ſeruants ſhould bee vncapeable of freedome; that all Paſtors ſhould be enforced to offer to Idols, &c.

Euſeb.eccleſ.hiſt. lib.8.cap.1.2.

(16) The fountaine & chiefe cauſe of theſe miſeries lighting on the Church of Chriſt, did ariſe from the Chriſtians themſelues, as *Euſebius* in theſe words declareth: *After that our conuerſation through too much libertie and licentiouſneſſe was degenerated, and holy diſcipline corrupted, whiles euery one of vs did enuie, bite, and backbite each other, waging inteſtine warres within our ſelues, and piercing one anothers hearts with the ſharpe ſpeares of opprobrious words; ſo that Biſhops againſt Biſhops, and people againſt people were at bitter contention. Laſtly, whiles nothing but hypocriſie was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby miſchiefe was euen full at the brimme, then began the heauy hand of God to viſit vs, &c.* Where he proceedeth and ſheweth that the greeuous ſinnes of the Chriſtians, was the cauſe of drawing downe theſe iudgements on their heads.

Euſeb.hiſt.eccleſ. lib.8.cap.1.

(17) And ſo this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Inſtrument and *Iron-threſhing-flaile*, to bruiſe the precious wheat and ſeed of the *Goſpell*, and to cruſh that outward glory of the *Chriſtian profeſsion*, which then was flouriſhing in moſt parts of the world.

Amos 1.3.

(18) But long the *Lord* deferred not their releaſe nor that *Tyrants* end. For after the *Firſt yeere* of their perſecutions, and twentith of his *Raigne*, the thirteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuitie three hundred and three, hee with his *Fellow Emperor* (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, ſtricken with a mad humor (ſaith *Euſebius*) renounced the Empire, and deſcending from the Tribunall put off their *Purple* and *Imperiall* robes, whereby they againe became *Priuat* men.

Euſeb.eccleſ.hiſt. lib.8.cap.13.

(19) *Diocleſian* retired into *Dalmatia*, where in the *Citie Salonia*, hee poiſoned himſelfe, as *Aurelius Victor* affirmeth: and *Euſebius* ſaith, that no ſmall diſeaſe ouertooke him, for that hee died mad. His conſort *Maximianus* eſcaped not vnpuniſhed, but died for attempting the *Murther* of *Conſtantius*, and as *Euſebius* auoucheth, hee hanged himſelfe in the citie *Marſillis*: ſuch ignominious deaths followed theſe two perſecuting *Tyrants*, whereof *Diocleſian* had formerly made himſelfe a *God*, and by an *Edict* commanded his *Foote* to bee kiſſed: a practiſe pretily ſince imitated by his *Succeſſors*, who haue reuiued the wounded *Head* of the *Beaſt*, and haue trod his ſteppes in wounding and perſecuting the true members of Chriſt.

Euſeb.eccleſ.hiſt. lib.8.cap.14.

Fox Act.pag.119. & 123. Euſeb.eccleſ.hiſt. lib.8.cap.9.

Diocleſians practiſe. The Pope an imitator of his, and not of Chriſt.

FLAV. VALER. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS, C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

Chapter XLV.

Constantius, Chlorus, Emp.

G. Val. Maximianus, Emp.

Diocleſian and Maximianus reſigned vp the Empire the 9. Cal. of May, in the yeere of Chriſt 304.

Galerius and *Conſtantius* Empe-rors.

The Chriſtians inioy peace.

Diocleſian and *Maximianus* reſigning vp their *Soueraignties* (as is ſaid) at the *Citie Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, cõmitted the charge thereof, and the defence of the *Common-weale* vnto *Gallerius* and *Conſtantius*, who had been their Cæſars: vpon which occaſion, great peace followed in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and moſt eſpecially vnto theſe *Weſterne Prouinces*. For thoſe *Emperors* confirmed by the *Senate*, preſently diuided the *Empire* betwixt them, as two *Seuerall Eſtates*, and not ſubiect to one *Gouernment*, as formerly had been exerciſed; which (as *Euſebius* hath noted) was the fatall end of the Imperiall Glory.

(2) Vnto *Gallerius* fell the gouernment of *Sclauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Egypt*, and the Prouinces in *Aſia*, who tooke for eaſe of that burden theſe two, whoſe Coines we haue here expreſſed.

Maximinus and *Severus* made Cæſars.

(2) *C. Galerius, Valer. Maximinus*, and *Aurel. Valer. Seuerus* his ſiſters ſonnes, whom in the yeere of Chriſt three hundred and ſix, hee elected Cæſars, and after *Auguſti*; which honours the laſt enioied not long, for he was ſlaine at *Rome* by the treachery of *Maxentius*, after one yeere. And the other, when he had foure yeeres gouerned as Cæſar, and three as *Auguſtus* in the Eaſt, died at *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*.

(3) And to the lot of *Conſtantius*, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his ſonne *Conſtantine*, (ſo famous in chriſtian hiſtorie) Cæſar, fell *Italy*, *France*, *Britannie*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and moſt of the Prouinces in *Africke*: which ſeeming to him (who rather choſe to gouerne well then much) too ſpatious, gaue vp to *Gallerius* all that in *Africke*, as too remote from the Seat of his reſidence, and eie of his direction.

Conſtantine the Great elected Cæſar.

(4) This good Emperor was for his *Palenеſſe* ſurnamed *Chlorus*, by birth a *Roman*, his *Father* named *Eutropius*, his *Mother Claudia*, Neece to the *Emperor Claudius*. Himſelfe had attained the dignitie of a *Senator*, and was both *Wiſe*, *Valiant*, *Noble*, and *Vertuous*; whoſe parts *Euſebius* doth thus commend.

Conſtantius was a man of ſingular clemencie towards men, and pietie towards God. He did not partake with him in crueltie, whoſe partaker he was in Soueraignтie: neither ſtaining his Raigne with the bloud of the Saints, nor deſtroying our Churches and places of Praier, as Maximianus furiouſly did; but rather he reuerenced and highly honoured thoſe who truly honoured God. For which God ſo bleſſed him, that this godly Father left a more godly Sonne Conſtantine, the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

Euſeb. eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.

(5) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that he was of great affabilitie, louing, and gentle, little regarding his *Priuate Profit*, but altogether raigning to inrich his *Subiects*, and to that end would often ſay; *That it was more behouefull for the Weale publike, that the wealth of the Land ſhould bee diſperſed into the commons hands, then to lie locked vp in Princes coffers.* In which kind, ſo auerſe he was from all ſuperfluities, that hee may be adiudged faulty the other way: for vpon *Feaſtiuall daies*, and in his *Entertainments* of *Strangers*, he was faine to borrow *Plate* of his friends (for ſuch many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furniſh his *Table* and *Cupbords*.

Pomp. Lætus.

(6) But aboue all other vertues, was his louing countenance

countenance and protection to the late persecuted *Christians*, making his *Court* their *Sanctuarie*, and his *Chapell* their *Oratorie*. And to winnow the *Chaffe* from the *Wheat*, he vsed the like policie as *Iehu* King of *Israel* sometime had done against the *Priests* of *Baal*. For he commanded all his *Officers* to offer sacrifice to the *Idoll-Gods*, pretending to dis-court all such as refused: but contrariwise those that obeied hee put from him, with this reproofe, that *hee who is disloyall to his God, will neuer be true nor trustie to his Prince.*

2. Kin. 10. 20.

Constantius policie to trie who were true Christians.

(7) When he was first made *Cæsar*, he was forced to forsake his first wife *Helena*, by whom hee had his vertuous sonne *Constantine*, and to take *Theodora* daughter in Law to *Maximianus*, for a further confirmation of friendship.

Constantius his wiues.

(8) *Helena* by birth was a *Britaine*, the daughter of *Cælus* a *British Prince*, as saith *Eutropius*, though *Nicephorus* make her of *Bithynia*, and *Beda* tearmes her his *Concubine*, some an *Inne-holder*, and others for her person and parentage stand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let vs heare the censure of *Times Chiefe Secretarie*, the learned *Cambden* in his *Britannia*: *Constantius* (saith hee) *what time hee serued in Britaine vnder* Aurelian, *tooke to wife* Helena *daughter of* Cœlus *or* Cœlius *a British Prince, on whom he begat that noble* Constantine the Great *in* Britaine; *for so (together with that great* Historiographer Baronius) *the common opinion of all other Writers with one consent beare witnesse, vnlesse it bee one or two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and those dissenting one from the other; and a very learned man, grounding vpon a corrupt place of* Iul. Firmicus. *Howbeit, compelled he was by* Maximianus *to put her away, for to marry* Theodora *his daughter. This is that* Helena *which in Antique Inscriptions is called* VENERABILIS *and* PIISSIMA AVGVSTA, *and for Christian Pietie, for cleansing* Ierusalem *of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord suffred, and for finding the sauing Crosse, is so highly commended of Ecclesiasticall Writers.*

Eutropius.

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 8. Holinsh. Chron. lib. 4. cap 26. Cambd. Brit. pa. 74

Baronius.

And yet both *Iewes* and *Gentiles* termed her by way of ignominie and reproch, *Stabularia*, because shee (a most godly Princesse) sought out the *Cribbe* or *Manger* where Christ was borne: and in that place where stood that *Hostelry*, founded a Church; for which cause she was by the Enemies of *Christian Religion* called an *Hostesse*, and (because such are commonly kind to their Guests) a *Concubine* also. For whose defense, let the *Funerall Oration* of *Ambrose*, made vpon the death of *Theodosius*, answer, wherein hee doth rather commend her humilitie, then affirme any such base Offices in contempt of her person.

A Church builded by *Helena* in the place where our Sauiour suffred.

They say that this Lady was at first an Inne-holder or Hostesse, &c. Well (saith he) *this good Hostesse* Helena *hasted to* Ierusalem, *and sought out the place of our Lords Passion, and made diligent search for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hostesse was not ignorant of that Guest which cured the way-faring mans hurts, that was wounded by Theeues. This good Hostesse chose to be reputed a Stable-sweeper, that she might thereby gaine Christ.*

Helena buildeth another Church where the Inne stood in which our Sauiour was laid in a Cratch.

Ambrose his Oration vpon *Theodosius.*

And verily she was the mouer and only worker of her husbands conuersion, who casting off all superstitious worships, willingly acknowledged the onely all-ruling God, suffering the Christians that had beene hidde in Caues and Dennes, now to exercise their Deuotions publikely, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

(9) Of the like Pietie wee reade in a Queene of the like name, *Helena*, Queene of *Adiabena* (commended by *Iosephus*) that was a Conuert to the *Iewish Religion*, who comming to *Ierusalem* to visit the Temple in time of a greeuous Famine, which happened in the daies of *Claudius*, sent to *Alexandria* for great quantity of *Corne*, and for *Dried Figges* from *Cyprus*, which shee very charitably bestowed vpon the poore. And about three stades or furlongs off from *Ierusalem*, built a *Sepulcher* with three *Pyramides*, wherein her selfe and her two sonnes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 3. Helena Queene of *Adiabena* a vertuous woman also.

(10) *Constantius* being heere in *Britaine*, and lately returned from his *Expedition* made against the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, fell sicke in the City of *Yorke*, where the *Imperiall Throne* of his residence was set. At which very time, *Constantine* his sonne escaping the hands of *Gallerius*, (with whom hee had beene left hostage) hasted from *Rome*, hauing belaid all the way with Post-horses for the purpose, and left them houghed for feare of pursuit, came with all speed to *Yorke*, and to his fathers presence; who so much ioied at his sight, that he sate himselfe vpright vpon his Bed, and in the presence of his Counsellors spake as followeth:

Constantine escapeth *Galerius.*

His preuenting pursuit.

He commeth safe to *Yorke* to his father.

(11) "It now sufficeth, and death is not fear-
"full, seeing I shall leaue my vnaccomplished actions
"to be performed in thee my *Sonne*, in whose person
"I doubt not but that my *Memoriall* shalbe retained,
"as in a *Monument* of succeeding fame. What I had
"intended, but by this my fatall period left vndone,
"see thou performe: let those fruits bee ripened in
"thee the *Branch*, that I thy *Stocke* from a vertuous
"intent haue had ingraffed alwaies in me: that is, go-
"uerne thy *Empire* with an vpright *Iustice*; protect
"the *Innocent* from the *Tyrannie* of *Oppressours*; and
"wipe away all teares from the eies of the *Christians*;
"for therein, aboue all other things, I haue accoun-
"ted my selfe the most happy. To thee therefore I
"leaue my *Diademe*, and their *Defense*, taking my
"*Faults* with mee to my *Graue*, there to be buried in
"euerlasting obliuion: but leauing my *Vertues* (if e-
"uer I had any) to reuiue and liue in thee. With con-
clusion of which vertuous counsell, hee tooke his last farewell of his sonne, his friends, and his life, after he had sate *Cæsar* sixteene yeeres, and *Emperour* two, as *Eusebius* accounteth, and died the fiue and twentieth day of *Iuly*, the yeere of our *Sauiour* three hundred and six, and of his owne age fifty six.

Constantius his raigne & death. *Pomp. Lætus. Socrates Eccl. Lib. 1. cap. 2.*

FLA. VALE-

FLA. VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS.

CA. VALERIVS LICINIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Val. Constant. Emp.

Licin. Licinianus Emp.

An. Do. 306.

THE Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably, in the presence of his Son and sage counsellers, the griefe in the losse of the Sire was no greater then was the ioy conceiued that they had gained the sonne for his Successour, all men reioicing at the good fortune of that iourney, wherein hee came to close the eies of his dying father, and to comfort the sorrow of his mournefull Countrey-men. For forthwith heere in *Britaine* by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and aduice of *Erocus* King of the *Almans* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from *Rome*) they proclaimed him at all hands Emperour, and Successour to all that part of the world which his father held. This election was ioifully ratified by the *Senate*, and of all other Prouinces so gladly accepted, that they accounted this Iland most happie of all other, whose chance was first to see him their *Cæsar*, as in these words of the *Panegyrist* is seene: *O fortunate Britaine, and more happie then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of Constantine Cæsar.*

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 14.

Socrat. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Panegyricke Oration vnto *Constantine* the great.

(2) His birth (as is said) was in *Britaine*, and honourably descended, his father a *Roman Senatour*, *Cæsar*, and *Emperor*; his mother a *Britaine*, (daughter to *Cælus*) a *Princesse* vertuous, wise, chaste, and religious: himselfe in true *Pietie* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance he pursued the reliques of the *warre* which his father had begunne against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the *Britains* that were more remote, and *Inhabitants* of those *Ilands* that are witnesses (saith one) of the Sunnes set or going downe

Eutropius. *Constantines* descent.

Euseb. in vita Constantini.

(3) *Maxentius* the sonne of *Maximianus Herculius*, who at the death of *Constantius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Prætorian Souldiers* at *Rome*, and *Romulus* his sonne (whose face wee haue heere with his fathers from both their monies expressed) was created his *Cæsar* (the way to that Seat of Maiestie whereunto hee had too hastily and most vnduly climed) for now this *Vsurper* by his *Necromancies*, *Adulteries*, *Persecutions*, and *Murders*, was growne so vntolerable and odious, that the *Senate* sent to *Constantine*, crauing his aid and redresse; who sore lamenting the sores of the *Empire*, and the case of the *Christians*, first wrote: but that taking no effect, prepared his forces against *Maxentius*.

Sabellicus.

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretence, (which by the sequell is more probable) tooke great offense at his sonne *Maxentius* vnsufferable outragiousnesse; and vnder colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in Law *Constantine*, whose daughter *Fausta* hee had maried, and notwithstanding his faire pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly he tampered with *Fausta* to make away her husband. But the good Lady well knowing that the bond of a childe is great, but greater the loue of a wife, reuealed his treacherie to *Constantine*, who caused him therupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloudy a *Tyrant*. And ripe was the like destiny for his no-way-degenerating sonne, against whom hee prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinius* Gouernour of *Sclauonia*, who was made *Cæsar*, to his side, by giuing him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinarie descent, though *Gallienus Maximinus* had made him in *Illyrica* his Copartner in the East) hasted towards *Rome* with an Host of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; leuied out of *Britaine*, *France*, and *Germanie*.

Maximianus put to death by *Constantine*.

(4) But knowing well that successe in warre dependeth more in diuine assistance then humane strength, yet doubtfull what *God* hee should in this blessed enterprise inuocate for aid, (for as yet he was not fully setled in the Christian Faith, though the *Gods* of the *Gentiles* he obserued altogether deceitfull) cast vp in this his holy meditation his eies *Eastward* to heauen, and had by diuine ordinance presented to him in obiect the signe of a Crosse, wherein were Starres (as letters) so placed, that visiblie might bee read this sentence in Greeke, IN HOC VINCE, as diuers Authors report.

Niceph. li. 7. c. 29. Eutropius lib. 11. Zosim. lib. 1. ca 5. Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 2. Vrspurgens. Chron. Paul. Diac. li. 11.

Yet are there some frō the testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, vnto whom this blessed man did declare his *Vision*, that affirme this forme being the first *Greeke Characters* of the name of *Christ*, (to which the reuerse of *Decentius* hereafter expressed, as of many others, may adde much probabilitie) rather then either of these, although *Tertullian* and *S. Ierome* affirme, that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Sauiour died: but this as a question beyond my iudgement or intention, I leaue to those learned Diuines and others, who haue laboured in that subiect with curious search.

Eusebius.

The forme of the Crosse.

Tertull. against *Marcion, li. 3. Hieron. in Ezech. cap. 9. Reynolds* conference with *Hart, cap. 3. Martial.* of the Crosse. *Harpsfield*, Dialogue 4. *Lipsius de Cruce.*

Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 9. cap. 9. Sabellicus.

(5) This miraculous signe promising *Victory*, and that (saith *Eusebius*) not in an *Inscription* only, but by voice of *Angels*, was so comfortable to *Constantine*, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him and his victorious Army, in place of the Imperiall Standard, the forme of this vision imbrodered with gold and stones of greatest price. And as one armed from heauen, proceeded against his hellish aduersarie.

Constantines repole.

Pomp. Lætus. Maxentius trusteth to Sorcerers. Sabellicus.

Maxentius as much depending vpon his Sorcerers, was no lesse assured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a stratagem of warre, hee framed a deceitfull *Bridge* ouer the riuer *Tyber*, neere to *Pons Miluius*, to intrap *Constantine*: but ioyning battell, and ouerlaid with strokes, retired and fled, and (whether for haste, or through forgetfulnesse) tooke ouer the same *Bridge*, which suddenly failing vnder him, hee was with many more drowned, and *Constantine* remained *Victor*. In memory whereof, hee caused a triumphall Arch to be erected in the midst of *Rome*, wherein his *Statue* was imbossed, holding in his *Right hand* a *Crosse*; according to the fashion of that which hee had seene in the heauens: and vpon ancient inscription in memory of this *Victory*, this we finde engrauen: INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO, TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE, VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMP. VLTVS EST ARMIS. Thus: *By instinct of the diuine power, with great magnanimitie and helpe of his armie in a lawfull warre, he reuenged the cause of the common wealth, as well on the Tyrant himselfe, as on his whole faction all at once.* With the like successe had he warred against the *Frankners* in *Batauia*, whose *Victorie* was likewise stamped in gold, wherein is a *Woman* sitting vnder a *Trophey*, and leaning her head vpon a *Crosse-bowe*, with this inscription, FRANCIA.

An inscription made in memory of Maxentius ouerthrow.

The memoriall of his victorie ouer the Frankners. Cambd. Brit.

(6) But as his fame increased in the mindes of most, so was it as much maligned by *Licinius* his fellow Emperour and Brother in *Law*; who in his heart neuer fauoured the *Christians*, howsoeuer for a time outwardly hee suffered their *Religion*: but at last, seeking occasions against *Constantine*, hee raised a cruell *Persecution* in the East, where he raigned with *Martinianus*, whom at *Byzantium*, and *Iulius Licinius Licinianus* at *Arlas*, he had before made *Cæsars*: permitting thē to stampe these monies as marks of Soueraigntie.

(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he inforced this Champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, with which hee met *Licinius* in *Hungarie*, where he gaue him a great ouerthrow. But hee escaping to *Byzantium* in *Asia*, the lesse, ioyned againe battell, and was there taken *Prisoner*: yet by the mediation of his wife *Constantia*, had his life spared, and was confined within the citie *Nicomedia*; where for his treasons afterwards, he and his sonne *Licinianus*, that somewhat suruiued him, were put to death. And now the peace of *Gods Saints* manifestlie appeared, and the progresse of the Gospell passed vntroubled.

Licinius put to death at *Nicomedia*, and his sonne after, *Anno* 326.

(8) *For now* (saith our *Gyldas*) *no sooner was the blasting tempest and storme of Persecution blowne ouer, but the faithfull Christians, who in time of trouble and danger, had hidden themselues in woods and deserts, and in secret caues, being come abroad to open sight, reedified the Churches ruinated to the very ground. The Temples of holie Martyrs they founded, and erected (as it were) the Banners of victory in euery place, celebrating festiuall holy daies, and with pure hearts and mouthes performing the sacred ceremonies:* for the which blessednesse, he euer after had the Attributes ascribed vnto him of *most blessed Emperour, most pious, happy Redeemer of Romes Citie, Founder of Peace, Restorer of Rome, and of the whole World, most great, inuincible Augustus, Sacred, Diuine, and of sacred memory, &c.* Howbeit, for admitting these praises, as it should seeme, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Victor* of pride; as also crueltie for putting to death *Crispus* his sonne (by *Mineruina* his concubine, whom hee had made *Cæsar*, and permitted to stampe these monies here vnder inserted) as likewise his wife *Fausta*, sister to *Maxentius*: but others affirme that the causes of their deaths were iust, though (as *Paulus Orosius* saith) the reason thereof was kept secret, and *Zosimus* doth therein excuse him as *Cassiodore* relateth, and so doth *Rufinus* and *Eusebius*.

Sigonius.

In hist. tripart.

(9) Touching *Constantius* affaires in this *Iland*, it appeareth by the last Author, that after his *Fathers* death, and his owne departure out of this Country, some aspiring mind taking aduantage of his absence, in other warres, perswaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Whereupon once againe he addressed himselfe with his *Armie* to the reestablishing of the *Ilands* subiection: and passing (saith *Eusebius*) ouer into *Britaine*, inclosed on euery side within the banks of the *Ocean*, he conquered the same. The ioyfull memory of this expedition is registred to posteritie vpon his Coine set in the entrance of this Chapter, inscribed *Aduentus Augusti*, and by these Letters, *P. L. N.* the place of the Mint to be at *London*.

Eusebius.

(10) *After this* (saith the same Author) *he began to compasse in his mind other parts of the World, to the end hee might come in time to succour those that wanted helpe: and when he had furnished his Armie with milde and modest instructions of Pietie, hee inuaded* Britaine, *that hee might likewise instruct those that dwell inuironed round about with the waues of the Ocean: bounding the Suns setting as it were with those coasts.* And of the Politicall gouernment therein by him altered, let it not seeme offensiue that I, who know and professe mine owne weake sight in most of these matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the *Bright-shining Lampe* of that Illustrious *Antiquarie*, who saith:

Cambden in his Britannia.

(11) *About this time* (saith he) *as euidently appeareth by the Code of Theodosius, Pacatianus was the Vicegerent of Britaine: for by this time the Prouince had no more Propretors, nor Lieutenants, but in stead thereof, was a Vicegerent substituted.* And againe, *Seeing that Constantius altered the forme of the Roman Gouernment, it shall not be impertinent to note summarily in what sort Britaine was ruled vnder him; and in the next succeeding ages.*

He ordained foure Præfects of the Pretorian, to wit, of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaule: two Leaders or Commanders of the forces, the one of footemen, the other of horsemen in the West, whom they tearmed Præsentales. For ciuill gouernment there ruled Britaine, the Præfect of the Pretorium or Grand Seneschall in Gaule, and vnder him the Vicar Generall of Britaine, who was his Vicegerent, and honoured with the title, Spectabilis; *that is, notable or remarkable: him obeied respectiuely to the number of the Prouinces two Consular deputies, and three Presidents; who had the hearing of ciuill and criminall causes.*

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Commander

mander of the footemen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earles or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Saxon coast along Britaine; and he Duke of Britaine, stiled euery one Spectabilis.

The Earle Lieutenant of Britaine seemeth to haue ruled the Inland parts of the Iland, who had with him seuen companies of footmen, and nine coronets or troopes of horse.

Amianus Marcill.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast, who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, and is named by Amianus Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Sea coast, had seuen companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke or Generall of Britaine, who defended the Marches against the Barbarians, had the command of thirty and eight garrison forts, wherein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, & nine hundred horse.

Nineteene thousand foote and seuenteene hundred horsemen maintained in ordinary in Britaine.

So that in those daies (by Pancirolus account) Britaine maintained nineteene thousand, two hundred footmen, and seuenteene hundred horsemen, or thereabout in ordinary.

Besides all these, the receiuer of the Emperors Finances or publike reuenewes: the Pronost of the Emperors Treasures in Britaine, and the Procurator of the Draperie in Britaine; in the which the clothes of the Prince and Souldiers were Wouen: and the Count also of priuate reuenewes had his Rationall or Auditor of priuat State in Britaine: to say nothing of the sword-fence-schoole Procurator in Britaine (whereof an old inscription maketh mention) and of other officers of inferior degrees.

(12) After the setling of these affaires, to the end that he might with the more facilitie bridle the vntamed *Persians* that seldome were in quiet, he remoued the Imperiall seat of his Residence into the East, for now *Gallerius* and *Licinius* both dead, the rent and diuided state of the Roman Empire was in him vnited: and purposing to build there a Citie, as an eternall *Monument* of his name, he chose the plot at *Chalcedon* in *Asia*: but whiles they were measuring out the circuit, an *Eagle* scouping at the *Line*, fled with it ouer the *Sea* towards *Byzantium* in *Thracia*, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most *Magnificent Citie*, naming it *New Rome*) as appeareth by an inscription of his *Statue*). In imitation whereof, he circulated *Seuen hils* with a *Wall* for *Height*, *Thicknesse*, and *Beauty*, the fairest in the world: and not only erected *Temples*, *Towers*, and most stately *Palaces* himselfe, but by his publike *Edicts*, cõmanded all the *Princes* of the *Empire* to raise therein some Monuments & memorable Edifices, beseeming the *Maiesty* of so glorious a foundatiõ.

Sabellicus.

A Iewish Doctor thus described this Citie, in an epistle which himselfe deliuered to our *English* Ambassador, remaining in *Constantinople* in *Anno* 1594.

(13) Hither also from *Rome* hee caused to bee brought many renowned Monuments of *Antiquities*, as the famous *Goddesse Pallas* of old *Troy*, the *Image* of *Apollo* in brasse of an vnmeasurable bignesse; the *Statues* of *Iuno*, *Minerua*, *Venus*, and the like: whereupon *Hierome* saith; That *Constantine* to inrich this one *Citie*, impouerished all others in the Empire: and other *Writers* which saw it in the perfectiõ of beauty, report it to be rather an habitation for the *Gods*, thẽ the dwelling place for *Earthly men*. Herein also (so studious was he of good Arts) was built the Proud *Palace* of that *Publike Library*, wherein were contained one hundred twenty thousand of the chiefest *Written Bookes*, and in the midst thereof were the *Guts* of a *Dragon*, in length one hundred twenty *Foote*, on which was admirably written in *Letters* of *Gold*, the *Iliads of Homer*. The *New Name* of this new Citie lasted not long; for the affection of all men to the Founder, afforded it rather the name of *Constantinople*. As a trophey then of this Emperours renowne, though now a brand of infamie to another of that name, who lost it in the yeere 1452. to *Mahomet* the Turke: and as *New Rome* was reared and ruined in one name, so had *Old Rome* in *Augustus* her pitch of height, and in *Augustulus* her period.

Hier. in his additions to Eusebius.

Constantinople built by Constantine.

(14) He drew likewise hither those *Legions* that lay for defence of the *Prouinces*, as well in *Germany* and *Gallia*, as in *Britaine*: from whence *hee brought* (*saith Malmesbury*) *a great power of British Souldiers, through whose industry and forward seruice, hauing obtained Triumphant Victories to his hearts desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were past seruice, and had performed the painefull parts of Souldiers their full time, he planted in a certain part of Gaule Westward, vpon the very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posterity remaining, are wonderfully growen euen to a mightie people; in manners & language somewhat degenerate from our Britaines.*

Wil. Malmsbury.

In which his doings, he laid open the *Prouinces* to the irruptions of their *Enemies*; and is therefore by *Zosimus* hardly censured, as being the onely man that by this meanes first subuerted the flourishing estate of the *Empire*. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of *Britaine*, the *Picts* and other their wonted *Enemies* had the bolder and easier entrance into the more ciuill parts of this *Iland*; whereby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the *Romans*, it became a pray of *Conquest* to the *Saxons*, as shall be shewed in due place.

(15) But howsoeuer his policie failed (carried (as it seemeth) by a *Diuine* inspiration to leaue *Rome*) yet is this good *Emperour* much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee so laid the foundation of the *Christians* securitie, that the same hath stood vnder the protection of *Princes* euer since, euen vnto this day. And albeit that many *Cæsars* his successors, haue often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the sharpe instruments of heretikes dangerously haue vndermined it, yet hath it borne out the *Stormes* of all their boisterous assaies, and stood in the strength that this *Emperor* first laid it.

Constantine the establisher of Christianity.

(16) And vpon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregated *three hundred and eighteene Christian Bishops* in the Citie *Nice* in *Thracia*, where himself was present, and also President of the same Councel (though now his Beadsmen (the Popes) put him & his Successors from that right) and as another *Moses*, he then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the *Bishops* for the godly gouernment of the *Church* in that *Primitiue age*.

Ambrose vpon the death of *Theo.*

Rufinus. Cassiod. Eusebius eccles. hist. Lib.

(17) But as the cleerest *Sunne* hath his set, and the fairest day his night, so *Constantines glorious life* drew to an end, though his liuing-glory shall be endlesse: for intending a voyage against the *Persians*, hee fell grieuously sicke, and counselled by his *Physitions* to be carried vnto *Nicomedia*, a *Citie* in *Bythinia*, to the *Hot Bathes* that naturally there sprang (which caused some erroneously to write that he became a *Leaper*) he died on the way neere to the place, and in great deuotion commended his departing Soule to his *Crucified Redeemer*, *Maij* 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirty seuen, and of his happy victorious raigne thirty one, and of his age sixty fiue; whose body was interred at *Constantinople*, in the Church of the Apostles that himselfe had therein founded.

Hieronymus.

Eusebius. Sigonius. Constantine buried at *Constantinople. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 26.*

(18) *Eusebius* writing this good *Emperors* life, saith, that he deferred his *Baptisme* vntill his old age, in desire that he might receiue it in *Iordayne*, where our *Sauiour* himselfe was baptised. Yet others thinke that he was baptised with his *Son Crispus*, what time he created him his *Cæsar*: for the Celebration whereof, hee caused a most sumptuous *Font* to be made in *Rome*; which *Platina* & *Sabellicus* affirme to haue continued to their times. And the ingenuity of the same *Sabellicus* is much to be approued, in that speaking of *Constantines Donation*, which some so much vaunt of (though the vanity of that forgery is now laid open to the view of all by sundry learned men) he acknowledgeth (himselfe being a Romanist) that he findeth no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient Records which he followed, and so leaueth it to the Patronage of those Craftsmen, out of whose forges it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the *Empire* as *Augusti*, (with distaste of the eldest) his three *Sonnes*, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constance*, whom before he had made *Cæsars*, & designed by Testamẽt, *Delmatius*, the son of *Anniballinus*, (his brother) *Cæsar*: and therefore we haue inserted his mony in ranke of those that succeeded this great & glorious *Emperor*.

Eusebius in vita Const. lib. 4.

Sabellicus.

Constantines successors.

FLA. VAL.

FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS,
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS,
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS, } Emp.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Constantinus Iunior Emp. *Val. Constans* Emp.

Iul. Constantius Emp. *Delmatius Annibalianus* Emp.

An. Do. 337.

FOR the *Empire* being diuided among these *Brethren*, *Constantinus* the eldest, whose portion was *Britaine*, *France*, *Spaine*, and part of *Germanie*, tooke himselfe wronged in this partition; whereas *Constans* his second brother had *Italie*, *Africa*, *Sclauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece*; and *Constantius* the youngest possessed *Thracia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*, Prouinces much greater in his sight, then his owne seemed to bee; and therefore at last ambitiously hee attempted to inlarge his vpon the Frontiers of his brother *Constans*, at that time in *Dacia*, and in warres against the *Gothes*, who there also inuaded his territories, but was met with and slaine by a Captaine of his brothers, neere to the Citie *Aquileia* in *Italie*, when he had held his *Seigniories* the terme of three yeeres.

Constantinus his part of the Empire.

Constans his part of the Empire.

Constantius his part of the Empire.

Constantinus slaine. *Socrates lib. 2. c. 3.*

(2) Hereupon *Constans* grew exceedingly proud, and seising his deceased brothers *Prouinces*, ioined them vnto his owne *Possessions*, and with his brother *Constantius* came into this *Iland*. This Battle, and their arriuall heere, by the words of *Iulius Firmius*, chanced in the winter season: for (saith hee, speaking to these *Emperours*) *you haue subdued vnder your Oares the swelling and raging waues of the British Ocean, euen in the deepe of Winter; a thing hitherto neuer seene before.* And the *Britaines* were sore afraid to behold the vnexpected face of their *Emperour*. This *Constans* was he that called a Councell to *Sardica* against the *Arrians*, whither were assembled *three hundred Bishops*, and among them, some of the *British*, as formerly we haue mentioned. But this Prince being youthfull, cast away all care of the *Empire*; and drowned in his owne pleasures, followed ill counsell, (the vsuall way to Princes ruines.) Thus growne greeuous to the *Prouinces*, and nothing acceptable to the *Souldiers*, was by

Cassiod. trip. Miss.

A Councell against the Arrians called by Constans.

Magnentius a Captaine of his owne slaine, as hee was hunting neere the Castle of *S. Helens*, situate amongst the *Tapori*, a *Spanish* people vnder the *Pyren Mountaines*. And as hence this *Murderer* of his *Soueraigne Lord* and *Master*, was branded with the name of *Taporus*, so in this *Emperour* there murdered was fulfilled a Prophecie that hee should die in his Grandmothers Lappe.

Constans slaine.

Amianus. l. 20. c. 1.

Olympias the Widow of this *Constans* was giuen to *Arsaces* King of *Armenia*, by *Constantius* his brother, to be a bond and purchase of his surer friendship, of which his need was much, as the times required: for after the death of *Constance*, *Vetranio* was proclaimed Emperour by the *Pannonian Armie*, though shortly disrobed, and sent to end his decrepit age in a priuate fortune. *Nepohanus* the nephew of *Constans* by his sister *Eutropia*, was at *Rome* by the abiect *Rout* saluted *Augustus*, which he enioied not much aboue twentie daies, being suppressed by *Magnentius*, who had now made the truncke of Maiestie, his Soueraignes bodie, the *Basse*, whereby he meant with *Decentius* and *Desiderius*, his two brethren, to ascend the Throne.

Fl. pop. Nepotian p. F. Aug.

(3) *Simon Dunelmensis* saith, that *Great Constantine* at his departure from *Britaine*, left one *Octauius* to gouerne the Land, who shortly rebelled, and after diuers conflicts was slaine by *Traherne*, *Commander* of a *Roman Legion*. *Galfridus* makes the said *Octauian* a *Britaine*, and will haue him to raigne with great *Victories* ouer this *Iland* the space of fifty foure yeeres, which (as *Fabian* hath accounted) doth extend to the time of *Valentinians* Rule in *Rome*: so farre doe our *British Historians* differ from the *Romans*. But from them most certaine it is, that *Magnentius* before mentioned, a *Britaine* by his father, though borne among the *Leti* in *France*, inuested himselfe into the *Imperiall Dignitie*, vsurping *France*, *Spaine*, and *Britaine*, thus stamping the face of himselfe and his brother *Decentius*, by him made *Caesar* at *Millan*, vpon the currant Monies of such reuolted *Prouinces* as he vsurped.

Simon Dunelm. J. Stow.

Galfridus Mon.

Rob. Fabian.

And

And did for three yeeres bandy against *Constantius*, though with some vnequall successe: but lastly despairing to vphold his owne greatnesse, murdered himselfe at *Lyons* in *Gallia*, as his brother vpon newes thereof, did with a halter in the same Countrey. For this cuent (no other occasion moouing) *Constantius* both shut the Temple of *Ianus* in *Rome*, as a token of an *Vniuersall Peace*; and gloriously triumphed with more then a vsuall aspect.

Magnentius murdereth himselfe.

Sueto. li. 2. cap. 27.

Amian. li. 16. c. 5.

(4) At this time the *Generall* of the *Armie* in *Britaine* was one *Gracianus*, the father of *Valentinian* the *Emperour*, by birth an *Hungarian*, and so strong of limme, that no fiue men could pull a rope out of his hand with all their force; whereof hee was surnamed *Funarius*, the *Roper*. This man giuing entertainment to *Magnentius*, was condemned in *confiscation* of all his goods by *Constantius* that now ruled sole *Emperour*, vnto whom also the *Britaines* submitted themselues, and whose *Deputie* after *Gratianus* was aged *Martin*, a man (no doubt) vertuous and vpright, as he witnessed by his death: for *Constantius*, whose base and distrustfull heart feared the wagging of euery leafe, by the slaughter of many guiltlesse, sought to make himselfe secure: and egged on by his *Flatterers*, (to serue their purposes) sent one *Paulus* a *Notarie* into *Britaine*, to apprehend them that had aided *Magnentius*.

Gracianus of admirable strength.

Martin Deputie in *Britaine*.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 4.

(5) The said *Notarie* was a *Spaniard* of a pestilent wit and subtiltie, especially in finding out all quirkes and deuices to endanger mens estates: whose businesse being now to apprehend and bring away such *Martiall men* as had entred action in the foresaid conspiracies, he vnder that pretence drew into danger many that were guiltlesse, and the Emperours true Subiects: some of which hee imprisoned, others he tormented, and many with *Manacles* and *Chaines* so bruised, that therefore he was called *Catena*. Old *Martine* the *Deputie*, much lamenting their miseries, besought the *Spaniard* to surcease, and not with the *Offenders* thus to punish the *Innocent*; wherat the proud *Catch-pole* so much disdained, that hee threatned and sought to bring *Martin* before the *Counsell*, and that in bands in manner of a *Traitor*; which so much incensed the aged man, that with his dagger he assailed him; but perceiuing the wound he gaue was not deadly, he stabd the same into his owne side, and thereof presently died: vnfortunate in this fact, but otherwise a most righteous man (saith *Amianus*) that thus attempted to ease the wrongs of these oppressed *Britaines*.

Paulus a Spaniard his subtiltie.

Amianus lib. 15. cap. 2.

Paulus called *Catena* for his cruelties.

Martine kild.

(6) But besides these their distresses, the outrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking into the *Marches* of the *Britaines*, sore molested their peace: for redresse whereof, *Iulian* the *Cæsar* wintring at *Paris*, and distracted into sundry thoughts, was afraid in person to passe those Seas himselfe, and to leaue *Gaule* without a *Ruler*, especially at such a time, when the *Almans* had stirred vp a most cruell warre: wherefore hee sent *Lupicinus* at that time *Colonell* of the *Infanterie*, and *Master* of the *Armorie*, to withstand their furie; a warlike man certes, and skilfull in feats of Armes, but withall proud of heart and countenance, looking high, and speaking bigge, and in gesture demeaning himselfe in his charge as an *Actor* vpon a *Stage*, and otherwise so qualified, that men doubted a long time whether he were more *Couetous* or *Cruell*. He from * *Bononia* imbarked all his men, and with a good gale arriued in the Hauen * *Rutupi*, marching in all haste to * *Lundinium*, that from thence, after aduice taken, according to the qualitie of the businesse, hee might make more haste to come into the field, and giue battle. But with what successe his affaires afterwards proceeded, I finde not recorded: and therefore I returne againe to the *Emperour Constantius*.

Amianus Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 4.

Lupicinus sent Deputie into *Britain*.

*Boulen.

Richburrow or *Ripchester*.

*London.

(7) *Flauius Claudius Constantius Gallus* his cosen-german hee elected *Cæsar*, permitted him to stampe this money, and linckt him in mariage with his sister *Constantia*. But he, designed to gouerne the East, and make good those Frontiers against the *Persians*, forgot the duty of his charge, and gaue himselfe vp at *Antioch* to all licentious lusts and cruelties: of which when *Constantius* (infected afore with some icalousie of his ambition) was informed, he so plotted, that this lost man, drowned in his owne vicious securitie, was surprised, and with his hands bound backward (like a *Felon*) giuen vp to the common Headsman for execution. His brother *Iulianus* was then made *Cæsar*, and this Emperours other sister *Helena* bestowed vpon him, whose *Victories* against the *Germans* and *Gaules* gained him such applause, that he was against his will by the *Souldiers* elected *Augustus*, and made Consort with *Constantius* in *Power Imperiall*.

Gallus choſen *Cæsar*.

Gallus executed.

Iulianus made *Cæsar*.

Iuliani Epistola.

(8) Whose fortunes thus sticking in a tumultuous State (for, with others, *Nigrinianus* (whose consecrated memorie is left to posteritie vpon this money) attempted the disquiet of this Emperour, by an ambitious affection of rule, that was both short and fatall to him) did plainely foreshew, that neither his Raigne nor life would last long.

For besides the affections of the time that then followed that new risen Starre *Iulian*, his nightly visions and imagined apparitions did both terrifie and appal his mind; for as he thought, his fathers *Ghost* presented vnto him, a *Babe* of an ingenious countenance, which strooke the Ball (that the *Romans* call *Tufa*, a *Globe* borne only by a *Monarch*) out of his right hand, betokening nought else but a change of State. Which howsoeuer his diuiners interpreted for pleasing things, yet himselfe thought his owne *Genius* still followed him, in a forlorne, poore, and mournfull habit.

Constantius apparition.

(9) These dumpes notwithstanding, this new

He leadeth an Army against *Iulianus*, and dyeth by the way. *Socrates lib.2.cap. 37.*

Amianus Marl.lib 21.cap.13.

Election he meant to disauow: and *Iulian* for his part resolued in point of honor to maintaine and vphold. Whereupon warres prepared, *Constantius* set forward to encounter him, and comming to *Tharsus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria*, fell there sicke of a feuer, which still increased as he further trauelled, and in the borders of *Cilicia*, at the place called *Mopsus Wels*, situated at the foote of *Mount Taurus*, died the third day of Nouember, the yeere of *Christ* by *Ieromes* account, three hundred sixtie foure: by others, three hundred sixtie one; when hee had ruled twenty foure yeeres, and liued fortie and a few moneths, as *Amianus Marcellinus*, and *Pomp. Lætus* affirme. But *Socrates* and *Zosimus* say, that he liued forty fiue yeeres, and raigned thirtie eight, that is, thirteen a *Cæsar*, in the life of his Father, seuen a Competitor in the liues of his brethren, and seuenteene yeeres *Emperor* alone.

The time of his raigning.

Amianus lib.26. cap.9.

Constantius perfections and defects.

His wife was *Faustina*.

Constantius a great exacter of tribute.

Sulpitius Seuerus.

Hee is neither accounted with the best, nor worst *Emperors*, his *Vertues* seeming to hold scoale with his *Vices:* temperate, courteous, liberall, and affable; not elequent, yet desirous to speake well; blunt witted, yet a great fauorer of learning; a most skilfull Archer, and apt to take paines; but withall very suspitious; led by *Flatterers*, and most cruell to the accused, and in exacting importable Tributes, drew more hatred vpon his head then mony into his coffers. But especially is he stained with the heresie of the *Arrians*, for whose sake he banished many of the Christians, and amongst them *Athanasius*, that excellent light of the Catholike Church. In fauour of those Heretikes, he caused to be summoned foure hundred westerne *Bishops* vnto the *Councell* of *Ariminum*, whereof three are reported to come out of *Britaine*. And he is by *Amianus* his *Life-writer, condemned for mingling fooliſh doting superstitions, with the sincere doctrine of the Christian Religion, giuen rather to a more intricate search therein, then to settle his opinions vpon grauitie: and stirring vp schismes and discords in maintaining of words and contentious disputations*, which as they spread more and more, gat wing euen vnto this Iland of *Britaine*, as by the words of our lamenting Historian *Gyldas* is seene. *When* (saith he) *the sweete concent of Christ the head, and his members the body, had continued vntill such time, as that deadly and perfidious Arrianisme, like to a pestiferous Serpent from the other side of the Sea, casting vp her venome vpon vs, caused brethren dwelling together, to be disioyned piteously one from another. And thus the way as it were being made ouer the Ocean, all other cruell and fell Beasts where soeuer, shaking out of their horrible mouthes the deadly poison of euery heresie, inflicted the deadly stings and wounds of their teeth vpon this our Country, desirous euermore to heare some noueltie.*

Hilarie calleth them the Bishops of the Prouinces of *Britain* in an Epistle vnto the Bishops.

Gyldas.

A Councell in fauour of the *Arrians* assembled by *Constantius.*

(11) For personage, this *Emperor* was indifferently tall, his complexion browne, the cast of his eies loftie, his sight quicke, his haire soft, his cheekes alwaies shauen; from the graffing of his necke to the groine very long, but from thence somewhat short and bowlegged withall. His body after death was embalmed, and in *Constantinople* enterred neere vnto his *Father*, at the commandement of *Iulian*, whom by his testament (for all his former displeasure) hee declared his *Heire* and *Successor.*

Amianus Marc. lib.11.cap.15.

Constantius his portraiture; *Constantius* buried at *Constantinople.*

FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS IVLIANVS EMPEROR APOSTATA.

Chapter XLVIII.

Julian his Parentage.

Amian. Marcell. lib.25.cap.7.

Vlian succeeded, whose birth had as much of Nobilitie as either the greatnesse of place; (for it was *New Rome*); or the high bloud of parentage could adde vnto him; for his Father *Constantius*, was the brother of great *Constantine*, and not much his mother *Basilina* was lower in her birth, though most vnfortunate in bearing him, her owne destruction. An Orphant he was left together with *Gallus* his brother, long tossed betweene the sourges of his owne imperfect constitution, and the bloudy iealousie of his ruling-kinsmen (not long before the fatall ruing of his Father) for being too neere allied to their Crownes.

Meane he was of stature, yet carrying from head to foote a iust proportion and vniforme knitting of his lineaments, whereby he had agilitie and strength: big and broad his shoulders, his necke fat, bearing his head forward; louely and gracefull was the cast of his quicke and cleere eye, straight his nose, and no feature of his face amisse, but the greatnes of his mouth, and the parting of his nether lippe; the soft haire of his head he wore in a decent length, and his rough beard he cut in a pointed fashion.

His proportion and feature. *Amian. Marcel. lib.25.*

(2) His education was vnder many masters, of which *Mardonius* a *Scythian* Eunuch was the first. From him he was sent to the publike Schoole at *Constantinople*, where of *Nicocles* of *Lacedemon*, he learned his Grammar, and of *Ecebolius* the Sophister his Rhetoricke; and of both of them (as of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*) the Christian Religion, in which his delight was such, that he betooke him to the function of

His education. *Misopo. Iul Imp.*

XUM

of a Deacon, reading in publike to the people the ſacred Bookes; and aimed at no further marke of greatneſſe then the reputation of a holy man: led on with the loue of knowledge, hee went to the Schooles of *Nicomedia*, where, of *Iamblicus*, who ſucceeded *Porphyry* in the Chaire; he learned the Philoſophie of *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*. There bewitched at length with the fame of *Libanius* Eloquence, though deteſting his religion; from reading in priuate ſtudie his prophane labours, hee grew a publike hearer of his inuectiue Lectures: and imitating at firſt in exerciſe of wit only this Rhetoricians forme of declaiming, hee grew in the end the profaneſt Railer, and deadlieſt Enemy of all other himſelfe againſt the Church. And to fill vp this veſſel of iniquitie, *Maximus*, the only *Impoſtor* and *Magician* then of the world, (worthily after for his impious doctrine put by *Valentinian* to the ſword) muſt come to *Nicomedia*. From him did *Iulian* learne ſuch Aſtrologie as ſetteth Natiuities, and ſuch Magicke as inuoketh Spirits. And here was the ſchoole of this mans Error, and Miſtris of his impietie. The ſeedes of whoſe Nature and Education hauing thus obſerued, let vs ſearch with an impartial Eye into his manners and condition, and ſee what vertue was in fruit.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 1.

(3) His temperance is commended to vs with admiration. He ſlept little, and could awake at pleaſure: his bed was euer with the hardeſt, and his diet of the meaneſt meat, and the moderateſt meaſure, whereby he neuer but once, and that by accident, disburdened his ſtomacke by vomit; and would often ſay, that it was the ſafetie of his life, that he neuer had any war with his belly. Such was his chaſtitie, that hauing loſt at once in *France*, *Helena* his beloued wife, and her infant, his only Sonne, he neuer ſo much as in ſuſpect, had an incontinent deſire. And therefore of all the *Perſian* beauties taken in thoſe warres, as the richeſt ſpoiles, *Nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre*: Neither ſuffer in his Army either Cookes or Barbers, as being *deliciarum atq; intemperantiæ miniſtros*.

His temperance.

Marcel. lib. 16. In Miſopo. Iulian. Imp.

Marcel. lib. 25. & 24.

Marcel. l. 22.

Arceo meipſum à Theatris: I force my ſelfe (ſaith he) from the view of Stage-plaies, and neuer but once a yeere permit my Eye that delight in Court; wherein the diſtaſte of my mind is, *tanquam pauper agricola tributum aliquod pendens iniquo Domino*. And when the action was performing, *ſimilior ſum deteſtanti eos ludos quàm ſpectanti*. Yet doth *Marcellinus* tax him of much verboſitie and affectation of vaine glory. And *Gregory Nazianzen* charging him with intemperate paſsion as vnconſtability, ſaith; *That by his ranging and furious aſpect, his vnſteady and halting pace, his fleering looke*, and immoderate laughter, *Talem ante opera vidi qualem in operibus cognoui*.

In Miſopo. Iulian. Imp.

Marcellinus, l. 22.

Gregor. Nazianzen in lib. contra Iulianum.

(4) The loue of Iuſtice in this Prince is remembred to vs in his rules of DIRECTION: for he ſo amended the Lawes *Ambagibus circumciſis*, that the Iudges might cleerly ſee, *Quid iuberent fieri quid vetarent*: and in his EXAMPLE for imitation. For when to an innocent deniall before him, *Delphidius* the Orator inueighed ſaying; *Nocens eſſe poterit vſquam ſi negare ſuſſecerit*: himſelfe replied, *Et quis innocens eſſe poterit ſi accuſâſſe ſufficit?* and ſo diſcharged the party. As for his clemency and charity, which ought to attend the ſword and Scepter of a Soueraigne, ſince the one is *Magnum timoris remedium*, and the other will be, *poſt cineres tributum*; *Nebridius* and *Lucillianus* are Regiſters of the one, whom notwithſtanding their conſpiracies in fauour of *Conſtantius*, hee not onely pardoned, but defended wiih perill of his owne perſon from the furies of his owne followers. And for the other, thoſe his letters to *Arſacius* is a ſure record. *Let there bee in the Cities of your charge, many Hoſpitals erected, that the want of the wayfaring may be releeued by our benignitie: and not of them only of our Religion, but of all the reſt: for it ſutes not well with the goodnes of our Gouernment, that when the Iewes permit none of theirs to beg, and the wicked Galileans releeue not onely theirs, but ours, that ours ſhould be diſconſolate of other helpe.*

His Iuſtice. Marcellinus, l. 22.

Mart. Epig.

Ex Iulian. Epiſt. ad Arſacium, Galatiæ.

Some haue blemiſhed his bounty with the brand of vaineglory: thus did the *Antiochians* for depreſsing ſo much the reaſonable price of Graine in their Markets, by a profuſe expence of his owne Treaſure, gaining thereby at firſt onely the applauſe of the light multitude, after which he hunted, and drawing on in the end a miſerable dearth, through the licentious exceſſe of their improuidence: which often happeneth.

In Miſopogon. Iulian. Imp.

And as the baniſhment of *Palladias* into *Britaine* vpon a weake ſuſpition, *Taurus* to *Vircillum*, in whom the eye of Iuſtice could finde no skarre; and to death *Vrſulus*, with *Pigmeus* (the firſt his Treaſurer, that had ſpent with him and on him his owne meanes, when being *Cæſar*, he had little of his owne: the other the guide of his youth, and to whom he truly ought the greateſt part of his goodneſſe) may iuſtly ſtaine him with lawleſſe ſeuerity, and vngratefull cruelty; ſo may his malicious ſpirit againſt the *Chriſtians*, howſoeuer masking in more Art then many that went before him, ſet him vp in the ranke and top of the greateſt Perſecutors. And although there be ſome paſſages in his Gouernment more eaſie then in ſome others that may imply a gentle diſpoſition toward them, (ſometimes taking the Gods to witneſſe, that the *Galileans* (for ſo he named the *Chriſtians*) ſhould not vndergoe the leaſt of iniury, neither be led to Pagan ſacrifice, or forced to any thing beyond the compaſſe of their owne contents: and that he not onely reuoked the Edict of *Conſtantine* the *Arrian* Emperour, whereby thoſe holy men ſtood long exiled: but taking the aduantage of an vproare begun by the *Arrians*, (their Enemies) at *Edeſſa* ſeiſed vpō their goods, ſwolne too great in number and fortune by the gracious aſpect of his Predeceſſors, to whom hee diſſembled himſelfe a Chriſtian): yet did he whiles he had in his owne hands the reine of Gouernment, by all his actions and ends, declare himſelfe an heauy oppoſite vnto them. Sometimes by allurements to aſſay to corrupt them; ſometimes by a ſubtill ſiding with one faction of the Church, as he did with the Catholike againſt the *Arrians*, to counterpeiſe their power, *vt ſecurius regnaret*, that by ſuch licence of ſedition, *Non timeret vnanimantem plebem*, he need not feare the power of their vnitie, as himſelfe profeſſed.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian. Imp. ad Artabium. Ex Edicto Julian. in Ediſſenos. Eccl. Iulian. ad Alexandrinos.

Ex Epiſt. Julian. Imp.

Hieron Ruffinum.

From this vnfortunate plot of earthly policie (but with worſe ſucceſſe) he incited the *Iewes* to reedifie the Temple at *Ieruſalem*, and renew their Sacrifice, remitting to them their debt of Tribute, and vowing that at his returne from *Perſia* he would viſit that holy *Citie*, and (as he ſaith to them) *vt vnà vobiſcum in ea Deo optimo gratias agam*; well beleeuing that by raiſing ſuch an oppoſite to the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould ſuppreſſe their increaſe, and annihilate their Prophecie of *Ieruſalems* deſolation. To repaire theſe curſed walles againſt the prouidence of *Diuine Iuſtice*, *Alipius* of *Antioch*, that had beene Gouernour of *Britaine*, was ſent: but his indeuour, and the worke of all his Miniſters, was interrupted by fearefull flaming balles of fire, which iſſued from the Earth neere vnto thoſe foundations, conſuming very many of the *Iewes* and workemen; by reaſon whereof, this *Element* ſtill giuing freſh aſſault on them, the place became vnacceſſible, and the enterpriſe giuen ouer: ſo vaine it is for *Man* to ſtriue againſt the decreed purpoſe of *God*. And it is by others affirmed, that at the ſame time an *Earthquake* ſo ſhooke thoſe *Foundations* which were left by *Titus* vntouched, that *one ſtone thereby was not left ſtanding vpon another*, but were all laid leuell with the ground: by which miraculous ſights many *Iewes* were turned to the embracing of the *Chriſtian Faith*, vpon whoſe garments fell formes of *Croſſes*, which ſhined as the beames of the *Sunne*, neither could they by any meanes be waſhed or wiped away. *Alipius* that had beene chiefe in this buſineſſe, was afterward confined into *Baniſhment*, with the loſſe of his goods, by *Valens* vpon ſuſpition of *Treaſon*. And thus farre of *Iulians* vailed hatred: now of his open actions of deſpight againſt the *Chriſtians*.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 17.

Sabellicus.

Amianus, lib. 28. cap. 4.

Conſtantius no ſooner dead (vnder whom as before

is

is ſaid hee diſſembled his Religion) but that he opened the Temples of the *Pagans Gods*, repaired their Altars; declaring to future ages, the memorie of this his deteſtable act, by minting a *Bull* prepared for ſacrifice, vpon the Currant money of the State, with this inſcription; *Securitas reipublicæ*; as if *Romes Empire* ſhould loſe her ſecuritie, and the fatall deſtinie of Command, when the *Genius* of that Citie and the Gods of her foundation ſhould bee forſaken. And where there remained any antique Monument of the Infant Chriſtian Church, or any new erected badge of Religious deuotion, thoſe hee cauſed to bee defaced. Thus did he in *Cæſarea Philippi*, with that Braſen figure of our *Sauiour* arraied in a ſhort veſture, and the *Woman* cured of her blodie iſſue, kneeling and eleuating her hands to him; and at whoſe feet in the ſaid *Pillar* grew a certaine *Hearb*, in heighth vnto the *Hem* of his *Garment*, which cured all kind of maladies; placing his owne figure, to the intent that it ſhold be worſhipped: but ſuddenly it was with *Lightning* from *Heauen* deſtroied, breaking with violent force the *Breſt* thereof aſunder, and ſtriking the *Head* faſt into the earth; whoſe Reliques, as *Zoſimus* ſaith, remained there to be ſeene a long time after, a witneſſe of mans preſumptuous error and Gods iuſt diſpleaſure. Manie lawes he made againſt them, and manie rights of Subiects hee took from them. By Edict he forbad the Chriſtians the publick Schooles & ſtudy of the Arts and Tongues; Ieſting away the reaſon of this iniuſtice with ſcoffes, as hee did the reſt; ſaying, that *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and *Plato*, who muſt be their guides in ſuch liberall learnings, adoring *Mercurie* and the other *Gods*, he held it abſurd that they ſhould read and learne of their *Bookes*, that loath and raile at their *Religion*.

Euſebius, lib. 7. ca. 17.

Zoſimus Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 20. Iulianus picture deſtroyed by lightning.

Ex Edicto contra Chriſtian.

The equitie of this extended power may appeare by *Marcellinus cenſure*, a man of his owne *Religion*, who of it ſaith, *Inclemens obruendum perenni ſilentio; Let the Edict be dambd to eternall ſilence*. When hee ſeized vpon the goods of the *Chriſtians*, which was often, and vpon weake pretences, he vſed to inuert the Letter of their owne Doctrine, in warrant of his foule act, ſaying that he did it, *vt facilius in Regnum Cælorum veniant*. When hee had diſabled the *Chriſtians* of all command, either in the Field or Common-wealth, (as he did *Iouinian*, *Valentinian* & *Valens*, after Emperours) he would ſay, he did it becauſe their Goſpell taketh from them *Poteſtatem Gladij*. And whereſoeuer any poore Chriſtian implored the hand of *Iuſtice* againſt wrong and violence, they returned with no better redreſſe, then that it was the rule of their Religion, *perferre iniurias*, it was the dutie of their Profeſſion to beare all iniuries. And although moſt *Authors* agree that hee ſtained not his gouernment with the bloud of any *Catholikes*, well knowing that gore of *Perſecution* is the ſeed of the *Goſpell*; yet ſome affirme that when *Apolloes Oracle*, neere *Antioch*, had loſt his power of anſwer by the holy preſence of *Babillaes* bodie (there martyred and intombed) and that the *Chriſtians* in remooving it away, ſung ſolemnly the *Pſalm*, *Let all them be confounded which worſhip grauen Images*: this Emperour (although the Act was his direction, though not the order) grew ſo inraged, that hee put then many *Chriſtians* to the ſword.

Ex Epiſt. Iulian. ad Ecclolum.

Hieron. Caſſiodorus. Socrates.

Sabellicus. Socrates, lib 3. ca. 11.

His prudence.

Of the prudence and learning of this man there be many notable monuments remaining: for in all the courſes of his life he did rather labour to content the parts of his vnderſtanding, then of his ſenſualitie, often being heard to ſay, *Turpe eſſet ſapienti, cùm habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore*: and therefore writing to *Ecdicius*, *Prefect* of *Ægypt*, to helpe him to the Bookes of *George Biſhop of Alexandria*, hee ſaith, *Where others delighted in Horſe and Hawkes, I haue beene from my infancie inflamed with the loue of Books*. Many works there were of his owne pen, though now raked vp in the ruines of the time.

Epiſt. Julian. ad Ecdicium præf. Aegypt.

Suidas.

As his Oration to *Iamblicus*, and other Volumes of various learning, remembred by *Suidas*: yet is there extant that wittie *Satyre* of his, of all the *Cæſars*.

The *Regiſter* of his *Epiſtle*, full of worthy obſeruations.

Julian. Imp. Cæſares.

His diſcourſe *De Regno*, wherein hee deciphereth much of his *Perſian Actions*.

Iul. Imp. Epiſt. Lib. Iul. de præclaris actionibus. Hymnus Iulian. in Solem.

His *Hymne* to the *Sunne*, a ſong of a high ſtraine, and of a matchleſſe delicacie, if the ſubiect had not beene too prophane.

Miſopogon vel Antiochenſis.

As for his *Miſopogon*, (where playing with his own perſon and beard, he ſharply reprehendeth the *Antiochians* of their intemperance in frequenting *Stage-Plaies*; of their impietie, in changing *Iupiter* and *Apollo* (Gods of their Forefathers) into the *Chriſt* of the *Galileans*; and of couetouſneſſe in their *Magiſtrates*, in ſelling *Iuſtice*) it is one of the wittieſt Inuectiues extant of thoſe middle times.

His Religion.

In the courſe of his Religion hee is by the Writers of his owne affection and time rather reported ſuperſtitious then deuout; and his fancies therein rather to them accounted ridiculous then religious. Such was the exceſſe and waſte of Oxen in his ſacrifices, that it is beleeued if his returne had beene from the *Perſicke Expedition*, there would haue beene want of them to ſupply his Rites, and therefore they might happily ſay as the white Oxen did of the *Emperour Marcus*, *Si tu viceris, nos perimus*. Yet were his rules of order to the *Prieſts* of his ſuperſtitious zeale, ſuch as may well become the moſt religious Church-man of our age to imitate: for he prohibited thoſe *Prieſts* from gaze of *Stage-Playes*, frequenting *Tauernes*, or exerciſing any foule or illiberall profeſsion, perſwading them to imitate the *Chriſtians*, whoſe bounty to ſtrangers in diſtreſſe, charity in burying the dead, and whoſe humble manners and ſanctitie of life (though but diſſembled) had ſo much increaſed their Profeſsion.

Marcel. lib. 25.

Ex Iulian Epiſt. ad Pon. Galatiæ.

His Fortitude.

(6) His fortitude appeareth in the proceſſe of his *Martiall Actions*. At three and twenty yeeres hee was made by *Conſtantine* his nephew *Cæſar*, matched to his ſiſter *Helena*, and ſent in perſon to reſtraine thoſe barbarous Nations that had forced in vpon the *Roman Limits*. But whether this imploiment was grounded vpon the Emperours owne feare to aduenture his perſon againſt theſe *Sauages*, a deſire to nurture this mere Scholar his brother in law in more princely manners, who then was rude; or to expoſe him (in reſpect of ſome icalouſy in State) to an aſſured perill: it remaineth doubtfull. Only himſelfe ſaith, that *he that beſtowed his Title of Cæſar, libenter dabat; & qui accepit, omninò recuſabat*: for in it hee gained nothing but *vt occupatior interiret*, taking this his Expedition againſt thoſe *Inrodes*, as a baniſhment into the *Hercinian Deſert*, *vt tanquam venator cum feris bellaret*: and beleeuing himſelfe rather thereby called out to an expected death, then intended honour. But this man then neither of opinion or hope, and who ſhould haue ſeemed to haue effected a point of excellent ſeruice, if hee had no more but defended the frontiers, and repelled the Enemies, did by his valour performe no leſſe then deeds of admiration.

Ex Epiſt. Julia Maximo Philoſopho.

Hee recouered the reuolted Cities of *Gallia*, ouerthrowing ſeuen of the mightieſt *German Princes* in one ſet Battle.

Hee ſent to *Rome Chonodomarius* and *Badomcarius*, two of their greateſt Kings, as ſpoiles to adorne the *Trophey*, and attend the triumph of *Conſtantius*. Hee forced on euery ſide thoſe to feare his power, that had ſo long beene fearefull to the *Roman Empire*. And had he returned home, borne vp only with the merit of this his ſeruice, and opinion of the world, and not beene blowne beyond the bounds of his old moderation by a new deſire, hee had eſcaped the imputation of ambition and treacherie, and beene eſteemed a iuſt ſucceſſour, againſt whom he is deemed now an vniuſt vſurper. But it may be ſaid that it was a diuine power that inſpired it, and a ſtrong hand that inforced him to it: for from aboue the Porch of his entrance, into one of the regained Cities, the *Wreath* of *Laurell* (reſerued an ornament of that place) fell in wonder vpon his head. The *Genius* of *Rome* in many apparitions chiding & reprehending his ſlow deſire

Amian. lib. 16.

to

to affect the Empire, and reſtore the State. As touching his election, *he calleth the Gods to witneſſe his vnwillingneſſe, and the publike proteſtation he made againſt it at Paris, when he was there by the tumultuous Armie ſalated Auguſtus.* And although by the great prouiſion made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Armie* againſt the plots of *Conſtantius* (that grew now enuious of his fortune, hee may ſeeme to haue intended the ruine of his Soueraignte) yet doth hee by the Gods of his greateſt confidence, *Iupiter* and the *Sunne*, proteſt, *Quod Conſtantium occidere nunquam optauit, imò ne id accideret exoptauit.*

(7) But *Conſtantius* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Pithoniſt* had deluded with the hope of *Perſia*, telling him that his fortunes ſhould be as his feature, like *Great Alexander*, bred in him a thirſtie deſire after the ſurname *Perſicus:* whereupon hee prepared an Armie for this expedition, and ſeeking the fauor of his *Gods* the *Moone*, *Fortune*, and *Mars*, embrued their Altars with the *Blood* of an *hundred Buls* at once; though manie ominous ſignes, as they were interpreted by his *Philoſophers* and *Southſaiers*, forbad the ſame. Such was the great *Earthquake* happening in *Bithynie*, that ſwallowed vp the Citie of *Nicomedia*. Riuers likewiſe are ſaide to ſtand drie, euen in the heart of winter; and *Springs* forgetting their vſuall boilings, yeelded not foorth their wonted waters: yea and if wee will beleeue the reporters; his ſucceſſe was foreſhewed by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which hee ſought to preuent, by pacifying his *Heatheniſh Gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices:* and with an *Armie* extended ten miles in length, entred *Perſia*, cutting aſunder the Bridges by which hee paſſed ouer his men, to adde to them more of reſolution, as their meanes were leſſe of returne, refuſing all humble ſubmiſsion and compoſition offred him by their King; and at the place then called *Phrygia*, ioined Battle againſt *Surena*, a great *Commander* among the *Perſians*, and *Merenes*, *Generall* of their *Horſe*, accompanied with two of the Kings ſonnes, whoſe powers not able to reſiſt the *Romans*, gaue backe and fledde.

Sabellicus lib.22. cap.2. *Iulian his ſacrifices.* An Earthquake. *Sabell.lib.25.ca.2.* An Army reaching ten mile.

Iulian either vpon a vaine confidence, or ſudden *Alarum*, had forgot to arme himſelfe with his *Corſlet* or *Brigandine*; and in following the diſarraied flight of the *Perſians*, lift vp his hands in ſigne of victorie: at which very inſtant a *Iauelin* ſtrucke thorow his left *Arme* into the ſhort *Ribbes*, and ſtucke in the nether lappet of his *Liuer*; which whileſt he endeuoured to plucke out, did cut the ſinewes of his fingers: wherat altogether diſtracted, hee fell forwards vpon his horſes maine, and thence was carried vnto his *Pauilion*. From whoſe hand this *Iauelin* came (ſaith *Amianus*) *God* only knoweth. Some report the Caſter to haue beene a *fugitiue Perſian:* others ſay that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded: and *Caliſtus* one of his owne Guard, that wrote this *Battle* in *Heroicall Verſe*, affirmeth, that by ſome wicked *Fiend* or *Diuell*, this *Iauelin* run him thorow. Howſoeuer, there are that report that in pulling out this *Launce*, and caſting it into the aire with his bloud, hee ſhould vtter this blaſphemous ſpeech, and ſay, *Thou haſt ouercome me, O Galilean.* At his ſetting foorth he vowed to his *Gods* a *Sacrifice* of *Chriſtians bloud*, if hee returned *Conquerour*, but he performed it with his owne. His ſlaine Corpes was carried to *Tarſus* a City in *Cilicia*, where with ſmall pompe of *Funerall Obſequies* it was interred neere to the Cities ſide; which place himſelfe to that purpoſe had formerly aſsigned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to haue opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to haue ſucked vp his body into her Wombe.

Amianus. lib. 25. cap. 3. *Socrates lib 3. cap.18.* *Zoſimus lib.6.c.2.* *Theod.lib.3.c.25.* *Sabellicus.* Julian ſtrucke into the body with a Dart.

(8) Thus ended this Emperour, the twenty ſixth of Iune, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, and three hundred ſixty and three of *Chriſts Natiuitie*, when he had raigned *Auguſtus* neere three, and *Cæſar* full ſeuen yeeres. Whoſe wit and eloquence needs no further teſtimonie then the Monuments of his owne Pen; nor his religious zeale more then the Function his youth ſo worthily performed in the Chriſtian Church. His *Imperiall Vertues* we ſee match him in ſtorie with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelius*, and for ſucceſſe in warre, with *Traian*; three of the moſt excellent Princes: and his fortune was to ſee bounded within his ſole greatneſſe, what the hand of right and ſword of tyrannie had ſo late diſperſed. But now one *Errour*, his *Apoſtaſie*, diſroabing him of all his *Morall Vertues*, leaues him an obiect naked to the vulgar eie, but as a Monſter of men, and marke of infamie. I hold it therefore fitting no leſſe the vſe, then the iuſtice of a Storie, to doe him (as I haue done) all his right: ſince in him we learne that all thoſe admirable endowments of *Nature*, embeliſhed with all the morall and internall graces that *Art* could adde, are not the baſe of holineſſe, without diuine grace; nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulneſſe of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of ſecuritie and happineſſe, without heauenly protection: ſince from the ſenſe of *Sacred Pietie* hee fell to *Pagan Superſtition:* for many are called, but few are choſen; and in the ſeat of *Preſumptuous Maieſtie* he felt the rod of *Diuine Reuenge.* *Matth.20.16.*

Diſcite Iuſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Diuos.

FLAVIVS IOVIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Fla. Iouianus. Emp.

An.Do.364.

THe mindes of the whole Army being much diſtracted by the death of *Iulian*; the next day, being *Iune* twenty ſeuen, they met, and conſulted vpon a new *Emperour:* where for a while two factions were maintained, & with equall deſerts argued, till laſtly in one accord they both agreee vpon * *Saluſtus*, a man very honourable and wiſe, but withall aged and weake, and therefore hee abſolutely refuſed the election. *Iouianus* by them then was nominated, in regard of his fathers deſerts indifferently commended, ſaith *Amianus:* but *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, and *Socrates* attribute great worths vnto himſelfe, and confidently affirme his vnwillingneſſe to accept of that dignitie, for that the whole Armie had yeelded to *Iulians Idolatrous Edicts*, openly profeſsing himſelfe to be

* *Marcellinus*, ſaith *Eutrop.* *Rufinus Eccl. Hiſt.lib.10.*

a *Christian*, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Soueraigne* ouer an *Ethnicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselues likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Iouianus his Parentage.

(2) His Father was *Varonianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, commanding all Christians out of his pay, among whō * *Iouinianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* and *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenlie Chieftaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

* *Iouianus*, his pietie.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Ensigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new Elected *Emperor*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an Enemie stepped now aboue the degree of the common sort, reuolted to the *Persians*; and hauing good accesse, informed *King Sapores* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then vnknowne) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both incouraged the Enemie; and gaue directions how to take the aduantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. A sore battell was fought, and fountaines of bloud drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *Victuall*, (whose scarsitie then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giuing them fiue *Prouinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had been the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, euer since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreame misery and famine wherein *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a pray to the Enemy, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus preuented: and therefore they highly commend him heerein, as the onely Preseruer of the *Roman Army*.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 13. Cassiod. Tripar. hist. lib. 7.

Paulus Orosius. Sabellicus.

(4) Howsoeuer, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuer of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished aboue *Twelue hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Louing Reuerence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Conscience* had been expulsed.

Socrates Schol. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *Citie Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulchre of *Iulian* (though otherwise he had found him auerse both in *Affection*, and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceding Emperor) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the Consistory: and *Blazing-starres* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Iouianus adorneth *Iulians* tombe.

A Blazing starre seene at Noone-day.

Thence therefore in greatt haste he marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a verie *Infant*, whose *Wrawlings* and vnwillingnesse to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happened. For hasting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuideth *Bithynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*, caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new seeling, whose vapors hauing no issue, stifled him to death, the seuenteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixtie foure; after hee had raigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

Sabellicus.

Iouianus death. His raigne. *Amianus Marc. lib. 25. cap. 14. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 3. cap. 22.*

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate louer & professor he was of the Christian religion, of indifferēt learning himselfe, but a most honorable imbracer thereof in others; very precise and considerate in choosing of *Iudges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine; and somewhat to that other *Vice* which vsually accompanieth such intemperancies.

Iouianus shape and disposition.

FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS, FLAVIVS VALENS, } Emp.

Chapter L.

Flauius Valentimianus, Emp.

Flauius Valens, Emp.

An.Do. 364

PResently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a ſecret whiſpering and runnig rumor, *Equitius*, *Tribune* of the *Scutarij* was nominated Emperor, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore diſliked of the better aduiſed, and no further followed. But frō him, their voices turned to *Ianuarius*, a kinſman to the laſt deceaſed *Iouianus*, at that preſent Gouernor of *Illyricum*. But he alſo reiected, *Valentinianus*, then abſent, was Elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet perſon for the managing of their Warres, and good of the *Weale-publike*.

Amian. Mar. lib. 26. cap. 5.

Socrates in eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the Citie *Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage; the ſonne of *Gracian* ſpoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-ſeller*, but of great ſtrength; and therefore by ſeruice preferred to places of account, and had been made Ruler of *Britaine*. His owne life likewiſe was ſpent in ſeruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*: but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; he choſe rather to lay aſide his Belt then his *Faith* and *Chriſtianitie*, as likewiſe *Iouianus* had done; and ſo for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater beſtowed on him by the diſpoſer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Eſtate* ſo vrging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the Empire, the trumpets euery where ſounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman World*. For the *Almans* inuaded *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made ſpoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infeſted the *Britaines*: the *Auſtorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Gothes* ranſacked *Thracia*, and the *Perſians* entred *Armenia*. For which cauſe, *Valens* remained to defend the *Eaſt*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progreſſe into the *Weſt*, where in three *Battels* vnder the conduct of *Iouinus*, hee diſcomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewiſe ouercame and beheaded *Procopius*; whoſe feature we haue here expreſſed, a dangerous *Vſurper* in the *Eaſt*.

Chap. 47. ſect. 4.

Valentinianus a Chriſtian.

Theodoret.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 7.

(3) But in *Britaine* things proſpered not ſo well: for by the generall bandings of the foreſaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Prouince* was ſore diſtreſſed and brought to extreame miſery. For *Nectaridius*, *Admirall* of the *Britiſh Fleet* they ſlew, and *Balchobaudes Lord Warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of theſe barbarous people, was forelaid & aſſailed on euery ſide. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horror, the *Emperor* firſt ſent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *Houſe*, if fortune would happily ſpeed his hand, to redreſſe whatſoeuer had happened amiſſe. But he in ſhort time being called away, had not the hap to ſee the wiſhed ſucceſſe. Then *Iouinus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the ſame parts; and ſeeing the puiſſance of the *Enemy*, meant to craue aid of the *Auxiliarie Forces*, the vrgent neceſsitie requiring ſo much: at laſt, in regard of many (and thoſe fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the ſtate of this Iland, hither was deſigned *Theodoſius*, a man eſteemed moſt happy, and approued for his *Martiall* proweſſe, who with a bold reſolution and ſelect power both of *Horſe* and *Foote*, ſet forward for *Britaine*.

Nectaridius ſlaine.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deucalidones* and * *Veſturiones*. The *Attacots* likewiſe a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuers parts, waſted all where they went.

* Weſterne Picts.
* Eaſterne Picts.

a *Christian*, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Soueraigne* ouer an *Ethnicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselues likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Iouianus his Parentage.

(2) His Father was *Varonianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, commanding all Christians out of his pay, among whō * *Iouinianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* and *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenlie Chieftaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

* *Iouianus*, his pietie.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Ensigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new Elected *Emperor*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an Enemie stepped now aboue the degree of the common sort, reuolted to the *Persians*; and hauing good accesse, informed *King Sapores* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then vnknowne) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both incouraged the Enemie; and gaue directions how to take the aduantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. A sore battell was fought, and fountaines of bloud drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *Victuall*, (whose scarsitie then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giuing them fiue *Prouinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had been the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, euer since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreame misery and famine wherein *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a pray to the Enemy, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus preuented: and therefore they highly commend him heerein, as the onely Preseruer of the *Roman Army*.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 13. Cassiod. Tripar. hist. lib. 7.

Paulus Orosius. Sabellicus.

(4) Howsoeuer, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuer of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished aboue *Twelue hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Louing Reuerence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Conscience* had been expulsed.

Socrates & Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *Citie Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulchre of *Iulian* (though otherwise he had found him auerse both in *Affection*, and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceding Emperor) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the Consistory: and *Blazing-starres* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Iouianus adorneth *Iulians* tombe.

A Blazing starre seene at Noone-day.

Thence therefore in greatt haste he marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a verie *Infant*, whose *Wrawlings* and vnwillingnesse to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happened. For hasting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuideth *Bithynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*, caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new seeling, whose vapors hauing no issue, stifled him to death, the seuenteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixtie foure; after hee had raigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

Sabellicus.

Iouianus death. His raigne. *Amianus Marc. lib. 25. cap. 14. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 3. cap. 22.*

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate louer & professor he was of the Christian religion, of indifferēt learning himselfe, but a most honorable imbracer thereof in others; very precise and considerate in choosing of *Iudges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine; and somewhat to that other *Vice* which vsually accompanieth such intemperancies.

Iouianus shape and disposition.

FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS, FLAVIVS VALENS, } Emp.

Chapter L.

Flauius Valentinianus, Emp.

Flauius Valens, Emp.

An. Do. 364

PResently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a secret whispering and runnig rumor, *Equitius*, *Tribune* of the *Scutarij* was nominated Emperor, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore disliked of the better aduised, and no further followed. But frō him, their voices turned to *Ianuarius*, a kinsman to the last deceased *Iouianus*, at that present Gouernor of *Illyricum*. But he also reiected, *Valentinianus*, then absent, was Elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their Warres, and good of the *Wealepublike*.

Amian. Marcel. lib. 26. cap. 5.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the Citie *Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage; the sonne of *Gracian* spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-seller*, but of great strength; and therefore by seruice preferred to places of account, and had been made Ruler of *Britaine*. His owne life likewise was spent in seruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*: but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; he chose rather to lay aside his Belt then his *Faith* and *Christianitie*, as likewise *Iouianus* had done; and so for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Estate* so vrging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the Empire, the trumpets euery where sounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman World*. For the *Almans* inuaded *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Gothes* ransacked *Thracia*, and the *Persians* entred *Armenia*. For which cause, *Valens* remained to defend the *East*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progresse into the *West*, where in three *Battels* vnder the conduct of *Iouinus*, hee discomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewise ouercame and beheaded *Procopius*; whose feature we haue here expressed, a dangerous *Vsurper* in the *East*.

(3) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the generall bandings of the foresaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Prouince* was sore distressed and brought to extreame misery. For *Nectaridius*, *Admirall* of the *British Fleet* they slew, and *Balchobaudes Lord Warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaid & assailed on euery side. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horror, the *Emperor* first sent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *House*, if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatsoeuer had happened amisse. But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Iouinus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and seeing the puissance of the *Enemy*, meant to craue aid of the *Auxiliarie Forces*, the vrgent necessitie requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the state of this Iland, hither was designed *Theodosius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approued for his *Martiall* prowesse, who with a bold resolution and select power both of *Horse* and *Foote*, set forward for *Britaine*.

Amian. Marcel. lib. 27. cap. 7.

Nectaridius slaine.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deucalidones* and * *Vesturiones*. The *Attacots* likewise a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuers parts, wasted all where they went.

* Westerne Picts.
* Easterne Picts.

Ammian. Marcel. lib. 26. cap. 4. & lib. 27. cap. 1.

Zosimus lib. 4. cap. 47. sect. 4.

Valentinianus a Christian.

Theodoret.

went. As for the Tracts of *Gaule*, the *Frankners* and *Saxons* their neere confined neighbours, whereſoeuer they could breake foorth, and make *Roades* by *Sea* or *Land*, made hauocke heere by ſeizing of *Booties*, firing of *Townes*, in killing of men and women, and leading away *Captiues*. To ſtay theſe wofull miſeries, if the *Heauens* had beene ſo benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this * *our end of the World*: and comming to * *Bononia*, which lieth diuided from the oppoſite tract of *Land* by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terrible *Tides*, where the *waters* are ſeene ſometimes to match the higheſt *Mountaine*, and againe to ſettle with the leuell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Sailers* or *Paſſage*: this *Sleue* with a gentle courſe hee croſſed, and arriued at * *Rutupie*, a quiet *Roade* and *Harbour* ouer againſt it: from whence after that the *Bactauians*, the *Heruli*, *Iouij*, and *Victores* (Companies bold and confident in their ſtrengths) were come, he marched towards *Lundinium*, an ancient *Citie*, which poſterities afterwards named *Auguſta*: and hauing ſeuered his *Troopes* into ſundry parts, he charged vpon thoſe companies of rouing and robbing enemies, euen when they were heauie laden with *Booties* and *ſpoiles*, and were driuing away before them both *Men* and *Women* bound for their *Captiues*, beſides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. Theſe hee ſoone diſcomfited, and reſtored to the poore diſtreſſed *Tributaries* their *Liberties* and *Loſſes*, beſtowing ſome ſmall parcels thereof among his weary and well-deſeruing *Souldiers*: and entred the *City* with exceeding great ioy, in manner of a *Petty-triumph*, which erewhile was ouer-whelmed with Calamities, but now on the ſudden refreſhed and ſet in perfect ſafety.

(5) Vpon this proſperous ſucceſſe encouraged to greater attempts, hee abode yet doubtfull of the future, caſting with himſelfe many proiects, which poiſed *Fortunes Scales* alike: but laſtly by certaine *Captiues* and *Fugitiues* hee learned that thoſe *Companies* of ſundry fierce *Nations*, ſpread ſo farre and diffuſedly vpon the face of the *Prouince*, could not be vanquiſhed, vnleſſe it were by ſleights and ſtratagemes. By *Edicts* therefore he firſt proclaimed *impunitie* to ſuch as had forſaken their *Colours*, if they would returne; wherby many which had run to the *Enemie*, or at their owne pleaſures had beene diſperſed into diuers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their reſolutions in his behalfe. Notwithſtanding, miſtruſting the euent, and penſiue ſtill with cares, hee thought good to call to his aſſiſtance *Ciuilis*, a man of great vnderſtanding, quicke ſpirit, and withall an vpright *Iuſticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputie*, and likewiſe *Dulcitius* a *Captaine*, renowned for his skill and deedes of *Armes*.

(6) After *Conſultation* with them, hauing gotten courage, and departing from *Auguſta* with a power of Souldiers, which in his politike induſtrie he had leuied and trained to his hand, hee brought exceeding great ſuccour euery where vnto the troubled and confuſed ſtate of the *Britaines*, gaining before hand ſuch places in each part, as might giue aduantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemie*; and enioined the *Common Souldiers* no ſeruice, whereof himſelfe tooke not the *Aſſay* with a cheerefull heart: in this ſort performing as well the *Offices* of an *Actiue* and hardy *Souldier*, as the carefull charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he diſcomfited & put to flight diuers *Nations*, whom inſolent *Pride* (fed with ſecurity) had incited and ſet on fire, to inuade the *Romans Territories*; and ſo reſtored wholly vnto their former ſtate the *Cities* and *Caſtles* which had ſuſtained many loſſes, and eſtabliſhed a ſure peace for a long time following.

(7) Now there happened whiles he atchieued theſe exploits, a dangerous matter likely to haue broken out into great miſchiefe, had it not beene quenched in the very beginning of the enterpriſe: for one *Valentinus* of *Valeria Pannonia*, a man of a proud ſpirit, firſt Deputy Leiutenant and after preſident, for ſome notable offenſe baniſhed into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had beene, as one impatient of reſt, like ſome noiſome wilde Beaſt, vpon a certaine ſwelling pride, roſe vp in commotion againſt *Theodoſius*, whom hee perceiued to be the only man able to withſtand his wicked deſignes. Howbeit, caſting about many waies, both cloſely and apparantly, as the gale of his vnmeaſurable deſire roſe higher, he ſolicited as well the baniſhed perſons as Souldiers, promiſing (as the time would affoord) rewards to allure and draw them on to ſome actuall attempt. Yet when the day came wherein it ſhould haue beene effected, *Theodoſius* hauing intelligence thereof, ſurprized *Valentinus* with ſome few of inward complices, and deliuered them vnto *Dulcitius*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his militarie skill and policie, (wherein hee was reputed to haue exceeded all men liuing in thoſe daies) geſsing at future dangers, hee inhibited all *Inquiſitions* to be made touching the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, leſt ſo generall a feare ſurpriſing at once, and ſpread abroad among many thoſe tempeſtuous troubles of the *Prouinces*, which were now well allaied, ſhould reuiue againe.

(8) Therefore turning himſelfe from this buſineſſe to the reforming of ſuch enormities as were of moſt conſequence, now that all dangers were quite ouer-blowne, he reedified the *Cities*, repaired the *Gariſon Caſtles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with ſtanding *Watches*, and ſtrong *Fore-enſes*. And thus hauing recouered the *Prouince* againe which had yeelded ſubiection to the *Enemies*, he reduced it vnto the priſtine *Eſtate*, ſo as by his meanes and motion it had againe a lawfull *Gouernour* appointed, and alſo named it VALENTIA, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperor.

(9) The *Areans*, a kinde of men (as witneſſeth *Amianus*) inſtituted by thoſe of ancient times for politicke imploiments, who by little and little were fallen into diſorders and vices, he remooued from their *Siations*, as being manifeſtly conuicted, for that (induced with the greatneſſe of rewards receiued or promiſed) they had diuers times diſcouered vnto the *Barbarous* whatſoeuer was done or debated betwixt the *Preſident* and his *Counſell*: for indeed their charge was to runne to and fro by long iournies, to intimate and make knowne vnto the *Romans Captaines* vpon the *Marches*, what doings and ſtirres were among the *Neighbour-Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reueale the ſecrets of the *State*.

(10) And thus *Theodoſius* hauing managed moſt excellently theſe affaires, was ſent for to the *Emperours Court*; who leauing the *Prouince* ouer-ioied for their *Peace*, was no leſſe famous for his many important *Victories*, then was either *Furius Camillus*, or *Papinius Curſor*. And being honourably accompanied and attended vnto the *Narrow Seas*, with the heartie loue and fauour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde paſſed ouer, and came to the *Princes Campe*, where (being receiued with ioy and praiſe) he ſucceeded in the roome of *Valens Iouinus*, who had the conduct of the *Horſemen*. For theſe his Martiall deeds ſo happily atchieued, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, reſembling a *Man of Armes* on *Horſebacke*, as by *Symmachus* may be vnderſtood, thus ſpeaking to his ſonne *Theodoſius*: *The Author of your kindred and ſtocke, Captaine Generall both in Africke and Britaine, was (among other ancient Titles) conſecrated by the moſt honourable Order with Statues of Knighthood.* And in his commendations, *Claudian* with full note thus poetically ſang:

Ille Caledonijs poſuit qui Caſtra pruinis,
Qui medios Libyæ ſub Caſside pertulit æſtus.
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorq; Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boreæ vaſtator & Auſtri.
Quid rigor æternus? Cæli quid ſydera proſunt?
Ignotumq; fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberne.

In Caledonian froſts his Tents he pight,
And Lybiaes ſcorching heat endur'd in Field:

The

* *Britaine* ſo called.
* *Bologne.*
* *Rebcheſter.*
London called *Auguſta.*
Theodoſius ioifullie receiued into *London.*
Amianus Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.
Valentinus a Rebell put to death.
Theodoſius an expert Warriour.
Britaine called *Valentia.*
Amian. Marcel. lib. 28. cap. 7.
Areans remoued from their Stations.
Theodoſius comparable to *Camillus.*
Symmachus.
Claudian in praiſe of *Theodoſius.*

The Coleblacke Moores, and Britaines faire, in fight
He queld, and forc'd both South and North to yeeld.
What then auaild cold Clime, strange Seas, or Starres,
When Orkney Iles he drencht with Saxons gore;
When Thule did reake with Picts bloud spilt in warres,
And Ireland did huge heapes of Scots deplore?

Dreadfull fights, and fearefull Earthquakes. *Amian. Marcell. lib.16 cap.14.*

(11) Strange and dreadfull were the signes that in the third yeere of this *Emperour* chanced; as *Earthquakes, Inundations*, and the like; whereof *Marcellinus* thus reporteth: *A little after the Sunne-rising* (saith he) *the waighty and steddy masse of the whole Earthly Globe shooke, flashes of lightning very thicke and fierce going before: the Sea also driuen aside, and the waues and billowes so preposterously tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe Gulfes being discouered and laid empty, a man might haue seene sundry sorts of swimming creatures sticking in the mudde: Also the vast Vallies and Rockes, which Nature had set farre away vnder the huge Waters, did now behold the Beames of the Sunne; insomuch that many Ships were bedded fast in the drie ground, and flockes of people straggled at their pleasure in the small remaines of water, to take vp Fishes as the Sea-spoile; when on the sudden the waues disdaining to be thus dispossessed, returned with such violent beating vpon the Ilands and Promontories, which lay farre into the Sea, as that they ouer-flowed, and laid leuell an infinite number of buildings and Cities. And therefore in this furious discord of the Elements, the surface of the world being couered, represented strange, and wonderfull sights:* Among which *S. Ierome* reporteth, that there *rained Woollfrom Heauen so perfect and good, that no better grew vpon the Sheepe, the naturall Producer.* But to returne.

Gulfes of the Sea laid bare, and many Cities drowned.

Paulus Orosius. S. Ierome. Woll rained from Heauen.

(12) *Fraomarius*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordained to be *King* of the *Bucinobantes* in *Germanie*, was made *Tribune* and *Colonell* ouer a *Regiment* of *Almains* in *Britaine*, which for number and valour in those daies were renowned; where (no doubt) matter enough was ministred for him to worke vpon. But the death of the *Emperour* presently following, admits no mention of further discourse: which happened in this manner: The *Quadi* after many molestations done to the *Roman Legions* and their *Confederates*, sent their *Ambassadours* vnto him, desiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an abolishment of all remembrances thereof: with whom being in earnest conference, suddenly the bloud gushed out of his mouth; and being laid vpon his bed, shortly after died of an *Apoplexie*, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *blew Markes* appearing vpon his dead body gaue coniecture: *Nouember* the seuenth, of his age fiftie fiue yeeres, hauing raigned eleuen yeeres, eight moneths, and two daies, in the yeere of our Christ three hundred seuenty fiue.

Amian. Marcell. lib.29 cap.9. *Fraomarius* made King of the *Bucinobants.*

Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib.4. cap.26. Valentinianus death.

(13) For presence, he was Maiesticall, of bodie fat, his complexion faire, his eies gray, and hauing therwith somwhat a scue cast, his haire shining bright, his ioints strong and well knit: he was a *Prince* mercifull and louing, and mitigated many Tributes formerly imposed on the *Prouinces*: a wise Warriour, sterne in countenance, hastie of speech, and chaste of body, a good Iusticer, and impatient of all delaies. But these his *Vertues* with some *Vices* were accompanied: for he is taxed with enuie and partialitie, in punishing seuerely the poore *Souldier* for small offenses, but remissiue to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*, and that was the cause (by *Amianus* his report) of the troubles in *Britaine*, the losses in *Africke*, and the wasting in *Illyricum*.

Valentinianus his personage and vertues.

(14) His *Arian* brother *Valens* suruiuing him, raigned *Emperour* in the *East*; by whose sufferance the *Barbarous Gothes* entred *Thracia*, which presently proued to be the bane of the *Roman World*, for that these *Gothes* (a strange and vnknowne People till then) being forced out of a secret Nooke in *Scythia*, by the *Hog-Backt Hunnes*, rushing as an vnresistable *Whirle-Winde* from those *High Mountaines*, infested the *Coasts* about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to passe the *Riuer Donaw* into *Thracia*, where long in quiet they staied not, but like a violent *Floud* running with a full currant, they ouer-whelmed all before them, ouercomming the *Romans* in many *Battles*, and in one slew the *Emperour Valens*, with most of his approoued *Captaines*, and twenty fiue *Tribunes* that had charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his Armie hardly escaping vnslaine. Some report that *Valens* flying the *Field*, tooke into a house neere *Adrianople*, whither being pursued by the *Enemie*, and his *Hold* fired vpon his head, was therein burned to ashes, after he had sate Emperour fourteene yeeres.

Valens Emperor in the East.

Amian. Marcell. lib.31. cap.34.

Gothes ouercome the *Romans*. *Valens* slaine.

FLAVIVS GRACIANVS } Emp.
FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR }

Chapter LI.

Gracianus & Valentinianus Emp.

An. Do. 376.

Amianus Mar. lib. 27 cap. 5. Gracian and Valentinian Emp.

Gracianus, the *Eldeſt Sonne* of *Valentinianus*, by his *Empreſſe Seuera*, was made his fathers *Collegue* in the *Empire* in the fourth yeere of his *Raigne*: notwithſtanding ſix daies after his death, his ſecond Sonne *Valentinian*, a *Childe* of *Foure yeeres* old, by the aduice of the *Counſell* and generall conſent of the *Camp*, was alſo ſtiled and proclaimed *Emperor*. Theſe *Brethren* liued in much loue, and ruled in the *Weſt*, as their vncle *Valens* did in the *Eaſt*, of whom wee laſt ſpake. And albeit *Gracian* had cauſe of diſpleaſure, that this his *Younger Brother* was thus aduanced without his allowance; yet he as a *Prince* kind and naturall, regarded his *Brother* exceedingly, and brought him vp in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered vnto himſelfe and his owne *Mother* for *Valentinians* mothers ſake.

Lib. 30 cap. 12.

Gracian louing to *Valentinian.*

(2) The *Mother* of this *Valentinian* was *Iuſtina*, a damſell of an admirable feature and exceeding beautie, ſurpaſsing all other women ſo farre, that the *Empreſſe* her ſelfe fell in loue with her, and vſually conuerſed with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her moſt priuate ſecrets vnto her as her truſtie Counſeller, and often bathing together in the ſame Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the meaſure of *womaniſh modeſtie*, inſomuch as ſhe refrained not in the hearing of the *Emperour* (her *Huſband*) to extoll her incomparable beautie, preferring her far aboue any creature in the *World*. Whereupon *Valentinianus* ſo farre affected this Lady, as that he tooke her to his *Wife*; by whom he had this young *Valentinian*, and alſo three *Daughters*, notwithſtanding *Seuera* was yet liuing.

Iuſtina mother of young *Valentinian.*

Socrates eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4 cap. 25.

(3) The ſtormes of the *Gothes* as a violent tempeſt beating ſtill againſt the Shoares of the *Roman Prouinces*, cauſed *Gracian* to beare *Sayle* toward the ſafeſt *Harbour*, and to commit the guidance of his ſhippe to the moſt aſſured Pilot: their forces being ſo great, and their outrages ſo terrible, that hee thought it beſt not to aduenture his owne perſon, but to imploy ſome other approoued *Captaine*. For which exploit, none was held more ſufficient then *Theodoſius*, the *Sonne* of that *Theodoſius* who was ſo famous for his *Britiſh Warres*, and whoſe life was taken away by *Valens* the *Eaſterne Emperour*. Him he made firſt *Captaine Generall* of the *Roman Empire*, and immediatly vpon his firſt ſeruice againſt the *Gothes*, his *Fellow Emperor* and *Auguſtus*, allotting him thoſe parts in the *Eaſt*, that his vncle *Valens* lately had enioyed.

Valentinianus marrieth *Iuſtina*, by whom he had young *Valentinian.*

Theodoſius, Captaine generall of the *Roman* Empire, and fellow Emperor.

(4) In many *Battels*, fought to the laſt drop of bloud, this worthy *Generall* ouercame the *Gothes*, ſo that their King *Athanarius* was laſtly inforced to ſue for his *Peace*, which vpon honourable compoſitions was graunted, and himſelfe in moſt princely manner entertained by *Theodoſius* in the *Imperiall Citie Conſtantinople*; where falling ſicke after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and ſumptuouſly buried by the *Emperor*. Theſe reports cauſed *Sapor*, the moſt puiſſant *King* of *Perſia*, to ſubmit himſelfe vnto *Theodoſius*, and by his *Ambaſſadors*, attending his *Court*, obtained his Amitie. Thus glorioſuly raigning and perfect peace eſtabliſhed, he ordained his young ſonne *Arcadius* his *Fellow Emperor* in the *Eaſt*.

Theodoſius ouercommeth the *Gothes.*

Aurelius Victor. Paulus Oroſius.

Sapor King of *Perſia.*

(5) But the affaires in the *Weſterne Empire* proceeded nothing ſo fortunately: for *Gracian* a meeke and ſoft ſpirited man, ballanced with *Theodoſius*, was held without regard; and *Valentinian* by his *Prefect Probus*, held both *Rome* and *Italy* at his deuotion; onely *Gallia* obeyed *Gracian*. For *Clemens Maximus* borne in *Spaine*, but deſcended lineally from *Conſtantine the Great*, by his affability and liberal carriage, had wonne the affections of the *Britaines* to ſide with him; a man, no doubt, both Valiant and Wiſe, had he held his alleagiance to his *Soueraigne Lord*. But the time fitting his purpoſes, when the *Scots* and *Picts* with their wonted inroads, ſore indamaged the *Prouince*, he ſet himſelfe for their deliuerance, and therein ſped ſo well, that the *Souldiers* by conſtraint (as *Oroſius* ſaith) forced him to aſſume the *Imperiall Stile* and *Purple Robe*. And ſo

Clemens Maximus rebelleth. *Cambden.*

Ann. Do. 381.

Zoſimus. Paulus Oroſius.

Clemens Maximus assumeth the Imperiall Stile.

so hasting into *Gallia*, with all the flower and strength well neer of the *Britaines* forces, arriued in the mouth of *Rhene*, vnto whom also the *Germans* Army ioyned, and now accounting himselfe an absolute Monarch, admitted *Victor* his sonne, then *Cæsar*, to be partner of his Empire, whose Stampe therefore with his father we haue here annexed.

(6) Thus *Maximus* establishing his throne at *Triers*, *Spread his wings* (saith *Gyldas*) *the one into Spaine, the other into Italy, and with the terror of his Name, leuied Tributes and Pensions for Souldiers pay, of the most fell and sauage Germans.*

Against him *Gracianus* made his power, but after fiue daies skirmishings was forsaken of his own *Souldiers*, and so put to flight. And now deiected and destitute of meanes to maintaine his quarrell, hee sent *Ambrose* (a great Doctor of the Church) his *Ambassador* vnto *Maximus*, to intreat for *Peace*, which in outward shew was granted, but was farre otherwise intended, as the sequell proued. For seeking his death, he did shortly after effect it in this wise: He caused Letters, and reports to be giuen vnto *Gracian*, that his *Empresse* was in iourny to visit him, and withall sent forth a *Carroche* stuffed with *Souldiers*, and with them a desperate *Captaine* named *Andragathius*. *Gracian* greatly reioycing for his *Wifes* approach, prepared himselfe to meet *Her* accordingly, and opening the *Litter*, thinking to imbrace his *Empresse*, was by these Ruffins treacherously murthered neere vnto *Lyons*, when he had raigned fifteene yeeres, and liued twentie nine. *Valentinian* with his *Mother Iustina*, fearing the like conspiracies, became supplicants vnto *Theodosius* in the *East* against *Maximus*.

Clemens Maximus, his stratagem against Gracian.

Andragathius a murtherer.

Gracian, his death & raigne.

(7) He therefore preparing his forces, marched as farre as *Aquileia* in *Lombardie*, where *Maximus* remained both confident and secure. For hauing fortified the straits of the *Mountaines* with sufficient *Garrisons*, and dammed the *Hauens* with strength of *Ships*, himselfe and assisters with great boldnesse proceeded against *Theodosius*, and gaue him a battell before the Citie *Syscia* in *Pannonia*, and againe most valiantly receiued him in another, vnder the leading of his brother *Marcellus*; but in both of them was ouercome. From this last, he secretly retired vnto *Aquileia*, where of his owne *Souldiers* he was betraied, and deliuered to *Theodosius* his pursuer; and by him to the *Executioner* to be beheaded: of which his vnfortunate, but deserued end, the famous Bishop *Martinus Turonensis* being in *Britaine*, did foretell him long before. *Andragathius* also, the Murtherer of *Gracian*, whose state was now desperate, cast himselfe headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. *Victor* the sonne of *Maximus*, made his *Cæsar* in *France*, as we haue said, was defeated, taken Prisoner & slaine. This *Victory* was held so worthy and memorable, that the *Romans* from thence forward solemnized that day euery yeere as festiuall, saith *Procopius*.

Sabellicus Enn. 7. lib. 9.

An. Dom. 388.

Andragathius drowneth himselfe.

(8) But these *Britaines* that had assisted *Maximus*, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly inuade *Armorica*, and there planted themselues: *From whence* (saith *Beda*, *the Britaines first arriued into this Iland.* But surely himselfe is either greatly mistaken, or else we mistake him altogether, and that rather, for that by *Cæsar* those Coasts that lie vpon the Sea shoares, are called *Armorica*, and there the *Celtes* seated, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden, and so from thence they might spread themselues further into these *British Ilands*, long before it receiued the name of *Little Britaine*. The like troubles fell to other *Prouinces* at the same time, by the intestine *Warres* of the *Empire*: for the *Gaules* were molested by the *Frankes*; *Spaine* by the *Sueuians*; and *Africk* by the *Vandals*: the *East* parts by the *Heruli*, *Ostroges*, and *Hunnes*; *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and shortly after by the *Gothes*.

(9) These troubles in the *Prouinces*, caused the *Emperors* to call home their Armies, with Aides of their Allies, & all too little to support their own declining *Estates*, which now beganne to end of it selfe, and these *Emperors* raignes to be cut off by their vntimely deaths.

But to returne into the path of our History, from whence (by the Intangled occasions of these foure Emperours raigning together) we haue wandred; let vs remember what occurrents happened vpon the death of *Maximus* the Tyrant, and hasten to end the greatnesse of the Empire, which in most Prouinces began to end of it selfe. For *Valentinian* being rid of his feares, vnto which he had beene subiect; and *Theodosius* of his *Collegue*, vnto whom hee was enforced; great hope was conceiued of a flourishing *Estate*, but it brought foorth onely the remaines of their downefall: for the one returning to *Constantinople* in great *Triumph*, liued not long after; and the other left peaceably in the *Westerne World*, was (as you shall heare) soone made away by *Conspiracie*.

(10) *Valentinian* remaining at *Vienna* in *France*, free from *Hostile Enemies*, retained in his Court those that sought his life, whereof *Arbogastes*, a *Captaine* of a haughty stomacke, politicke, aduenturous, and of great power, but withall of a base Parentage, a stranger and an Infidell, was one; *Eugenius* a *Grammarian*, but now bearing *Armes*, and of great account, was another. These corrupting his *Chamberlaines*, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by strangling him in his bedde, giuing it forth that the *Emperour* had hanged himselfe; which was so confidently auouched, that *Prosperus* in his Addition to *Eusebius* writing his death, saith, that *it was acted by himselfe*, after hee had liued twenty six, and raigned sixteene yeeres, being strangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred eighty foure.

Arbogastes a conspirator.

Eugenius a Grammarian, another.

Valentinian strangled.

Prosperus.

Valentinian his raigne.

FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS.

CHAPTER LII.

Flau. Theodosius Emp.

An. Do. 392.

WE haue declared in the life of the last preceding *Emperour*, the *Birth* and *Fortunes*, *Warres* and *Victories* of this most worthie *Theodosius*, vntill the death of *Maximus* the *Britaine*, (for so most writers terme him) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in *Warre* and *Peace* to bee further related.

(2) This *Emperour* returning from *Aquileia* in *Lombardie* vnto *Constantinople* in the *East*, long time there staied not, but was drawne againe into the *West* both to reuenge the death of *Valentinian* his *Fellow-Emperour* so trecherously strangled, and also to oppose the proceedings of *Eugenius*, whose Coine wee haue heere expressed, being one of the Murderers then vsurping that portion of the Empire, sided by *Arbogastes* the other.

Theodosius goeth against *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius*.

Eugenius vsurper.

(3) *Theodosius* marching with his forces towards the *Confines* of *Italie* found the passages stopped at the foot of the *Alps*, and his *Enemies* powers farre surmounting his: Therefore a while to deliberate on these businesses, hee pitched his *Tents*, and there staied. In the meane time *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes* his associate had forelaid the Countrey, and hemmed him about in such a strait, that no victuals could bee brought vnto his Campe.

(4) No meanes being now left, but either to cleere the passages, or bee ouerthrowne, hee first became supplicant with *Fastings* and *Teares* vnto his *God*, whom he knew to be the *God* of *Hosts*, and whom euer he had serued, and whose aid had hitherto neuer failed him: whereupon boldly incouraging his men, he accepted of the *Field*. But the Battle furiously begunne, fell so sore against him, that ten thousand of his *Souldiers* were presently slaine; and the rest despairing ready to flie, himselfe at that instant had beene surprized, had not *God* turned the heart of *Arbitio*, a *Captaine* of his *Enemies*, suddenly to come to his side, and to rescue him. *Theodosius* much daunted by these *vnfortunate beginnings*, yet conceiued better hopes of the following successe, trusting to the vprightnesse of his *Cause*, and the helpe of his *God*, which still he implored, till the *Heauens* were propitious to his earnest desires.

Theodosius praieth to God for victorie.

Sabellic. Ennead. 7 lib. 9.

(5) For suddenly a violent tempest arose, and a raging winde rushed so extreamly on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wise able to withstand it, the power thereof beating backe againe their darts into their owne sides; whereas the arrowes shot from the Emperors part, were thereby forced with double strength to pierce through the *Rebels* Iron plates, whereby a most glorious victory was obtained; and *Eugenius* taken, who lay grouelling at the *Emperors* feete, deploring his estate, and crauing his pardon; but euen as hee kneeled with cries and teares, the *Souldiers* standing by strucke off his *Head*. And *Arbogastes* the Author of these euils by flight escaping, two daies after ran himselfe vpon his *Sword*, and so reuenged on himselfe his owne wicked actions. This victory was atchieued the sixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninety six, by *Socrates* account: and was so famous, that besides the Records of Christian Historians, *Claudius* a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the same in his Heroick Poeme.

Theodosius obtaineth victorie.

Socrat. Eccl. hist. lib. 5. cap. 24.

Eugenius beheaded.

Arbogastes killeth himselfe.

Gods darling deare, the heauens thy souldiers were in arms,
And windes conspired to aid and follow thy allarms.

(6) *Theodosius* thus deliuered, repaired vnto *Millan*, where worne with yeeres and trauels, shortly after he sickened vnto death. And sending for his Son *Honorius*, made him *Emperor* of the *West*, and to *Arcadius* gaue the *East*, wherein hee had before made him his *Cæsar*. The *Prouince* of *Africa* he assigned to the gouernment by one *Gyldus* in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the *Non-age* of *Arcadius* appointed *Rufinus* for *Constantinople*, and *Stilicho* Tutor to young *Honorius* in *Italie*, three most worthy men vndoubtedly, had the greatnesse of their spirits beene contained within the lists of their trust and places.

Theodosius deceaseth.

Honorius and *Arcadius* made Emperours.

Gildus Gouernour of *Africa*.

Rufinus Gouernour of *Constantinople*.

Stilicho Gouernour of *Italie*.

(7) This last named *Flauius Stilicho*, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with *Theodosius*, had beene imploied in the *Britaines* warres against the inroades of the *Scots*, *Vandals*, and *Picts*, and therein had borne himselfe with fortunate successe, as the Poet *Claudian* implieth, where he bringeth in *Britaine* thus speaking:

Stilicho imploied in the British Warres.

Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem Gentibus, inquit,
Muniuit Stilicho, totam quum Scotus Hibernem
Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubijs venientem Saxona portis.

Stilicho commended by *Claudian* for his seruice in *Britaine*.

And I, saith she, that ready was
by bordering foes to perish,
When Scots did cause the Irish stirres,
then Stilicho did me cherish.

His

When Seas did foame with ſtrokes of Oares,
that beat the bellowes backe,
His force effecting with his cares,
preuented ſtill my wracke:
He bad me feare no forraine powers,
that Scots *or* Picts *could make,*
Nor of the Saxons *that on Seas,*
vncertaine courſes take.

So that being by him freed from thoſe many dangers, and all her enemies ouerthrowne, ſhee ſingeth her ſecurity by the ſame Poet.

——Domito quod Saxone Thetis
Mitior aut fracto ſecura Britannia Picto.

My Seas, though rough are calm'd,
ſith Saxons *conquer'd are,*
And I ſecurely reſt,
now Picts *are queld in warre.*

But this her ioy through the Treaſons of theſe three Gouernours, was ſoone turned into laments and teares, and the whole *Empires* glory brought to a fatall period, as preſently it will appeare.

Theodoſius his vertues.

(8) This *Theodoſius* for his Princely parts by all writers is ranked among the very beſt of all the *Emperours*: And as he is likened to *Traian* for his feature and perſonage, ſo may he be compared in wiſedome to *Marcus Aurelius*: In temperance with *Antoninus Pius*: For his Chriſtian profeſsion and deuotion, with *Conſtantine* the Great: and for his meeknes, equall to any: Wherof among many other, we haue one example very remarkeable, vpon an offence cõmitted by the Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica*, hee commanded moſt ſeuere puniſhment to bee inflicted, which was ſo vnaduiſedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were inuolued therein. He then comming to *Millan*, would haue entred the Church to haue communicated with other Chriſtians in their ſacred deuotions, which *Ambroſe*, the great Doctor, and Biſhop of that *Sea* (though otherwiſe a man of admirable mildneſſe) reſiſted and forbad, in which eſtate the *Emperour* ſtood for eight moneths continuance: and then with great humility & ſubmiſsion, acknowledgeing his offence was abſolued, and againe receiued into the congregation: For preuenting of the like raſh offences by him committed, he then enacted a Lawe, that thirty daies ſhould paſſe betwixt the ſentence of death, and the execution of the *Malefactor*: And to ſuppreſſe his haſty choller (whereunto he was much ſubiect) his vſuall manner was to recite the *Greeke Alphabet*, before hee vttred any ſpeech ſauering of that humour.

Theodoſius vpon his ſubmiſſion, abſolued by the Church.

Theodoſius, his Art to ſuppreſſe anger.

(9) He died Ianuary the ſeuenteenth, the yeere of the worlds happines three hundred ninety fiue: when he had raigned ſeuenteene yeares, and liued ſixty, as *Aurelius Victor* writeth, with whom he ends his Hiſtory. His firſt wife was *Flaccilia*, a religious Lady, the Mother of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, by his ſecond wife hee had a daughter named *Placidia Galla*, firſt married vnto *Athaulpus* King of the *Gothes*, and after his death vnto *Conſtantine*, whom *Honorius* her brother made *Auguſtus* and his fellow *Emperour*.

Socrates eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Theodoſius his death and progeny.

ARCADIVS HONORIVS Emperours.

CHAPTER LIII.

Arcadius Emp. East.

Honorius Emp. West.

Atall was the Act of *Theodoſius*, in his Election of the three foreſaid Protectors, whoſe greatnes carried with a glutted proſperity, grew to a ſurfet after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downefall of the now aged and drooping *Empire*: firſt *Gildus* in *Africa*, nor contented with the title of *Comes* or *Earle*, caſt off all ſubiection, and as an abſolute Lord, acknowledged neither *Arcadius*, nor *Honorius* for his Soueraigne.

Anno 395.

Gildus rebelleth.

Paulus Diaconus.

Paulus Oroſius.

Gildas beheaded.

(2) Againſt theſe proceedings, his owne brother *Maſtelzerius* oppoſed himſelfe, and both in words and acts aſſayed to ſet him in his wonted place of obedience, which by no other means could be brought to paſſe, but by aſſiſtance ſent him from *Honorius*, with which, though much too weake, he marched againſt the *Emperours* Enemy, and as *Paulus Oroſius* writeth more by force of praiers to God, then power of men, in his encounter preuailed, and beheaded *Gildus* for his Treaſon: But himſelfe becomming mightie, and forgetting that which in others hee remembred, himſelfe vſurped the command of *Africa* againſt *Honorius*, caſting off all ſubiectiue obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Prouince: The Souldiours that had lately aſsiſted the *Emperours* cauſe, now well perceiuing his aime, leuelled at the Crowne, thought beſt to cut the ſtring before he looſed the ſhaft, and made him ſhorter by the head.

Maſtelzerius ouercometh his brother *Gildus*.

Maſtelzerius beheaded.

(3) *Ruffinus* in *Conſtantinople* as boldly bare himſelfe, thinking *Arcadius* both too weake and yong to ſound the depth of his deſignes, whoſe thoughts did alſo worke vpon conceited Soueraignety: he therefore ſecretly ſollicited the *Gothes* to warre vpon the *Empire*, that ſo *Arcadius* might either be ſlaine or in-

Ruffinus ambition.

trapped, or else himselfe in those dangers, set vp as the more sufficient. But these things thus dangerously complotted by *Ruffinus*, were as politically preuented by the *Emperor*, although a *Child:* for before the *Seed* of this *Treason* could bring forth either *Bud* or *Blade* it was discouered, and the *Author* slaine by an *Italian* Band, his Head (which as some affirme, first tooke breath in *Britaine*) was aduanced ouer a *Gate* in *Constantinople*.

Ruffinus slaine.

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the *Deaths* of these two *Traitors*, the *Third* stood vp with more danger in the *west*. For *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to yong *Honorius*, thought it not sufficient honour for him to haue his *Daughter* an *Empresse* by the *Marriage* of his *Ward*; but set at hazard (for himselfe and sonne) his own *Conscience*, both their *Liues*, and the fatall ruine of the *Now-declining Empire*. For first, sowing seditions amongst the *Lieutenants* of the *Prouinces*, picked also quarrels in the *Emperors* Court, *Casshiering* with disgraces those *Gothes* that had serued with good proofe of their fidelitie aboue twenty yeeres, since their entertainment by *Theodosius*. These to reuenge their *Wrongs*, chose for their *Cheiftaine* a valiant *Gothe* named *Alaricus*, which shortly proued the *Scourge* of *Rome:* with whom ioyned the *Vandals*, *Alanes*, and *Sueuians*, who ioyntly with great fury beganne to warre in *Austria* and *Hungarie*, increasing their *Powers* with such *Multitudes*, that as *Paulus Orosius*, an Author of that time saith; The *World* was amazed and stood in feare. For vnto these *Colonies* resorted two hundred thousand *Gothes*, more, vnder the leading of *Radagasius* their *King*, who together with vnited forces, subdued all *Thrasia*, *Hungary*, *Austrich*, *Sclauonia*, and *Dalmatia*, and spoiled all in such manner, that it seemed *Diuels* and not *Men* had passed that way, as Saint *Ierome* (who liued at that time) expresseth: *These brute Beasts* (saith he) *suffered by the wrath of God in this warre, haue laid Cities waste, slaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and desolate, whereof the Prouinces of Thracia, and Sclauonia, with the Country wherein my selfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records.*

Stilicho set at hazard the whole Empire.

Alaricus the scourge of *Rome*.

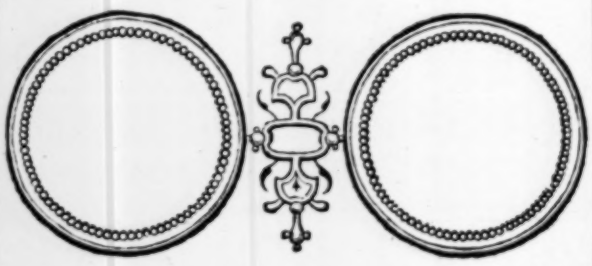
Paulus Orosius.

Radagasius with two hundred thousand *Gothes*.

Hieron. in epist. ad Paul. & Eust.

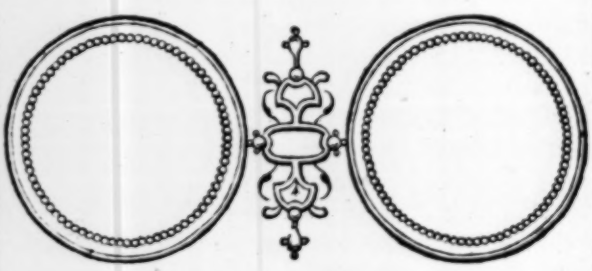
(5) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and these fierce *Nations* making hauock where they came, the Armies in *Britaine* were put in great feare, lest the Flames of their *Neighbours fire* might *Flash* out, and take hold of them also. Therefore prouidently to preuent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperor*, yeelding him their obedience some short time, and then finding his defects, immediatly murthered him.

Marcus chosen Emperor.
Marcus murthered.
Sabellicus Enn. 7. lib. 9.



In whose stead they *Inthroned* one *Gracian* a *Britaine:* whose carriage not answering their expectations, they *Murthered* also, within *Foure Moneths* after his Royall solemnity.

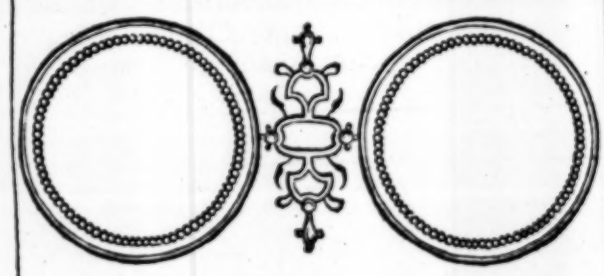
Gracian chosen Emperor.
Gracian murthered.



The features and Imperiall Titles stamped on the Romish Mony of these two *Vsurpers*, (according to the vsuall manner of the like in Estate) we finde not, neither stands it with credit of our History to faine them at pleasure: therefore till time bring them forth, from the Caues of obscurity wee haue allowed them place onlie by these Circles inserted, that others may supply what presentlie wee want, and accomplish by pencile what we cannot by Presse.

(6) Yet time to *Constantine* hath bin more fauorable in preseruing his remẽbrance by his minted Moneys, which here with his Story we present to sight. At the fall of these former, no better at all then a Common Souldier, but vpon confidence onely conceiued of his *Name*, was made *Emperor*, who with more respect of honour, and liking of his aduancers, bare himselfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologne*, he easily induced the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps* to side with him: *Valentia* in *France* hee manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had been neglected, hee fortified with *Garrisons:* vpon the *Alps* as well as vpon the *Maritime Coasts*, where passages were frequented, he built Fortresses: *Spaine* likewise he held vnder the hand of *Constans* his *Sonne*, whom of a *Monke* hee had made *Augustus*, & by whose valour subdued all from the *Pyrenean Mountaines* to the *Ocean*. Whose Moneys wanting to expresse his Image and Stile, we haue also supplied with another Blanke.

Constantine of a common Souldier made Emperor.
Ann. Do. 41[illegible]



(7) *Constantine* prospering as wee haue said, sent Letters of excuse vnto *Honorius*, affirming constantly that he was compelled by the *Souldiers* to doe what he did: whereby he so pleased the *Emperor*, that commending his Valor, & holding him fit, he sent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Whereupon this new-growne blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall Seat*, Commanding the *Citie* to be called *Constantina* from him, and ordained that the Assemblies of the affaires of *Seuen Prouinces* should bee therein held. But this his *Sunshine* of prosperitie was soone ouercast with the *Clouds* of aduerse fortunes, and his Crowne & Life laid together in the dust. For in *Spaine* against him was arreared *Maximus* a *Vassall*, whose *Generall Gerontius* intercepting *Constans*, (his *Sonne* and *Cæsar*) at *Vienna* in *France* slew him: and *Constantine* himself within the Walles of *Arles*, besieged for *Foure Moneths*, after the *Raigne* of *Foure Yeeres*, laid aside his *Purple Robe*, and entred the *Church* in *Order* of *Priesthood*, surrendering the Citie with his Stile Imperiall, was lastly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

Constans the sonne of *Constantine* made *Augustus*. *Sabellicus.*

Constans slaine.

Constantius beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Prouince* a while was refreshed by the *wisdome* and *Prowesse* of *Victorinus* her *Lieutenant*, who often represt the incursions of the *Scots*

Victorinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

Honorius alloweth *Constantine* Emperor.

Scots and *Picts*: whereupon in his praise *Rutilius Claudius* thus wrote:

Conscius Oceanus virtutum conscia Thule,
Et quaecunque ferox arua Britannus arat.

The Ocean wide and Thule,
his vertues witnesse will;
And all the Champian Fields,
which Britaines fierce doe till.

(9) But *Rome* at this time being sore afflicted, and by *Alaricus* with his *Gothes* and *Vandals* presently sacked, *Honorius* sent for *Victorinus* with his *Army* out of *Britaine*, to the rescue of the Citie, as *Claudian* signifieth, when he reckoneth vp among other *Aides*, the *British Legion* sent thither: whereof the *Scots* and *Picts* had soone notice, and (according to their wonted manner) with fire and sword molested their neighbours.

(10) The *Britains* therfore resolutely engaging themselues into dangers, tooke *Armes*, and freed their *Cities* and *States* from those *Barbarous People*: by whose example, the rest of their Nation in *Armorica*, with the *Prouinces* of *Gaulois*, deliuered themselues also from their oppressions, and all of them cast out the *Roman Presidents*, settling a forme of Common-wealth to their owne liking. But these our *Britaines* growing too weake to withstand the continuall inroades of their *Northerne Enemies*, humbly besought *Honorius* for succour; whose returne of comforts consisted only in words, exhorting them by *Letters*, to stand vpon their owne *Guard*. But they knowing it was not words which must helpe them, againe deplored their miseries, & so obtained of him the assistance of one *Legion*, which in their aid droue backe those *Assailants* into their owne *Marches*, and fortified againe the *Wall* betwixt the *Frith* of *Edenburgh* vnto *Clud*: so then departing, left the *Britaines* to defend themselues; who now, besides the *Common Enemies* so often mentioned, were much molested, and their *Faith* corrupted by one *Pelagius*, by birth a *Britaine*, by profession a *Monke*, by leaud doctrine an *Heretike*, who was brought vp in the famous *Monastery* of *Bangor* in *Wales*, had also trauelled *Italie*, *Sicilia*, & *Ægypt*, for the studie of learning, and grew into great fauour with *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and with *S. Augustine* also, till his *Hereticall Assertions*, which had beene by him and his disciple *Cœlestius* (a *Scot* secretly taught, and by *Saint Ierome* discouered) were afterwards condemned by *Innocentius* the first, Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Arch-heretike* returning into *Britaine*, began againe obstinately to maintaine the same, together with *Agricola*, one who spread the venome of that *Heresie* into *Forraine parts*: whose doctrines were, 1. That Man, without the grace of God, was able to fulfill all the Commandements. 2. That Man in himselfe had *Freewill*. 3. That the Grace of God was giuen vnto vs according to our merits. 4. That the Iust haue no sinne. 5. That Children are free from *Originall sinne*. 6. That *Adam* should haue died, though he had not sinned. And therein also one *Timothie* most impiously disputed against the *Diuine* and *Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding, at the same time flourished *Fastidius*, a most learned *British Bishop*, and *Chrysanthus* also the *Deputie* or *Vicegerent* of *Britaine*, who with great honor gouerned the affaires of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and was afterwards (as elsewhere we haue shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Nouatians* against his will.

August. de Haeres. Pelagius his opinions.

Timothie his Heresie.

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

(11) Thus were the affaires of this *Land* managed vnder these *Brethren Emperours*; the elder of which, *Arcadius*, died in peace at *Constantinople*, leauing his sonne *Theodosius*, a childe of eight yeeres, to the succession of the *Empire*, and to the tuition of *Hisdigerdus* King of *Persia*; a matter which seemed at first very dangerous, but prooued at the last very profitable. He raigned thirteene yeeres, and died the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeere of Christs birth foure hundred and ten. At which time one *Iouinus*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some Tumults in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, vsurped the *Purple Robe*, and stamped his *Coines* with the Title of *Victorie*, as is seene in one which we heere present.

Arcadius his death and raigne.

Theodosius his successour.

Hisdigerdus his Tutor.

(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, and with his little losse slew the *Vpstart* in the Field: whereby his fame was more spread in the West, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the East, after whom hee liued fifteene yeeres, and with whom hee had raigned other thirteene; and he died, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmitie at *Rome*, in the yeere of grace foure hundred twenty foure, leauing no issue of his body to succeed him in the *Empire*.

Honorius his death and raigne. Paul. Diacon.

THEODO-

THEODOSIVS 2. Emp.
VALENTINIAN 3. Emp.

CHAPTER LIIII.

Theodosius 2. Emp. East.

Valentinian 3. Emp. West.

An. Do. 408.

GReat haue been the *Wars* and ſtrange the *Alterations* which both here at home, and through the *World* abroad haue chanced vnto *States* ſince the firſt attempts of *Iulius Cæſar* vnto theſe preſent *Emperors*, *Theodoſius* the ſecond, and *Valentinian* the third, his *Aſſociate*; whoſe *Liues* and *Raignes* did conclude the *Succeſsions* of the *Romiſh Monarchs* within this *Iland* of *Great Britaine*, and threw downe their *Triumphall Arches* in many other *Prouinces*, which for long time had been obſequious to *Romes* Soueraigne Command. So vncertaine is the *Glory* of this *World*, and her *Seeming Strength* ſo liable to *Mutabilitie*, that the *Powers* and *Periods* thereof held in *His* hand that holdeth the *Vniuerſall Ball*, are ſuddenly turned from their high-mounted ſite and beauty of the *Sun* vnto the *Downe-fall* and darke ſide of the *Globe*; and either fall againe into the ſmall *Circuit* of their firſt compaſſe, after they haue expired their *Number*, *Waight*, and *Meaſure*: or elſe with *Daniels Image* are vtterly extinct and blowne away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

Theodoſius & *Valentinian* the laſt Roman Monarks in *Britaine*.

Dan. 2. 35.

(2) The continuance of whoſe *Eſtates*, ſeeme they neuer ſo *Great* and *Durable* in *Power*, *Circuit*, *Defence*, and *Multitude*, hath ſeldome extended much the limit of *Fiue hundred yeeres*, but that their high and mounted *Flames*, fall in the aſhes of their owne conſuming decaies, or elſe hath receiued ſome other alteration of Empires encreaſe, as many learned Writers haue obſered in moſt *Common-wealths*. So was it in the *State* eſtabliſhed by *God* himſelfe among his *Peculiar People*. As from the *Promiſe* to *Abraham*, made of *Chriſt* the *Bleſſed Seed* and *Life* of *Man* (where ceaſed the *Worlds formerly-vſed computation* from the *Ages* of *Men*) vnto the *Law* deliuered vpon *Mount Sinai*, declaring condemnation and death, were foure hundred thirty yeeres: from *Iſraels* departure out of *Egypt*, when their Common-wealth beganne to be ruled by *Iudges*, and *Gods* ſeruice celebrated in the *Tabernacle* vnder *Curtaines* vnto the *Building* of their *Glorious Temple* erect by King *Salomon*, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty. From the *Annointing* of *Dauid*, the firſt King, ſet vpon *Iudahs Throne*, vnto the death of *Zedechiah* the laſt King thereof, ſlaine by *Nebuchadnezer*, and that *Holy Temple* conſumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred & ſeuentie. And other *Politike Eſtates* haue ſtood much vpon the like *Space* of time. For the *Kingdome* of *Athens* ſet vp by *Cecrops* the firſt *King* thereof, vnto *Codrus* the laſt, when they changed their *Monarchie* to a *Democracie*, is ſaid to haue continued foure hundred and ninetie yeeres. The *Lacedemonians State* from *Lycurgus* their *Law-giuer*, vnto *Alexander* the Great, that ouerthrew it, flouriſhed the ſpace of foure hundred ninety one yeeres. From the expulſion of *Romes Kings* vnder *Tarquinius*, vnto the affected Empire in *Iulius Cæſar*, were foure hundred ninety and nine yeeres. And omitting many others, to come to our ſelues; from *Cæſars* firſt *Inuaſion* of *Britaine*, vnto the daies of this *Valentinian* the third, wherein the *Romans* did quite abandon it, were fiue hundred yeeres. From the *Saxons* intruſions and diuiſion of this *Realme* into an *Heptarchie* vnder their *Gouernment*, vntill the vnited *Monarchie* made by *King Egbert* in the yeere eight hundred and nineteene, were yeeres foure hundred ſixty nine. But from thence, vntill their iſſue failed in *King Edward Confeſſor*, were yeeres only two hundred forty ſeuen. And from the *Normans Conqueſt*, vnto the death of that *moſt ſacred Soueraigne of eternall memorie*, *Queene Elizabeth*, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAINE, and the *Vnion* of the whole *Iland* to be brought into one intire *Monarchie*, by the rightfull *Succeſsion* and *thrice-happie entrance* of our moſt gracious King IAMES, are yeeres fiue hundred thirtie ſix. But of theſe three laſt, we are to ſpeake hereafter; and now returne to finiſh vp the *falling Eſtate* of the *Romans Greatneſſe*.

The Roman Monarchies continuance.

Abraham the time betweene the Promiſe made to him, and the giuing of the Law. Gal. 3. 17.

1. King. 6. 1. *Iſrael*, the time between their departing out of *Egypt*, and the building of the Temple of *Salomon*. *David*, the time betweene his Annointing and the death of *Zedechiah*.

The time between *Cecrops* his ſetting vp, and *Codrus* the laſt. *Lycurgus*, the time betweene him and *Alexander the Great*. *Tarquinius*, the time betweene him and *Iulius Cæſar*. *Cæſar*, the time betweene his inuaſion of *Britaine*, and *Valentinian* the third. *Saxons*, the time betweene their intruſions and King *Egbert*. *Egbert*, the time betweene him and *Edward Conf. ſor*. Normans, the time betweene their Conqueſt, and the entrance of our gracious Soueraigne King *James*.

(3) *Theodoſius* the ſonne of *Arcadius* beganne his Empire in the yeere of the worlds ſaluation foure hundred and eight, and was gouerned with a ſpeciall protection by the *Perſian King* during his *Minoritie*, vnder the charge of *Antigonus* an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres, and ſome variance happening betwixt him and his *Tutor*, he was left to the diſpoſe of himſelfe: and his vncle *Honorius* leauing at his death great troubles vnquenched in the Weſt, the mightieſt *Potentates* aſſaied to make themſelues *Emperours* ouer ſeuerall *Dominions*, and from the *richneſſe* of the *Imperiall Diademe*, each one ſought to plucke a *Iewell* to beautifie his owne *Crowne*. So the *Barbarous Nations* out of this one *Monarchie* began the *foundations* of many ſucceeding *Kingdomes*. For in *Spaine* the *Vandals*, *Sueuians*, and *Alanes*, not contented with their portion therein aſsigned, betooke themſelues to *Armes*. The *Frankes* and *Burgundians*, which had been driuen out of *France*, reſolued againe to returne. The *Gothes*, that were *Lords* of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, and *Toloſa*, did as the reſt. The *Hunnes* entred *Hungarie*. *Iohn* the *Tyrant* held *Rome*: and in *Africa*, *Boniface* became a *Neuter*. Theſe ſtirres mooued *Theodoſius* to nominate

Theodoſius 2. vnder the Perſian King.

Anigonus his Tutor.

The diſſipation of the Romane Empire.

Valentinian elected Emperour in the West.

nominate *Valentinian* his kinsman *Emperour* in the *west*; whose raigne and affaires (so farre as they touch *Britaine*) we will follow, being the last of the *Romane Emperours* that held out the succession of our *British Monarkes*.

His descent. In Chap. 52. sect. 8.

(4) This *Valentinian* was the sonne of *Constantine*, made *Augustus*, as is said, and of *Placidia Galla* daughter to the first *Theodosius Emperour*: which Lady in the sacking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the *Gothe*, was taken *Prisoner*, and by him giuen in mariage to his neere kinsman *Athaulphus*, who afterwards was King of that Nation; and by her sweet demeanour, and prudent meanes, a *Peace* was concluded betwixt her *Husband* and her *Brother*, but with such dislikes to the *Gothes*, that they presently killed him, and raised one *Wallia* for their King; who likewise comming to composition with *Honorius*, deliuered *Placidia* according to Couenants, whom the *Emperour* her *Brother* bestowed in *Mariage* vpon *Constantine* his *Generall*, in regard of his good seruice and *Victories* by him atchieued.

Placidia Galla her care of *Valentinian* her sonne. *Aspar* and *Aetius* chosen by her.

(5) Shee, with young *Valentinian New-made Emperour*, being sent into *Italie*, selected the best approued *Captaines* to secure her sonnes *Estate*; whereof *Aspar* was one, that in *Rome* slew *Iohn* the *Vsurper*, who had there made himselfe *Emperour*, stamping this his face and stile vpon the currant Money of the *State*, and by his *Tyrannies* held his fortunes for fiue yeeres continuance.

Iohn Vsurper.

Aetius likewise, that had beene *Gouernour* of *Spaine*, was imploied into *Gallia*, where the *Frankes* and *Burgundians* (vnder the conduct of *Clodius* their second King) sought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdome in that *Countrey*, giuing it the name of *France*, according to their owne, by which name they were neuer knowne to *Caesar*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Mela*, nor *Ptolemie*; whereby the great blast of their *Antiquitie* is shewed to be but a puffe of winde.

France not knowne to *Caesar* by that name.

Britaines sore oppressed with the *Scots* and *Picts*.

(6) At this time the *Britaines* were againe sore oppressed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who hauing notice that the *Aides* sent by *Honorius* were returned, passed ouer the *Water* in their *Boats* at both the ends of the *Wall*, and inuaded the *Prouince* with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The *Britaines* in this lamentable plight, sent their *Ambassadours* to *Rome*, with their *Garments* rent, and *dust* vpon their *heads*, vnto *Valentinian* the Third, bewailing their most miserable *Estates*, and crauing his helpe. The *Emperour* mooued to remorse, sent a *Regiment* of *Souldiers* into *Britaine*, vnder the Command of *Gallio* of *Rauenna*, a most valiant man, who hauing put backe the *Enemie* with the assistance of the *Ilanders*, gaue some small comforts to the distressed *Britaines*. But the *Burgundians* passing the *Rhene*, and threatning to waste *Italy*, *Aetius* was compelled to recall *Gallio* with his *Legion*, to secure the Countrey about *Paris*, whilest himselfe with his, followed the dangerous *Enemie*.

Britaines sorrowfull Ambassage to *Valentinian*.

Britaines obtaine some small succour. *Gallio* sent to aid them.

Burgundians threaten *Italie*. *Gallio* recalled, and the *Britaines* quite forsaken of the *Romans*.

(7) He now ready to depart for *France*, told the *Britains* that it was not for the *Romans* to take so long and painefull *Iournies*, neither at that time especially when their own *Empire* was in danger to be ouer-run. Therefore he willed them thenceforth to stand vpon their *Guard*, and to prouide for their owne safeties: and to that end, in regard of their good seruices done to the *Romans*, he taught them the vse of their *Armour* and *Weapons*, as also to strengthen their *Fortification*, and Wall of *Turfe*, which now they began to build with firme *Stone*, laid eight foot in thicknesse, and twelue foot in height. This *Wall* (saith *Gildas*) *they drew in a straight line* (*at the publike charges of the State*) *from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarkes, and raising Turrets, with conuenient spaces distant one from another; which gaue a faire and farre prospect into the Sea.* And so the *Romans* gaue a finall *Farewell*, meaning neuer to returne againe; and burying part of their *Treasures* heere in the *Earth*, whereof much hath beene found, and more is still sought, left *Britaine* about the yeere of *Christ* fiue hundred, after the first inuasion thereof made vnder the conduct of *Iulius Caesar*.

Gildas.

The time of the *Romans* finall forsaking of their temporal iurisdiction in *Britaine*.

(8) This vnfortunate *Emperour Valentinian* lost not only *Britaine*, but suffred also *Africa*, *France*, and *Spaine* to be plucked from his *Empire*: and the weakenesse of the *Romans* power (whose strength consisted most in *Forraine Aides*, (as *Tacitus* saith) was left vnable to defend it selfe; when they had bereft this *Prouince* of all the *Flower* and *Choice* of *Men*, as *Gildas* in that age complained, saying, *Britaine is despoiled of all her armed men, with her militarie fortes: her Rulers (cruell though they were) are wasted, her Garrisons withdrawn, and defense laid open, and an exceeding great number of her stout couragious Souldiers taken from her, to serue the Romans in their warres.* With which his sayings the *Roman writers* themselues agree, and record the *Musters* and great multitudes of *Britaines* that haue beene transported by them out of this *Iland*: as when *Trebellius Maximus* with his *British Forces* made strong the *Faction* against *Otho* in *Germanie*: and then also *Honorius Flaccus* brought thence eight thousand chosen Souldiers to vphold *Vitellius* in his cause.

Nicephorus.

Prosperus Aquitanus.

Romans vnable to defend their owne Countrey.

Gildas.

Tacit. hist. l. 1. & 2.

Clodius Albinus.

Clodius Albinus banding against *Seuerus* the *Emperour*, assuming the Title, and stamping the Moneyes of the *Imperiall Estate* (as by this here inserted is to be seene, which comming to our hands since his Storie was written, we hold it more acceptable to set heere, though out of place, then to giue it no place at all in this Worke, being so worthy an *Antiquitie*, and so much concerning the *Britaines*) vnder whose Banner the *Flower* of their *Cheualrie* perished in Battle, when in the Fields of *France*; and neere vnto *Lyons*, they spent their bloud in his cause; whereby the sinewes of their owne Countries defense was sore weakened, and laid open to *Forraine Inuaders*. *Constantine the Great* also (as *Malmesbury* noteth) carried hence a great power of *British Souldiers* with him in his warres, by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained *Triumphant Victories*, and the *Empire* of the whole *World*: and after assigned them that part of *Gallia* to inhabit, which was called *Armorica*, lying westward vpon the *Sea Coasts*, where they seating themselues, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a *Mightie People* euen vnto this day.

Constantine transported a great power of *Britaines*.

Armorica a part of *Gallia* giuen to the British Souldiers.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by *Maximus*, and his reconciled Enemie *Conan Meriadoc*, Lord of *Denbigh-land*, by the proweese of those *British Souldiers* whom hence hee carried in his quarrell against *Valentinian* the Emperour) was receiued in free gift of *Conan*, after the slaughter of *Iubates* the King, and the name thereof changed to *Little Britaine*, as being a *Colonie* or *Daughter* of this our *Iland*. The *Prouince* is large, pleasant, and fruitfull, and containeth in her *Circuit* nine *Bishops Seas*, whereof three are called *Cornouaille* vnto this day, which are *Leonensis*, *S. Paul*, and *Tregniers*: the other six are *Dole*, *Rhenes*, *S. Malo*,

Armorica conquered.

Armorica changed to the name of *Little Britaine*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 12.

It containeth nine Bishops Seas.
Keepeth as yet the British Dialect.

S. *Malo*, *Nanetensis*, *Vannes*, and *Brien*, whose language differeth from their Neighbours the *French*, and retaineth as yet the *British Dialect*. I omit to speak of those other *Numbers* of men sent for out of this *Kingdome* by the said *Conan*, whereof our *British Historians* make mention; besides the sending of *Vrsula* with Eleuen thousand *Virgins* to be matched in mariage with these their *Country-men*, all of them perishing by *Sea* or by *Sword*, but none of them returning hither againe; whereby the bane of the *Land* presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and depriued of wonted *Posterities*.

Great numbers of Britaines sent to *Conan*.
A great multitude of Virgins sent out of *Britain* to *Armorica*.

Matthew Westm.
Henry Hunt.
Ninius.

(10) This Conquest and Plantation in *Armorica*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* accounteth to haue happened in the yeer of *Christ* three hundred ninety two. And these *Souldiers* thus withdrawne, are so recorded by *Henry* of *Huntington* his ancient; and *Ninius* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gaue manie *Countries* to these his *Britaines*, euen frō the *Poole* which is on the Top of *Iupiters Hill*, to a *Citie* called *Cantguic*, and vnto the Western Mountaines. These (sayeth hee) are the *Britaines* in *Armorica*, who neuer returned to this day, in regard whereof *Britaine* was Conquered by *Strange Nations*. With whom agreeth *Geruasius* a Monke of *Canturburie*, *Iohn Anglicus*, *Ranulphus* of *Chester*, and others. Thither also in the downefall and desperat *Estate* of the *Britaines*, many of them fled from the rage of their *Enemies*, as hee that was borne in *Armorica*, and liued neerest to that age, euen the *Writer* of the *Life* of *S. Wingualof* the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently proue. *An of-spring* (saith he) *of the Britaines embarked in Flotes, arriued in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons, fierce in Armes, and vnciuill in manners, possessed their Natiue and Mother Soyle, &c.*

Maximus gaue many Countries to the Britaines his Souldiers.
Geruasius.
Iob. Anglicus.

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his *Name*, most of the *Flower* and *Strength* of the *Britaines* were transported into *Gallia* and *Spaine*, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmesbury* writing of these Times, saith, that the *Romans* had emptied *Britaine* of all her *Flower* and *Chiualry* of *Warre*, leauing now in her Countries but *Halfe-barbarous* men, and in her *Cities* only *Epicures*, vnfit for seruice. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Cambden* out of *Antike Inscriptions*, and the *Booke* named *Notitia Prouinciarum*, hath obserued, that these *Companies* vnder written serued the *Romans* in their *Warres*, and were dispersed here and there in their *Prouinces*, which also were from time to time euermore supplied out of *Britaine*.

Britaines fled into *Armorica* in the time of the Saxons.
Constantine who was elected for his name, transporteth great multitudes of Britaines.
Cambden.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Ala IIII. *Britonum in Ægypto.*
Cohors prima Ælia Britonum.
Cohors III. *Britonum.*
Cohors VII. *Britonum.*
Cohors XXVI. *Britonum in Armenia.*
Britanniciani sub Magistro Peditum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britanniciani } *inter Auxilia*
Exculcatores Iun. Britan. } *Palatina.*
Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanias.
Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

(12) No maruell is it then if *Britaine* lay weake, being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approued *Records* made so apparant, as we need not alleage the doubtfull *Story* of *Irpus* of *Norway*, for the depopulation of the *Iland*, who is said by subtilty vnder pretence of *Kindred*, and *Honour* to be atchieued, to haue gotten an infinite number of *Britaines* to follow him in his enterprise, which neuer returned againe: or the *Booke Triades* mentioned by the *Author* of the *Reformed History of Great Britaine*, that bringeth an Army hence, consisting in number of one and twenty thousand men, into *Aquitaine* and *Gaul*: which, as he saith, was the Aid mentioned by *Cæsar*, that out of *Britaine* assisted the *Gaules* against him. Which may partly seeme to be gathered from *Cæsar* himselfe, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the *Britaines* and *Gaules* were gouerned vnder the same King: and is further confirmed by the fashion and *Inscriptions* of *Antique Coines*, which wee haue seene stamped in *Gold*, the *Forme* round, and *Shield-like*: *Imbossed* outward in the *Face*, and *Hollow* in the *Reuerse*; a *Forme* vnfallible to be of the *Britaines Coines*, and yet the word *Comes* is inscribed vpon the *Imbossed* side, whom we imagine to be the same *Gouernor* of *Artoye* in *Gallia*, whom *Cæsar* mentioneth.

S. Iohn Pryr. *Irpus* of *Norway* transporteth an incredible number of Britaines.
Britaines one & twenty thousand transported into *Aquitaine* against *Cæsar*.
Attrebaty in *Gallia* and *Britaine*.

(13) Thus then was *Britaine* first made *Weake* by the *Romans* exhaustings, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the *wilderneſſe*, to lose her faire leaues by the continuall blasts of these sharp *Northerne windes*, whose beauty before had bin as the *Cedars* of *Libanon*, or like vnto those in the *Garden of God*. And whose Riches had drawne the *Worlds then-Monarchs* to such liking and loue, that no meanes was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keepe it in their Subiection: which, while it stood a *Prouince* in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the faireſt flower in their *Triumphant Garlands*, and of some of their *Emperors* thought worthy the Residencie of their *Imperiall Throne*.

Britaine accounted the faireſt plume of the *Romane* Diademe.

THE

THE ORIGINALL, INVASIONS, AND HEPTARCHIE OF THE SAXONS; WITH A SVCCESSION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, THEIR RAIGNES, MARRIAGES, ACTS, AND ISSVES, VNTIL THEIR LAST SVBVERSION BY THE DANES AND NORMANS.

But first of the Downe-fall of BRITAINE.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER I.

BRITAINE thus abandoned of all the *Romane Garrisons*, and emptied of *strengths* that should haue supported her now *downfalling-estate*, lay prostrate to confusion and miserable calamities; no lesse burdened with the tumultuous vproares of her owne great men, who stroue for the *supreme Gouernment*, then of the *Barbarous Nations* which with continuall incursions made spoile where they came. *These times* (saith *Ninius*) *were full of feares, and were prolonged with forty yeeres afflictions*: wherein *Vortigern* then King was troubled with the violence of the *Romans*, the dreads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppositions of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who suruiuing his slaine Parents, that had worne the *Imperiall Purple Robe*, sought their reuenge vpon their wicked Murderer: besides the Intrusions of the *Germane Saxons*, called in for *Friends*, but prooued indeed the greatest *Enemies*. During the conflict of these tempestuous stormes, some small comforts were ministred vnto the *Britaines* by *Bishop German* his presence, who from *France* assisted them against the *Pelagian Heresies*, and the perillous assaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in diuers skirmishes ouercame them.

Britaine abandoned of the Romans Garrisons.

Ninius.

Great troubles in the raigne of Vortigern.

Bishop German an assister against the Pelagians.

(2) These dolorous times of *Britaines* destruction, *Gildas* the *mournfull Historian*, who liued not long after, doth declare. *As soone as the Romans* (saith hee) *had left Britaine, and were returning vnto their home, foorthwith hideous multitudes of Scots and Picts came swarming out of their Carroghes, (wherewith they passed the* * *Scitick Vale) like whole Armies of duskish vermine, which at high noone, when the Sunne is in his greatest heat, began to crawle foorth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hidcous* Scots *and* Picts; *which two kindes of People, though in conditions somewhat different, yet they consorted too well in greedie desire of bloud-shed: and hauing intelligence, the associates of Britaine were now returned with vtter disclaime of further assistance, with more confident bold[ness] then euer before, they seize all the* Northerne *and vttermost part of the* Iland, *as if it had beene their own inheritance, euen as farre as to the Wall. Against these attempts there were ranged in the high Forts along the Wall, Garrisons of Souldiers, but such as were both slothfull, and also vnseruiceable for Martiall Affaires: which white-liuered Lozels with quaking hearts sate still warding day and night, till their ioints were as benummed and stupid as the stones whereon they sate: insomuch as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the wall those miserable Warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. This good yet they got by this their vntimely deaths, that being thus suddenly dispatched out of the world, they escaped the imminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children shortly felt. To bee short, hauing abandoned their Cities and this high defensiue Wall, once more they betooke themselues to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then euer before. For the enemie was more hot in pursuit, and more cruell in the slaughter, the wofull* Inhabitants *being by their Enemies massacred, and rent in peeces like Lambes in the hands of bloudy Butchers, or in the iawes of cruell and sauage Beasts. In these most miserable times, (necessitie so compelling) the poore distressed people forbare not to rob each other of that sustenance, which could helpe them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were increased by their domesticke vexations, for that the whole Countrey by these continuall direptions, was vtterly depriued of the staffe of foode, hauing nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got in hunting.* Whereupon, about the thirtie nine yeere of *Theodosius*, and of Christ foure hundred fortie six, the distressed Remaines of the down-cast *Britaines* addressed their missiue Letters to *Aetius*, whom *Gildas* calleth *Agitius*, *President* of *Gallia*, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed.

* The Irish Sea.

Scots and Picts catch the Britaines with long hookes.

Britaines send for helpe to Aetius President of Gallia.

TO ÆTIVS Thrice Consul, the groanes of the BRITAINES.

" *The Barbarians driue vs backe to the Sea; the Sea a-*
" *gaine putteth vs backe vpon the Barbarians: thus be-*
" *tweene two kindes of deaths, we are either slaughtered or*
" *drowned.* And the more to intimate their miseries, and to mooue his assistance, thus they further vrge: *Wee* (say they) *are the Remnant that suruiue of the Britaines, and are your Subiects, who besides the Enemie, are afflicted*

Scots and Picts (the Romans departed) seize all the Northerne parts.

Beda Hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 13.

afflicted by famine and mortalitie, which at this present extreamly rageth in our Land. And putting him in mind that it much importeth the Maiesty of the *Roman Empire* to protect and succour their *Prouince*, seeing it had now stood vpon the point of fiue hundred yeers vnder their obedience, whose strength of *Souldiers* taken from thence to serue their *Emperors* in their Wars else-where, was now decaied, and their wealths wasted by maintaining their many Legions in their own Land and abroad: All this notwithstanding the *Romans* either would not, or could not relieue, hauing enough to doe to vphold their owne; but returned them againe with heauy hearts into the hands of their most cruell *Enemies*, who now knowing themselues free from the *Romans* interceptions, as a violent floud brake thorow the Prouince, and bare downe all before them; the *Inhabitants* flying like chased Deere, some taking ouer Seas into *Britany* in *France*; some to *South-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, and parts of *Deuonshire*, leauing the best of the *Land* to the will of their Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the ground, which neuer after they inioyed.

Britaines flie into *France*, *South-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*.

(4) But the greeuous Famine still increasing, though it had this woful issue with some, that it made them yeeld themselues into the Enemies bloudy hands (onely in hope to gaine a little sustenance of food for the present) and for many yeeres after left lamentable tokens (saith *Beda*) of great desolations wrought by that dearth: yet with those other which were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a better effect; insomuch as frō out of the Mountains, Caues, and thicke woods, they assailed their enemies, reposing their trust not in *Man*, but in *God*, whose help is then most at hand, when mans helpe faileth. These in many skirmishes gaue them the ouerthrow with much slaughter, and that for many yeeres together, when they made their incursions for booties and spoile; which caused these *Rauening Irish* to returne home; and the *Picts* a while rested from further molestation. Notwithstanding the *Britaines* returned not from their owne wickednesse, growing strong now daily in repressing the Enemie, but stronger in their owne sinnes and ciuill dissensions. By meanes whereof, though a surcease of Hostile Warres was imbraced, and the skarres of famine cleerly skinned vp, yet another sore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, and shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the Enemies wastes, yeelded such plenty and abundance of all things, as the like before no age had seene; and therewithall such riot and excesse, that the peoples sins grew to a plentiful haruest, as by the words of *Gyldas* is apparant.

A great Famine. *Gildas, ibid.*

Beda, lib. 1. c. 14.

Britaines trusting in God, ouercome their enemies.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Great sins among the *Britaines*.

(5) *Certainly it is heard* (saith he) *that there is such fornication, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth with the maintainers thereof is hated: Lies with the Forgers thereof highly esteemed. Euill is entertained for good, leaudnesse respected more then vprightnesse, darknesse desired before the bright Sunne, and Satan accepted for an Angell of light: Kings then were anointed, not according to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in cruelue; and as cruelly againe by their anointers were they murdered, not for any demerit, but that they might aduance others more sauage then the former. If hee were milde, or inclining to truth, the darts of hatred were on euery side leuelled against him, as the onely Subuerter of the* Britaines Estate. *What was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them, sauing that the better things commonly wrought most discontent: so that rightly the saying of the Prophet, which was denounced vnto the people in old time, might bee applied to our Countrey: Yee lawlesse and corrupt children haue forsaken the Lord, and prouoked vnto wrath the holy one of Israel. Why should ye be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquitie? Euery head is sicke, and euery heart is heauy: from the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there is nothing sound therein. Thus did they all things that were contrary to their safetie, as if that medicine which was bestowed by that truest Physitian of all, was needlesse for the world. And not onely the prophaner sort did this, but also the selected flocke of the Lord, and the Shepheards thereof, who ought to haue giuen example to the whole people. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay senseless and weltring in wine, swelling with pride, contention, and griping enuie, putting no difference in iudgement betweene good and euill: insomuch that it seemeth contempt was powred forth both vpon Princes and people: and all of them seduced by vanities, wandred in errors and by-paths, not lead in the right way. When God therefore was minded to purge his Familie, and to recure them thus infected with the corruptions of sinnes, by heare-say only of Tribulation, the winged flight of an often-tried rumour pierced the attentiue eares of all men, giuing notice of their ancient Enemies, ready to arriue, and fully minded to destroy them vtterly, and to inhabit (as earst they did) the whole Countrey from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaime them, but like vnto mad horses, which taking the bit fast betwixt their teeth, runne away with their Riders, so these leauing the way which leadeth (narrow though it bee) vnto saluation, ranne at randome in the wide way of all wickednesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as Salomon saith) the stubborne seruant will not bee amended with words, he is scourged for a foole, and feeleth not the whip: for loe, a pestilent contagion fell heauily vpon this foolish people, which (though the enemies sword was gone) in short space destroied such multitudes of them, that the liuing were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were they thereby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet Esay in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to baldnesse, and sacke-cloth: but behold, they fell to killing of calues, and to slaying of Rammes; loe, they went to eating and drinking, and said withall, Let vs eat and drinke, for to morrow wee shall die. And indeed the time now drew neere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of the Amorites) should come to the fulnesse. And euen at that instant the like measure beganne to bee heaped vpon the Britaines.*

Gildas.

Esay 1.

Britaines did all things contrary to their safetie.

Psal. 106. 40.

Britaines heare of an inuasion, yet not reclaimed.

Prou. 29. 19.

Esay 22. 13.

Britaines iniquitie.

(6) For the common enemie now inuading the Southerne parts, was entred as farre as *Stamford* vpon the Riuer *Welland*; whom to resist, the *Britaines* assembled together, and hauing experience what ciuill iarres had formerly done, they iointly vnite their meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a King to manage these affaires, which was *Vortigerne*, by birth extracted from the *British Line*, nobly descended, had not his many vices blemished the same. The *British Historie* saith, that hee was *Earle* of *Cornwall*, and of great command in the daies of *Constantine* their King, whose simplicitie hee much abused, and whom lastly hee caused to be murdered by the *Guard* of his Person, the *Scots* and *Picts* by him so placed, and to that end instigated: whom neuertheless with death hee seuerely punished, to auoid further suspition. In whose reuenge, these fierce *Nations* so assaulted his Dominions with rape and spoile, that hee was forced for further assistance to send for these *Saxons* to his aid. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it is, the *Saxons* were sent for, and of hoped *Friends*, became the tried *Enemies* to the *Britaines* and their *Estates*, as out of *Gildas* their *Historian* wee shall anon declare.

The Enemie inuadeth the Southerne parts.

Britaines vnite their powers.

Vortigern of the *British* line.

Earle of *Cornwall*.

The *Scots* and *Picts* set to murther *Constantine*.

(7) The occasion and maner of this their inuiting and comming, is set downe by a Countryman of their owne *Witichindus*, a Writer of good antiquity, who thus relateth the circumstance thereof. *Britaine* (saith he) *by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced among the Roman Prouinces, and held in their subiection, stood them in no small stead: but their Legions abandoned, and destitute* (as it seemeth) *determining the downfall, became soone assaulted by their neighbour Nations the Northerne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Emperor * Martiall was slaine by his Souldiers, being tired out with forraine wars, were not able to assist their friends with supply of accustomed aides. And yet had they built a mighty peece of worke for the defence of the Country, reaching betweene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought that the Enemies would assaile the Inhabitants left in the Land. But no difficulty it was for them so fiercely bent, and euer ready to make war (especially where they dealt with a Nation feebled and left vnable to make resistance) to destroy the*

Wil. Malms. The *Saxons* sent for.

Witichindus.

Martian he meaneth.

The *Romans* worke for the *Britaines* defence, raced by the Northerne Borderers.

the ſaid worke. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits atchieued by the Saxons, they ſent an humble Embaſſage to require their aid; and theſe hauing audience, ſpake as followeth.

Saxons great Warriours and fortunate.

Britaines. The Britaines Embaſſage and ſpeech to the Saxons.

"Moſt noble *Saxons*, the poore and diſtreſſed "*Brets*, outworne and tired by the many incurſions "of their enemies, hearing the fame of thoſe victories "which you haue moſt valiantly obtained, haue ſent "vs Suppliants vnto you, crauing that you would "not deny them your helpe and ſuccour. A large "and ſpacious Land they haue, plentifull and abun-"dant in all things, which wee yeeld wholly to bee at "your deuotion and command. Hitherto wee haue "liued freely vnder the patronage and protection of "the *Romans*, next vnto whom wee know not any "more powerfull then your ſelues, and therefore we "ſeeke for refuge vnder the wings of your valour. So "that we may by your puiſſance be ſuperiour of our "enemies, whatſoeuer ſeruice you ſhall impoſe vpon "vs, that will we willingly abide.

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefly made anſwer in this wiſe.

The Saxons answere to the Petition of the Britaines.

"Know yee that the *Saxons* will bee faſt friends "vnto the *Brets*, and ready at all times both to "aſsiſt them in their neceſsitie, and alſo to procure "their wealth: with ioy therefore returne yee Am-"baſſadors, and with this wiſhed-for tidings make "your Countrey-men glad. *Heereupon (according to promiſe) an Armie ſent into Britaine, and ioifully receiued, which in ſhort time freed the Land frō the ſpoiling enemies, & recouered the country vnto the behoof of the Inhabitants.*

Saxons good ſeruice at their firſt comming.

(8) But how true this laſt clauſe is, may appeare out of the ancient *Gildas*, who thus recordeth it: *To repreſſe* (ſaith hee) *many Inuaſions of thoſe their ancient enemies, which with cruell ſlaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Britaines fell to conſult vpon ſome conuenient courſe therein to be taken. Laſtly, all the Counſellers, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in iudgement, deuiſed ſuch a protection, as in the end prooued their Countries deſtruction; namely, that thoſe fierce Saxons, a people ſauage and of hatefull name, odious both to God and man, ſhould be let into this Iland, as it were wolues into ſheepe-folds, to repulſe (forſooth) the Northerne Nations; then which proiect doubtleſſe nothing was euer more pernicious and vnhappie vnto this Land. O ſenſes ſenſleſſe and plunged into deepeſt miſts of errour! O deſperate dulneſſe, and blinde blockiſhneſſe of minde! Thoſe whom in abſence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are inuited by theſe Princes of Ægypt (if I may ſo ſay, thus ſottiſhly counſelling their Pharao) to come and reſt with them vnder one roofe. Preſently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lioneſſe ruſhed foorth a kennell of her whelpes, in three long Veſſels, called in their Language Cyulæ, carried vnder full ſaile, and with ominous preſages fore-prophecying that for 300. yeeres they ſhould poſſeſſe that Land vnto which they then directed their courſe, and for halfe of that ſpace, (viz. one hundred and fiftie yeeres) they ſhould waſte and depopulate the ſame. Theſe being put on ſhore firſt in the Eaſt part of the Iland, and that by Commandement of this vnfortunate Tyrant, there ſet faſt their terrible pawes, pretending to the Ilanders, defenſe of their Countrey, but more truly intending the deſtruction of them. The foreſaid Lioneſſe finding that her firſt troupe of whelpes ſped ſo well, ſends againe a greater Rabble of the ſame Litter, which heere arriued in Flotes, bringing with them ſome other Aſſociates of baſtardly and vnnoble brood. And theſe beginnings, the ſlips of iniquitie, and the roots of bitterneſſe, (an accurſed plantation well befitting our demerits) haue ſprung vp, and put foorth in our ſoile their haughtie boughes and ſpreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, profeſsing themſelues our Souldiers, and ſuch as would endure all hazards (ſo they fained) in defenſe for their good Hoſts, firſt they craued ſupplie of victuals only; which being giuen them, for ſome time ſtopped (as we may ſay) the Dogs mouth: howbeit, afterward they complaine that their wages was not bountifully enough paid, deuiſing of purpoſe colourable occaſions of quarrell, and threatning that vnleſſe they might haue more munificent entertainment, they would with the breach of couenant ſpoile and waſte the whole Iland. And without further delay, they ſecond theſe threats with deeds (for our Sinnes, the cauſe of deſerued reuenge, were ſtill nouriſhed) and the fire kindled Eaſtward, was ſet a flaming by theſe ſacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, ceaſing not to conſume all the Cities and Countries bordering thereabout, vntill ſuch time as burning welneere all the Inland Soile of the Iland, it licked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Weſterne Ocean it ſelfe. In this violent inuaſion, comparable to that of the Aſſyrians againſt the Land of Iſrael in old times, is hiſtorically fulfilled alſo in vs that which the Prophet by way of ſorrowfull lamentation vttereth: They haue ſet fire vpon thy holy places, and haue burned the dwelling place of thy name, euen vnto the ground. And againe: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple haue they defiled: for all the Fortifications demoliſhed with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Biſhops of the Church, and alſo the Prieſts and people, with gluttering ſwords and crackling flames, were all at once laid along vpon the ground, yea and (which was a moſt lamentable ſpectacle) the ſtately Turrets, high mounted Walles, and the ſacred Altars, lay all tumbling together (all purpled with the broken and bloudy Quarters and goared Carcaſes mixed as in a horrible wine-preſſe. Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, ſaue the ruines of buildings, and the bowels of wilde beaſts and birds.*

Kytels.

Saxons prophecie to poſſeſſe Britaine for 300. yeeres.

The Saxons firſt arriuall on the Eaſt part of this Iland.

Saxons inuent occaſions of quarrell.

Saxons ſpoiles comparable to the Aſſyrians vpon the Iſraelites. Pſal. 74. 8.

Pſal. 79. 1.

(9) During this moſt woſull, deſperate, and tempeſtuous ſeaſon (ſaith the mournfull *Hiſtorian*) *ſome poore Remaines of Britaines being found in the Mountains, were ſlaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yeelded themſelues vnto their enemies, vpon compoſition to ſerue them as Bond-ſlaues for euer, ſo they might not bee ſlaughtered out of hand: which granted, was reputed a moſt high and eſpeciall grace. Others went ouer Seas into Strange Lands, ſinging vnder their ſpread Sailes with a lamentable and mourning note, that of the Pſalmiſt: Thou haſt giuen vs, O Lord, as Sheepe to bee deuoured, and haſt ſcattered vs among the Heathen. Yet others remained ſtill in their owne Countrey (albeit in fearefull eſtate, and continually ſuſpecting hazard) committing their liues and ſafetie to the high ſteepe Hilles, to craggie Mountaines naturally intrenched, to thick growne Woods and Forreſts, yea and to the Rockes of the Sea.*

Britaines ſlaine in the Mountaines.

Pſal. 44. 11.

(10) Thus was *Britaine* brought to the period of her glory, and the people miſerably ſubiected to a forraine Nation, about the yeere from Chriſts Natiuitie 473. and after the *Romans* laſt farewell 28. In which time you ſee they were moſt cruelly purſued with all calamities of warre, and laſtly betraied by them in whom ſo much truſt was repoſed, as mournfull *Gildas* hath rufully declared.

Britaines purſued with all calamities of warre.

THE SAXONS ORIGINALL.

CHAPTER II.

AS times decaied Ruines haue ſtopped the Paſſage of thoſe ſmall Springs iſſued from the firſt fountaine of Nations beginnings, and haue diuerted their ſtreames far from any ſure Courſe, or certaine known Heads; ſo the originall parent, place, and name of our *Engliſh-Saxons*, haue bin writtē with a pen of ſlight touch vpon the leaues of obliuion, or elſe recorded in thoſe obſcure Roules, that as yet lie bound vp in the Office of Times forgetfulneſſe: whereby it reſts doubtfull from what root theſe branches firſt ſprang; ſome bringing them from *Aſia*, ſome from *Africa*, ſome from *Macedon*, ſome from *Denmarke*, and ſome without all likelihood from *Britaine* it ſelfe.

Saxons, the vncertainetie from whence they came.

Occa Scarlenſis a *Friſlander* borne, affirmeth theſe *Saxons* to come of *Saxo* a Prince of *India*, who with his two brethren were baniſhed by lot to ſeeke their deſtinies abroad, their owne Countries being peſtered with ouer many people at home. Theſe (ſaith he) following *Alexander the Great* into *Greece*, became Progenitors to their Countries, that from them receiued their of-ſprings and names: as that from *Friſo* the eldeſt, his *Friſlanders* deſcended; from *Saxo* the ſecond, the *Saxons* vpon the Riuer *Albis*; and from *Eruno* the yongeſt, the Inhabitants of the Dukedome of *Brunſwic*. And of this opinion alſo *Sufridus Petri* ſeemeth to be. *Crantzius* doth deriue them from the *Catti* in *Germany*, and the *Phrygians* a Region in *Aſia*; to omit others, who would bring them from *Saxo* the brother of *Vandale*.

Occa Scarlenſis. *Saxons* from *Saxo* a Prince of India.

Sufridus Petri Crantzius.

Saxons of the *Catti* in *Germany*.

(2) *F. Albinus* a learned Author, doth thinke the *Saxons* to bee deſcended from *Saca*, a people in *Aſia*, and that afterward in proceſſe of time they came to be called *Saxons*; as if it were written *Sax-ſones*, as much to ſay as *The ſonnes of the Saca*. To this opinion Maſter *Henry Ferrers*, a Gentleman of ancient deſcent, great reading, and a iudicious Antiquary agreeth; whoſe iudgement for my particular, I haue alwaies honoured, and from the *Progeny of his Engliſh Monarchs* haue taken my principall proceeding in theſe *Saxon* Succeſſors.

Saxons from *Saca* a people in *Aſia*.

F. Albinus in Progym.

Mr. Henry Ferrers in his progeny of English Monarchs.

(3) As touching the ancient place of their abode, *Ptolomie* the *Alexandrian* placeth the people *Saſones* in the Inner *Scythia*, betwixt the Mountaines *Alani* & *Tapuri*; and *Amianus Marcellinus* ſiteth the *Saca* (no doubt the very ſame) *a fierce and ſauage Nation, to inhabit ouergrowne places, commodious onely for cattell, at the foote of the Mountaines Aſcanimia and Comedus, neere vnto which the Citie Alexandria, Tribatra and Drepſa were adioyning, and are ſo ſet by Ptolemie.* Neither is it leſſe probable that our *Saxons* deſcended from theſe *Saca* in *Aſia*, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germans* in *Perſia*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth. And *Ioſeph Scaliger*, a renowned Author, ſheweth, that theſe words *fader*, *moder*, *brader*, *tutcher*, *band*, and ſuch like, are at this day found in the *Perſian* tongue in the ſame ſenſe, as we vſe Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, and Bound, &c. a great inducement (as ſome thinke) for the *Saxons* originall from thoſe parts; though in my opinion the Latine, *Pater*, *Mater*, *Frater*, haue no leſſe affinitie of ſound, and in all likelihood were the Primitiues to theſe of ours. Of theſe *Saca*, *Strabo* writeth that they made inuaſions into Countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their ſucceſſe in a part of that Country, by calling it *Sacacena*, after their owne name.

Ptolomy Geogra. in deſcription of *Aſia*.

Amian. Marcel. li. 23. cap. 10.

Michael Neander.

Herodotus.

Ioſeph Scaliger.

Perſian & Saxon tongue agree in many words.

Strabo.

(4) From theſe parts of *Aſia*, as *Scythia* and the reſt, one Band of them, conſiſting chiefly of their Youth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and poſſeſſed the *Neſſe*, or *Forland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, being at this day the continent part of the kingdome of *Denmarke*. In which place they were firſt knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here alſo they among themſelues beganne firſt to be diſtinguiſhed into other Tribes, as *Holt-Saxons* (for ſo *Verſtegan*, out of their old *Chronicle*, ſaith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods: but more properly (wee may ſay) into *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and paſsing ouer the Riuer *Elbe*, diuided themſelues into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the vpper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themſelues into the ancient Seat of the *Sueuians*, which now of them is called *Weſtphalia* and *Saxonie:* and the other incroched vpon *Friſeland* and *Holland* (then called *Batauia*) with the reſt of thoſe Countries that lie along the *German* Seas.

Saxons comming into *Europe*.

Verſtegan. cap. Holt-Saxon. Saxons Anglen & Saxons Iuten.

Sebaſtian Munſter. lib. 3.

(5) The time wherein theſe *Saxons* ſhould thus infeſt *Germany*, by *Occa Scarlenſis* verdict, is as ancient as great *Alexander:* others account it long after, in the raigne of *Tiberius*. But before *Ptolomie* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flouriſhed in the daies of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeere from *Chriſts* Natiuity 140. And moſt certaine it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeere three hundred, when *Diocleſian* ſwaied the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* ſore offended the coaſts of *Britaine* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearfull euen to the *Romans* themſelues. Theſe multiplying in number and ſtrength, ſeated in the *Maritime* tract of *Iutland*, *Sleſwick*, *Holſatia*, *Ditmarſe*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Friſland* and *Holland:* and indeed, according to the Teſtimonie of *Fabius Quæſtor*, *Wholly all the Sea coaſts from the riuer Rhene vnto the Citie Donia, which now is commonly called the Denmarc; and with him Henry of Erfurd affirmeth Saxon-land to ſtretch from the Riuer Albis vnto the Rhene; the bounds of no one people of all the Germans extending any way ſo far*, ſaith he.

The time of the *Saxons* entrance into *Germanie*.

Eutropius. Beda.

Saxons fearefull to the *Romans* themſelues.

(6) But theſe ſpreading Boughes, are brought by others from a neerer *Roote*, planted not in *Aſia* or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germanie* it ſelfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the ſame *Countrey*, though diſtinguiſhed by *Name* from the reſt, as others more beſide then were. Which *Saxons* (ſay they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his *Deſcription* of *Germanie*, yet in *Ptolemy*, that wrote not much aboue fortie yeeres after him, they are named; as alſo the *Guta*, and the *Angli*, Copartners of their Conqueſt, *Tacitus* placeth among theſe *Germanes* that worſhipped *Herthum* the *Mother-earth* for their Auowrie Goddeſſe; at firſt but one *People*, but afterwards diuided into three ſeuerall *Tribes*; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Iutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names ſtamped (as it were) in the ſoile from whence

The names of theſe *Saxon* Tribes.

Tacit. Deſcr. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacit. Deſcr. Germ. cap. 6.

Saxons. Angles. Iutes.

whence they departed, and alſo coined new vnto others, wherof they became poſſeſſors.

Ptolem. Geogr. in deſcr. Ger. The place of the Holt-Saxons inhabiting. Beda Hiſt. Anglia. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(7) *Ptolomy*, among the *Sueuians* in *Germanie* placeth the *Saxons*, neere to the mouth of the *Riuer Albis*, in the continent of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. And in this *Iland* of *Britaine*, *Beda* telles vs, that the *Kingdomes of the Eaſt and Weſt Saxons were of them peopled*: Whoſe originall *Name*, beſides the *Indian Saxo* or the *Scythian Saca*, ſome wil haue Etymologed from *Saxum* a *Stone*, becauſe forſooth theſe people were hard or *Stonie-hearted*; and ſome againe from the *Axones* in *Gallia*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his verſe:

Longiſq; leues Axones in armis,
And nimble Axones in their Armour light.

Juſtus Lipſius and Engelhuſius deriuation of the Name Saxon.

(8) *Iuſtus Lipſius* coniectureth, and *Engelhuſius* affirmeth (as *Verſtegan* ſaith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the *Faſhion* of the *weapon* that vſuallie they wore; which was a *Crooked Bowing Sword*, ſomewhat like vnto a *Sithe*, with the edge on the contrarie ſide, called by the *Netherlanders*, a *Saiſen*, and by themſelues *Seaxen*, and the ſhorter of like faſhion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; ſuch as were thoſe that were hid vnder their Garments in the *Maſſacre* of the *Britiſh Nobilitie* vpon *Salisbury Plaine*, when *Hengiſt* gaue the watch-word, *Nem eour Seaxes*, that is, *Take you Swords*: three of which Kniues *Argent*, in a Field *Gules*, were borne by *Erkenwyne* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, vpon his ſhield of Armes, as ſome of our *Heralds* haue imblazed. And that their *Name* was ſo giuen them from their *Weapons*, ſome allege their accuſtomed manner in wearing thereof, which vſually was to truſſe the ſame ouerthwart their backes when they went foorth to battle; whereby notice was taken, and that name attributed vnto them, as the like hath been vpon like occaſion vnto others: for ſo in *Aſia* the *Scythians* were named for their skill in ſhooting; in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* vſed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *Galloglaſſes*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principall weapon: and of latter times, vpon leſſe occaſions haue *Surnames* growne both to particular men, as alſo to whole Societies; which may appeare in ſuch as hauing vowed their voiage and ſeruice for *Ieruſalem*, wore continually vpon their backes a red Croſſe, whereby the name *Croſſe-backe*, or in old Engliſh, *Crouch-backe*, was to them attributed: in which ranke, *Edmund Earle of Lancaſter* (ſecond ſonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which he could not claw off from his backe euer ſince. So likewiſe thoſe men who entred that Religion of Monaſticall life, wore vſually vpon the outſide of their Garments the ſigne of a *Croſſe*, whereby that Order was diſtinguiſhed and noted from others by the name of *Crouched* or *Croſſed-Friers*. But whence or howſoeuer the name aroſe, among all the *Germans* there were none in reputation for militarie deeds comparable vnto theſe *Saxons*: neither had any aduentured by *Sea* and *Land* ſo farre to purchaſe renowne and praiſe, or perhaps (and that more likely) to ſupply their owne wants; ranging often from place to place, as men alwaies ready to enter any action: and in *Germanie* to this day a great *Dukedome* retaineth from them the name of *Saxonie*.

Saxons weapons called Saiſen, Seaxes and Seaxes.

British Nobilitie maſſacred.

Scythians ſo named of Scythan to ſhoote.

Picards for their long Pikes.

Galloglaſſes for their Pollax.

Such as had vowed their voiage to Ieruſalem, named Croſſe-backe. Crouch-backe.

Adrianus. Caſanus.

Seneca in ſib. de Ira.

Sigiberdus.

(9) The *Gutæ* (no doubt the *Iutæ*) *Ptolomie* likewiſe placeth in the *Iland Scandia*, lying very neere the Coaſts of *Germanie*, vpon whoſe vttermoſt *Promontorie* (as ſaith an ancient *Manuſcript*) *the Iutes did for certaine inhabite, which vnto this day of the Danes is called Iutland*. Theſe *Iutes*, *Gutes*, *Getes*, or *Gothes* (or as *Beda* calles them) *Vites*, gaue names to thoſe parts of *Britaine* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Ile* of *Wight* beareth their impreſsion. This variety of names we will no further inforce, then that theſe *Gothes* were not the ſame that had paſſed *Iſter* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and ouer-ranne *Europe*, who were alſo called the *Getæ* by *Iohn Maior*. Their name, as *Verſtegan* will haue it, was taken from their *agilitie*, or *ſwiftneſſe* of foot: and ſome of them (as *Sebaſtian Munſter* declareth) went

The place of the Iutes Saxons inhabiting.

Iutes called Iutes, Gothes, or Vites.

Ile of Wight how named.

Iohn Maior. Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 5. Sebaſtian Munſt. lib. 3.

and inhabited among the Mountaines that diuide *Germanie* from *Italie*, whereupon their name grew to be called the *Hill-Vites*, which are now the *Heluetians*.

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Quæſtor Ethelwardus*, an ancient Writer, and a Noble Perſon of the *Saxons* Royall Bloud) are brought from *Ould-Anglia*, a Portion *lying betwixt the Countries of the Saxons and the Giots*, as he writeth them, whoſe chiefe Towne was by them called *Sleſwie*, and of the *Danes*, *Haithby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the Citie *Flemburge* and the Riuer *Sly*, which Country by *Albertus Crantzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (ſaith *Henricus Rantzouius*) *the Saxons, who were alſo called the Angle-Saxons, went to aid the Britaines*. And at this day there is a little Prouince in the Kingdome of *Dania*, named *Angell*, beneath the Citie *Flemburge*, which *Lindebergus* calleth *Little Anglia*. Their ſite notwithſtanding is placed by moſt Authours in *weſtphalia*, where the Citie *Engern* ſtandeth, and where *Tacitus* and *Ptolomy* rangeth them among the *Sueuians*; which in their times might very well be. Others would haue them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engloen* doth ſomewhat ſound their name: ſo doe *Engelheim*, *Engleburg*, and *Englerute*, places in *Germanie*, beare witneſſe, and are prints of their footing among the *Longobards* and *Sueuians*. But the moſt glorious remembrance of that their name hath beene for theſe many ages in this Kingdome of *England*: though *Saxo Grammaticus* (as erſt we touched, *Lib. 5. Cap. 2*) will needs haue *Anglia* named from *Angul* the ſonne of *Humblus*, and Giant-like brother of *Danus* the firſt King of *Denmarke*. But *Albertus Crantzius* being offended at his folly, telles him that *England had the name of Britaine many hundred yeeres after that Angul was dead*. Others there are that deriue the name *England* from the manner of this *Ilands* ſituation, being narrow in the *Weſt* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Teutonik Tongue*, as well as in the moderne, doth ſignifie *Narrow*, *Strait*, or a *Nooke*; and to that purpoſe doe produce this verſe of a *Portugals* alluſion:

Anglia terra ferax et fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Inſula prædiues, quæ toto vix eget orbe:

A fruitfull Angle, England thou, another world art ſaid:
An Iland rich, and haſt no need of other countries aid.

The Angli-Saxons place of inhabiting. Ould-Anglia.

Crantzius.

Henr. Rantzouius.

Lindebergus.

A Prouince in Dania called little England.

Words of affinity with the name Angles.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantzius.

Verſtegan.

Eng ſignifieth narrow.

(11) *Callepine* without proofe deriueth the Name frō Queene *Angela*: but on as weake a ground as thoſe who will fetch it from their Angel-like faces, alluded vnto by Pope *Gregory* the Great. Or that of *Goropius*, from the Angle or Fiſhing-hooke, becauſe, ſaith he, they hooked all things to themſelues, and might verie well therefore be called Good Anglers: a very meane conceit in ſooth. But howſoeuer, moſt certaine it is that theſe *Angles* ſtole the name of this bleſſed Iland from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Iacob* did the birth-right from *Eſau*) and called it after their owne; as wee ſhall further ſhew when our Hiſtorie hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchie.

Callepine. Beda hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Goropius Becca. Angles ſo called of a Fiſhing-hooke.

Angles ſtole their name. Gen. 27.

(12) Theſe all claime their deſcents from Prince *Woden*, called by the ancient *Latines Othinus*; and who is deduced by our *Antiquaries*, as hath beene ſaid, from the eldeſt Sonne of the Patriarke *Noah*, and is accounted the moſt noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, inſomuch as they, and eſpecially the *Angle-Saxons*, our Anceſtors, haue (in their ſuperſtitious conceit of ſuch wodden gods) imagined *Woden* to be their principall God of Battell; whoſe Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancie held a Goddeſſe, of whom more hereafter.

Saxons both Angles and Iutes deſcend from Woden.

Woden eſteemed a God. Frea the wife of Woden.

(13) Theſe had iſſue between them ſundry Sons, and from fiue of them, all the Monarchs of the *Engliſh-men* haue claimed to haue been deſcended. *Wechta* the firſt being reported to be the Progenitor to the *Kings* of the *Kentiſhmen*: *Caſer* the ſecond, to the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*: *Wethelgeat* the third, to the Kings of the *Mercians*: *Wegdeg* the fourth, to the Kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldeg* the fifth, to the Kings of the

Wodens fiue ſons their names and Seigniories.

the *South-Saxons*, to the Kings of the *Bernicians*, afterwards Kings of *Northumberland*; and alſo the Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*: only the Kings of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, claiming to deſcend of the ſame race, deriue not their deſcents from any of the Sonnes of the ſame men. This may ſuffice for the Originals of theſe three people; who, as *Ciſner* affirmeth, retained ſtill the ſame manners after they were ſeated in *Europe*, as they had formerly done in *Aſia*. And what thoſe were, let vs heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who together with the *Germans* (among whom they dwelled) doe thus deſcribe them.

Ciſner.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

CHAPTER III.

THeſe *Germans*, and among them the *Catti* and *Sueuians*, (our Anceſtors according to *Albertus Crantzius*) *were a people* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *well ſet, ſterne of countenance, tall of ſtature, gray eied, and of a firie aſpect, and their haire yellow.* Vnto whom, *Witichindus* the Monke addeth and ſaith, that *They were faire of complexion, cheerfull of countenance, very comely of ſtature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned; bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts* (ſaith he) *the Franks had them in great admiration, and wondered at their new and ſtrange attire, their armour and their buſhie lockes of haire, that from their heads ouer-ſpread their ſhoulders, but aboue all, at their conſtant reſolution and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they ſuffer* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *to grow at length, and neuer put off that vowed ornament and bond of valour, vntill they haue ſlaine an Enemie: but then vpon blood and ſpoile, they vncouer their forehead, and ſay they haue paied backe the price of their birth, and thinke themſelues worthy of their Country and parents. Their curled locks* (ſaith he) *they binde vp in knots, and ſtanding on end, tie it in the crowne only, that is the harmleſſe care they haue of beautie, to ſeeme more terrible to the Enemy.* And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his teſtimony, they vſed to ſhaue off the haire of their heads, reſeruing onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hoope or plate of copper, which cauſed the haire to ſtand vpright, as by theſe his verſes appeareth.

Cranzius.

Tacit. in deſcript. of Germanie.

Witichindus lib. 9. cap. 1. Saxons deſcribed.

Tacit. deſcript. of Germanie.

Sidonius Apollin.

Iſtic Saxona cærulum videmus,
Adſuetum antè Salo, ſolum timere:
Cuius verticis extimas per oras,
Non contenta ſuos tenere morſus,
Altat lamina marginem comarum:
Et ſic crinibus ad cutem reciſis
Decreſcit caput, additurq; vultus.

In Engliſh thus:

There doe we ſee the Saxons clad in blew,
Bold on the Sea, but fearefull now on land:
Their heighted tops vpon their crownes that ſhew,
Are not content to hold their wonted band,
But raiſd in tufts, where all the reſt, doth ſtand
Bare naked ſhau'd, and hath no haire at all,
Which makes full fac'd, but heads ſeeme paſſing ſmall.

(2) And that they were indeede bold vpon the Seas, *Ægyſippus* witneſſeth. *The Saxons* (ſaith hee) *a moſt valorous kinde of men, excell all others in Piracies.* In imitation of whom, *Iſidore* affirmeth, that for their valour and nimblenes in ſeruice they had their name. *A people* (ſaith he) *ſtout, hardie, and moſt valiant, and farre out-ſtripping all others in Piracies, ſeemed more fearfull to liue on Land then at Sea.* Whoſe intruſions and ſudden violence both *France* and *Britaine* with great dammages felt: for in *Gallia* they ſeized into their poſſeſsion the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*, as is to be ſeene in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, who thence termeth them *Saxones Baiocaſsions*: and in *Britaine* an Office of Charge was inſtituted to defend the Coaſts from their irruptions, the *Captaine* whereof was commonly called the *Count* or *Earle of the Saxon Shoare*: of whoſe *Piracies* and *ſauage Cruelties*, let vs heare *Sidonius* in his Epiſtle to *Numantius* complaine: *So many Rowers as you ſee* (ſaith he) *ſo many Arch-Pirates thinke you behold, they all of them together ſo command, obey, teach and learne, to rob and ſteale. There is no enemie ſo cruell as this, that ſetteth vpon others at vnawares, and as occaſion ſerues, as warily ſlips himſelfe away. Hee ſetteth at nought ſuch as encounter him: hee bringeth to nought thoſe that take no heed of him: whom he courſeth, he ſurely ouertaketh: when he flieth, he is ſure to eſcape. To this ſeruice, Shipwrackes inure him, they terrifie him not. Be there a Tempeſt vp, the ſame ſerueth them, and to aſſaile others. They neuer weigh Ancour vpon the enemies Coaſts, but with a reſolution againe to returne: and their manner is to kill euery tenth Captiue with a lingring and dolorous torment: for to ſuch Vowes they binde themſelues, and with ſuch Sacrifices they diſcharge their Vowes againe, being indeed not ſo much purified by ſuch Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacrilege: and the bloudy and abominable Murderers thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Priſoner vnto death, then to ſet him free for a Ranſome.*

Saxons excelling all other in Piracies.

** Baieux. Gregorius Turonenſis.*

Sidonius, lib. 8.

Saxons kill euery tenth Captiue.

Saxons accept a ranſome.

But when wee ſhall heare theſe vnhumane and barbarous reports either of the old *Britaines* or theſe ſauage *Saxons* our ancient Progenitours, let vs neither be offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of theſe other forrain Writers, who ſpake thus of them as they were then *Heathens*, and knew not God: the time of whoſe ignorance ſeeing God regarded not, as the *Apoſtle* teacheth, let vs acknowledge with due thankes the goodneſſe of a moſt gracious God, who hath brought vs to a holier conuerſation, and hath made vs Iudges of thoſe ſinnes in them, that we might flie them in our ſelues.

Act. 17. 30.

An admonition to the Reader.

(3) Their *Apparell* was much different from others, and ſeemed ſtrange to the *Gaules*, as *Witichindus* hath told vs: and *Tacitus* declareth the maner thereof; which (ſaith he) *was a kinde of Caſſocke, called Sagum, claſped, or* (*for want of a claſpe*) *faſtned with a thorn, hauing otherwiſe no garments at all, but going ſtarke naked. Neuerthelеſſe, the richer ſort were diſtinguiſhed from others, by their garments; which were neither large nor wide, as the Sarmates and Parthians vſe to weare them; but ſtraite and ſhewing the proportion of euerie part of their bodie: beſides they wore Pelts made of beaſts skins.*

Witichindus, lib. 9. cap. 1. Tacit. Deſcript. Germ.

The Saxons veſture.

Aegyſippus.

Iſidore.

The

The homely fashion of the ancient Saxon women in their attire. Paul. Diacon.

The Man and Womans attire differd in nothing, saith he, *saving that the women vse linnen Garments trimmed and interlaced with purple, and without sleeues, their armes bare, and bosomes naked and vncouered.* Yet *Paulus Diaconus* speaking of the *Longobards*, comparing them to the *Saxons*, saith that their *Cassockes were large and worne loose, most of linnen, trimmed and set out with very broad Gards or welts purfleet, and embrodered with sundry colours, and the richer sort with Pearles: their haire bound vp in a copper hoope, stood in tufts vpon the crowne, the rest curled and falling downe vpon their shoulders: their beards they kept still vncut, till they had killed an enemie; and for another note of ignominie, they wore an Iron Ring, as a signe of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the Conquest of a Man.* Great Kniues, or rather broad bending Swords, they trussed vpon little Shields thwart their backes, from which (as we shewed) *Engelhusius* auoucheth they had their appellation. *Hee that abandoned or lost this shield in battle* (saith *Tacitus*) *was debarred from their publike Sacrifices and Assemblies, the greatest disgrace that could be; for very shame and griefe whereof, many, many times hanged themselues.* And vpon these Shields their manner was to lift vp their new elected *Generall*, and with acclamations so to carrie him thorow their *Campe*.

Wichindus.

Engelhusius.

Tacit. in descript. Germ.

(4) For *Warres*, the *Germans* by *Tacitus* are reputed the best, who *for two hundred and ten yeeres held tack with the Romans. Not the Samnites* (saith he) *not the Carthagenians, not the Spaniards, or the Gallois, no not the Parthians haue so much troubled vs: for what can the East obiect against vs, saving the death of Crassus, when he had defeated Pacorus, before trodden downe by Ventidius? But the Germans hauing either slaine or taken Carbo, and Cassius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Seruilius Cepio, and M. Manlius, haue defeated also fiue Consulare Armies, and Varus with three Legions in Caesars time. Neither haue C. Marius in Italie, or Iulius in Gallia, Drusus or Nero, and Germanicus molested them at home in their Country, but to their more smart.* And yet these *Saxons* among those valiant *Germans* were accounted the best for courage of minde, strength of body, and enduring of trauell, as *Zosimus* saith. Terrible also they were, and full of agilitie, by the report of *Orosius*: and *for their sudden inuasions, most feared of the Romans*, saith *Marcellinus*.

Tacit. biſt. 4. cap. 6.

Tacit. descript. Germ. cap. 5.

Saxons of all the Germans the valiantest. Zosim.

Marcell. li. 28. c. 7.

(5) Their fashion was to goe foorth *singing to the Warres, (or rather they especially are said to march to battle, whereas others are said to goe) carrying before them certaine Images taken out of their consecrated Woods.* Their manner was before they ioined Battle, to trie by single Combat (therein arming one of their own against some captiued enemie) what successe was to be expected: and this they kept as a Law vnuiolate, that *none might presume to beare Armes before hee was solemnly admitted, where in a frequent Assemblie a Shield was giuen him by his Parents or Kindred: and this was the pledge (as it were) of his first honour, he being till then reputed but a particular of a Familie, but thence-forward a member of the Common-wealth. They are very sensible, wise, and considerate in their seruice, in preferring choice Captaines, in following their Leaders, in obseruing their rankes, in taking the aduantage and benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night, holding Fortune euer doubtfull, but valour alwaies certaine.* Their weapons, as testifieth *Ioannes Pomarius*, were long *Speares*, broad *Swords*, and the *Crosbow*: these they held in such esteeme, that with a *horse* furnished, *Shield, Sword*, and *Launce*, their *Virgins* were receiued in mariage, accounting them for the greatest bonds, and the very *Patron-Gods* of *Matrimony*: which custome might well bee taken from their neighbours the ancient *Saracens*, whose *Maidens* vsually presented to their husbands a *Tent* and a *Speare*, in way of *Dowrie* at the entrance of their *Nuptials*. And among these *Germans* those Martiall habiliaments were in such vse, that they did meet neither at *Feasts* nor in *Councell*, but in their Armour.

The Saxons wisedome in warre.

Iacobus Pomarius. The Saxons weapons.

Their Ceremonies in marying. Tacitus.

A People (saith *Tacitus*) *whom thou canst not so easily perswade to manure the ground, as to prouoke the Enemie, and aduenture wounds; holding small esteeme of that which is gotten by the sweat of their browes, when it might haue been obtained by the expence of their bloud. A strange diuersitie* (saith he) *that the same men should so much loue sloth, and hate quietnesse.* It is with them a great shame for their *Prince* to be ouercome in *Valour*; but for any one to returne aliue from that Battell wherein the *Prince* is slaine; a perpetuall infamie and reproach. And that their resolutions were euer noble, and their corage not daunted in distresse or bondage, it well appeared by a whole band of them taken by *Symachus*, and designed for the *Romans* pastime of *Sword-plaiers*, who the same morning that this spectacle was expected, strangled themselues rather then they would incurre such infamie and baseneſſe, as to make others pastime with the ignominious vsage of their owne persons.

Amian. Marcell. li. 14. cap. 3.

Saxons their resolute courage.

(6) Their Lawes were seuere, and vices not laughed at, and *good Customes of greater authority among them, then elsewhere were good Lawes; no temporising for fauor, nor vsury for gaine; but bounteous in hospitality, and liberall in gifts, accounting both due to bee giuen and receiued, yea and that without thanks: no Nation freer from adulterie, or punishing that sinne more seuerely. For the woman offending, hauing first her haire cut off, was turned starke naked out of her Husbands house, and that in presence of her owne kindred; thence she was scourged with whips thorow the Towne, without regard of birth, beauty, age or wealth, and neuer after could finde another Husband. Those that were vnnaturally leaud of their bodies, their manner was to drowne them in filthy mud, and to couer them with hurdles.* Yea and greater punishments then these the *Pagan-Saxons* executed vpon such offenders, as by the Epistle of *Boniface* an English-man, Arch-bishop of *Magunce*, which he wrote vnto *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in reproouing his adulterous life, is manifest. *For* (saith hee) *in the ancient Country of the Saxons (where there was no knowledge of God) if either a Maid in her fathers house, or one hauing a husband, became a whore, shee should bee strangled with her owne hands closed to her mouth, and the Corrupter should bee hanged vpon the Pit wherein she was buried. If shee were not so vsed, then her Garments being cut away downe from the Girdle-steed, the chaste Matrons did scourge and whip her, and did pricke her with kniues, and so was she sent from Towne to Towne, where other fresh and new scourges did meet and torment her vnto death.*

Tacit. descr. Germ.

Saxons great punishers of adulterie.

Chron. of Holland.

And their seuere Lawes a long time remaining in the daies of Christianitie, doe declare with what rigor (without regard of person) they both examined and punished this offense: whereof that of *Queene Emma*, the mother of *King Edward* the *Confessor*, is a sufficient example, who being accused for incontinencie of body with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, was inioined to passe ouer nine *Plough-share Irons* glowing red hot, she being blind-fold and bare-footed; by which triall shee is said to haue acquitted her selfe, insomuch that hauing passed them all before shee knew it, cried and said; *O good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?* This punishment beginning in these *Pagans*, and continuing vnto the yeere 750. *Stephen* the Second, and most pontificall Pope of *Rome*, did vtterlie abolish, as *too seuere and ouer-rigorous for Christians to vndergoe.*

Ran. Higd. in Polycr. lib. 6. cap. 23.

Queene Emma her punishment.

Stephen 2. Bishop of Rome.

The Virgins of these *Saxons* were neuer to bee married but once, that they might haue no other thoghts, nor further desire but in case of matrimony: neither had the men pluralitie, excepting great Personages, and they sued vnto in regard of procreation, for *to be without Children, was to be without reputation.* So that the testimony of *Saluianus*, which liued among them, fitteth well our purpose, saying; *Though the Saxons are outragious in cruelty, yet for chastity they are to be honoured.*

The Saxons Virgins maried but once.

The Saxons did highly esteeme of hauing children.

Saluianus.

(7) But as in these vertues they out-stripped most *Pagans*; so in the *Zeale* of their heathenish superstitions and Idolatrous seruice, they equalized any of them: for besides *Herthus*, the *Mother-Earth*, whom the *Angli* our auncestors accounted for a *Goddesse of Aide*: they worshipped *Mercurie* vnder the name of

Tacit. descr. Ger. cap. 6.

Mercury worshipped of the *Saxons* for *Woden.*

* An old Manuscript.

Wodenſday dedicated to *King Woden.*

Friday dedicated to *Queene Frea.*

Iſis a Goddeſſe of the *Saxons.*

Eoſter a Saxon Goddeſſe.

Beda de temporibus.

Eſay 40.25.

Crantzius Nor. Hiſt. li. 3. ca. 3.

Herald King of *Norway* his wicked ſacrifice.

Adam Bremenſis.

Vbſola a Temple of the *Saxons* all of gold.

The *Saxons Gods* in their Temple *Vbſola*, and their properties.

* Hence *Thurſday* ſeemeth to be named.

Woden for their principall *God of Battell*: after whoſe victories they vſually ſacrificed to him their Priſoners taken in warres, and of him named one of the weeke daies * *Wodenſday*, whereon hee was chieflie worſhipped: whoſe wife named *Frea*, was by the like foolerie held to bee *Venus* a *Goddeſſe*, vnto whom another of their weeke daies was aſsigned for name and ſeruice; which of vs is called *Fridaie*.

Iſis likewiſe with them was a *Goddeſſe* of great account, ſo was *Eoſter*, vnto whom they ſacrificed in the moneth of April; whence it commeth (ſaith *Beda*) *that they called Aprill Eoſter-Moneth:* and we ſtill name the feaſt of the *Reſurrection*, *Eaſter*. The Images of all theſe they ſtill bare before them in battle, reputing no ſmall confidence in their aides: and yet (ſaith *Tacitus*) *they thought it vnbeſeeming to paint their Gods in the ſhape of men*; hauing euen by Nature doubtleſſe written in their hearts, a regard to that demaund of the Lord: *To whom will ye liken me that I ſhould be like him, ſaith the holie one Iehoua?* They gaue great heede alſo to the neighing of their *Horſes*, and to the flight and ſinging of *Birds*, as ominous fore-ſhewers of future euents.

(8) Theſe Superſtitions, *Ethelward* euen in his daies complained of: *That they had infected the Danes, Normans and Sueuians, with the worſhip of this God Wooden; vnto whom thoſe barbarous Nations offered ſacrifices, that they might be victorious where they fought.* And as *Crantz.* recordeth, *Herald the firſt of that name, and Norwaies King, was ſo farre ouergone, that he ſacrificed two of his Sonnes vnto his Idols, that he might obtaine a tempeſt to diſperſe, and put backe the Armado, which Herald King of Denmarke had prepared againſt him.*

This generall defection of Gods true worſhip, *Adam Bremenſis* maketh mention of in this manner: *In a Temple*, ſaith he, *called in their vulgar and natiue ſpeech Vbſola, which is made altogether of Gold, the people worſhip the Statues of three Gods, in ſuch manner, as that Thor the mightieſt of them hath only a Throne or Bed: on either hand of him Woodan and Friſco hold their places. And thus much they ſignifie: * Thor, ſay they, beareth rule in the Aire, and gouerneth the Thunder and Lightning, Windes, Showres, Faire weather, Corne, and Fruits of the Earth. The ſecond, which is Woodan, that is, ſtronger, maketh Warres, and miniſtreth manly valour againſt Enemies. The third is Friſco, beſtowing largely vpon mortall men, peace and pleaſure, whoſe Image they deuiſe and pourtray with a great virile member. Woodan they engraue armed, like as we vſe to cut and expreſſe Mars.*

(9) Their controuerſies and doubtfull matters were decided by drawing of Lots, which they euer made of ſome fruit-bearing tree, and was performed after this manner: *If there were publike cauſe, the Prieſt; if priuate, the Goodman of the houſe, or worthieſt in the company, tooke thoſe ſlitted ſlips, diſtinguiſhed with certaine markes that had beene ſcattered at hap hazzard vpon a white garment: and after praiers and inuocation on their God, with eies fixed vpon heauen, and three times lifting the ſame lots aloft, gaue their interpretations thereof according to the markes therein inſcribed; which was receiued and beleeued for a moſt ſure Oracle:* as the like was obſerued vpon other occaſions, both by the inſpections of Beaſts intrals, and ſingings of Birds, after the accuſtomed maner of other *Gentiles*, that doted vpon the augurations for things of future ſucceſſe.

Tacit. in deſcrip. Germ.

(10) For the generall gouernment of their Countrey they ordayned twelue Noblemen choſen from among others, for their worthines and ſufficiency: Theſe in the time of peace rode their ſeuerall circuits to ſee iuſtice and good cuſtomes obſerued, and they often of courſe at appointed times met together, to conſult and giue order in publike affaires: but euer in time of warre one of theſe twelue was choſen to be King, and ſo to remaine ſo long onely as the warres laſted: and that being ended, his name and dignitie of *King* alſo ceaſed, becomming againe as before. And this cuſtome continued among them, vntill their wars with the *Emperour Charles the Great*: at which time *Wittekind*, one of the twelue aforeſaid, a Nobleman of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, bore ouer the reſt the name and authoritie of *King*; and he being afterward, by means of the ſaid *Emperour*, conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, *had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the enduring ſtile and honour of Duke*: and the eleuen others were in like manner by the ſaid Emperour aduanced to the honourable Titles of *Earles* and *Lords*, with eſtabliſhment for the continuall remaining of theſe Titles and Dignities vnto them and their heires. Of whoſe deſcents are ſince iſſued the greateſt Princes at this preſent in *Germanie*. But though they obſerued this ſaid forme of gouernment elſewhere, yet heere in *Britaine* it was otherwiſe, as heereafter will appeare.

The gouernment of the *Saxons.*

Ioannes Pomar.

Chron. Sax.

Verſtegan Reſt. cap. 3.

(11) And thus much out of my poore readings, I haue obſerued of the originall beginnings, the names, maners, and cuſtomes, of our ancient Progenitors, the worthy *Saxons*, without either amplyfying or impayring their glory: who being of all the *Germans* ſo much deuouted to warre, as that their only fame therein was many times ſufficieut to daunt the Enemy, were thought vpon by the downe-caſt *Britaines* as the fitteſt to ſupport their ruiued Eſtate, of whoſe Entrance Conqueſts, and Kingdomes, wee are now next addreſſed to ſpeake.

THE

THE SAXONS ARRIVALL INTO BRITAINE VNDER THE CONDVCT OF HENGIST AND HORSA.

CHAPTER IIII.

An.Do.450. WHen the ſtate of *Britaine* was miſerablie torne by the calamities of ciuill *Diſſenſions, Famine, Death*, and *Robberies*, the *Romans* returned, their owne *Strength decaied*, and their *Afflictions* daily augmented by their wonted Enemies the *Scots* and *Picts*, no hope was left to their deſpairing hearts, that of themſelues they were able to defend themſelues: and therefore (as wee haue ſhewed) they called to their aid the *Saxons*, a Nation fierce and valorous, who to the number of nine thouſand, vnder the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, two brethren, entred *Britaine* at *Ebsfleet* in the *Ile of Thanet*, in the raigne of *Theodoſius* the ſecond, and of *Valentinian* the third, *Emperors* of the Eaſt and Weſt, about the yeere of Grace 450. Receiued they were with great ioy as Angels from Heauen, and ſaluted with ſongs after the accuſtomed manner of the *Britaines*, who appointed them the Iland *Thanet* for their habitation.

The Saxons enter Britaine vnder Hengiſt & Horſa. W. Malmesbury.

Beda l.1.5.

(2) Theſe *Saxons* in ſhort time made proofe of their Manhood. For ouercomming the Enemie euen in *Scotland* it ſelfe, ſeated themſelues in ſome part thereof; ſo that their Conqueſt ſeemed abſolute, and the *Britaines* freed from their former aſſaults. Peace thus ſetled, and the Inhabitants freed, a friendly *Compoſition* was made betwixt theſe Nations, wherein the *Saxons vndertook to maintaine the Field, and the Britaines to ſuſtaine the Charge.* In which league they aboad ſome certaine time, ſaith *Witichindus, making vſe in a ciuill ſort of the *Brets friendſhip: but ſo ſoone as they perceiued the Country large, the ſoile fertile, and the hands of the Inhabitants ſlow to practiſe feats of Armes: and further conſidering with themſelues, that themſelues and the greateſt part of the Saxons had no certaine place of aboad, they found fault with their pay and want of victuals, making that their quarrell, as both too meane, and too little for their high deſerts, threatning withall, as vnkind Gheſts, that ſhortly they would reckon without their Hoſts: and thereupon ſending ouer for more of their Nation, entred peace with the Scots & Picts, who all together roſe againſt the poore Brets.*

Hengiſt had the whole poſſeſſion of Kent.

(3) And Hengiſt, that by the gift of *Vortigern* had got the whole poſſeſſion of *Kent*, ſent for more ſupply of *Saxons* vnto his ayde, pretending imployments of their ſeruice in other parts, but indeede to make ſtrong his owne deſignes: and theſe ſwarming daylie ouer into *Britaine* got the ſtrength of munition and command of military affaires without impeach: For the King holding himſelfe now ſure from all interceptions, gaue his immoderate ſenſes ſcope to nouriſh more freely their ſenſuall pleaſures, and committed more audaciouſly thoſe vices, vnto which his owne corrupt nature was naturally addicted. This *Hengiſt* ſoone perceiued, and to adde more matter fit for flame, fed ſtill the humors of this vicious King, outwardly ſhewing his care and readineſſe for the *Lands defence*, his counſell and loue to the *Nobles in eſtate*, and his courteous carriage to the *Commons* in generall; but to the *King* an ouerſeeming dilligence, and ſeruile obedience: by all which, ere it was long, he gaue fire to the traine, that blew vp the foundations of the *Britiſh* policie.

John Stow. Hengiſt feaſteth the King.

(4) For feaſting the *King* in the Caſtell of *Tonnge*, commanded his daughter, a Lady of paſsing beautie, to attend the banquet, whoſe excellent feature and ſeemely behauiour, blew the ſparkes of deſire ſo right into *Vortigerns* wanton eie, that they preſently kindled a flame in his laſciuious heart: for in the midſt of his cups, *Rowena* (ſo was the damoſell called) with a low reuerence and pleaſing grace, ſaluted the *King* with a cup of gold full of ſweet wine, incharming it with theſe words in her language; Waes heal hlaforo Cyning, which is in our Engliſh, *Be of health Lord King:* he demãding the meaning, would be taught to anſwer to her owne vnderſtanding, and ſaid, Dpinc heal, that is, *Drinke health*; whereof when hee had pledged her (as we ſpeake) this bowle infected his ſenſes with no leſſe ſottiſhneſſe, then that of *Belus* is ſaid to doe *Dido*, when *Cupid* plaid the childe *Aſcanius* betwixt *Æneas* and her. And brought more bale to the Land, then afterwards did that which was preſented to *King Iohn* at *Swinſted Abbey* by *Simon* the poiſoning Monke: for notwithſtanding that hee had a *Queene* then liuing, (himſelfe not young, hauing ſonnes at mans eſtate, in profeſsion a Chriſtian, whoſe Religion alloweth neither polygamie nor adulterie) did importunate *Hengiſt* that *Rowena* might be his wife: which at firſt with ſome ſhew of excuſe and vnworthineſſe of perſon, was denied, but laſtly conſented vnto, and the Nuptials performed. And now Fortune caſting occaſion daily into *Hengiſts* lap, hee gaue his aſpiring thoughts no reſt, till hee had got the Crowne from *Vortigerns* head, and ſeized all vnder the *Saxons* power.

In the Fictions of Virg. Aeneid. li. 1.

Caxton Chron.

Mark. 10.

Vortigern would needs haue *Rowena* to wife. Will. Malmesb. de Regibus.

(5) *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* in their Language, as alſo in the ancient *Teutonic Tongue*, doe both of them ſignifie a *Horſe*, vnto which beaſt the *Saxons* had great regard, and whoſe neighings (ſaith *Tacitus*) *were their preſages, and being white, were imploied in their ſacrilegious ceremonies.* *Virgil* alſo maketh the *Horſe* to bee a luckie *Oſſe* or foretokened ſucceſſe in Battle, as in this his verſe he doth intimate and write:

Bello armantur equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.

Verſtegan Reſtit. cap. 5.

Tacit. de ſcri. Ger. cap. 2.

And *Crantzius* telles vs, that it was a vſuall thing with the *Pagan Germans*, eſpecially of their Noble-men, to take the names of *Beaſts*, ſome from the *Lion*, ſome from the *Beare*, ſome from the *Woolfe*, and ſome from the *Horſe*, as heere *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* are ſaid to ſignifie.

Crantzius.

Pagan Germans account of tyrannous beaſts.

(6) Which beaſt they bare in their ſhields of *Armes* at their entrance of *Britaine*, and was blazed, ſaith *Verſtegan*, in this manner: *A Horſe Argent Rampant, in a Field Gules: which was the ancient Armes*, as hee affirmeth, *of the Princes and Dukes of Saxonie.* And albeit thoſe *Dukes* haue of latter yeeres changed that Coat, yet doth *Henry Iulius*, now *Duke* of *Brunſwicke*, a moſt ancient *Saxon Prince*, who ſometimes bore the *White Horſe* in a *Red Field*, beare the *White Horſe* for his *Creaſt*, hauing for his chiefe *Coat* of *Armes*, the two *Leopards*,

Hengiſt and Horſa their Armes.

The Duke of Brunſwicke his Armes.

Leopards, which by *Richard Cordelion* King of *England* was giuen vnto his anceſtor *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony*, who had maried *Mathilda* the ſaid Kings ſiſter, and by the *Emperour Frederic Barbaroſſa* had been bereft of his Armes, and Titles of honor. Moreouer, *Charles Emmanuel* the now Duke of *Sauoy*, who is lineally deſcended from the ancient Princes of the chiefe houſe of *Saxony*, by Prince *Beral*, who came out of *Saxonie* into *Sauoy* in the yeere of our Lord 998. and was the third ſonne of *Hugh Duke of Saxonie*, which *Hugh* was brother vnto the *Emperour Otho* the Third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats the ſaid *Leaping Horſe*.

The Duke of *Sauoy*, his Armes.

(7) This *Hengiſt* was doubtleſſe a Prince of the chiefeſt bloud and Nobilitie of the *Saxons*, and by birth, of *Angria* in *Weſtphalia*, wherein vnto this day a place retaineth the name of *Hengſter-holt*. Hee with his brother were the ſonnes of one *Wihtgiſil*, whoſe father was *Witta*, and his father *Vecta* the eldeſt ſonne of *Voden*, as *Beda* writes him, of whoſe iſſue *many Kings of ſundry Prouinces* (ſaith he) *had their originall.*

Chron. Sax. Hengiſt, his Country and parentage.

Floren. Wigorn. Beda hiſt. Ang. li. 1. ca. 15.

Hee growne now into high fauour with the King, by the mariage of *Rowena*, and feared of the Nobility for his ſtrength and policie, bare himſelfe great among all, and his ſupplies daily arriuing, peſtred (if it not plagued) moſt parts of this *Iland*. For ſaith *Ninius* and *Beda*, *the riches of Britaine, and the fertilitie of the ſoile, were ſuch motiues to their couetous and aſpiring mindes, that where they got footing, there they kept ſtanding, and picked occaſions where they were too ſtrong.* Among thē that were ſent for, by the aduice of *Hengiſt*, two principall Captaines, *Octa* and *Ebiſſa* were chiefe, who being embarked in forty Pinnaces, ſailed about the *Picts* Coaſts, waſting the *Iles* that were called the *Orcades*, and got many Countries from them beyond the *Frith*, whereby a further terrour was ſtricken into the *Britaines* hearts.

Hengiſt, his firſt riſing.

Ninius.

Octa and *Ebiſſa* a terror to the *Britaines.*

(8) The Nobilitie perceiuing what was in worke ing, and the marke whereat *Hengiſt* ſet his eie to aime, complained to the King of their dangerous eſtate, ſhewing themſelues agreeued to bee diſpoſſeſſed of Offices and Charge, (as *Guorong* the Earle or Lieutenant of *Kent*, by *Hengiſt* had beene) the Land peſtred with ſtrangers, that ſought their ſubuerſion; reprouing him much for his match with that *Infidel Rowena*, his owne careleſſe gouernment and adulterous life, and in ſuch manner, that *Vodine* Archbiſhop of *London*, a man of great ſanctitie, feared not to tell him that therby *he had indangered both his ſoule and Crowne*; which words by *Vortigern* were ſo digeſted, that ſhortlie it coſt the good Archbiſhop his life. But hee ſtill continuing in his laſciuious and careleſſe idleneſſe, was laſtly taught by wofull experience, what miſerie wilfull raſhneſſe and neglected gouernment do bring: for the *Britaines* his ſubiects no longer would be thus abuſed, to ſee themſelues wouen into greater danger by ſhew of defenſe, then they formerly had beene by the hoſtilitie of the enemie; but forthwith diſclaimed their obedience to the King, when he had raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres, and choſe for their Gouernour his ſonne young *Vortimer*.

The Nobilities complaint.

Vortigern reproued by the Biſhop of *London.*

He continueth in his folly.

His ſubiects diſclaime their obedience.

They chuſe *Vortimer.*

(9) His *Sonne* he was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (beſides the quarrell of his Queene mother for *Rowenas* ſake reiected) bare an inward loue to his natiue Country, and an outward hate to the ſtrangers that daily ſought the ſubuerſion thereof, and preſently encountred with them in a pitched Battell neere vnto *Ailsford* in *Kent*, wherein *Catigern* and *Horſa*, brethren to *Vortimer* and *Hengiſt*, in ſingle fight hand to hand ſlew each other.

Catigern and *Horſa* their ſingle fight.

In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected: the ſtones whereof to this day appeare, and ſtand vpon a great plaine in the Pariſh of *Ailsford*, and from *Catigern* as yet is corruptly called *Cits-Cotihouſe*. The like Monument the *Saxons* built for *Horſa*, which time hath now defaced, and whereof *Beda* maketh mention, who ſaith, that *a tombe bearing his name was in his daies to bee ſeene in the Eaſt part of Kent.* The credit whereof is continued to this day, where the Village *Horſted* is reported to haue receiued that name from him, which ſtandeth in the very ſame place where that Battle was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

John Stowe. Cits-Cotihouſe, Catigerns his Monument.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib 1 cap.15.

Horſted the place of *Horſa* his Monument.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable ſucceſſe were fought betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*, one at *Craford*, another at *Weppeds-fleet*, and the third vpon *Colmore*; in which laſt the *Britaines* bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that the *Saxons* were driuen into the *Iſle of Tanet* (if not ouer the ſeas) ſo that ſmall hope reſted for them ſo long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often aſſailed them in *Tanet*, as *Fabian* ſaith. After this Victorie long hee liued not, but was made away by poiſon through the meanes of *Rowena* the mother of all this miſchiefe, when he had ſate King the ſpace of foure yeeres; and the father againe reeſtabliſhed.

The Battels betweene Britaine and Saxon.

The Saxons driuen ouer Sea.

Vortimer poiſoned by *Rowen.*

(11) *Vortigern* now was no ſooner reſtored, but that *Hengiſt* had notice thereof, who was then in building a Caſtle at *Leiden* in *Holland*, as their *Annales* doe witneſſe, and *Iohn Douſa* in his verſes ſpecifie: where leauing all (as it were) at randome, returned to follow his fortunes further in *Britaine*, and with a mighty Armie of his *Saxons* thought to land without impeachment: but the *Britaines* growne bold by their former victories, and their bloud not cooled ſince it was heat in fight, admoniſhed their reeſtabliſhed *King*, who with them went to withſtand his ariuage. When *Hengiſt* therefore perceiued their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his *Saxons*, hee ſought by ſmooth words to gaine the ſhoare; and by ſome ſtratageme, his wiſhed deſire: therefore pretending only to viſit his daughter, yea and to rid the Land of her, if ſo he might haue leaue of the King and them; and therefore deſired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his *Saxons* ſhould depart the Land, and reſt the like friends to the *Britaines* as they were when firſt they came in.

Leiden Caſtle in *Holland*, begun by *Hengiſt.*

Iohn Douſa.

Hengiſts ſuite reſiſted by the *Britaines.*

Matth. Weſt.

(12) This motion ſeemed reaſonable to the Nobilitie, and the place and time appointed, which was the *firſt of May*, and vpon the *Plaine of Ambrij*, now called *Salisbury*: whither vpon equall tearmes (as was thought) each partie repaired, and a while conferred with friendly ſemblances; but in the end the *Saxons* vrging their wrongs, fel from words vnto blowes, the watch-word firſt giuen by *Hengiſt* their Leader. The *Britaines* meant ſimply, and ware no weapons, according to couenāts: but the *Saxons* vnder their long Caſſocks had ſhort Skeines hid, with which, no ſooner the words, Nemeowr Seaxes, were pronounced, but that each ſlew him with whom he conferred, by which treaſon the *Britaines* loſt three hundred of their diſarmed Nobilitie, onely *Eldol* Duke of *Gloceſter*, as *Randulph Higden* declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, ſlew ſcuenteene *Saxons*. The King they tooke priſoner; for whoſe ranſome, the Countries of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Suffolke*, and *Northfolke*, were deliuered vnto theſe Infidels, who ſhortly defiled the beauty of Chriſtianitie with their Paganiſme and heatheniſh cruelties. *Then* (ſaith *Beda*) *the fire of Gods vengeance was kindled by theſe wicked Conquerors, and raged firſt vpon thoſe Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the Eaſt Sea vnto the Weſt, without reſiſtance made to quench the ſame, publike and priuate houſes were ouerthrowne and laied leuell with the ground, Prieſts were ſlaine ſtanding at the Altars, and Biſhops with their flocks were murthered; neither was there any to bury the dead.* And theſe are the times whereof we ſpake, and wherein the miſerable *Britaines* abandoned the Land or hid themſelues in caues, where in they either periſhed for hunger, or redeemed their liues with perpetuall ſlauery.

At *Salisbury* Plaine the *Britaines* and *Saxons* treat of agreement. *Will. Malmesb. regibus.*

The *Saxons* ſuddenly murder the *Britaines.*

Randulp. Higden Polycbr. li. 5. cap.

Diuers countries deliuered to the Infidels.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Great ſpoile and deſolation ouer all the Land.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in outward afflictions then their ſoules, polluted with the hereſie of the *Pelagians*, brought by *Agricola*, the Son of *Seuerianus* a *Pelagian Biſhop*, that did foulely corrupt the faith of the *Britaines*: to redreſſe which, *Germanus Altiſiodorenſis*, and *Lupus Biſhop of Trecaſſa in France*, were by the brethren deſired, and ſent vnto their

The *Britaines* abandoned the Land.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 17. Pelagianiſme brought into *Britaine* by *Agricola.*

The Heretikes conuicted.

their thus troubled and declining eſtate. Theſe pillars of Gods truth, after they had powred forth praiers, and conuicted the Heretikes, lead an Armie of *Britaines* againſt the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and gained the victorie; after which (like vnto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne deſtructions) they fell to robberies and rapine, one Citie banding againſt another, and all laid waſte by the *Saxons* and themſelues. Theſe miſeries doth *Gildas* impute to haue hapned to his *Britaines*, becauſe they tooke no care *to preach the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto thoſe Infidels* the *Engliſh-Saxons, that in their heatheniſh cruelties ſought the Lands deſtruction.*

The principall cauſe of the *Britaines* miſeries.

(14) *Vortigern* thus diſpoſſeſſed, for his further ſecuritie betooke himſelfe into *Wales*, where among thoſe vaſt Mountaines hee built a ſtrong Caſtle; of whoſe foundation, *Merlin* the *Welſh Wizard*, with the future ſucceſſe that ſhould afterward follow the *Britaines*, haue by way of prophecie vainly ſpoken. This Caſtle moſt of our Writers haue ſaid to bee in *South-Wales*, vpon a rockie and ſolitarie mountaine called *Breigh*, or after others *Cloaric*, in the Weſt of that Prouince, not farre from *Radnor*, and neere vnto the Riuer *Gnant*: but the inhabitants of *North-Wales* report (by the reports of their anceſtors) that in old *Bethkelert* was that Caſtle, which *Vortigern* built, and is yet called *Embris*, from *Merlin Embris*, as they affirme. And ſurely (beſides the craggie and ſolitarineſſe of the place, which ſeemed to mee rather an entrance into the ſhadow of death, then to be the *Palace* or *Court* of a King) the Riuer *Llynterrenny* mooueth much, by which *Fauſtus* his ſonne, begotten of his own daughter *Rowena*, is ſaid to ſpend his life in continuall praiers.

Vortigern flieth into *Wales*.

Merlin the Welſh Wizard. He builded a Caſtle there.

The differing opinions where this Caſtle was built.

(15) But whileſt *Vortigern* was buſied in building this Caſtle, and the *Saxons* making ſpoiles whereſoeuer they came, the *Britaines* vnder the conduct of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, began to receiue ſome breath of hopes, and to ſhew themſelues out of their Caues. This *Ambroſius* (ſaith *Beda*) *was a gentle natured man, which only of all the bloud of the Romans remained then aliue, his parents being ſlaine, which had borne the name of the King of the Countrey.* Hee with his brother *Vter*, commonly called *Pendragon*, returning out of *Britain Armorica*, where they had remained from the Tyrannie of *Vortigerne*, landed at *Totneſſe* in the Weſt of this Iland; vnto whom reſorted great Troopes of *Britaines*.

Vortigern ſpent his life in continuall praier.

Aurelius Ambroſius Captaine of the *Britaines*. *Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 1. ca. 16.*

His firſt Expedition was againſt *Vortigern the ſcourge of his Country, and murderer of his King*: whoſe Caſtle ſtraightwaies hee beſieged, and by the iuſt reuenging hand of God, with wilde fire conſumed, wherin thoſe adulterous and inceſtuous perſons were burned to aſhes.

Aurelius Ambroſius and *Vter Pendragon* returne out of Britaine *Armorica*.

(16) Next, following the common Enemie, hee gaue battle to the *Saxons* on the North of *Humber*, at a place called *Maesbell*, wherein *Hengiſt* was diſcomfited, and in flight taken by *Earle Edol* of *Gloceſter*, and beheaded at *Cunningsborrow*, ſaith he of *Monmouth*. Howbeit, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* maketh him fight another battle vpon the Riuer *Dun*, in Anno 489. wherein, ſaith he, *Hengiſt* was taken. And *Polydore* ſaith, that in the ſame battle *Hengiſt at the firſt anſet was ſlaine, with many of his Germans*: the fame of whoſe victorie (ſaith he) *is had in memorie with the Inhabitants of thoſe parts euen vnto this day.* Yet *Gildas*, *Beda*, and *Ethelward*, Writers of thoſe ancient times, and two of them *Saxons*, mention not the death of *Hengiſt*, neither this great victorie of the *Britaines*. And *Marianus* the Scotiſh Monke ſeemeth to affirme the contrarie, where he ſaith, that *Hengiſt raigned thirty foure yeeres in great glorie, and died peaceably, leauing his ſonne Eske to ſucceed him in the Kingdome of Kent*. With whom alſo *Florentius* the Monke of *Worceſter* agreeth. Howſoeuer, ſure it is, had not the diuine power of God otherwiſe determined, the waning eſtate of *Britaine* doubtleſſe had recouered her former ſtrength; both by the praiers of *Biſhop Germain*, the proweſſe of this laſt ſpoken of *Ambroſius*, the valorous attempts of *Vter Pendragon*, and the worthy induſtries of the Chriſtian King *Arthur*. The famous reſiſtances of this laſt mentioned *Arthur*, the Monke of *Monmouth* with ſuch fables hath augmented, that his Acts and Trauels may bee compared to thoſe of *Hercules*, or with the Conqueſts of *Caeſar* himſelfe; inſomuch that he hath beene accounted and ranged in the Catalogue of the worlds nine Worthies. And ſurely (by the teſtimonie of *Malmesbury*) hee was a Prince of great worth, and did often aduenture with his ſmall power to meet the *Saxons* in the face and in Field.

Geffrey of Arthur. Arthurs acts augmented with fables.

A Battle at *Maesbell*. *Hengiſt* diſcomfited. *Geffrey of Arthur. Matth. Weſtminſt. Polydore.*

But the *Britaines* ſtrength daily decreaſing, and new ſupplies of theſe *Saxons* daily arriuing, brought the one in deſpaire to enioy their owne right, and the other to triumph in their intruſions of wrongs. For continually incroaching forward, and inlarging their limits whereſoeuer they came, droue the inhabitants before them from their wonted poſſeſſions, & ſeated themſelues in the ſouthern and beſt part of the Land, laying the ſtones (as it were) of thoſe foundations, whereupon in ſhort time they raiſed their moſt glorious buildings.

(17) For euery ſeuerall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherein he firſt entred or made conqueſt of, with full reſolution determined to keepe what he had got, and (as an abſolute King) commanded his Prouince, whereby the Land became burdened with ſeuen of them at the firſt: as *Hengiſt* of *Kent*; *Ella*, of thoſe parts now called *Suſſex* and *Surrey*; *Cherdik*, of the *Weſt*; *Erchenwin*, of the *Eaſt*; *Ida* of the *North*; *Crida*, of the *Middle-land*; *Vffa*, the parts now *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*: which Kingdomes thus begunne and erected, ſtood not long vnſhaken by ciuill diſſenſions among themſelues, each King enuying his equals greatneſſe, and ſeeking to inlarge his owne Dominions vpon the next. In which combuſtions, few or none of them came to the graue in due time, but were either ſlaine in warres, or treacherouſly murdered in peace, or elſe inforced to ſheare himſelfe a *Monke*, and reſigne his Crowne to another. To ſpeake of all theſe together, I hold would bring too great a confuſion to our Hiſtorie, and a needleſſe ſurcharge to the Readers memorie: To auoid which, I will briefly ſet downe the Conqueſts, Circuits, Acts, and Deſcents, that in euery ſeuerall Kingdome happened while they ſtood in their *Heptarchie*, before they were vnited to an abſolute *Monarchie*; and then (according to my prefixed purpoſe) continue the ſucceſſion of GREAT BRITAINES *Monarchs*.

The *Saxons* often at diſſenſion among themſelues.

(18) For albeit the Land was diuided into 7. ſeuerall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a ſoueraigne command within his owne limits, yet one of them euer ſeemed to be ſupreme of the reſt; and that Prince who had the greateſt power or ſucceſſe in his warres, was euer accounted and called *The King of the Engliſhmen*, as *Venerable Beda* in the fifth Chapter of his ſecond Booke, and Hiſtorie of *England*, euer termeth them.

The mightieſt of the *Saxon* Kings alwaies King of the Engliſhmen.

(19) Such therfore as held the reſt vnder, either by Armes or alliance, in amitie or ſubiection, ſwaied the whole *Monarchy*, and were acknowledged as *Supremes* in power ouer the reſt, which ſucceeded not euer in the ſame Familie, neither continued in one and the ſame Kingdome without reuerſement, but were carried vpon the Flouds and Ebbes of variable ſucceſſe, or as deſtinie pleaſed to alter the chance: wherof each of them (ſauing the *Eaſt-Saxons* only) did attaine to the height of that gouernment, as to the hauen of their wiſhed deſires. See therefore (if you pleaſe) a generall view of the whole, and afterwards the ſeuerall Hiſtories of euery Kingdome apart, before wee enter into the Succeſſion of the *Engliſh-Saxons Monarchs*.

Onely the *Eaſt-Saxons* intruded not on their neighbours dominions.

Hengiſts raigne.

Heptarchy.	Kingdomes.	Counties.	Kings Successions.				Kingdomes Continuance.	Kings first Christians.
The *Saxons* Heptarchy.	The Kingdome of *Kent* contained Counties,	*Kent.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Hengist*, 31.	10. *Edrik*, 6.		Beganne in An. 455. Continued yeers 372. Ended in Anno 827.	*Ethelbert.*
				2. *Eske*, 24.	11. *Withred*, 33.			
				3. *Octa*, 20.	12. *Edbert*, 23.			
				4. *Ymerick*, 29.	13. *Edelbert*, 11.			
				5. *Ethelbert*, 56.	14. *Alrik*, 34.			
				6. *Eabald*, 24.	15. *Ethilbert*, 3.			
				7. *Ercombert*, 24.	16. *Cuthred*, 8.			
				8. *Egbert*, 9.	17. *Baldred*, 18.			
				9. *Lother*, 11.				
	The Kingdome of *South-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Sussex.* *Surrey.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Ella*, 32.			Beganne in An. 488. Continued yeers 113. Ended in Anno 601.	*Ethelwolfe.*
				2. *Cissa*, 75.	4. *Berthum.*			
				3. *Edilwach*, alias *Ethelwolf* 25.	5. *Authum.*			
	The Kingdome of *West-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Cornwall.* *Devon-shire.* *Dorset-shire.* *Somerset-sh.* *Wilt-shire.* *Hant-shire.* *Bark-shire.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Cherdik*, 33.	9. *Kentwin*, 9.		Beganne in An. 519. Continued yeers 561. Ended in An. 1066.	*Kingils.*
				2. *Kenrike*, 26.	10. *Ceadwald*, 7.			
				3. *Cheulin*, 33.	11. *Inas*, 37.			
				4. *Ceaclik*, 5.	12. *Ethellard*, 14.			
				5. *Chelwold*, 12.	13. *Cuthred*, 16.			
				6. *Kingils*, 32. *Quithelin*, 1.	14. *Sigebert*, 2.			
				7. *Kenwald*, 30.	15. *Kenwolfe*, 29.			
				8. *Eskwyn*, 2.	16. *Brightrik*, 16.			
					17. *Egbert*, 19.			
	The Kingdome of *East-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Essex.* *Middlesex.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Erchenwin*, 34.	7. *Swithelme*, 14.		Beganne in An. 527. Continued yeers 281. Ended in Anno 827.	*Sebert.*
				2. *Sledda*, 10.	8. *Sighere.*			
				3. *Sebert*, 21.	9. *Sebba*, 30.			
				4. *Sexred*, *Seward*, *Sigbert*, 7.	10. *Sigherd*, 11. *Seofrid*, 8.			
					12. *Offa*, 4.			
				5. *Sigebert*, 23.	13. *Selred*, 30.			
				6. *Sigibert*, 13.	14. *Suthred*, 38.			
	The Kingdome of *Northumberland* contained Counties,	*York-shire.* *Durham.* *Lanca-shire.* *Westmorland.* *Cumberland.* *Northumber.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Ella*, *Ida*,	12. *Alkfryd*, 20.		Beganne in An. 547. Continuedyeers 379. Ended in Anno 926.	*Edwin.*
					13. *Osred*, 11.			
				2. *Adda*, 7. *Elappea*, 5.	14. *Kenred*, 2.			
					15. *Osiwike*, 11.			
				3. *Theodwald*, 1.	16. *Ceolmuphe*, 8.			
				4. *Frethulfe*, 7.	17. *Egbert*, 20.			
				5. *Theodrik*, 7.	18. *Oswulph*, 1.			
				6. *Ethelrik*, 5.	19. *Edilwald*, 11.			
				7. *Ethelfrid*, 23.	20. *Alured.*			
				8. *Edwine*, 17.	21. *Ethelred*, 5.			
				9. *Oswald*, 9.	22. *Alfwald*, 11.			
				10. *Oswy*, 28.	23. *Osred*, 1.			
				11. *Egfrid*, 15.				
	The Kingdome of *Mercia* contained Counties,	*Huntington.* *Rutland.* *Lincolne.* *Northampton.* *Leicester.* *Darby-shire.* *Nottingham.* *Oxford-shire.* *Chesse-shire.* *Shrop-shire.* *Glocester-shire.* *Worcester-shire.* *Stafford-shire.* *Warwick-shire.* *Buckingham-sh.* *Bedford-shire.* *Hartford-shire.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Creda*, 6.	11. *Offa*, 40.		Beganne in An. 582. Continued yeers 202. Ended in Anno 886.	*Peada.*
				2. *Wibba*, 3.	12. *Egfrid* 4 *monet.*			
				3. *Cheorl*, 34.	13. *Kenwolfe*, 22.			
				4. *Penda*, 30.	14. *Kenelme*, 5 *mon.*			
				5. *Peada*, 4.	15. *Chelwolfe*, 1.			
				6. *Wolfere*, 17.	16. *Bernulfe*, 3.			
				7. *Ethelred*, 30.	17. *Ludecan*, 2.			
				8. *Kenred*, 4.	18. *Whitlafe*, 13.			
				9. *Chelred*, 7.	19. *Bertwolfe*, 13.			
				10. *Ethelbald*, 42.	20. *Burdred*, 22.			
	The Kingdome of *East-Angles* contained Counties,	*Suffolke.* *Norfolke.* *Cambridge-sh.* *Ely-Iland.*	Kings raigning,	1. *Vffa*, 7.	9. *Ethwald*, 9.		Beganne in An. 575. Continued yeers 353. Ended in Anno 914.	*Redwald.*
				2. *Titullus*, 10.	10. *Aldwolfe*, 19.			
				3. *Redwald*, 44.	11. *Afwald*, 7.			
				4. *Erpenwald*, 12.	12. *Beorn*, 24.			
				5. *Sigebert*,	13. *Ethelred*, 52.			
				6. *Egrik*,	14. *Ethelbert*, 5.			
				7. *Anna*, 13.	15. *Edmund*, 16.			
				8. *Ethelbert*,				

THE

THE KINGDOME OF KENT BEGVN BY HENGIST THE SAXON, WITH THE SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

CHAPTER V.

1. An.Do.455. *Kent* in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar* the Seat of foure Kings.

KEnt, the first Dominion of the *Saxons* Heptarchie, was formerly in the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Seat of foure seueral petty *Kings*, yet neuer called a Kingdome, before that *Hengist*, the first *Saxon* Captaine, in fauour of his Daughter *Rowena*, got it by the gift of King *Vortigern*, about the yeere of Grace 455. and in the seuenth yeere after his first arriuage, heere he first laid the foundation of those fortunes which the *Saxons* his Nation in this Land afterwards attained vnto: for hauing possessed the same with *Victorie* and *Wealth* the space of thirty one yeeres, (some adde three more) he left it in peace to his sonne *Eske*; and the rest of the *Iland* so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lieth betwixt our *East-Ocean* and the Riuer *Thames*, being bounded vpon the West with *Sussex* and *Surrey*.

Hengist his raign and death.

Of Hengist see more in the succession of the English Monarchy, cap. 12.

2. An.Do.488. *Petrus Albinus. Eske* the second King of *Kent*. Retained prisoner in *Yorke*.

ESke, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to bee the second sonne of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his father into this *Iland*, made proofe of his great valour in all his Battles fought against the *Britaines*, and in one of them (as *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Yorke*, but thence escaping, hee aided his father in the Battle of *Crekynford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the *Kingdome* of *Kent*, from whom those Inhabitants (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings*, amongst whom he peaceably raigned about twentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 512.

His raigne and death. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

3. An.Do.512. Octa his raigne.

OCta the sonne of *Eske* began his raigne ouer his Fathers Dominions, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 512. and raigned twenty two yeeres, without mention of any memorable Act.

4. An.Do.532. *Florent Wigorn. Imerik* the sonne of *Eske*. *Imerik* his children.

IMerik, the sonne of *Eske*, and the fourth *King* of *Kent*, raigned twenty fiue yeeres, saith *Stowe*; twentie nine, saith *Sauil* in his *Table* collected from our English Writers. He had issue, *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Rikell*, maried to *Sledda* the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Sebert* and *Segebald*.

5. An.Do.561. *Ethelbert* the sonne of *Imerik*.

EThelbert, the sonne of *Imerik*, in the yeere of grace 561. succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, who by reason of his young yeeres, was sore molested by his neighbour Princes, that sought to inlarge their Prouinces vpon him: for now the *Saxons* hauing made full Conquest of the *Britaines*, fell at variance among themselues, taking all occasions to supplant each other, as Conquerours commonly can endure no equals, and prosperitie euer is looked at with an enuious eie; whereupon *Cheulin* King of the *West-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes ouer the *Britaines*, beganne to disdaine all amitie with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, inuaded the Territories of this young Prince, and in a set Battle slew *Oslaue* and *Cnebban*, two of his *Dukes*, discomfited the King, and wonne the day. This field was fought at *Wiphandun*, in the yeere of our Redemption 567. and is noted to bee the first Battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselues since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

Cheulin inuadeth his Territories.

But young *Ethelbert* growne vnto yeeres, repaired his losses with the inlargement of his Kingdome to the banks of *Humber*, and was the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as after we shall heare. His first Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg*: a second Wife he had vnworthy of name, for her incestuous and abominable act, in matching her selfe in marriage with her *Husbands Sonne*, *A sinne* (saith the Apostle) *not to be named among the Gentiles*. Of this King, as also of all the rest that attained vnto the glorie, to bee enstiled (*per excellentiam*) the Soueraigne Kings of the *Englishmen*, I purpose to bee sparing in their particular Kingdomes, and to reserue the larger relation of their Acts, Matches, Issues, and continuance, to the times of their seuerall Monarchies, whereby a more historicall course may be carried, through the successions of the *English-Saxon* Monarches, and a needlesse repetition of the same things auoided, which otherwise of necessitie would follow. Hee raigned in great glory fiftie six yeeres, and was the *First Saxon King* that receiued and established the *Gospell*. He died the foure and twentieth day of *Februarie*, the yeere of Christ 616. after he had raigned 56. yeeres, and was buried at *Canterbury*, with this inscription vpon his Tombe:

Ethelbert the fifth Monarch of the Englishmen. His first wife, and children by her. In the life of Saint *Werburg*. His second wife.

1.Cor.5.1.

Rex Ethelbertus hîc clauditur in Poliandro,
Fana pians Christo meat absq; Meandro.

Repetition auoided in this Historie.

Beda Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5. Henr. Huntington.

6. An.Do.617. *Beda hist. eccles. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5. Edbald*, his father dead, refused the doctrine of Christ. He married his Mother in Law.

EDbald, the sonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeere of Christ 617. assumed the Gouernment of *Kent*; who no sooner, saith *Beda*, had gotten from vnder the awe of his father, but he refused to entertaine the Doctrine of *Christ*, and so polluted himselfe with the foule sinne of fornication, as that hee married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father: which two hainous faults gaue his subiects both occasion and impunity to returne to their former idolatry, who vnder his Father, for fauour, or for feare, had yeelded to the Lawes of the Christian Faith. But the

Edbald often plagued.

Reclaimed from Idolatry by the Archbishop.

His Wife.

His Daughter.

His Sonnes, and their issue.

Edbald, his liberalitie to the Church. *Beda hist. Angl. lib.1. cap.6.*

His raigne and burial.

7. An.Do.641.

His care of Gods worship. *Beda hist.lib.3.c.8*

His Wife and issue.

Kent diuided into Parishes.

His raigne and death.

8. An.Do.665.

Egbert his murther.

The fact reuealed. *Wil. Malmsbury de gestis rerum Anglorum.*

Their bodies solemnly buried. *Dopaeua* their sister.

Her religiousnes.

Egbert his raigne and death. *Beda hist. eccles. Ang.lib.4.cap.5.*

9. An.Do.673.

Lothaire intruded into the Kingdome.

the scourge of God & vengeance from Heauen wanted not to the punishment of this vnfaithfull King: for he was plagued for a season with often phrensie of minde, and raging fury of an vncleane Spirit; but by *Laurence* Archbishop of *Canturbury*, he was at length conuerted from his Idolatry and incestuous Matrimony, and being baptized, indeuoured to maintaine the state of the Gospell. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasie*, now *Lorrayne*, by whom he had issue a Daughter named *Enswith*, who died a Virgin at *Fulkestone*, a Religious House in *Kent* of her Fathers foundation; and two Sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his Father, and left issue *Dompnena*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince*; *Ermenberg* that died a vailed Virgin, *Ermengith* a mention; *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, both murthered by their Cosin-german, King *Egbert*. His younger Sonne was *Ercombert* that succeeded him in the Kingdome. This *Edbald* built a Chapell within the Monasterie of *Saint Peter* and *Paul* at *Canturbury*, in honour of *Mary* the blessed Mother of God, endowing that Church with sufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twentyfoure yeeres raigne, he was buried neere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, Anno 640.

ERrcombert, the Son of *Edbald* by *Emme* his Wife, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of *Kent*, in the yeere of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Christian King: for the *Temples* of the *Heathen Idols* he suppressed, and commanded the fast of *Lent* to bee obserued. His Wife was *Sexburg*, the daughter of *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, by whom he had issue *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both Kings of *Kent* after him; *Ermenhild*, Wife to *Wolfere* King of *Mercia*, and *Erkengode* a professed Nunne in the Monastery of Saint *Brigets* in *France*; where she died, and was interred in the Church of Saint *Stephen*. In his daies the state of the Church growing to a well setled forme of gouernment, the Prouince of Kent was diuided into Parishes by *Honorius* the Archbishop, as testifie the Records of *Christ-Church* in *Canturbury*. This King hauing raigned twenty foure yeeres and odde moneths, died in the yeere of our Lord 664.

EEgbert, the elder Sonne of King *Ercombert*, in the nonage of his yong Nephewes, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, (the sonnes of his Vncle *Ermenred*) obtained the Rule of *Kent*, and had not their murther much blemished his peaceable Gouernment, hee might well haue held place with the worthiest of those Kings: but thirsting after an absolute soueraigntie, and fearing lest his owne power should diminish by their growths and rightfull successions, he set his mind on that bloudy, traiterous, and vnnaturall attempt, and with the assistance of one *Thurne*, found fit place and opportunitie to worke that diuelliish designe, casting their bodies into a Riuer, that so their Murthers might not be knowne. But God (saith *Malmesbury*) that searcheth the heart, reueiled the act, by casting vp their bodies on the shore, and to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reuerence there buried them, and built a small Chapel ouer their Monument, whose bones afterwards were remoued, and new interred in the Abby of *Ramsey* in *Hantshire*. The Lady *Dompnena* their Sister, and next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *West-Mercia*, and borne him foure Children, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in *Kent*: Wherein, saith *Stowe*, she became the first Abbesse her selfe, and *Mildrith* her daughter succeeded her therein, saith *Capgraue*. This King in great quietnesse raigned nine yeeres, and died in the yeere of grace 673. in the moneth of Iuly: leauing issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, both Kings of *Kent*, succeeding after *Lothaire*.

LOthaire the brother of *Egbert*, by strong hand obtained the gouernment of *Kent*. For notwithstanding *Egbert* left issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, (as is said) yet *Lothaire* taking the aduantage of their minorities, and the example of his brothers intrusions, made himselfe King against his, as he had done against the Sonnes of *Ermenred*, but did not inioy the same with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred strongly against him, but also *Edrik*, by the assistance of the *South-Saxons* cõtinually sought to recouer his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentish* was much molested: and lastly, in a bloudy battell was *Lothaire* shot thorow with a dart, whereof he died, vnder his Chirurgeons hand, the sixth day of *February*, in the yeere of Christ 685. after hee had raigned eleuen yeeres and seuen moneths. The punishment of the Murther committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaied, saith *Malmsbury*, who derided and made iests at the laments for young *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted *Martyrs*. His body was buried with his Predecessors, Kings of *Kent*, in the Monastery of *S. Peter* and *Paul* in *Canturbury*, Anno 685.

Matt. Westmin.

Lothaire slaine.

Beda hist. Eccles. Angl. lib.4.ca.5. & 26.

His raigne.

Lothaire maketh but a iest of murder.

His buriall.

10. An.Do.686.

Beda hist. Angl. lib.4 cap.26.

EDrik, the Sonne of King *Egbert*, hauing slaine his Vncle *Lothaire* in battell, succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, wherein he sate onely two yeeres, and those in continuall warres with his subiects; in which ciuill broiles lastly hee was slaine, leauing the *Kentish* Kingdome so torne with dissensions, that it became a pray to many Vsurpers, and gaue occasion to *Ceadwalla* the *West-Saxon*, to seeke the annexion thereof to his owne Kingdome; who with his brother *Mollo* entred *Kent*, and with fire and sword made waste where they came. To meet these, the *Kentish* assembled, and getting the aduantage, burned *Mollo* to death: in whose reuenge *Ceadwalla* persisted, and wasted the most part of that Prouince before he departed: so that after for six yeeres continuance no King raigned in *Kent*, but the Country lay exposed to the tyrannies of oppressors.

Edrik his raigne.

His death.

Ceadwalla and *Mollo* inuade *Kent*.

Mollo burned to death.

11. An.Do.693.

VVIgtred or *Withred*, seuen yeeres after the death of his Brother, tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Kent*, which hee purchased with the good opinion that his subiects conceiued, and with a great summe of money paid to King *Inas* for his peace. He entred his Kingdome the yeere of Mans Redemption 693. the eleuenth of *Nouember*, and two hundred and fiue yeeres, after the death of *Hengist* the first *Saxon*. With him raigned one *Swebharde*, as *Beda* declareth: but without mention from whom, or vpon what occasion. He founded the *Priorie* of *S. Martin* at *Douer*, and behaued himselfe worthily both in Warre and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeeres; thirty three, saith *Beda*; and death in Anno 725. leauing issue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alrick*, all three succeeding successiuely in the Kingdome.

Wigtred his meanes of attaining the Kingdome.

His bounty to the Church. *Beda Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib.4.c.26. & lib.5.cap.5.*

His raigne and death.

12. An.Do.726.

EGbert, the first Sonne of *Withred*, succeeded his Father in his Kingdome, vertues, & valours, whereby a peaceable gouernment is allotted him by all Writers of these affaires, for the continuance of twentie three yeeres, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himselfe and Kingdome: besides the appearances of two fearfull Comets, in Anno 729. and fourth of his raigne; the one arising immediately before the Sunne in the morning, and the other shewing his fierie beames presently vpon the Sunnes set, both of them striking their gleames into the North, and by West, foreshewing (it may be) the scourge and desolation that the *Pagans* intended, who were at that instant entred into *France* and *Spaine*.

Edbert a vertuous prince.

His raigne.

Two blazing Starres.

His Buriall.

13. An.Do.749.

EThelbert, the second Sonne of King *Withred*, and Brother to the last King *Edbert*, began his Raigne ouer the Kingdome of *Kent*, the yeere of Mans Saluation 749. and raigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his Kingdomes affaires, the space of eleuen yeeres, leauing this life in Anno 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canturbury*, without issue of his body to succeed him: howbeit the *Annales* of *Canturbury* affirms him to bee buried at *Reculuers*, in the Ile of *Tanet*, whose Monument is shewed at the vpper end of the South Ile in the Church, and is mounted with two Spires, if there be not a mistaking of him for *Ethilbert* his Successor.

Ethelbert his raigne.

His death.

His buriall.

14.

ALrick, the third Sonne of King *Withred*, by the death

Abrik the laſt of lineall ſucceſſion.

death of his brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the kingdome of *Kent*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation 760. no other glory attending his affaires (ſaith *Malmesbury*) beſides his vnfortunate fight at *Otteford* againſt *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it ſeemed ſome honor (though with his ouerthrow) to withſtand ſo puiſſant and impugnable an enemie. Hee is the laſt King of *Kent* that held the ſcepter in a lineall ſucceſsion: the reſt that followed, both got and enioied it by tyranny and vſurpation. This King is ſaid to raigne thirtie foure yeeres, and to die in the yeere of grace, ſeuen hundred ninety three.

All the Kings of *Kent* after *Abrik* vſurpers.

15. An.Do.794.

Ethilbert, ſurnamed *Pren*, vſurped the Title and Authoritie ouer the *Kentiſh Dominions*, when that *Prouince* was ſore oppreſſed with the inuaſion of the *Mercian Kenulfe*, whoſe warres againſt *Kent*, by ſucceſsion from *Offa*, were continued with ſuch rigour and valour, that the Countrey lay deſolate where hee had beene, and the people diſtreſſed whither he came. This *Pren*, *Kenulfe* tooke priſoner, and lead away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedicatiõ of a Church that he had then founded at *Winchcombe*, in preſence of ten *Dukes* and thirteene *Biſhops*, he releaſed him at the *High Altar*, without either intreatie or ranſome of redemption. The King returning againe into *Kent*, could not there bee receiued, his place either being ſupplied by another, or himſelfe ſo diſliked, as not worthy any longer to raigne: and hauing had experiẽce of the worlds mutabilities, is left againe to his priuate fortunes, from whence hee had ſtepped, hauing held his eſtate but for three yeeres continuance.

His impriſonment.

His releaſement.

His raigne.

16. An.Do.797.

Cuthred, ſaith *Malmesbury*, was made King of *Kent* by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when hee had ouercome and captiuated *Ethelbert*: notwithſtanding hee is accounted for an *Vſurper*, and bare the title of *King* the tearme of eight yeeres, without any other act worthy of remembrance, inheriting his predeceſſors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill diſcords.

His raigne.

17. An.Do.805.

Baldred tooke vpon him the kingdome of *Kent*.

Baldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke vpon him the princely dignitie of *Kent*, about the yeere of Chriſts Natiuitie 805. But now the heauenlie prouidence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had diuided, raiſed from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the *Great Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*. His firſt wars were againſt *Bernulfe* King of *Mercia*, and his ſecond againſt this *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, whom in Battle he vanquiſhed, and forced him out of his Kingdome, after he had ſate on that princelie Throne the ſpace of eighteene yeeres. This *Baldred* is ſaid to haue fled ouer *Thames*, and to leaue *Kent* to the will of his *Conquerour*, whither againe he neuer returned, neither yet was heard of after his ouerthrow. This Kingdome then that was erected by *Hengiſt*, the yeere of mans happineſſe 455. continued her gouernment 372. and ended her glorie in the yeere 827. being made a *Prouince* vnto the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Egbert, Monarch of the Engliſh-men.

This kingdomes beginning, continuance, and end.

SOVTH SAXONS KINGDOME.

THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINV-ANCE, THEIR KINGS, SVCCESSI-ONS, ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

CHAPTER VI.

The limits of this kingdome.

THE Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Countries of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, had on the Eaſt ſide *Kent*; on the South, the *Sea* and *Ile* of *Wight*; vpon the Weſt, *Hant-ſhire*, and the North ſide inuerged with the riuer *Thames*. This Kingdome was erected by *Ella* a *Saxon-Captaine*, that in the ſecond yeere of *Hengiſts* entrance, as ſome ſay, brought a ſupply of his *Saxons* into *Britaine*, with whom came his three ſonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Ciſſa*, theſe landing at a place which from *Kymen* was afterwards called *Kymeniſhore*, and diſcomfiting the Inhabitants, that made reſiſtance, became himſelfe King of thoſe Southerne parts. But doubtleſſe there are many opinions of this mans firſt entrance and new erected eſtate: for ſome (as *M.Sauile* in his Table) ſet it in the ſecond yeere of *Hengiſts* firſt arriuall, Anno 452.

An.D. 488.

The Inhabitants chaſed into a wood.

The diuers opinions of *Ellas* firſt entrance.

Others in the ſecond of *Aurelius*, and no leſſe then thirty yeeres after that, Anno 482. *Harriſon* will haue it forty three yeeres after the *Saxons* firſt entrance, and fourth yeere after *King Hengiſt* his death, Anno 492. And *M.Ferrers* in his *Succeſsion* of the *Engliſh Monarkes*, placeth it in the three and twentieth yeere of *King Hengiſts* Kingdome, and in the fifth after his owne arriuall, the yeere of our Redemption 488. Of ſuch vncertaintie is the beginning of this *South-Saxons Kingdome*, whoſe *Continuance* and *Succeſsions* are nothing cleerer; inſomuch that *Malmesburie* making ſeueral Chapters vpon the other ſix, omitteth only this of the *South-Saxons*: and therefore as wee finde them, let vs haue leaue to relate them, and for the preſent to leaue *Ella* as hee was *King*, till wee come to a fit place where more ſhall be ſpoken of him as he was *Monarch*; whoſe raigne is ſet by *Stow* to bee thirty ſix yeeres; by *Sir Henry Sauile*, twenty foure; and by *M.Henry Ferrers*, thirty two, and to haue died in the yeere 514.

Malmesburie omitteth this Kingdome.

Ella his raigne and death.

Ciſſa the third and youngeſt ſonne of King *Ella*, then

An. Do. 514. *Ciſſa* Succeeded.

then onely liuing at his fathers death, ſucceeded him in the kingdoome of the *South-Saxons*, (leauing the Monarchie to *Cherdike* king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who had planted his kingdome betweene him and the *Britaines*, hauing taken the charge of warre againſt them, for maintenance whereof, *Ciſſa* yeelded him a yeerely contribution) and liuing himſelfe in long reſt and peace, founded *Chicheſter* and *Chisbury*, the one a Citie for reſort of his people, the other a place of repoſe for himſelfe; which laſt he fortified about with a ſtrong Trench, for a further defenſe againſt all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concurre, that hee was a man of great age and ſmall acts, ſome affirming that hee raigned the ſpace of ſeuenty ſix yeeres.

Chizheſter and *Chiſowrie* founded by *Ciſſa*.

Stow.

Ciſſas Raigne. 3.

Edilwach (by ſome called *Ethelwölf* and *Athelwold*) ſucceeded *King Ciſſa* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, and was the firſt *Chriſtian* of that Nation, conuerted by *Biſhop Wilfride*, as ſome conceiue out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* ſaith expreſly, that the *King* was baptized before *Wilfrides* comming. And the Hiſtory of *S. Swithune* ſaith, *it was done by S. Berinus, Biſhop of Dorcheſter, who vſually preaching the Goſpell in the kingdome of the Mercians, in the Citie of Oxenford, and preſence of Wulpherus King of Mercia, it hapned that King Athelwold, then a Pagan, was preſent, who by the indeauour of Vulpherus, and inſtruction of Berinus, receiued the lauer of Baptiſme, whom alſo Wulpherus receiued at the Font for his God-ſonne, and in ſigne of that adoption gaue vnto him two Prouinces, to be annexed to his former kingdome, that is to ſay, the Ile of Wight, and the Prouince of Manures in the weſt of England; at which time alſo Berinus by King Athelwolds permiſſion, baptized the chiefe Dukes and Nobles of that Prouince.* His Queene *Ebba* was baptized in her owne *Ile*, the Prouince of the *Vicians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanheres*, and both of them *Chriſtians*. But it is generally held, that *King Edilwach* gaue vnto *Wilfride* the *Peninſula* (as the *Latines* ſpeake) of *Seoleſeu*, now *Selſee* in the Weſt, with the demaynes of eightie ſeuen Tenements, wherein he built the *Monaſterie* that bare the ſame name, and was his owne *Epiſcopall Sea*. Againſt this *Edilwach*, *Ceadwald* a valiant young Prince, of the Bloud-royall of the *weſt-Saxons*, being baniſhed his Countrey, making head with the aſſiſtance of friends and followers, entred his Territories with an impetuous incurſion, and ſlew the *King* as he made reſiſtance, when hee had raigned twentie fiue yeeres: in whoſe raigne and Countrey raged ſuch an extreme Famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies caſt themſelues from the Rockes into the Sea.

Liber Hiſtorialis S. Swithun VVinton.

Beda. lib. 4. ca. 13.

VVulfere Edilwalchus Godfather.

Ebba the wife of *VVolfere.*

Beda lucetium, Selſee in Suſſex.

Cap. 15.

His raigne and death.

Beda hiſt. l. 4. c. 13.

(4) *Berthun* and *Authun*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Country againſt *Ceadwald*, and by manly valour forced him to retire. Theſe Captaines betwixt them held the dominion of that Prouince, vntill ſuch time as *Ceadwald* had gotten the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*; who bearing in mind the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to inlarge his owne Kingdome with the ſubiection of the *South-Saxons*, entred againe that Prouince, and in Battell ſlew Duke *Berthun*, harrying the Country miſerably before him. Which State, vnable to withſtand the *Weſt-Saxons* puiſſance, was by *Ine*, the next King ſucceeding, made a ſubiected Prouince, their Gouernment thence forward reſting vnder his Succeſſors, after it had ſtood one hundred and thirteene yeeres: and ended in the yeere of Chriſt 601. by ordinary computation. But whoſoeuer ſhall compare the times of the foreſaid Kings, *Wulpherus* and *Athelwold* together, will eaſily finde, that it is not eaſie to finde the certaine concurrence of times, in affaires ſo clouded in obſcuritie, and ſo farre remote from our preſent times.

Ceadwald driuen backe.

Beda Hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 15.

The continuance and end of this Kingdome.

THE KINGDOME OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEREOF, AND SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO EGBERT; WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

CHAPTER VII.

The *VVeſt-Saxons* the firſt that brought the Heptarchy to a Monarchy.

THe Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former, yet in circuit and fame ſurmounted them both; whoſe *Monarch* was the Maull that firſt brake the Scepters of the other ſix Kingdoms in ſunder, and made one Crowne of theſe their ſeuerall Diadems, more glorious then they all, and that firſt worne vpon *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxons* heads, and the Scepter ſwaied in his Imperiall hand; vntill whoſe time and perſon wee will continue the ſucceſsion of their Kings, beginning with *Cherdik* that firſt made it a Kingdome, and briefly ſhew their Acts, whileſt it ſo ſtood in the *Saxons* Heptarchie.

Florent. Wigor.

2. An. Do. 495. The time when *Cherdik* entred into *Britaine.*

THis *Cherdik* is ſaid to haue brought a ſecond ſupply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of the Monarchy of King *Ella*: his landing being at a place on that occaſion called *Chederik-ſhore*, who with his ſonne *Kenrik*, was encountred

countred by the *Britaines*, vnder the conduct of *Natanleod* a *Britiſh Prince*, whoſe Country was then called after his name; whom he ſlew in Battell, with fiue thouſand more of his *Britaines*: the fortune of which field gaue reſolutions and hopes of better ſucceſſe; it was fought neere vnto a Brooke vpon that euent called *Cherdiks-ford*, now by contraction *Chard-ford*. Heereupon eſtabliſhing his new erected Kingdome, (which contained *Cornwal*, *Deuonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hantſhire*, and *Barkſhire*,) he inlarged the ſame with the conqueſt of the *Ile of wight*, the gouernment whereof was by him giuen to *Stuffe* and *Withgar* his Nephewes, which later ſlew the *Britaines* there inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *Withgarbirg*, aſſuming the name of King, and was buried at his Citie *Withgar*, in the ſame Ile. About ſeuen yeeres after *Cherdiks* entrance, *Portha Saxon*, with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Beda*, landed in the Weſt, at the place from him called *Porteſmouth*, whoſe aid with *Kent* and *Suſſex*, aſsiſted *Cherdik* in his Conqueſts. His raigne is ſet to be thirty three yeeres; and his death in the yeere of grace fiue hundred thirtie fiue: hauing had two ſonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolf*, the one of which died before his Father; and the other ſucceeded him in his Kingdome. *Chelwolf* had iſſue *Cuthgils*, whoſe ſonne was *Kenfridd*, and his ſonne *Kenſy*, the Father of King *Eskwin*, who was the Succeſſor of King *Kenwalk*, and predeceſſor of King *Kentwin*, in the Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

An. Do. 508. The circuit of this kingdome. The firſt Kings raigne, iſſue, and death.

3. An. Do. 535. *Kenrik* his death. Battell in Oxfordſhire. His iſſue, *Cheaulin*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*. *Cearlike* the ſon of *Cuthwolfe*, rebelleth againſt his Vncle.

KEnrik, the eldeſt Sonne of *King Cherdik*, hauing formerly made proofe of his proweſſe in the aſsiſtance of his Father, was after his death alſo verie fortunate in obtaining two victories ouer the *Britaines*; the one at *Searesberige*, and the other at *Beranbrig*; whoſe raigne beginning Anno 534. continued twenty ſix yeers; ending in the yeere of our Redemption, fiue hundred ſixty. He had iſſue three Sonnes, of which *Cheaulin* the eldeſt ſucceeded him in his kingdome; *Cuthwolfe* the ſecond aſsiſted his Brother in his Warres, and was partaker with him of his victories, who died Anno 672. leauing iſſue one onely Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Cearlike*, who proued nothing ſo vertuous and dutifull a ſubiect as his Father had beene: for he roſe in rebellion againſt his Vncle, and by ſtrong hand expelled him his kingdome.

The third Sonne of King *Kenrik* was *Cuth*, famous in his iſſue, though mentionleſſe for action in himſelfe: for hee had three ſonnes, of which *Chelwolf* the eldeſt, was King of the *Weſt Saxons* (as ſhalbe declared) *Chell* the ſecond, was father to *Kingils* the ſixt (and *firſt Chriſtian*) *King* of the *Weſt Saxons*, and *Grandfather* to *Kenwall* and *Kenwin*, the *ſeuenth* and *ninth Kings* of that *Kingdome*: and *Ched* the yongeſt, was father of *Kenbert*, *Grandfather* to *Chedwall* the moſt renowned *King* of the *Weſt Saxons*; of whom we are preſentlie to ſpeake, and of them all in the ſucceſsion of the *Engliſh Saxons Monarchs*: and now to returne againe to the iſſue of *King Kenrik*.

4. An. Do. 561. *Cheaulin* the time when he began to raigne. An vnquiet and ambitious neighbour. *Wmbledon. cap. 5. fol. 5.* *Slaine.* Ouerthrowne by *Cealrik*.

CHeaulin his firſt ſonne, entred vpon the gouernement ouer the *Weſt-Saxons* Anno 561. and euen at the firſt began to diſturbe the quiet peace of his neighbour Prouinces, taking aduantage at the young yeeres of *Ethelbert*, who was made King of *Kent* in the ſame yeere that *Cheaulin* was, whom he diſcomfited, and ſlew his two Captaines, Duke *Oſlane* and Duke *Cnebba*, at *Wibbandune*, as we haue ſaid. Other Victories he obtained ouer the *Britaines*, both at *Bedford*, *Deorham*, *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Bathanceſter*. But the fortunes of warres being alwaies variable, at length his ſucceſſe altered, and at *VVannes ditche* in *VViltſhire* he was ouerthrowne, and diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdome by *Cealrik* his brother *Cuthwolfs* ſonne, when he had raigned thirty three yeeres. Hee had iſſue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former ſerued valiantly in the warres vnder his father at *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, where *King Ethelbert* of *Kent* was chaſed, and his ſouldiers ſlaine: and with the like valour and victorie hee fought at *Fethanleygh* againſt the *Britaines*, notwithſtanding that therein he loſt his life, the yeere of our Lord 585. and the fiue and twentieth of his fathers raigne. *Cuthwin* his younger brother ſuruiued his father, but ſucceeded not in his Kingdome, being then (by reaſon of his young yeeres) vnable to recouer his right. He had two ſonnes, *Kenhald* and *Cuth*, the latter of which was father to *Chelwald*, whoſe ſon *Kenred* had iſſue, *Ine* the eleuenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Ingils* his brother, whoſe ſonne was *Eoppa* the father of *Eaſa*, whoſe ſonne was *Alkenmud*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who reduced the *Saxons* diuided *Heptarchie* into an abſolute *Monarchie*.

Slaine at Fethanleygh.

5. An. Do. 592. *Cearlik* the fourth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. His raignes continuance.

CEarlik the ſonne of *Cuthwolfe*, who was brother to this laſt King, ſucceeded in the kingdome by the election of his *Vncle*, and was the fourth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*. He began his raigne in the yeere of our Redemption 592. and continued it the terme of ſix yeeres, without any memorable act by him atchieued beſides his Treaſon ſpoken of before.

6 *Chelwolfe* when he began to raigne. *VVeſt-Saxons* inuaded by three ſundry Enemies. *Hen. Huntingd.* His death.

CHelwolfe the ſonne of *Cuth*, the ſonne of *Kenrik*, and Coſen-german to *Cearlik* the preceding King, began his raigne ouer the *Weſt-Saxons*, the yeere 598. on whoſe firſt entrance, this prouince of the *Weſt-Saxons* was inuaded both by the *Britaines*, and alſo by the *Scots* and *Picts*: and the *Eaſt-Angles* likewiſe moleſted his peace, vnder the conduct of *Redwald* at that time *Monarch* of the Engliſhmen. But hee wading thorow theſe troubles, harried the *Prouince* of the *South-Saxons* with inuaſions and calamities, in the proſecution whereof he died, leauing the purſuit of his warres and poſſeſsion of his kingdome to *Kingils* his Nephew, that immediately ſucceeded him, after he had raigned the ſpace of fourteene yeeres.

7. An. Do. 611. *Kingils* his coming to the Kingdome. *Quinchelinus* his aſſociate. *Wil. Malmsbury. Marianus. Florent. Wigorn.* Their victorie ouer the *Britaines*. *Kingils* conuerted to Chriſtianitie, the firſt of all the *VVeſt-Saxon* Kings. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib 3 cap. 7.* *Oſwald* a witnes at his baptizing. His gift to *Kingils*.

KIngils the Sonne of *Chel*, who was Brother to *King Chelwolfe*, ſucceeding his Vncle in the kingdome of the *VVeſt-Saxons*, in the yeere ſix hundred and twelue, in his third yeere aſſociated vnto him in his Gouernment *Quinchelme* his Sonne, who ioyntly managed the *Weſt-Saxons* affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victorie againſt the *Britaines* at *Beandune*, they there ſlew of them one thouſand forty ſix perſons, and after that againſt *Penda* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto *Cirenceſter*, about the fift yeere of his raigne, where laſtly they came to a concluſion of peace. This King at the preaching of *Berinus* (an *Italian Diuine*, afterward reputed for a *Saint*) and by the perſwaſions of *Oſwald* the moſt Chriſtian King of *Northumberland*, (who was a ſuiter to become his *Son in Law*, by the mariage of *Kineburg* his daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiuing him at the *Font*) receiued the *Word of Life*, and became the firſt *Chriſtian King* of all the *Weſt-Saxons*; in witneſſe whereof, he gaue the City *Dorcheſter*, neere vnto *Oxford*, to his Conuerter, who therein erected his Epiſcopall Sea. He raigned the ſpace of thirty one yeeres, ſome ſay but ſeuen and twenty, and had iſſue (beſides *Quinchelinus*, who raigned with him, and died before him) *Kenwin* and *Kenwald*, that ſucceeded him; and *Kineburg* his Daughter married to *Oſwald*, as is ſaid. *Quinchelinus* had a Sonne named *Cuthred*, that was baptized with his Father at *Dorcheſter*, and is ſaid by *Stowe*, to haue raigned after the death of *Kingils*: but I take it rather to be *Kenwen*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be his Fathers Aſſociate the terme of foure yeeres, but neuer ſole King himſelfe.

8. An. Do. 643. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 7.* *Kenwald* refuſeth the Chriſtian faith. He is driuen out of his Kingdome.

KEnwald, whom *Beda* calleth *Senwalch*, ſucceeded his Father *Kingils* in the kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*. His beginnings by *Matthew of VVeſtminſter* are compared to be with the worſt, and his endings with the beſt of thoſe Kings. At his firſt entrance he fought with victorie againſt the *Britaines* at *Pennum*, whereof he became moſt inſolent, and refuſed not onely to receiue the *Chriſtian Faith*, but alſo put from him his lawfull wife *Senburg*, the ſiſter of *Penda King* of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hatefull to his owne Subiects, and ſore aſſaulted by the *Mercian King*, who followed the reuenge ſo farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his kingdome, who being driuen to extremity, ſought ſuccour at the mercie of *Anna* the *Chriſtian King*

Kenwald wonne to the faith of Christ.

King of the *East-Angles*, where he was both courteouſlie entertained, and at laſt (wonne to the Chriſtian Faith) was baptized by *Biſhop Fælix*, whereupon hee did recall his wife, according to preſcript of *Chriſtianitie*, and recouered againe his former Maieſtie, which he much aduanced by his pious workes. He founded the *Cathedrall* of *Wincheſter*, and the *Abby* of *Malmeſburie*, and when he had raigned thirty one yeeres, gaue place vnto nature in the yeere 673. leauing no iſſue of his body to ſucceede him: whereupon *Segburg* his wife tooke vpon her the gouernment of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the ſame yeere that *Lothair* was made King of *Kent*, ſhee being a woman of great ſpirit and vnderſtanding, and ſufficiently worthy to haue managed the *Kingdome*, had ſhe not beene preuented by death, or rather (as ſome write) by a religious deuotion, that the affaires of this preſent life might not hinder her zealous meditations of the future, in deſire whereof, ſhe abandoned her Regencie, and built a houſe of deuotion in the *Ile* of *Shepey*, wherein her ſelfe became a *Voweſſe*, and afterward was elected the *Abbeſſe* of *Elie*.

His works of deuotion. *Will. Malmsbury.*

His raigne and death. *Vita Alel.*

His Wife gouerneth the kingdome.

An.Do.674.

She becomes a Nunne, and is elected Abbeſſe of *Ely*.

8.

An.Do.675.

ESkwin after the departure of *Queene Segburg*, ſucceeded in the kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*. Hee was the ſonne of *Kenſy*, the ſonne of *Kenfrid*, the ſonne of *Cuthgils*, the ſonne of *Chelwolfe*, the ſonne of *Cherdik*, the firſt King of that Prouince: his raigne laſted but two yeeres, in which time he fought a great Battle with *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, at the place then called *Bidanheaford*, and wherein many of the *Saxons* on both ſides periſhed, leauing neither iſſue to ſucceede him, nor other matters to be ſpoken of him, though (as it ſeemeth) hee had diſpoſſeſſed *Kenwin*, who had more right to the Crowne then himſelfe; or (as *Beda* and *Malmesbury* auerre) he raigned with him the ſpace of two yeeres, and *Kenwin* alone for ſeuen yeeres more.

Eskwin his raigne not long. *Henr. Huntington.*

His battell with *VVulfere*.

He died without iſſue.

9.

An Do.677.

KEnwin the brother of *Kenwald*, and ſonne to King *Kingils*, in the yeere 677. became the ninth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and raigned the ſpace of nine yeeres. Hee was a great ſcourge vnto the weake and ouer-borne *Britaines*, making Conqueſts of their poſſeſsions, and forcing them euen to the Sea-ſhoare, being a people allotted vnto miſerie, and by theſe ſtrangers purſued ſo vehemently, that laſtly they were driuen into the *Weſt-Angle* of this *Iland*, and their liues defended and maintained among thoſe waſte Mountaines and hard Rockes, which therein were more propitious and gentle then the ſtonie hearts of their Oppreſſors.

Kenwin the brother of *Kenwald*, and ſonne to King *Kingils*, in the yeere 677. became the ninth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and raigned the ſpace of nine yeeres.

A great ſcourge to the ouer-born *Britaine*

10.

An.Do.686.

Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 4. ca. 15.

CEadwalla a valiant young man, and of the bloud-Royall of the *Geniſſes*, ſaith *Beda*, being baniſhed from his Country through the enuie of others, who maligned him only for his vertues and worthineſſe, ſucceeded *Kenwin* his kinſman in the kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and with greater glory raigned then any other in that Prouince before him had done. He was the Sonne of *Kenbert*, whoſe Father was *Ched*, the ſecond Sonne of *Cuth*; and *Cuth* was the third Sonne of *Kenrik*, who was the eldeſt Sonne of *Cherdik*, that laid the firſt ſtone of this kingdomes foundation. His firſt brunt of furie was againſt *Edilwach*, King of the *South-Saxons*, whom in field he ſlew: and in another battell *Berthun*, that had made himſelfe King of that State. The *Ile of Wight* alſo he almoſt quite waſted: and though he were vnbaptized, yet did hee binde himſelfe by vow to giue the fourth part of the ſpoile vnto Gods vſe, and performed it accordingly vnto Biſhop *Wilfrid*, who with *Bernewine* and *Hildila* conuerted the people from their Idolatrous ſuperſtition, vnto the true ſeruice of Chriſt, it beeing the laſt part of the *Saxons* poſſeſsions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his ſpecious deuotion, *Malmesburie* giueth this cenſure: *although wee praiſe his affection, (ſaith hee) yet allow wee not the example; for it is written, that who ſo offereth vnto God the goods of the poore, dooth as it were ſacrifice the ſonne in the ſight of the Father.* Kent alſo with greeuous warres hee twice afflicted, and therein ſpilt ſo much *Chriſtian* blood, that nature her ſelfe was therein offended, and hee at laſt as much lamented: in repentance whereof, after hee had raigned in great ſtoutnes the ſpace of two yeeres, in a zealous deuotion went to *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Eaſter Euen* (ſaith *Beda*, the yeere of our Redemption 689.) by the name of *Peter*, and wearing as yet the white Robes of innocencie, put (as the rite then was) vpon him at his lauer of *Baptiſme*, fell ſicke, and the twentieth day of *April* following died, hauing had neither wife nor childe that we read of. He was buried in *Saint Peters* Church in *Rome*, vnder a faire Monument, with this inſcription thereon engrauen: *Heere Cedwall, otherwiſe named Peter, King of the Weſt-Saxons, is buried, who died the twentieth of Aprill, in the ſecond Indiction, and liued thirty yeeres or thereabouts, when that noble and mighty Prince Iuſtinian was Emperour of Rome, and had raigned foure yeeres in the Empire, and Sergius a true paterne of the Apoſtles, had ſate two yeeres in Peters Seat.*

Kenwin the brother of Kenwald, and ſonne to King Kingils, in the yeere 677. became the ninth King of the Weſt-Saxons, and raigned the ſpace of nine yeeres.

His repentance.

His baptizing.

His death.

His buriall.

Beda hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 5. ca. 7.

What hath beene written of this *Ceadwall*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, by *Beda* the *Saxon* and his followers, hath beene attributed to *Cadwalader* King of the *Britaines*, by *Geffrey of Monmouth* the *Britaine*, *Iohn Caſtor*, and *More*, affirming him to be the ſame man, and that vpon the admonition of an *Angell* hee went to *Rome*, tooke penance of *Pope Sergius*, there died in the twelfth *Kalends* of *May*, and was there buried with the ſame *Epitaph*, and after the ſame manner. But the Writer of the *Hiſtorie* of *Cambria*, of *Cadwaladers* going to *Rome*, and the other appendances, ſeemeth to be doubtfull, and ſaith that it differed from the aſſertion of *Bernardus Guidonius*, the neereneſſe of the names being the very cauſe of the like relations, and confidently affirmeth that it was *Edwall* the ſonne of *Cadwalader*, who in ſuch deuotion went to *Rome*, and there made ſuch a religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.

The hiſtory of *Ceadwall* attributed to *Cadwalader* by Geffrey.

Booke of S. Albans, part. 5. cap. 61. *D. Powel Hiſtory Camb. pag. 9.*

11.

An.Do.688.

Flores. VVigor. Ine his deſcent.

INe, whom *Beda* calles *Huu*, others *Ina* (the ſonne of *Kenred*, the ſonne of *Cuth*, the ſonne of *Cuthwin*, the ſonne of *Chelwin* the third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, the ſonne of *Kenrik* the ſecond, and hee the ſonne of *Cherdik* the firſt King in that Prouince) after *Ceadwals* departure to *Rome*, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that Kingdome, which hee managed with continuall Victories the terme of thirty eight yeeres. His firſt attempts were againſt the *Kentiſh-Saxons*, in reuenge of his coſen *Molloes* death, whoſe wrath *Withred* pacified by the paiment of thirty thouſand Markes, ſaith *William of Malmesbury*. In the yeere of Grace ſeuen hundred and eight, and twenty one of his owne raigne (as *Matthew of Weſtminſter* hath obſerued) he fought with the *Britaines* vnder their Captaine *Gerent*, whom he victorioufly ſubdued: and in his twenty ſixth yeere, againſt *Cheolred* King of *Mercia*, with doubtfull victorie, at the place then called *Wodenesbury*: and in his thirty ſixth, inuaded the *South-Saxons* with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee reduced the ſame *Kingdome* into a *Prouince*, and annexed it in ſubiection to the *Weſt-Saxons*: and manifeſting his good deſires both to the adminiſtration of *Iuſtice*, and the aduancement of *Diuine Pietie*, he ordained many good Lawes for the amendment of manners in his people, which are yet extant written in the *Saxon Tongue*, and tranſlated into *Latine* by the learned *M. William Lambert*.

Ine his firſt warr.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Matth. Weſtmin. His battle with the *Britaines*.

His conqueſt of the *South-Saxons*.

His loue of Iuſtice.

He built at *Wels* a *Colledge* dedicated vnto God, and bearing the name of *S. Andrewes*: which afterwards *Kenulph*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons* made an Epiſcopall Sea. The renowned *Abbey* of *Glaſtenburie* moſt ſtatelie hee built to the honour of Chriſt, *Peter* and *Paul* (whereof *Malmesburie* maketh mention in his booke of *Glaſtenburies* Antiquities) in a fennie place ſequeſtred frō the road way, where formerly had ſtood the *old Cell* of *Ioſeph of Aremathea*, and that being decaied *Dewy* Biſhop of S. *Dauids* had thereon erected a new; which time alſo hauing ruinated, twelue men well affected in the North parts of *Britaine* had repaired, but now by this *Ina* was quite pulled downe, and after a moſt ſumptuous manner new built; the *Chapell* whereof hee garniſhed with gold and ſiluer, and gaue

His zeale to pietie.

gaue rich ornaments thereto; as *Altar*, *Chalice*, *Censor*, *Candlesticks*, *Bason* and *holie water*, *Bucket*, *Images*, and *Pale* for the *Altar*, of an incredible value: for the gold thereupon bestowed, amounted to three hundred thirtie three pound waight, and the siluer to two thousand eight hundred thirty fiue pound, beside precious Gemmes, embrouched in the *Celebrating Vestures*. Hee instituted also a certaine yeerely paiment to the See of *Rome*, enioining euery one of his subiects that possessed in his house of one kinde of goods to the value of twenty pence, that he should pay a penny to the *Pope* yeerely vpon *Lammas day*: which at first was contributed vnder the name of *The Kings Almes*, but afterwards was called and challenged by the name of *Peter-pence*. At length, by the instigation and earnest perswasion of *Ethelburga* his *Queene*, hee renounced the glittering glorie of his present and princely estate, wherein hee had in great prosperitie raigned thirty seuen yeeres and odde moneths; and professing a voluntarie pouertie, (so great was the zeale, and so little the knowledge of that age) went to *Rome*, where in the habit of a *Religious Man* he ended his life in poore estate; and *Ethelburga* his wife became a vailed *Nunne*, and was made *Abbesse* of *Barking* neere *London*, wherein she ended her life. The brethren of this *Inas*, were *Kenten*, whose sonne was *Aldelme* Abbat of *Malmesbury* and Bishop of *Sherborne*, and *Ingils* that was the progenitour of *Egbert* the first *Saxon Monarch* of the whole Iland: and his sister *Cuthburga*, maried into *Northumberland*, sued a diuorce against *Osrick* her King and husband, and in the habit of a *Nunne* ended her daies at *Winburne* in the Countie of *Dorset*.

His last estate wherein he died.

His Wife.

12. An.Do.726.

Ethelard the kinsman of King *Ina* (whom he ordained his successour at his departure to *Rome*) was the sonne of *Oswald*, and he of *Ethelbald* the sonne of *Kenbald*, the brother of *Cuth*, and both of them the sonnes of *Cuthwin*, the sonne of *Cheaulin*, the sonne of King *Kenrik*, the sonne of *Cherdik*, the first *West-Saxon* King. He began his raigne the same yeere that King *Edbert* did his ouer the Kingdome of *Kent*, and with him was terrified by the dreadfull appearance of two *Blazing Starres*: of whose Acts, no other mention is recorded, sauing that at his entrance into regall estate, *Oswald* a *Norman* of the *West-Saxons* bloud, emulated his glorie, and troubled the quiet peace of his prosperous beginning: but not able to winne fortune to fauour his proceedings, he quite abandoned his natiue Country, and so left *Ethelard* to rule the Kingdome in peace, who therein quietly raigned the space of foureteene yeeres, without any mention of wife or issue.

Matt. Westminst. *Ethelard* terrified by the appearing of two blazing starres.

The continuance of his raigne.

13. An.Do.740.

Cuthred, cosen to King *Ethelard*, succeeded him in his Dominions, and was much disquieted by *Edilbald* King of *Mercia*, both by open warre and priuie practises: but these two Kings comming to a conclusion of peace, ioined both their Powers against the ouer-borne *Britains*, and in a bloudy battle gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this time, saith *Beda*, the bodies of the dead were permitted to bee buried within the walles of their Cities, which thing before was not lawfull, but their corps were interred without in the Fields; many of whose Tombes as yet are witnesses to vs, that daily finde them in the digging of the grounds adioining, and reserue them for sight, or other necessarie vse.

Hen. Hunting.

Adelme a rebell.

Vanquished by *Cuthred*.

Restored againe to honour.

Cuthred his raigne & death.

Matt. West. *Kenrik* his sonne.

The peace of this King was molested by his owne subiect, an Earle named *Adelme*, who boldly encountred his Soueraigne in Battle, and fought it out euen to the point of victorie; but failing thereof, and forced to flie, his life was pardoned. And hee made *Generall* against the *Mercian Edilbald*, *Cuthreds* ancient foe, wherein by his valiant prowesse, with the flight and discomfiture of the Enemie, hee made a worthie amends for guerdon of his life, and was euer after held in great fauour and honour. This King raigned in great fame and victories the space of fourteene yeers, and died in the yeere of our Lords Pasion 753. Hee had issue one onely son, whose name was *Kenrik*, a valiant young Prince, who in the ninth yeere of his Fathers raigne was seditiously slaine in his Armie, for bearing himselfe (as it may seeme) ouer-rigorous towards the Souldiers.

Sigebert obtaining the Principalitie of the *West-Saxons*, raigned therein no long time, and that without all honour or fame. His parentage is obscure and vnknowne, but his vices are made apparant and manifest; for hee wallowing in all sensuall pleasures, added exactions and cruelties vpon his Subiects, setting aside all lawes and rules of true pietie: from which vicious life, when hee was louingly admonished by his most faithfull Counsellor a worthy Earle called *Cumbra*, so farre was his minde from abandoning his impious courses, as that he caused this Noble Personage to be cruelly slaine; whereupon the rest of the Peeres seeing their State and liues were euery day in danger, and the common subiects, whose Lawes were thus violated, being incensed into furie, they rebelliously rose vp in Armes against him, and would acknowledge him no longer their Soueraigne. *Sigebert*, by nature as fearefull as he was audacious vnto vice, fledde into the woods as his only safeguard, where like a forlorne person he wandred in the day, and in caues and dennes lodged in the night, till lastly he was met with by a *Swine-heard* that was seruant to *Cumbra*, and of him knowne to be *Sigebert*, was presently slaine in reuenge of his masters death, in the wood that was then called *Andreads Wald*, when hee had raigned not fully two yeeres.

14. An.Do.754. *Sigebert*, his raigne without honour. *Wil. Malmsbury.* Giuen to viciousnesse.

His subiects rise against him.

His death.

His raigne.

Kenwulfe, sprung from the bloud-Royall of the *West Saxons*, after the death of wicked *Sigebert* was made King of that Prouince; and appeasing some tumults that were stirred for *Sigebert*, obtained many victories against the ouermastred *Britaines*: but had not the like successe against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, who at *Bensington* gaue him a great ouerthrow. He founded the Cathedrall Church of *S. Andrewes* at *Wels*, which afterwards was an Episcopall See, and in great honour raigned for the space of twenty foure yeeres; but then Fortune turning her face away from him, the rest of his raigne did not sute to that which was spent: for he giuing himselfe to pleasure and securitie, banished *Kineard*, the brother of his Predecessor *Sigebert*; who dissembling his wrong, gaue place vnto time, and occasion being offered, made his vse thereof. For *Kenwulfe* comming to *Merton*, to visit his Paramore, was there set vpon and slaine; and his body conueied and buried at *Winchester*, after hee had raigned twenty nine yeeres, leauing no memoriall either of Wife or Children.

15. An.Do.755. *Kenwulfe* his descent. *Hen. Huntin.* His victories against the *Britaines*.

He founded a Cathedrall Church.

He is slaine.

Buried at *Winchester*. *Simon Dun.*

Brithic, lineally descended from *Cherdik* the first King of the *West-Saxons*, a man of a soft and quiet disposition, succeeded *Kenwulfe* in that Principalitie, in the yeere of Christs Incarnation 784. He married *Ethelburga*, the daughter of great *Offa* the *Mercian* King, by whose power he expelled *Egbert* that ruled a Lordship in his Prouince vnder him, whose fame increasing through his feates of warres, draue many iealousies into King *Brithrics* head, and the more by the instigation of *Ethelburga* his Queene, who bearing her selfe great, because of her parentage, practised the downfall and destruction of them whom she hated, and by her suggestions this *Egbert* was banished on suspicion of conspiracie. It afterward chanced, that shee preparing poison to make an end of one of the Kings Minions, wrought thereby (though vnwittingly) the Kings death: for he by tasting the confection, ended his life, after hee had raigned the space of sixteene yeeres. Wherein, she fearing the iust reuenge of his subiects, fled into *France*, & by *Charles* then King, was so courteously entertained, as that for her great beauty there was offered her the choice of him or his sonne. But she in her youthfull and lustfull humor, choosing the sonne, was debarred from both, and thrust into a Monastery, in the habit (not the affection of a Nunne) where not long after she abused her body by committing of adultery, and was shortly expelled, and in beggerly misery ended her life, as *by manie that so saw her, we haue beard it reported*, saith *Asserius* mine Author. For this her most hainous crime, whereby

16. An.Do.784.

Hen. Hunting. Matt. West. Simon Dun. Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap. 25.

His raigne and death.

His Wife.

Roger Houeden.

A Law against the *Saxon* Queenes.

whereby was procured the murther of her Husband, the *West-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great preiudice of all their Queenes ſucceeding; that none of them ſhould haue either title, maieſtie, or place of roialtie; which was ſeuerely executed for many yeeres after.

Aſſer.

Will. Malmeſb. The prodigies that happened in this Kings time.

In the daies of this *Brithrik*, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be belecued. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a ſhower of bloud rained from heauen, and bloudy croſſes fell vpon mens garments as they walked abroad. And in his tenth yeere were ſeene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders, ſome tooke to be preſages of the miſeries following, both by the Inuaſions of the Pagan *Danes*, that in theſe times were firſt ſeene to arriue in this *Iland*, and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened: howſoeuer, ſure it is that the Heptarchy now beganne to ſet in the Weſt, and the riſing Monarchy to appeare in King *Egbert*, whoſe acts and iſſue ſhall be further rehearſed, when wee ſhall come to the time of his ſucceſsion among the *Engliſh Monarchs*.

Matth. Weſtm. Henr. Hunt. The Pagan Danes inuade this Iland in this Kings time.

THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME,
THE CIRCVIT, SVCCESSIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES, AND KINGDOMES CONTINVANCE.

CHAPTER VIII.

The ſite of this Kingdome.

THe ſite of the *East-Saxons* Kingdom, was the Country of *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hartfordſhire*, and the Circuit ſo far as the Dioceſſe of *London* now extendeth. It was bounded on the *East* with the *Ocean*; on the *South* with the *Thames*; on the *West* with the *Colne*; and on the *North* with the Riuer *Stowre*. The Kings thereof claime their deſcent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings, but onely by a collaterall line; and *Erchenwine* became the firſt King, which neuertheleſſe he held as *Feodarie* to the Kings of *Kent*. For which cauſe, it ſeemeth that *Malmsbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of thoſe Kings, but maketh his ſonne *Sledda* the firſt, and tenth in deſcent from *Woden*.

The deſcent of theſe Kings.

An. Do. 527.

Malmeſb. de Geſt. Angl. cap. 6.

1. *Erchenwine* the firſt King of the *East-Saxons*.

His deſcent.

ERchenwine, is ſaid to bee the Sonne of *Offa*, the ſonne of *Bedca*, the ſonne of *Sigefuget*, the ſon of *Sneppa*, the ſonne of *Awpig*, the ſonne of *Supig*, the ſonne of *Seaxnod*, from whom all theſe Kings fetch their originall: His Kingdome began about the yeere of grace 527. and in the fifteenth of *Eske* the ſecond King of *Kent*; and his raigne long, but yet without any memorable acts; dying in the yeere 586. and leauing his ſonne to ſucceede in his place.

His death.

2. *Sledda* the ſonne of *Erchenwine*.

His mariage.

An. Do. 587.

SLedda the ſonne of *Erchenwine*, ſucceeding in the *East-Saxons* Kingdome, raigned peaceablie without mention of any warres; for hauing married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imerik* King of *Kent*, was thereby the more fauoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (beſides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to poſterities; neither are many yeeres of ſucceſsions numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other princes, with whom they either liued, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* died about the yeere of our Redemption 596. and left iſſue by his wife *Queene Ricula*, *Sebert*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, and *Segebald* his brother whoſe Sons afterward were Kings of that *Prouince*.

His death.

His iſſue.

3. *Sebert* the ſonne of *Sledda*.

An. Do. 596. *Sebert* the time when he beganne to raigne.

SEbert the ſonne of *Sledda* and of *Queene Ricula*, beganne his Raigne in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* 596. and in the thirtie ſix yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time *Monarch* of the *Engliſh-men*; who in *Seberts* chiefe citie *London*, a *Princelie Mart Towne*, (ſaith *Beda*) of many people ariuing thither both by ſea and land; new built a *Church*, making it the *Cathedrall* of *Biſhop Miletus*, and ſo wrought with King *Sebert*, that hee conuerted him to Chriſtianitie; and aſſiſted him in that *Foundation*, where formerlie (ſay ſome) had ſtood the *Temple of Diana*. This Church theſe new Conuerts and *Saxon Kings*, either new reared or inlarged for the honour and ſeruice of God, and dedicated vnder the name of *Saint Paul*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with ſufficient maintenance, as by this his *Charter* is ſeene, containing theſe words: *Æthelbert Rex, Deo inſpirante, pro animæ ſuæ remedio, dedit Epiſcopo Mileto terram quæ appellatur Tillingham, ad Monaſterium ſiue Solatium ſcilicet S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Æthelbert ita firmiter concedo tibi Præſuli Mileto poteſtatem eius habendi & poſſidendi, vt in perpetuum in Monaſterij vtilitate permaneat, &c.* And that this was the *Temple of Diana*, ſome haue further confirmed vnto vs by the incredible number of Oxe-heads there digged vp in the daies of King *Edward* the Firſt, when the eaſt-end of that Church was enlarged; which were ſuppoſed to be of thoſe Beaſts that were there ſacrificed to this *Goddeſſe Diana*. Theſe Kings likewiſe founded the Church of *S. Peter* in the Weſt of *London*, at a place called *Thornye*, where ſometimes ſtood the *Temple of Apollo*, as *Sulcardus* affirmeth; which being ouerthrowne

Sebert conuerted to Chriſtianity by *Ethelbert*.

S. Pauls Church built.

S. Pauls Church aforetime the Temple of *Diana*.

S. Peters Church in *Cornehill* built aſore time the Temple of *Apollo*. *Sulcardus.*

throwne by an Earth-quake, *King Lucius* new built for the celebration of Gods ſeruice; and that againe being decaied, thoſe Kings reſtored it to a greater beautie, where *Sebert*, after thirteene yeeres raigne, (as ſome write) with *Æthelgoda* his Queene were buried: whoſe bodies in the daies of *Richard* the Second (ſaith *Walſingh.*) were tranſlated from the old Church to the new, and there interred. Hee had iſſue by the ſaid Queene, *Sered*, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, whoſe liues and deaths were as followeth.

Stowe.

Tho. Walſingham.

4. Three Kings ioyntly ſway the Kingdome.

Enemies to Chriſtianitie.

Beda hiſt. eccleſ. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 5.

They are put from the Communion.

Mileta fled into France.

SEred, Seward, and *Sigbert*, the ſonnes of *King Sebert*, raigned as it ſeemeth, together in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the *Chriſtian Profeſsion*. Theſe contumeliouſly preſuming to the *Lords Table*, and holy *Sacrament* of his *Body* and *Bloud*, were prohibited by *Biſhop Miletus*, becauſe they were *Idolaters* and *vnbaptized*: which repulſe they tooke ſo offenſiuely, that they expulſed *Miletus*, who therupon fled into *France*. But their impietie was not long vnrewarded: for fighting againſt *Kingils*, and *Quichelinus* his ſonne, (Kings of the *Weſt-Saxons*) were by them ouercome, and in battle ſlaine about the yeere of Grace 623. as by the learned *Sir Henry Sauile* is calculated, whoſe account for theſe times I altogether follow.

Rad. de Diceto.

The three Kings ſlaine.

5. An. Do. 623.

Sigebert the Little.

SIgebert the little, the ſonne of *Seward*, the ſecond ſonne of *King Sebert*, entred his raigne ouer the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of Chriſt 623. of whoſe affaires, little matter is left for vs to relate, ſauing that hee hauing both a *Brother* and a *Sonne*, yet his Kingdome was ſucceeded by neither, but by one *Sigibert*, his *Coſen-German* once remooued.

Matth. Weſtminſt.

The time when he began to raigne.

His ſucceſſor.

6. Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 13.

Sigbert his deſcent.

He reſtored the Chriſtian faith.

SIgibert, the ſonne of *Segebald*, the brother of *Sebert*, the ſonne of *King Sledda*, and of *Ricula* his *Queene*, ſucceeded his kinſman in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. This *Sigbert* reduced againe his Prouince vnto the embracing of the *Chriſtian Faith*, being daily inſtigated thereunto by *Oſwie* King of *Northumberland*, and receiued *Baptiſme* himſelfe at the hands of *Biſhop Finnan*, and at the place called *The Wall*, procured vertuous *Cedda* to be his aſsiſter for the plantation of the *Goſpell* in his Kingdome. He was murdered by two of his kinſmen, who, as *Beda* ſaith, were Brethren, no other cauſe mouing them, but his ouermuch lenitie and clemencie. He raigned by the foreſaid account, ſixteene yeeres, leauing iſſue a young ſonne named *Selred*, that ſucceeded *Seofrid* in that Kingdome.

He was baptized by Biſhop Finnan.

Raphe Coſſhall.

His death.

His raigne.

His iſſue.

7. An. Do. 661.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Swithelme baptized.

SWithelme ſucceeded his brother in the *Prouince* of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, beſides his *Baptiſme* by *Biſhop Cedda*, and that his *God-father* at the *Font-ſtone* was *Edelwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*.

8. An. Do. 664.

When Sighere began to raigne.

Beda hiſt. l. 3. c. 30

SIghere, the ſonne of *Sigebert the little*, entred his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of our Lord 664. and was the eighth King of that Prouince, in part whereof *Sebba* his nephew raigned, with better commendations then *Sigehere* at his beginning had done; for *Beda* reporteth, that vpon a great mortalitie and plague, to appeaſe the wrath of his *Gods*, *Sighere* became an *Apoſtata*, and forſooke the faith of Chriſt, wheras *Sebba* continued conſtant with thoſe in that Prouince vnder his Iuriſdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, *Sighere* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the *Temples* and *Altars* erected to Idolatrie, and opening againe the Chriſtian Churches for the Saints aſſemblies, that ſo (ſaith hee) they might rather die in hope of the Reſurrection, then wallow in ſinne, and liue in Idolatrie. His wife was *Oſwith* the daughter of *Edelfrith*, King of *Northumberland*, whom *Capgraue* maketh a *Saint*, and *Abbeſſe* of *Berking* neere *London*, euen in the daies of her husband.

Reclaimed by the King of Mercia.

His Wife.

9. An. Do. 664.

Wil. Malmsbury.

SEbba, the Brother of *Segebert the Little*, and Sonne of *Seward*, (as we haue ſaid) ſucceeded as ſole King in the *Prouince* of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with much equitie and adminiſtration of Iuſtice raigned therein thirty yeeres: towards the end whereof, the better to prepare his mind for contemplation, he relinquiſhed his Princely Robes, and put on the Habit of Religious Profeſsion in the Monaſtery of *S. Pauls* in *London*; as *Radulphus de Diceto*, with others affirme. Wherein this penitent King liuing a while in faſting and praiers, died the yeere of Chriſt 693. whoſe body was intombed in a Coffin of Gray Marble, the Couer copped, and as yet ſtanding in the North wall of the Chancell of the ſame Church.

Sebba his raigne for thirty yeeres.

Rad. de Diceto.

His latter end, his death.

Sebba his Coffin in *Pauls*.

A miracle thereof *Beda* reporteth, needleſſe either then to be wrought, or now of vs repeated, were it not to point at the blindnes wherein euen good men were then led; and thus it is: They hauing prepared a Tombe-ſtone, to lay his body in, found it too ſhort by the quantitie of an hands bredth, and hewing it longer, yet would not ſerue: therefore they minding to bow vp the knees, laid the body therein, and ſuddenly it lengthned of it ſelfe with more then was ſufficient. But ſurely howſoeuer this tombe was then ſet on this Monkiſh tenter, it is now ſince ſhrunke againe in the ſtanding, and exceeds not in meaſure fiue foot in length. His wife (but vnnamed) hee likewiſe inſtigated to leaue the momentanie pleaſures of princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe he laſtly obtained, leauing her to follow him in his vertuous deuotions, and his two ſonnes to ſucceed him in his kingdome.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 11. A miracle.

His Wife.

An. Do. 694.

SIgherd, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, whom *Beda* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him alſo in the ſucceſsion of the *Eaſt-Saxons* Kingdome; the time of whoſe entrance is ſet in the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* 694. and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Wife, or Iſſue.

11. *Seofrid* the ſonne of King *Sebba*.

SEofrid, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, and Brother to King *Sigheard*, either ioyntly raigned with him, or ſucceſsiuely after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthy inſerting, hauing had neither Wife nor iſſue that are recorded.

12. An. Do. 701.

Rich. Ciceſt.

Beda hiſt. eccleſ. Angl. lib. 5. c. 20.

His latter end.

His Wife.

OFfa, the Sonne of *Sighere*, and of Queene *Oſwith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and ſweet countenance, ſucceeded King *Seofrid* in the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the yeere of grace 701. He both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the goodly and beautiful *Church* of *Weſtminſter*, but after he had ruled eight yeeres, being moued with a ſuppoſed religious deuotion, hee abandoned *Kineſwith* his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian King*) his lands, kinne, and Country, and with *Kenred King* of *Mercia*, and *Edwine Biſhop* of *Worceſter*, went to *Rome*, where he was ſhorne a *Monke*, and in that habit died, leauing his Coſen *Selred* to ſucceed in his kingdome. His wife *Kineſwith* after his departure, (with the like penancie) vowed her ſelfe a vailed *Nunne* in the *Abbey* of *Kineburg*, whereof his ſiſter was *Abbeſſe*, who had been wife to *Alfrith King* of *Northumberland*.

13. An. Do. 709.

R. Grincaſtr.

Sebred the ſonne of *Sigebert* the Good.

SElred, the Sonne of *Sigebert the Good*, who was murthered for his ouermuch clemencie, attained to the Kingdome of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, in the yeere of grace 709. His raigne was long, though his acts are little ſpoken of, either that others worther affaires filled the pens of thoſe Story-writers, or that his time was ſo peaceable and vnactiuely ſpent, that it miniſtred not matter whereof to indite. Hee raigned 38. yeeres, and died Anno 746. without relation either of Wife or Children.

His raigne and death.

Hen. Hunting.

14. An. Do. 747.

Sutbred King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*.

SVthred, after the ſlaughter of *Selred*, was made King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, which title hee retained, vntill that *Egbert* King of the *weſt-Saxons*, taking Armes againſt him, expulſed him out of that Kingdome; as alſo the ſame yeere he did *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, which was in the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation 827. and made it a Prouince annexed vnto the *Weſt-Saxons*, after it had ſtood in ſtate of a Kingdome 281. yeeres.

weſt-Saxons ſtood a Kingdome 281. yeers.

THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESSIONS AND ISSVES OF THOSE KINGS, VNTO THE LAST SVBVERSION THEREOF BY KING EGBERT.

CHAPTER IX.

Northumberland how diuided at first.

THis Kingdome of *Northumberland* consisted at first of two distinct Prouinces; whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*, and were gouerned sometimes by their Kings seuerally, and sometimes vnder one, as successe of warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descents of whose Kings are brought by *Florentius* both from the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, vnder whom the Kingdome of *Deira* beganne, was the sonne of *Iffi*, who was the sonne of *Wuskfrea*, the sonne of *Wilgils*, the sonne of *Westorwalchna*, the sonne of *Seomel*, the sonne of *Suearta*, the sonne of *Sæpugell*, the sonne of *Seabald*, the sonne of *Siggeot*, the sonne of *Suebdeg*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonne of *Weadeg*, the fourth sonne of *Woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the raiser of the *Bernicians* kingdome, is brought from *Bealdeag* the fifth sonne of *Woden*; for *Bealdeag* was father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Beorn* and *Freodegar*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitour of *Cherdik* the first *West-Saxon King*: and his brother *Beorn* begat another *Beorn* also, and hee *Wegbrand* the father of *Ingebrand*, whose sonne was *Alusa*, the father of *Angengeal*, and this mans sonne *Ingengeat*, the father of *Æthelbright*, whose sonne *Oesa* begat *Eoppa* the father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

Florent. Wigorn. The pedegree of these Kings.

The time when this Prouince became a Kingdome. *Wil. Malmsb.*

These Saxon Captaines *Ella* and *Ida*, about sixtie yeeres after the death of King *Hengist*, changed the title of this Prouince from a Dukedome to a Kingdome. For *Hengist* hauing giuen the possession of those North parts vnto *Otho* his Brother, and to *Ebusain* his sonne, their Successors held it, with many hostile irruptions the space of 99. yeeres. But now the *Britaines* subiected, and no resistance made, those Captaines diuide the Prouince into two parts, intituling either by the name of a *Kingdome*; the first *Deira*, was possessed by *Ella*, which stretched from *Tyne*, to the Riuer *Humber*; and the second *Bernicia*, enioyed by *Ida*, whose Continent lay betwixt the *Tyne* and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. These together contained the Counties of *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Yorkeshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*, and was bounded on the West with the *Irish* Seas, on the North with the Wall of *Seuerus*, on the East with the *German Ocean*, and on the South with the Riuers *Mersey* and *Humber*. *Ida*, saith *Malmsbury*, raigned fourteene yeeres: and *Ella* by *Matthew of Westminster*, is said to succeed him for thirty yeeres. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Huntington* recordeth, were *Adda*, *Bealrik*, *Thedrik*, *Ethelrik*, *Osmer*, and *Thedred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecca*, *Oswald*, *Ailrik*, *Sogoe*, and *Sogother*. These (saith *Matthew of Westminster*) arriued at *Flemisburke* with forty Ships, and assisted their Father in manie of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* his record, were *Acca*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and mother to the most Christian *Oswald*, Monarch of the *Englishmen*, and *Edwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of *Northumberland*. *Ida* is said to beginne his raigne Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed vnto either, besides the building of *Bamburge Castell*.

Ida his raigne. *Malmsbury.*

Ella his raigne. *Ida* his issue legitimate and illegitimate.

They arriue at *Flemisburke* with forty ships. *Ella* his issue.

Bamburge Castell built by *Ida* and *Ella*.

With *Ella* raigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely *Adda* and *Thedrik*, with three others, *Elappea*, *Theodwald*, and *Frethulfe*, sprung from *Eoppa* the father of *Ida*, all fiue his substitutes ouer the *Bernicians*: but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and raignes, I will leaue as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy of recitall.

2. *Adda* raigned 7. yeeres
3. *Elappea* raigned 5. yeeres
4. *Theodwald* raigned 1. yeere
5. *Frethulfe* raigned 7. yeeres
6. *Theodrik* raigned 7. yeeres

} King of *Bernicia*.

6. An. Do. 589. *Ethelriks* youth obscurely spent.

Ethelrik the sonne of *King Ida*, hauing outrun his youth in pernicious obscuritie, attained in his old yeeres to the gouernment of both the *Prouinces*, and whole *Kingdome* of *Northumberland*, wherein his time was so spent (saith *Malmesbury*) that had not his sonne in the glasse of his owne worths shewed the face of his fathers remembrance, his acts and raigne might easily haue beene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelfrid* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He raigned fiue yeeres, and died, An. 593.

Beda hist. l. 1. c. 33. His raigne and death.

7. An. Do. 593. *Beda hist. eccles. Angl. lib. 1 cap. 34.* *Ethelfrid* very thirstie of fame.

Ethelfrid, a man very valiant, and thirstie for renowne, succeeded his father in the *Northumbrians Kingdome*. Him *Beda* compares to *King Saul* in *Israel*, excepting only in the knowledge of Gods true Religion: to whom (saith he) might be applied the saying of *Iacob* touching *Beniamin*, that like a rauening Woolfe he deuoured his prey in the morning, and diuided the spoile thereof in the euening. For he made greater Conquests ouer the daily afflicted *Britaines*, then all the *Kings* of the *Angles* had done; and peopling their possessions with his *Saxons*, held the right owners vnder subiection and tribute. This his prosperitie, *Edanaden King* of the *Scots* greatly enuied, and attempting to croppe it, and to plant himselfe vpon the

A greater Conqueror then all the rest.

Or, *Eden*. *Marianus*. *Edanaden* enuieth *Ethelfred*.

This Prouince diuided into two Kingdomes.

Deira & Bernicia.

Edwales ouerthrowne.

Theobald slaine.

Ethelfred proud of his victorie.

* *West-chester.*

The description of *Bangor* Monasterie.

Bernardus Clarivalentius.
Bangor Monasterie the first in the world.
Beda hist. eccles. Anglo. l. 2. cap. 2.
Her Monkes diuided into seuen portions.
Liued by the labour of their hands.
Their praier and fasting.
Ethelfrid enquireth the cause of their praying.

He slaieth a great number.

Ethelfrid in feare of *Edwine*.

Edwine forced into exile.

Succoured by *Redwald*.

Henry Hunt.
Ethelfrid slaine.
His raigne.
Flor. wigor.
His issue.
Joh. Capgraue.

8.
An. Do. 617.
Beda hist. Eccles. Anglo. l. 2. cap. 12.
The storie of *Edwines* banishment.

the root of like honour, hee assembled a great and strong Armie against him, and at the place called *Degsaston* strooke Battle with him, wherein notwithstanding he was ouerthrowne, and his *Scots* discomfited, yet with such losse to *King Ethelfrid*, that *Theobald* his brother, with the part of the Armie whereof he was *Generall*, were all vanquished and destroied. This battle went so sore against the *Scotish Britaines*, that (saith *Beda*) *no King of that Nation durst attempt to meet the English in the Field for a long time after.* And the fortune of the day did so much augment both his fame, and also his haughty spirit, that presently he reenforced his power against the *Britaines*, that were at * *Cair-legion*, where of them hee made a most lamentable slaughter, and that not only of the Souldiers prepared for fight, but also of those religious and harmlesse *Monks*, there assembled for praier.

These *Monks* were of the Monastery of *Bangor* in *North-wales*, famous for antiquity, forme of discipline and spacious circuit. It was situated in the fruitfull valley now called the *English Mailor*; and vpon the Banckes of the Riuer *Dee*, where it extended it selfe as in the circuit of a walled Citie, containing within it the quantitie of a mile and a halfe of ground: two of whose Gates may at this day easilie be discerned, the one of them called *Port Hogen*, lying by North; and the other *Port Clais*, situate on the South; the Riuer *Dee* hauing now changed his Channell, runneth thorow the middest betwixt both the Gates, which stand asunder fiue hundred paces. This Monasterie, saith *Clarivalentius*, was the Mother of all others in the World; who in memory of the * *Seuen Churches of Asia*, did distribute into seuen portions their *Monks*, euery one numbring three hundred soules, and all of them (as *Beda* saith) liuing by the labour of their own hands. Many of these assembling at *Cair-legion*, to assist their Brethren *Britaines* with their supplications vnto God against this *Ethelfrid*, surnamed the *Wilde*, and his fierce Souldiers the Infidell *Saxons*; with three daies fasts spent their time in continuall praiers. But King *Ethelfrid* beholding their maner, demanded the cause; and vnderstanding that they called for assistance of their God against him and his Army, set first vpon their Guarder *Brockmal*, a man of Armes, who to saue his own life, left all theirs to the sword, wherein perished one thousand and two hundred Christian Monks, besides the discomfiture of the *Britaines* Host. Many of these were interred in their owne Monasteries, whose bodies, saith *Leyland*, haue been found in the memory of man, in the rotten weedes wherein they were slaine. But as his fame increased daily abroad, so were his feares augmented continually at home. For *Edwine* the sonne of *Ella*, and third King of *Deira*, a gallant young Prince, and newly seated in his Fathers Kingdome, wrought many suspicions in *Ethelfrids* head; and though he was brother to his Wife *Acca*, yet the neerenesse of that alliance, no whit diminished his iealous conceits, whom therefore by priuie conspiracies and apparant pursuits hee so daily molested, that he was forced to saue his life by auoiding the Country, and tossed in exile from place to place, was lastly receiued and succoured by *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who in his quarrel forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, slew him neere the Riuer *Idle*, after hee had raigned twenty three yeeres, in the yeere of Christ his Incarnation 617. He had issue by his Wife *Acca*, (the daughter of *Ella*) *Eanfrith* King of *Bernicia*, *Oslafe*, and *Oswald* King of *Northumberland*, *Oslake*, and *Offa*, with two Daughters canonized for Saints, *Oswith* and *Ebba* the Nunne; as also by his Concubine, *Oswy*, the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

EDwine thus raised by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Country, and was of the Inhabitants made King of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Englishmen*; as in their succession shall be declared. *Beda* (somewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this storie: That whilest hee lay banished in King *Redwalds* Court, *Ethelfrid* instigated his receiuer, by promises to take away his life; or if he refused, threatned him warres: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to this wicked purpose, reuealed the same to the Queene his wife; which a friend of *Edwins* hearing, told him of his danger, and wished him to flie. *Edwine* thus perplexed, with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary vnder a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done; to suspect and flie from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong; and to thinke himselfe safe in other Prouinces against so powerfull pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approched a man vnto him, vtterly vnknowne, who after salutation, demanded the cause why hee sate at so vnseasonable a time, in so vncouth a place, and pensiue manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his death's-man, resolutely answered; It nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (said he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus vpon that stone; thy death is pretended, and euen at hand: but what wouldest thou giue to rid thee of that danger, and to make King *Redwald* thy assured preseruer? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (said the other) that shall set thee vpon the throne of thy Kingdome, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors euer attained vnto? I would bee thankfull to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times, as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, said he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserue the life of thy soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents euer heard of; wilt thou consent and imbrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not bee ruled by him, that thus should free me from this present danger, set me vpon the throne of a Kingdome, and after these great fauours, should also teach mee the way to an eternall life. Vpon this answere, laying his right hand on *Edwines* head, he said vnto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despaire, his friend that had forewarned him of his death, came hastily to him with a more cheerfull countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and surcease thy cares, for the Queene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* mind to saue thy life, but he also hath granted to maintaine thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly he did, and slew him, as we haue said.

Edwine thus placed vpon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Queenburg* being dead in his exile, receiued in marriage *Ethelburga*, surnamed *Tace*, (a fit name for a woman) the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*, and Sister to *Edbald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste and vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus*, and both of them Gods instruments for the Conuersion of the *Northumbrians* to the imbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall haue occasion to speake of this *Edwine* as he was Monarch of the *Englishmen*, we will reserue his *Acts*, *Issues*, and *Raigne*, to bee further related in the course of his Succession. Hee was slaine in battell against *Cadwall* King of the *Britaines* and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously raigned seuenteene yeeres, the twelfth of *October*, Anno 633. and was buried in *Saint Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Whitby*. Vpon whose death, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* was againe diuided.

OSricke the Sonne of *Alfrid* (*Edwines* Vncle) succeeding in the Prouince of *Deira*, and *Eanfrith* the Sonne of *Ethelfrid the Wilde*, in the Prouince of the *Bernicians*; these, with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwins* Raigne, had in banishment beene preserued among the *Scots* and *Red-shanks*, and there had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemie, these

His life in danger.

Edwine in doubt what to doe.

One vnknowne came to him, demanding the cause of his sorrow.

Edwine his answer.

The man sheweth him his griefe vntold him.

He demandeth what he would giue to be eased.

Edwine his answer.

He promiseth to shew him how to saue his soule.

Hee suddenly vanisheth away.

Edwines friend bringeth him good newes.

His wife a chaste Christian Lady.

His death.

His raigne.

His place of buriall.

9.
An. Do. 633.
Osrike King of *Deira*.

Eanfrith King of the *Bernitians*.

They renounce the profeſſion of Chriſt. *Beda hiſt.eccleſ. Anglia 3 cap.1.* *Cedwald* Gods inſtrument to puniſh them.

Princes returned to their owne Country, and former ſuperſtitions, renouncing againe the profeſsion of Chriſt. Yet this their Apoſtaſie (ſaith *Beda*) remained not long vnpuniſhed: *For Cadwallader King of the Britaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance, ſlew them both the next Sommer enſuing. Ofrike vnprepared, and his whole Army penned in the Suburbs of their owne Citie, he miſerably ſlew; and poſſeſsing the Prouince of the Northumbrians, not as a King or Conqueror, but rather like an outragious Tyrant, deſtroied and rent in tragicall manner, all things before him. Eanfrith vnaduiſedly with twelue choſen perſons comming to* *Cadwallader *to intreat vpon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeere* (ſaith he) *continueth vnhappy and hatefull euen vnto this day, as well for the Apoſtaſie of theſe Engliſh Kings, as alſo for the Britain Kings furious tyranny. Wherefore the Hiſtoriographers of that time haue thought it beſt, that the memory of theſe Apoſtate Kings being vtterly forgotten, the ſelfe-ſame yeere ſhould be aſsigned to the Raigne of the next following King, Oſwald, a man dearely beloued of God.*

*Cedwall.

The Britiſh Kings tyrannie.

9. An.Do.634. *Oſwald.*

OSwald, the ſonne of *Wild Ethelfrid*, and brother to *King Eanfrith*, beganne his raigne ouer the *Northumbrians* Anno 634. hauing firſt embraced Chriſtianitie, and receiued *Baptiſme* in *Scotland*, wherein hee was ſecured all the raigne of King *Edwin*, and had withall learned ſome experience in warre. Hee comming vnlooked for with a ſmall Armie, but fenſed (ſaith *Beda*) with the *Faith of Chriſt*, obtained againſt *Cedwald* King of the *Britaines* a great victorie: the manner whereof, with his other acts atchieued, wee will further declare in his ſucceſsion among the *Monarkes* of the *Engliſh-men*, whereof hee was the ninth from *Hengiſt*.

His conqueſt of the *Britaines*.

Oſwald the ninth from *Hengiſt*.

He ſent for *Aidan*, a *Scotiſh Diuine*, to teach his people the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, inlarged his Kingdome, and reconciled the *Deirians* and *Bernicians*, who were at mortall enmitie. He was ſlaine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the vnmercifull Pagan *Penda* the *Mercian*, at *Oſwaldſtree* in *Shrop-ſhire*, *quinto Auguſti*, the yeere of our Lord 642. when hee had raigned nine yeeres, and was buried at *Bradney* in *Lincolne-ſhire*. His wife was *Kineburg*, the daughter of *Kingils* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and his ſonne *Ethelwald*, young at his death, and therefore defeated of his Kingdome by *Oſwy* his Vncle, the *Naturall Sonne* of King *Ethelfrid the Wild*. Notwithſtanding when *Oſwin* King of *Deira* was murdered by this *Oſwy* of *Bernicia*, and he not paſt ſixteene yeeres of age, entred by force vpon *Deira*, and kept the ſame Prouince by ſtrong hand ſo long as hee liued; and dying, left it to his coſen *Alkfrid*, the *Naturall Sonne* of the ſaid King *Oſwy*.

Hector Boet. His care of his people for religion. His death.

Raigne.

Buriall. Wife.

Iſſue.

10. An.Do.643. *Oſwy* the illegitimate of *Ethelfrid*.

OSwy the illegitimate ſonne of *Ethelfrid the wild*, at thirty yeeres of age ſucceeded King *Oſwald* his brother in the Kingdome of the *Bernicians*; at whoſe entrance, *Oſwyne* the ſonne of *Oſrik*, that had denied the Faith, and was ſlaine of King *Cedwall*, raigned in *Deira*. This *Oſwyne* was ſlaine by King *Oſwye*: after whoſe death, ſeizing all *Northumberland*, he ſpread his terrour further into other parts, and was the *tenth Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*, as in his ſucceſsion we will further ſpeake. His wife was *Eanfled*, daughter to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, by whom he had many children. His raigne was 28. yeeres, and death the fifteenth day of Februarie, in the yeere of grace 670. and of his age 58.

Beda hiſt.Eccleſ. lib.3.cap.1.

The tenth Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*.

His wife. Iſſue. Death. *Beda lib.4.ca.5.*

11. An.Do.671. *Beda hiſt.lib.3. cap 24. Egfrid.*

EGfrid, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Oſwy* by Queene *Eanfled*, had beene *Hoſtage* in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and after his father was made King of *Northumberland*, in the yeere of Chriſt 671. Hee warred, but with great loſſe, againſt *Edilred* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Trent*, wherein his younger brother *Elfwyne* was vnfortunately ſlaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by mariage: whereupon a peace and reconciliation was made. But *Egfred* being by nature of a diſquiet diſpoſition, inuaded the *Iriſh*, and deſtroied thoſe harmeleſſe and ſilly people, which (as *Beda* ſaith) *had beene great friends to the Engliſh*. Their reſiſtance conſiſted chiefly in curſes and imprecations for reuenge, which though they could not open heauen, yet (ſaith hee) *it is to be beleeued, that for their cauſe he was cut off the next yeere enſuing by the Picts or Red-ſhankes, againſt whom he prepared, contrary to the aduice of his Counſell, and by them was ſlaine among the ſtrait and waſte mountaines*, 20. *Maij* the yeere of mans felicitie 685. and of his age fortie, after hee had raigned fifteene yeeres. His wife was *Etheldred* the daughter of *Anna* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*: ſhee was both *Widow* and *Virgin*; firſt maried to *Tonbert* a Noble man that ruled the *Giruij*, a people inhabiting the Fenny Countries of *Norfolke*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Cambridge-ſhires*; and after him alſo in virginitie continued twelue yeeres with her huſband King *Egfrid*, contrarie to his minde, and the *Apoſtles* precept, that forbiddeth ſuch *defrauding either in man or woman, except it be with conſent for a time*, and to the preparatiõ of praier; affirming elſwhere, that *Mariage is honourable, and the bed thereof vndefiled*, wherein the woman doth redeeme her tranſgreſsion, through faith, loue, holineſſe, and modeſtie, by bearing of children. This notwithſtanding, ſhe obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to *Coldingham Abby*, where ſhee was profeſsed a *Nunne* vnder *Ebba* the daughter of King *Ethelfrid*. Then went ſhee to *Ely*, and new built a *Monaſterie*, whereof ſhee was made *Abbeſſe*, and wherein with great reuerence ſhee was intombed: whoſe vertues and remembrance remained to poſterities by the name of *S. Audrie*, ſhe being canonized among the Catalogue of Engliſh Saints.

His death.

Raigne.

Wife, who was both a Widow and a Virgin. *Beda hiſt.l.4 c.19.*

1.Cor.7.5.

Heb.13.4.

1.Tim.2.15.

Canonized for a Saint.

12. An.Do.686. *Alkfrid.*

ALkfryd, the illegitimate ſonne of King *Oſwy*, in the raigne of his halfe-brother King *Egfrid*, whether willingly, or by violence conſtrained, liued like a baniſhed man in *Ireland*, where applying himſelfe to ſtudie, hee became an excellent *Philoſopher*, and (as *Beda* ſaith) was very conuerſant and learned in the *Holy Scriptures*, and therefore was made King ouer the *Northumbrians*: where with great wiſdome, though not with ſo large bounds as others had enioied, hee worthily did recouer the decaied eſtate of that Prouince, ruling the ſame twenty yeeres and odde moneths, and departed this life, Anno 705. His Wife was *Kenburg*, the daughter of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, and by her he had iſſue only one ſonne, that ſucceeded him in his Kingdome.

Matth.Weſtmin. A great Philoſopher.

Beda 4.26.

His raigne. Wife. Iſſue. *Beda hiſt.l.3.c.11.*

13. An.Do.705. *Oſred. Beda hiſt.l.5.c.19. Will.Malmeſ.*

OSred, a child of eight yeeres in age, for the hopes conceiued from the vertues of his father, was made King ouer the *Northumbrians*; whoſe ſteps hee no wayes trod in, but rather in filthy abuſe of his perſon and place, wallowed in all voluptuous pleaſures and ſenſuall delight, violating the bodies of vailed *Nunnes*, and other religious holy women: wherein when he had ſpent eleuen yeeres more to his age, his kinſmen *Kenred* and *Oſricke* conſpired againſt him, and in battle by his ſlaughter made an end of his impious life. His wife was *Cuthburga*, the ſiſter of *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, as by the time may bee gathered, from the computation of *Marianus*, and the *Annales* of the *Engliſh-Saxons*; who vpon a loathing wearineſſe of wedlocke, ſued out a diuorce from her husband, and built a *Nunnery* at *Winburne* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, where in a religious habit ſhee ended her life, and hee by *Kenred* and *Oſricke*, leauing his Kingdome to them that wrought his death.

His wickednes.

Raigne.

Wife, who became a Nunne. *Marianus Scotus.*

14. An.Do.716. *Kenred.*

KEnred, the ſonne of *Cuthwyne*, whoſe father was *Leolwald* the ſonne of *Egwald*, and his father *Adelm*, the ſonne of *Oga*, the naturall ſonne of *Ida*, the firſt King of *Deira*, after the death of *Oſred* raigned two yeeres, no other remembrance left of him, beſides the murder of his Soueraigne Lord and King.

His raigne.

15. An.Do.718. *Oſrick.*

OSrick, after the death of *Kenred*, obtained the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, and raigned therein the ſpace of eleuen yeeres, leauing to the world his name ſtained with bloud in the murder of young *Oſred*, no other mention of parentage, wife, or iſſue of him remaining; for want whereof, hee adopted *Ceol-nulph*, brother to his predeceſſor *Kenred*, and died lamented the yeere of Grace ſeuen hundred twentie nine.

His raigne. Wife. Iſſue. *Beda hiſt.l.3.c.11.*

His adopted ſonne. His death.

Ceolnulph,

16. An.Do.729. *Ceolnulph.*

Ceolnulph, the brother of *Kenred*, after the death of King *Ofrike*, was made King of the *Northumbrians*; His raigne. which Prouince hee gouerned with great peace and victorie the ſpace of eight yeeres: but then forſaking the Royall Eſtate and Robes of Maieſtie, put on the habit of a *Monke* in the Ile of *Lindesferne* or *Holy Iland*. A Monke. Theſe were the daies (ſaith *Beda*) *wherein the acceptable time of peace and quietneſſe was embraced among the Northumbrians, who now laid their armour aſide, and applied themſelues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more deſirous to be profeſſed in religious houſes, then to exertiſe feats of warre, or of Armes.* For not only Prieſts and Lay men vowed and performed Pilgrimages to *Rome*, but *Kings*, *Queenes* and *Biſhops* alſo did the like: ſo great (ſo blinde I might ſay) a deuotion was in their hearts, and ſo holy a reuerence held they of the place. Vnto this King *Ceolnulph*, the ſaid *Venerable Beda* (a Prieſt in the *Monaſterie* of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Werimouth* neere vnto *Durham*) a great Clerke, and Writer of the Engliſh Hiſtorie, dedicated the ſame his Worke, which he continued till the yeere ſeuen hundred thirty one, and from the firſt entrance of the *Saxons*, containing 285. yeeres, according to his owne account. *Matth.Weſt.* Bede booke to K.Ceolnulph.

17. An.Do.738. *Egbert.*

Egbert, the ſonne of *Eata*, who was brother to King *Kenred*, ſucceeded his vncle *Ceolnulph* in the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, and ruled the ſame with the like peace and pietie, the time of twenty yeeres; and then following his example, alſo forſooke the world, and ſhore himſelfe a *Monke*, as diuers other Kings in thoſe daies had done, whereof *Simon Dunelmenſis* writeth, and noteth their number to bee eight: as *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Ethelred* and *Kenred* Kings of *Mercia*, *Sigebert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Sebbi* and *Offa* Kings of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and *Ceolnulph* and this *Egbert* Kings of the *Northumbrians*. Theſe forſaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God vpon them had impoſed, whoſe authoritie in earth they ſwaied, and wherein they might much more haue aduanced Gods glory and Chriſts Goſpel, then for a more eaſie and priuate life, not warranted by his word, but rather diſliked, and perhaps foreſhewed by thoſe heauenly creatures the Sunne and Moone, which in thoſe daies were fearefully darkned, and for a time ſeemed to haue loſt their light: for Anno 733. 18. *Calend. Septemb.* the Sunne ſuffred ſo great an Eclipſe, that the earth ſeemed to bee ouer-ſhadowed as with ſack-cloth. And Anno 756. 8. *Calend. Decemb.* the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and bloudy; for a Starre (though there be none lower then the Moone) ſeemed to follow her, and to depriue her of light: but paſsing before her, ſhee againe recouered her former brightneſſe. This King *Egbert* had a brother that bore the ſame name, and was inſtalled *Arch-biſhop of Yorke*, where he erected a beautifull Librarie (a worke well befitting a Noble Prelate) and plentifully ſtored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. His ſonne was *Oſwulph*, that ſucceeded in the Kingdome. *Wil.Malmeſ.* Eclipſes of the Sun and Moone. His ſonne.

18. An.Do.758. *Oſwulph.*

Oſwulph, when his father *Egbert* had put off the Robes of Maieſtie, and clad himſelfe with a *Monkes* Cowle, aſcended the Throne of *Northumberland*, and ſate therein only one yeere: for before hee had made attempt of any memorable act, he was traiterouſly murdered by his own ſeruants at *Mikilwougton*, the ninth Kalends of Auguſt, leauing the Crown vndiſpoſed of vntill the Nones of the ſame moneth in the next yeere. *Simon Dunelm.* *Hen.Hunt.* His raigne. Death.

19. An.Do.759. *Edwald or Mollo.*

Edilwald or *Mollo* was then made King of *Northumberland*, and with great valiancie defended his Subiects. Some ſay, that at the end of ſix yeeres hee reſigned his gouernment; yet others affirme his raign to be eleuen yeeres, and laſtly that hee was ſlaine by *Alured* his Succeſſour. *Wil.Malmeſ.* His raigne. His death.

Alured, the murderer of his Lord and Maſter, beganne his raigne ouer the kingdome of *Northumberland*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſeuen hundred ſixty fiue, and continued the ſame with ſuch diſlikes, that hee laſtly was expelled out of the Prouince by his own ſubiects, & enforced to abandon the ſame. He was the ſon of *Tunwin*, the ſon of *Bieghan*, the ſon of *Boſa*, the ſon of *Ailrick*, the naturall ſon of *Ida*, the firſt King of *Bernicia*. And the ſonnes of this *Alured* were *Oſred*, afterwards King of *Northumberland*, and *Alhnud*, ſlaine by the *Danes*, and canonized a *Saint*. 20. An.Do.765. *Alured.* *Simon Dunelm.* *Flur.Wigor.* His iſſue.

Ethelred, the ſonne of *Mollo*, was aduanced to the Regiment of *Northumberland*, and in the fifth yeere of his raigne, was driuen out of the ſame by *Edelbald* and *Herebert*, two Dukes that warred againſt him; who hauing diſcomfited and ſlaine his Generall and ſouldiers in a fierce battel, ſo weakened the hopes of King *Ethelred*, that he fled his Country, and left the Kingdome in a miſerable eſtate, through the diſſenſions of thoſe ambitious Princes. 21. An.Do.774. *Ethelred.* *Matth.Weſt.*

Alfwald the brother of the foreſaid King *Alered* aſpiring to the Soueraignty of the *Northumbrians*, ruled the ſame in great Iuſtice, to his worthy commendations: notwithſtanding the wickednes of his people was ſuch, that without all guilt he was traiterouſly murthered by the conſpiracie of *Siga*, 23. *Sept.* the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation, ſeuen hundred eightie eight, after he had raigned eleuen yeeres, and his body buried at *Hexham*. His ſonnes were *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, both ſlaine by King *Ethelred*. 22. An.Do.778. *Alfwald.* His death. His raigne. His iſſue.

Oſred the ſonne of King *Alured*, tooke vpon him the Rule of *Northumberland*, the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred eightie nine, and the ſame yeere finiſhed his gouernment thereof, being expelled by his ſubiects, and depriued of all kingly authority. 23. An.Do.789. *Oſred.* His raigne.

Ethelred the ſonne of *Mollo*, reuoked from exile wherein he had liued the ſpace of twelue yeeres, was againe reſtored to the Crowne; but he minding the iniuries that his Lords had formerly done him, ſought the reuenge by their deaths, as alſo to eſtabliſh his Throne the ſurer, ſlew *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, the ſons of *Alfwald*, as wee haue ſaid, the right heires to the Crowne, and inticing *Oſred* the former depoſed King into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at *Cumburge*, the fourteenth of *September*, and yeere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred ninety two. And to ſtrengthen himſelfe the more againſt all his oppoſites, the ſame yeere he married Lady *Elfled*, the ſecond Daughter to great *Offa* King of *Mercia*, forſaking his former Wife without any iuſt cauſe giuen on her part. An.Do.794. *Ethelred.* *Will.Malmesb.* *Matth.Weſtm.* *Henry Hunt.* *Simon Dun.*

Theſe things ſate ſo neere the hearts of his ſubiects, that after ſeuen yeeres from his ſecond eſtabliſhment, they rebelliouſly roſe in Armes, and at *Cobre* miſerably ſlew him the eighteenth day of Aprill, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 794. *Randul.Higden in Polychro.* His raigne. His death.

After whoſe death, the *Northumbrians* were ſore moleſted with many intruders, or rather Tyrants, that banded for the ſoueraignty the ſpace of thirty yeeres. The firſt whereof was *Oſwald*, that held the title of *King* only twenty eight daies, & then was forced to ſaue his life by flight vnto the King of the *Picts*. Next, *Ardulfe* a Duke, reuoked from exile: then *Alfwold*, *Eandred*, *Ethelred*, *Readulph*, *Osbert*, and *Elle*, ſlaine by the *Danes* in *Yorke* at a place, frō *Elle* his ſlaughter called to this day *Elle-Croſſe*, and the Kingdome yeelded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who was now become *Englands* firſt abſolute Monarch, (as holding all the reſt of the Kings no longer for his Aſſociates, but his ſubiects) in the yeere nine hundred twentie ſix, after it had ſtood in forme of a *Kingdome* three hundred ſeuenty nine yeeres, and was made a *Prouince*, and ioined with the reſt vnto the *Engliſh Monarchie*. 24. *Oſwald* King twenty daies.

The continuance of this kingdome.

THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VNTILL IT WAS SVBIECTED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER X.

Mercia.

THis *Kingdome* of *Mercia* contained more Counties, and the skirts of that royall Tent were ſpread with a wider compaſſe then any of the reſt in the *Saxons Heptarchie*: for in the middeſt of the Iland this *Kingdome* was ſeated, and from the verge of *Northumberland* touched ſome part of *Middleſex*, which was the poſſeſsion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*: the North thereof was bounded with *Humber* and *Merſey*; the Eaſt was incloſed with the *German Ocean*; the Weſt extended to *Seuerne* and *Dee*; and the South part neerely touched the Riuer of *Thames*; containing the Counties now known by theſe names, of *Cheſhire*, *Darby-ſhire*, *Nottingham*, *Stafford*, and *Shrop-ſhire*, *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Rutland-ſhires*; *Warwicke*, *Worceſter*, *Oxford*, and *Gloceſter-ſhires*; *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and part of *Hertford-ſhire*.

The limits of it.

The firſt raiſer of that Title and name of a *Kingdome*, was *Crida*, the ſonne of *Kenwald*, who was the ſonne of *Cnebba*, the ſonne of *Icbell*, the ſonne of *Eomer*, the ſonne of *Engengeate*, the ſonne of *Offa*, the ſonne of *Weremund*, the ſonne of *Withleg*, the ſonne of *Waga*, the ſonne of *Wethelgeate*, the third of the fiue ſonnes of *Prince Woden*. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is ſaid to haue raigned the ſpace of ten yeeres, and to haue died Anno 594. His iſſue was *Wibba* that ſucceeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named *Quenburge*, matched in mariage with *Edwin* afterwards King of *Northumberland*, with whom ſhe liued in the Court of King *Redwald* in the time of his troubles, and died before him in that his baniſhment. She bore him two ſonnes, *Oſfrid* and *Edfride*, as in the ſucceſsion of *Edwins* Monarchy ſhall be ſhewed: notwithſtanding *Beda* reporteth this *Quenburge* to be daughter of *Ceorle* the third King of *Mercia*, and grand-child to this firſt *Crida*.

An. Do. 582. *Crida.* *Flor. Wigor.*

His raigne.

His iſſue.

2. An. Do. 593. *Wibba.* *Matth. Weſt.*

WIbba, the ſonne of King *Crida*, not onely held what his Father had gotten, but alſo inlarged his dominions by intruſion vpon the weake *Britaines*. His iſſue was *Penda*, *Kenwalk*, and *Eoppa*, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that kingdome, with a daughter named *Sexburg*, married to *Kenwald*, King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, whom he without iuſt cauſe diuorced from him; for which cauſe great troubles afterwards enſued, as in the raignes of thoſe Kings wee haue ſaid. He in great honour raigned twenty yeeres, and giuing place vnto nature, left his kingdome to be inioied by another.

His iſſue.

Cap. 7. Sect. 7.

His raigne.

His death.

CEorl, not the ſon, but the Nephew of *King Wibba*, ſucceeded in the dominions of the *Mercians*, about the yeere of grace ſix hundreth and fourteenth. He was ſonne to *Kinemund*, the brother of *Wibba*, the younger ſonne of *King Crida*, who was the firſt King of that kingdome. His raigne is ſet to be ten yeeres, without mention either of Act or Iſſue.

3. An. Do. 61[illegible] *Ceorl.*

His raigne.

PEnda, the ſonne of *Wibba*, beganne his raigne ouer the *Mercians* the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred twenty ſix, & continued the ſame the ſpace of thirty yeeres. He was a man violent in action, and mercileſſe in condition, cruell and vnſatiate of blood: he ſhooke the Cities, and diſturbed the borders of the *Saxon-Kings*, more then any other in that Heptarchy before him had done. Againſt *Kingils* and *Quincheline*, Kings together of the *Weſt-Saxons*, he ioined battell neere vnto the Citie *Cirencheſter*, where both the parties fought it out to the vtmoſt, with the effuſion of much *Saxons* bloud: but thoſe comming to concord, he with *Cadwallo* King of the *Britaines*, ſlew in battell *Edwine* and *Oſwald*, Kings of *Northumberland*, *Sigebert*, *Egfrid*, and *Anna*, Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and forced *Kenwald* King of the *Weſt-Saxons* out of his Country, in quarrell of his Siſter. Of theſe his proſperities he became ſo proud, that hee thought nothing impoſsible for his atchieuement; and therefore threatning the deſtruction of the *Northumbers*, prepared his Army for that expedition. *Oſwy* then raigning King of that Country, proffered great ſummes of mony, and moſt precious Iewels to purchaſe his peace: which being refuſed, and the battell ioined, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was ſlaine, and his whole Army diſcomfited. His Wife was *Kmſwith*, and iſſue by her *Peada*, who after him was King: *Vulfere* and *Ethelred*, both Monarchs of the *Engliſh*; *Merkthel*, a man famous for his great holineſſe, and *Merwald* that gouerned ſome part of *Mercia*, whoſe Wife was *Edburga*, the foundreſſe of *Minſter* in *Tanet*, and daughter to *Egbert* King of *Kent*; by whom he had iſſue *Mereſin*, a man of noted deuotion, *Milbury*, and *Mildgith*, both holy Virgins, and *Mildrith* alſo Abbeſſe of *Tanet*, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King *Penda*, were *Kineburg*, the Wife of *Alkfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, afterward a *Votareſſe* in *Kinesburg Abby*, and *Kineſwith*, who maried *Offa* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and became alſo a *Nunne* with her ſiſter *Kineburgh*.

4. An. Do. 6[illegible] *Penda.* *His raigne.*

Hen. Hunt.

Matth. Weſm.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 18.

His death.

Wife. *Iſſue.* *Iugulphus.*

PEada, the ſonne of *King Penda*, in the daies of his father, and with his permiſsion, had gouerned the middle part of *Mercia*, and after his death, by the gift of *Oſwy* of *Northumberland*, all the South of that kingdome

5. An. Do. 65[illegible] *Peada.*

kingdome from the Riuer *Trent*, vpon cõpoſition to marrie his daughter, and to imbrace Chriſtianity; which thing this *Peada* performed, and was the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Mercians*. His Baptiſme receiued, to witneſſe the firſt fruits of his profeſsion, hee laid the foundation of a faire Church at *Medeſhamſted*, now called *Peterborrow*, but liued not to finiſh the ſame, for that he was ſlaine by the treaſon of *Alkfled* his wife in the celebration of *Eaſter*, (as *Beda* ſaith) hauing had no iſſue by her. But *Robert de Swapham* (an Author of good antiquity, who ſaw the ſtones of that foundation to be ſo huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) ſaith, that *Peada* was brought to his end by the practiſe of his Mother, and not of his Wife; as in theſe his words is manifeſt. *Peada* (ſaith he) *laid the foundation of a Monaſtery at Medeſhamſted, in the Giruians or Fen-Country, which he could not finiſh, for that by the wicked practiſe of his Mother, hee was made away.* Whereby this blot is taken from this Chriſtian Lady, and brands the face of her that moſt deſerueth it. This King raigning as ſubſtitute to King *Oſwy* of *Northumberland* aforeſaid, by ſome is not accounted for a *Mercian* King, his regiment reſting vnder the command of another.

Beda hiſt. Angl. l.3. c.21.

Hugo de Peterbor.

His wife.

His death.

Beda hiſt. Angl. l.3. c.24.

6. An.Do.659. *Vulfhere.*

Vlfhere, the Brother of murthered *Peada*, ſet vp by the *Mercians* againſt King *Oſwy*, prooued a Prince moſt valiant and fortunate. For hee expelled the *Northumbrians* Lieutenants forth of thoſe dominions; fought victoriouſly againſt *Kenwald* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*; conquered the *Ile of Wight*, and attained to be ſole Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*: whereof more ſhall be ſaid when wee come to the times and ſucceſsions of their raignes.

His raigne.

This *Vulfhere* is ſaid to raigne in great honour for ſeuenteene yeeres, and his body to bee buried in the Monaſterie of *Peterborow*, which he had founded. His Queene *Ermenheld* after his death, became a Nunne at *Ely*, vnder her Mother *Sexburg*, and there died. His children were *Kenred*, *Vulfald*, and *Rufin*, with a daughter, named *Wereburg*, a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Ely*.

His wife.

His iſſue.

7. An.Do.675. *Ethelred. Simon Dunelm.*

Ethelred the third ſonne of King *Penda*, in the nonage of yong *Kenred* the ſonne of *Vulfhere*, (who in his tender yeeres rather deſired a priuate life then any publike authority in the Common-weale) ſucceeded his brother both in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and Monarchy of the *Engliſhmen*. But when hee had raigned thirty yeeres, gaue ouer the Crowne to his Nephew the ſaid *Kenred*, and became a Monke in the Monaſtery of *Bradney* in *Lincolne-ſhire*, where hee died Anno 716. His Wife was *Oſfryde*, Daughter to *Oſwyn* King of *Northumberland*: and iſſue, *Chelred*, that ſucceeded *Kenred* in the *Mercian* kingdome.

His raigne.

His wife. His iſſue.

8. An.Do.704. *Kenred.*

Kenred the ſonne of *Vulfhere*, (his Vncle *Ethelred* changing his Princely Crown for a Monks Coule) beganne his Raigne ouer the *Mercians*, and his Monarchy ouer the *Engliſh*, Anno 704. wherein he raigned the ſpace of foure yeeres, and then with like deuotion of thoſe times, addicted to an eaſie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to *Rome*, where of Pope *Conſtantine* hee receiued the tonſure and habit of a Monke at the *Apoſtles Tombes*, and entring a Monaſtery, therein ſpent other foure yeeres of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. hauing had neither wife nor iſſue to reuiue his name, or to rule his kingdome.

His raigne.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib.5.ca.20.

His death.

9. An.Do.709. *Chelred.*

Chelred receiuing the reſignation of *Kenred* his Coſin-german when he went to *Rome*, and of ſufficient yeeres and diſcretion to haue ſucceeded *Ethelred* his Father, what time the ſaid *Kenred* was ordained King, raigned with great valour ouer the *Mercians*, and was likewiſe Monarch ouer the *Engliſhmen*. His peace was diſquieted by *Inas* & his *Weſt-Saxons*, who for ſeuen yeeres continuance inuaded his kingdome. His Wife was *Wereburge*, ſaith *Marianus* and *Florentius* the Monke, who aſcribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This *Chelred* raigned the ſpace of eight yeeres, and died the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred and fifteenth: whoſe body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lechfeild*.

Monarch of the Engliſh-men.

His wife.

His raigne.

Death.

Ethelbald, after the death of *Chelred*, was made King of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *Engliſh*, the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſeuen hundred ſixteene. He was a Prince giuen to peace, but withall a moſt laſciuious Adulterer: inſomuch that *Bonifface* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* wrote his Epiſtle vnto him in reprehenſion of the ſame; which tooke ſuch effect, that in repentance of his foule facts, hee founded the Monaſterie of *Crowland*, driuing in mighty Piles of Oake into that mooriſh ground, whereon hee laid a great and goodly building of ſtone. He was the ſon of *Alwy*, the elder ſonne of *Eoppa*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Wibba*, the brother of King *Penda*: and raigned fortie two yeeres, in the end whereof he was ſlaine in a battell fought againſt *Cuthred* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, at *Secondone*; three miles from *Tamworth*, the yeere of Chriſt, ſeuen hundred fiftie fiue, and was buried at *Repton* in *Darby-ſhire*, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

10. An.Do.716. *Ethelbald.*

His raigne.

Offa ſlaying *Bernred* the murtherer of King *Ethelbald*, entred vpon the gouernment of the *Mercians*, and the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, An.758. He inlarged his dominion vpon the *Britaines*, ouercame the *Kentiſh* in a battell, put to flight the *Northumbrians*, and vanquiſhed the *Weſt-Saxons*: the *Eaſt-Angles* alſo he ſeiſed vpon, after he had murthered *Ethelbert* their King. He raigned thirty nine yeeres, and died at *Oſley*, the nine and twenty day of *Iuly*, the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninetie foure, and was buried without the Town of *Bedford*, in a Chapell, now ſwallowed vp by the Riuer *Owſe*. He was the ſon of *Thingfryd*, the ſonne of *Eanulfe*, whoſe Father *Oſmund* was the ſonne of *Eoppa*, the brother of King *Penda*, and ſon of King *Wibba*, whoſe Father was *Crida*, the firſt King of the *Mercians*. His Wife was *Quendred*, and children many; of whom, and of them we will further ſpeake when we come to the time of his Monarchy.

11. An.Do.758. *Offa.*

His raigne.

Flor. Wigor.

His wife. His iſſue.

Egfryde, the ſonne of great *Offa*, was by him made King at his returne from *Rome*, being the only ioy of his parents; and heire apparant to the *Saxons Monarchy*, vpon which he entred the day after his fathers death, and liued himſelfe but a hundred and fortie daies after, deceaſing the ſeuenteenth of *December*, in the yeere of our Lord God ſeuen hundred ninety ſix, hauing had neither wife nor iſſue that wee reade of, and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monaſterie of *Saint Albanes*, founded by *Offa*.

12. An.Do.796. *Egfryde. Flaccus Albinus.*

Kenwolfe, the coſen (a farre off) to King *Egfrid* deceaſed, and both of them remooued in bloud no leſſe then ſix deſcents from *Wibba* the ſecond *Mercian King*, was the ſonne of *Cuthbert*, (as the Monke of *Worceſter* deriues him) the ſonne of *Baſſa*, the ſonne of *Kenrowe*, the ſonne of *Kentwin*, the ſonne of *Kenwalk*, the ſonne of *Wibba* aforeſaid, and ſucceeded King *Egfryd* in his Dominions. But of this *Mercian Monarch* more ſhall be written in the ſucceſsion and time of that his gouernment. Hee raigned two and twentie yeeres, and deceaſed the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and nineteene, and his bodie interred in the Monaſterie of *Winchcombe* in the Countie of *Gloceſter*, being of his owne foundation. His wife was *Queene Elfryde*, the daughter (as ſome ſuppoſe) of *Offa*, who had beene betrothed to *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſlaine by her father; by whom he had iſſue, *Kenelm*, *Quendred*, and *Burgemhild*, of whom more followeth.

13. An.Do.797. *Kenwolfe.*

His raigne.

His wife.

His iſſue.

Kenelm, the ſonne of King *Kenwolfe*, a childe of ſeuen yeeres old, ſucceeded in the *Kingdome* of *Mercia*, but not in the *Monarchie*, as his fathers had done, *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* at that time being grown great in his fortunes. This young King *Kenelm* raigned only fiue moneths, and then by the ambitious deſire of *Quendrid* his ſiſter, who ſeeking the gouernment by the ſhedding of his guiltleſſe bloud, inſtigated one *Askbert* his Inſtructor, by promiſes of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who only ſtood (as ſhe thought) in her way to the Crowne. This wicked practiſe was foorthwith as impiouſly perfor-

14. An.Do.819. *Kenelm.*

His raigne.

Roger Higden.

His death.

ting, he ſlew the innocent King, whoſe vertuous inclination promiſed great hopes, and whoſe harmleſſe yeeres had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie hee ſecretly buried vnder a buſh, and (if we will beleeue the *Golden Legend*, where his life is deſcribed) was thus found out: A white Doue (which belike had ſeene the deed done) and had got it ingroſſed in a ſcrole of parchment, poſted therewith to *S. Peter* in *Rome*, and vpon the *High Altar* laid it to bee read, where in the *Saxon* characters thus it was found: In Clenc kon bað Kenelme Kinbarne lieð vnðer ðhorne, heaued heheaued: that is, *At Clenc in a Cow paſture Kenelme the Kings childe lieth beheaded vnder a thorne.* But moſt true it is, that an obſcure ſepulcher the body had at the firſt, and howſoeuer found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremonie tranſlated to the *Monaſterie* of *Winchcombe*, which his father had founded. The murdereſſe *Quendrid*, for griefe and ſhame of ſo wicked an act, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious deſire, and hath left her name indeleblie ſtained with his innocent bloud.

Legend. Aurea. fol. 175.

15. An. Do. 820. *Ceolwulfe. Matth. Weſtminſt.*

Ceolwulfe, the brother of *Kenwolfe*, and vncle to this murdered young King, as his neereſt in bloud was elected their *Gouernour* by the *Mercians*: but his glory was not great, nor his raigne long, being ſtill diſquieted by *Bernulfe*, that ſought his Crowne; and after one yeeres Regiment was expulſed by his people, and left the ſame to his purſuer, abandoning the Countrie for the ſafety of his life. One daughter hee had, named *Elfled*, who was the wife of *Wigmund*, the ſonne of *Withlafe*, the ſubſtitute King of *Mercia*, and himſelfe the laſt that held the *Mercian Kingdome* in a lineall ſucceſsion.

His raigne.

His iſſue.

16. An. Do. 821. *Bernulfe.*

Simon Dunelm. Wil. Malmeſ.

Bernulfe obtaining what hee ſo long deſired, made himſelfe King when *Ceolwulfe* was gone, and was the more approoued for his valour in Armes, and the leſſe reſiſted for his ancient deſcent, being ſprung from *Oſher*, a man reputed to be of the *Mercian* royall bloud. But *Bernulfe* perceiuing the fortunes of *Egbert*, accounted thoſe his happie ſucceſſes to bee his owne ſhame, and by defiance challenged the *Weſt-Saxons* to the field: which *Egbert* accepted, and vpon *Ellendon* ioined Battle with the *Mercians*, which was fought to the much loſſe of both their blouds. Notwithſtanding at laſt the *weſt-Saxons* preuailed, *Bernulfe* being forced to flie with ſhame. The *Eaſt-Angles* that then had yeelded to *Egbert*, and but lately before had felt the fury of *Bernulfe*, thought the time fit to repay him againe, and therefore in warlike manner aſſaulted his Territories, where hee, in defending his Countrey againſt their attempts, was in a skirmiſh ſlaine, after he had raigned not fully three yeeres.

His death. His raigne. *Henr. Hunt.*

17. An. Do. 824. *Ludecan.*

Ludecan then was choſen King of the *Mercians*, whoſe bloud was not downe ſince their laſt loſſe, neither reuenge forgotten againſt the *Eaſt-Angles*; and therefore the yeere following made ſtrength (ſufficient to their ſeeming) to meet theſe their enemies. But the State of *Heptarchie* now drawne to the period, and the ſupporters thereof weakened by their own diuiſions, the Iland declined to a preſent alteration, & gaue place to a more abſolute kind of *Monarchy*, that in *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* was now begun; who aiding the *Eaſt-Angles* againſt the *Mercians*, *Ludecan* their King fought with no better ſucceſſe then *Bernulf* before him had done; whoſe raigne laſted not fully 2. yeers, nor his memoriall reuiued either in *wife* or *iſſue*.

His raigne.

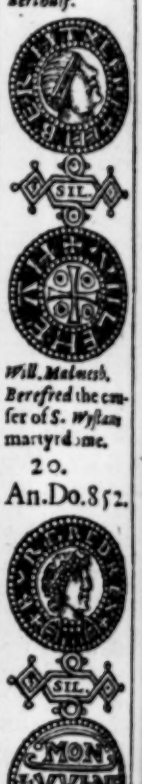
Wlthlafe, the ſonne of *Oſwald*, the ſonne of *Oſher*, of the *Mercian* bloud-royall, intruding himſelfe (as it ſeemeth) into the gouernment of *Mercia*, was vnexpectedly vanquiſhed by *Egbert* the *Monarch* that had aſſumed from *Bernulfe* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Subſtitute* and *Tributarie*, who ſo continued to *Egbert* and his ſonne the time of thirteene yeeres, leauing no other relation of his acts. His iſſue was *Wigmund*, the husband of Lady *Elfled*, the daughter of *Ceolwulfe* King of *Mercia*, the parents of *Wyſtan* the Martyr, and of Lady *Edburg*, maried to one *Etheland* an *Earle* in the Prouince of *Lincolne*.

18. An. Do. 826. *Withlafe.*

His iſſue. *Joh. Ceſtrenſ.*

Berthulf vpon the like compoſition of Tribute, and in the like termes of ſubiection to the *weſt-Saxons* ſoueraignetie, held the kingdome of *Mercia* as a Subſtitute, and without any notable reports of his Acts, ſo raigned the ſpace of thirteene yeeres. At this time the Sea-rouers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infeſted this *Iland* with their many Inuaſions, got the head ſo ſtrong, and wing ſo farre, euen to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and ſtained the ſoile with the bloud of their ſides, which in a moſt barbarous crueltie daily they ſhed; whoſe rage was ſo great, and mindes ſo vnſatiable, that *Berthulf* was enforced to forſake the Country, and in a more priuate eſtate to ſecure his owne life. He had a ſonne named *Berefred*, who was the cauſer of *Saint Wyſtans* martyrdome.

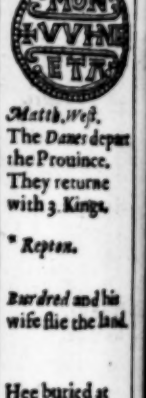
19. An. Do. 839. *Berthulf.*



Will. Malmeſb. Berefred the cauſer of *S. Wyſtans* martyrdome.

Wrdred, the laſt *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwolfe* the *Weſt-Saxon* Monarch, as a ſhield of defence againſt the raging *Danes*, that made deſolations where they came. In continuall imploiments againſt them he ſpent his time, and that with ſuch noble reſolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwolfe* held him worthy of his alliance, and made him his ſonne in law, by giuing him Lady *Ethelſwith* his daughter to Wife, the marriage being ſolemnized at *Chipnham* in *Wiltſhire*, with great eſtate. This *Burdred* with *Ethelwolfe*, warred againſt the *Britaines* with victorie, and he with *Alured* compelled the *Danes* vnder the conduct of *Hungar* and *Vbba*, to diſlodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Prouince. Yet laſtly, after twenty two yeeres raigne, hee was ſo ouerlaid with their daily ſupplies, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whoſe names were *Godrun*, *Eſketell*, and *Ammond*, wintred at * *Ripindon*, and ſore waſted his Kingdome.

20. An. Do. 852.



Matth. Weſt. The *Danes* depart the Prouince. They returne with 3. Kings.

* *Repton.*

King *Burdred* at that time diſtreſſed, and himſelfe not able to withſtand their rage, with his wife Queene *Ethelſwith* fled the Realme, and the ſame yeere in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *Engliſh College* there erected. His Queene in the habit of a *Nunne*, fifteene yeeres after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italie*, and was there honourably buried, the yeere of our Lord eight hundred eightie nine. And now the fatall circle of this Kingdome drawne to the full compaſſe, ſtaied the hand of all glorious motion from proceeding any further, and with the lot of the reſt fell vnder the gouernment of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after one yeeres vſurpation of the *Danes*, when it had ſtood in ſtate of a kingdome the ſpace of two hundred and two yeeres, and ended in title and regall authority, the yeere of *Chriſts Incarnation* eight hundred eighty ſix.

Burdred and his wife flie the land.

Hee buried at *Rome*.

His wife at *Padua*.

The kingdome of *Mercia* brought in ſubiection to the *Weſt-Saxons*.

THE

THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLE, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESSION AND ACTS OF THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT WAS VNITED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

CHAPTER XI.

The circuit of this Province.

THE Counties (as we now call them) that were subiect to this *East-Angles* Kingdome, were *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds whereof were limitted in this manner: the East and North sides were confined by the *Ocean*; the West, with Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, and the South altogether with *Essex*, and some part of *Hertfordshire*.

1 An.Do.575. The first King of the East-Angles. *Beda hist. Angl. lib.2.cap.15.*

The first raiser of the title and State of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captaine named *Vffa*, about the yeere of Christs incarnation fiue hundred seuentie fiue, whose renowne was such, that he gaue name not onely to that his aspired Dominion, but also from him, the Subiects thereof were a long time after called *Vffines*: though lastly, it was reduced into the name and Kingdom of the *East-Angles*. This *Vffa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* hath laid downe) was the sonne of *Withelin*, and he the sonne of *Hrippus*, the sonne of *Rothmund*, the sonne of *Trigils*, the sonne of *Titmon*, the sonne of *Caser*, the second sonne of Prince *woden*. His raigne is accounted only seuen yeeres, without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to haue hapned in the yeare fiue hundred eighty one.

East Angles called Vffines.

Vffa his genealogie.

2 An.Do.583 The second King of the East-Angles. His raigne.

Titulus, the second King of the *East-Angles*, and only sonne of *Vffa* that is read of, beganne his raigne the yeere of Christs Incarnation, fiue hundred eighty three, & continued the same for the space of twenty yeeres. And although the Writers of these times haue made no further mention of his Acts, yet may we well suppose that his daies were not altogether so quietly spent, both in the infancy of that newly erected kingdom, and when such wars were commenced for the obtaining the whole Iland. His issue was *Redwald*, that immediatly succeeded him, & from whom other Kings of that kingdom were lineally descēded.

Florent. Worcest.

3 An.Do.593. *Beda hist. Ang. lib.2.ca.5.* The third King of this Kingdom. *Cap.9.Sect.7.*

Redwald, the greatest of all the *East-Angles* Kings, succeeded his father *Titulus* in the Dominions of the *East-Angles*, and *Ethelbert* of *Kent* in the Monarchie of the *Saxons*. He receiued and succoured in his Court *Edwyne* with his wife in their Exiles, and assisted him against *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, that sought his life, as before wee haue shewed, and hereafter in the succession of his Monarchy wee shal haue further occasion. Hee raigned Monarch eight yeeres, and King of the *East-Angles* thirty one (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Malmesbury*, and others of our *English* Writers) and died the yeare of our Saluation six hundred twenty three.

See more of him in Chap. 18. His raigne.

4 An.Do.624 The fourth King of this Kingdom.

Erpenwald, the younger sonne of King *Redwald*, (*Reynhere* his elder brother being slaine in battle by *Ethelfred*, in the quarrell of distressed *Edwine*) succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the yeer of our Lord God six hundred twenty foure. He was the first King of that Prouince, that publikely professed the Christian Faith, which hee receiued at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of King *Edwine* of *Northumberland*; but so much to the discontentment & grudge of the people, as thereupon they presently entred into conspiracy to practise his death, which a Pagā Ruffian named *Richebert*, not long after most traiterously executed. His raigne is placed in the foresaid Table of our Writers, (as it is compared with the other Kings of those times) to extend twelue yeeres; after whose death, those people returned to their wonted *Idolatrie*, and for three yeeres continuance embraced their former *Gentility*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigebert* his brother in law, who succeeded him in his Throne, hee hauing no issue, to whom it might be left.

The first of this Prouince that publikely professed Christ. *Matth. West. Beda hist.l.2.c.15* The people reiect Christ.

The King slaine by a Traitor. His raigne.

John Stow.

Sigebert, the sonne of the second wife to *Redwald*, and by her born to a former husband, whose name is vnknowne, was greatly mistrusted by his Father in law, King *Redwald*, that he went about to aspire his Crowne: the motiues of which suspition, notwithstanding all the endeauours of innocent *Sigebert*, were still followed with an enuious eye, and his subiectiue semblances, as notes of popularity, were euer conceiued to aime at the supreme authority: which blot of icalousie, when it could no otherwise bee wiped out, he abandoned the Court of the King, and Country of his birth, and in *France* as an exile, al the time of *Redwald* the Father, and likewise the raigne of *Erpenwald* the sonne, spent his time in study of good Literature, & contemplatiue exercises, where learning the truth of Christs Doctrine, and hauing receiued the lauer of *Baptisme*, after the death of this said *Erpenwald* his allied Brother, returned, and was made King of the *East-Angles*.

The Subiects reclaimed by *Sigebert*.

5 An.Do.636 The fifth King.

Sigebert suspected of treason against *Redwald*.

He goeth into exile.

This man (saith *Beda*) following the examples of

Beda hist.Ang.l. 3.c.18.

Sigebert with the assistance of a Bishop doth promote religion and learning.

Will. Lambert. in *Peramb.* of *Kent.*

Mr. *Caius*, and Mr. *Key.*

Beda hist. Angl. lib.4.cap.19.

Granteceſter.

Beda maketh mention of *Granteceſter*, but not of a Schoole there.

The *Vniuerſities* of *England*, aboue all other in *Europe.*

Sigebert resigneth to *Egricke*, and liueth in a Monasterie.

He is constrained to resume it againe, and is slaine in battle.

His raigne.

6.
An. Do. 638.
The sixth King.
Penda a cruell King of *Mercia*.
Egrick and *Sigebert* both slaine by *Penda*.
His raigne.

7.
An. D. 642.
The seuenth King.
Beda hist. Angl. li.3.cap.18.
Malmesb. de gest. is Regum Angl.

France, brought the light of the Gospell into his Dominions, and by the assistance of *Felix* Bishop of *Dunwich*, for a more firme plantation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the maner of the *Kentish-men*; who are * supposed to haue at that time the Liberall Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane* City *Canterbury*, which was the paterne (saith that Countries *Perambulator*) that this *Sigebert* followed in the erection of his; but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, hee leaueth for *Doctor Caius* of *Cambridge*, and *M. Key* of *Oxford*, to be disputed of. And indeed *Beda* assigneth not the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, vnlesse you will say, that out of the ruines of *Granteceſter*, an ancient Citie decaied in his daies, the same arose, and whereof hee maketh mention in his fourth Booke, vpon this occasion as followeth.

Queene *Etheldred* (saith he) that had been a Virgin, wife to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland* the tearme of twelue yeeres, and *Abbesse* of *Ely* for seuen more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and buriall, was thought worthy by *Queene Sexburg* her sister (who had beene wife to *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, and succeeded her *Abbesse* in the same Monasterie) to bee remooued out of her wooden Tombe & meane place of buriall, into the Church and richer Monument: but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to find out some for that vse, who comming to Granteceſter, a little City left desolate and vninhabited, found by the walles a Tomb of white marble verie faire, and couered with a like stone. This they thought to be found not without miracle, and therefore most fit to intombe her corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had beene the place of *Sigeberts* Schoole, hee mentioneth not. But whether by him or no, wee know it now the other *Vniuersity* of *England*, a seed-plot of all diuine and humane *Literature*, and one of those springs whence issue the wholesome waters that doe bedewe both the Church & Common-wealth, both, famous for the *Arts*, for *Buildings*, and *Reuenewes*, as their like is not to be found in *Europe* (saith *Peter Martyr*) and that most truely. But to returne: *Sigebert* being wearied with the waighty affairs of this world, laid the burden thereof vpon *Egricke* his kinsman, and shore himselfe a *Monk* in the Abby of *Cumbreburge*, which himselfe had built, & wherein he liued, vntill that wicked *Penda*, the *Mercian King*, with his heathenish cruelty molested the peace of the *East-Angles*; who after long resistance, finding themselues too weake, besought *Sigebert*, for the better incouragement of their souldiers, to shew himselfe in field; which when he refused, by constraint (saith *Beda*) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them hee was slaine in battle, vsing no other weapon for defence, sauing only a white wand; when hee had raigned onely three yeeres, and left no issue to suruiue him, that is any where recorded.

Egricke, cosin to King *Sigebert*, and by him made King, as wee haue said, was sore molested by the continuall inuasions of *Penda*, the cruell King of *Mercia*; who lastlie in a set battle slew him with *Sigebert*, about the yeere of Christ his incarnation sixe hũdred fifty two. And when himself had raigned 4. yeers, deceased, without mentiõ either of wife or child, that is read of, further to reuiue his memory to posterities.

Anna succeeded King *Egricke* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of grace six hundred fortie two, as the next in bloud to *Erpinwald*, beeing the sonne of *Guido*, saith *Beda*, the sonne of *Eni*, saith *Malmsbury*, who was brother to great *Redwald*; and both of them the sons of *Titulus*, the second King of that Prouince. This King, as the other two former had done, felt the fury of raging *Penda*, with his mercilesse *Mercians*, that sore assaulted his Territories with rapine and spoile. To withstand whose further proceedings, King *Anna* drew the strength of his *East-Angles* against them, and encountred *Penda* in a great and mortall battle, wherein they were all discomfited and himselfe among them slaine, when hee had raigned in continuall trouble the space of thirteene yeeres. His issue were many, and those of great holinesse or sanctity of life. Whereof *Ferminus* the eldest, and heire apparant, was slaine by *Penda* in the same battle with his Father, and was with him buried in *Blidribrugh*, now *Blibrugh*, but afterwards remoued to *S. Edmondsbury*. His other sonne was *Erkenwald*, Abbat of *Chertside*, and Bishoppe of *London*, that lieth buried in the South Ile, aboue the Quire in *S. Pauls* Church, where to this day remaineth a memoriall of him. His daughters were these; *Etheldrid* the eldest, was first married vnto a Nobleman, whom *Beda* nameth *Tonbert*, Gouernor of the Fenny Countries of *Nothfolke*, *Huntington*, *Lincolne*, and *Cambridge-shires*: and after his death remaining a virgin, she was remarried to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, with whom likewise she liued in perfect virginity the space of twelue yeeres, notwithstanding his intreaty and allurements to the contrary. From whom, lastly, she was released, and had licence to depart his Court, vnto the Abbey of *Coldinghã*, where first she was vailed a Nunne vnder Abbesse *Ebba*, and thence departing, she liued at *Ely*, and became her selfe Abbesse thereof, wherein lastly she died, and was interred; remembred vnto posterities by the name of *S. Audrie*. His second daughter was *Sexburg*, who married *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, vnto whom she bare two sons, and two daughters, as we in that Kingdomes succession haue shewed: after whose death, shee tooke the habit of a Nunne, and succeeded her sister *Etheldrid*, Abbesse of *Ely*, wherin she died and was interred: and their yongest sister *Withgith*, was likewise a *Menchion* with them in the same Monastery, and all of them canonized for Saints. *Ethilburge* his third daughter was made Abbesse of *Berking*, neere *London*, built by her brother Bishop *Erkinwald*, wherein she liued, and lastly died. A naturall daughter likewise he had, whose name was *Edelburg*, that with *Sedrido* the daughter of his wife, were both of them professed Nunnes, and succeeded each other Abbesses in the Monastery of *S. Brigges* in *France*. Such a reputed holinesse was it held in those daies, not only to be separated from the accompanying with men, wherunto women by God were created, but also to abandon the Country of their natiuity, and as strangers in forraine Lands, to spend the continuance of their liues.

Ethelherd, the brother of *Anna*, the yere of Christs Incarnation six hundred fifty foure, was made King of the *East-Angles*: the which it seemeth he had attempted in the raigne of his brother, for that hee had assisted *Penda* in his warres against him; and was the motiue (saith *Beda*) of the warres against *Oswin* King of *Northumberland*, wherin siding with the heathen *Penda*, he was worthily slaine, the fifteenth day of *Nouember*, when he had raigned onely two yeeres, leauing his name to the blot of infamy, and his Crowne to be possessed by his younger brother. His wife was *Hereswith* sister of *Hilda*, the famous learned Abbesse of *Streanshale*, and great grand-childe to *Edwyne* King of *Northumberland*, who bare vnto him *Aldulfe*, *Elswoolfe*, and *Beorne*, all three succeeding *Edilwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*.

Edelwald the brother of *Ethelherd* entred his gouernment of the *East-Angles* the yere of our Lord six hundred fifty sixe, and continued the same the space of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is supposed) issued *Ethelred* that succeeded King after *Beorne*.

Aldulfe, the eldest sonne of *Ethelherd* and Queene *Hereswith*, after the death of his vncle King *Edelwald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honour or honourable action by him performed: onely his name and time of his raigne, which was nineteene yeres, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of vs here to be inserted, besides his Coine here set.

Elfwolf the sonne of King *Ethelherd*, and bother to this last mentioned *Aldulfe*, began his raigne ouer the

Anna slaine in battle by *Penda.*

Anna his issue. His raigne. *Ferminus* heire apparant.

Erkenwald Abbat of *Chertside*, and Bishop of *London.*

Etheldrid Abbesse of *Ely.*

Sexburge Abbesse of *Ely* after her sister.

Withgith a Menchion in *Ely* Abbey.

Ethilburge Abbesse of *Berking*. *Beda lib.4. cap.*

Edelburge Abbesse of *S. Brigges* in *France*. *Beda lib.3. cap.*

8
An. Do. 65
Ethelherd the eighth King.

Beda hist. Angl. lib.3. cap.14.

His raigne.

Hereswith the wife of *Ethelherd*

Their children

9
An. Do. 65

10
An Do. 66

11
An. Do. 65

His raigne.

12. An.Do.714 Rowe the twelfth King.

the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of Christ his Incarnation, six hundred eighty three, and continued in the same, the time of seuen yeeres, without record of any memorable *Act*, *Wife*, or *Issue*, to reuiue his name.

Beorne, the yongest sonne of King *Ethelberd*, succeeded his brother King *Elfwolfe* in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*; no further mention being made of him, his wife, nor Issue, which are al together perished, and laid long since in their graues of obliuion.

13 An. D. 714. *Ethelred* the thirteenth King.

He raigned two and fifty yeeres.

Ethelred, after the death of his cosen *Beorne*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, issuing (as is supposed) from *King Edelwald* the brother of *Ethelherd*, and of *Anna*, both of them Kings in that Prouince. His raigne by writers is said to bee fiftie two yeeres, which notwithstanding was passed ouer without any memorable note: for albeit that his gouernment was long, and the declining *Heptarchie* not vnlikely to haue ministred matters of remembrance to posterities, yet is the same passed ouer by the silence of our Writers, and no further mention made of him, besides the education of his yonger sonne *Ethelbert*, who proued a most worthy King. His wife, and the mother of this vertuous sonne, was *Leofrun*, saith the Writer of his life, without further mention of her parentage, or other issue. This King deceased the yeere after Christs natiuity, seuen hundred forty eight, the same yeere that *Ethelbert* entred his Kingdome of *Kent*.

His sonne Ethelbert. His wife Leofrun. Flores Wiger. Iohn Capgraue.

14. An.D. 749. *Ethelbert* the fourteenth King.

Ethelbert, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, after his Fathers death was ordained King of the *East-Angles*, whose daies of youth were spent in learning and deeds of charity, and the whole time of his gouernement in continuall tranquillity; for hee is recorded to be a Prince religious and charitable, sober, profound and wise in counsell. This King being incited by *Offa* the *Mercian* (that still thirsted after greatnesse) to marie *Elfryd* his daughter, a Lady of great beautie, came vpon that purpose to *Offa* his Court, then seated at *Sutton Wallis* in the County of *Hereford* and was by him there cruelly murdered at the instigation of *Quendrid* his vnkind (intended) mother in law, no other occasion ministred, but the greatnes of his Port, that much in her eyes ouer-heighted her husbands. His *Bride-bed* the graue was first at *Merden*, north from *Sutton* vpon the Riuer *Lug*. But afterwards vpon repentance, *Offa* remoued it vnto *Hereford*; ouer whom, *Milfrid* an vnder King of the *Mercians* built a most faire Church in memoriall of him, which yet beares his name, and is the Cathedral of that See. His Bride, Lady *Elfrid*, much lamenting his contriued murther, withdrew her self to *Crowland* in the *Fennes*, and there vowed chastitie all the daies of her life; notwithstanding some affirme that shee was wife to King *Kenwolfe*, the successor of her brother *Egfrid*. This King raigned the space of forty fiue yeeres, as is set in the Table of our English Writers, and died the yeare of Christs incarnation seuen hundred ninety three, the eighteenth day of *May*, and his Kingdome intruded vpon by the *Mercians*, hauing had neither wife nor children, that *Historians* make mention of: after whose death the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* was brought to decay, both by the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, and them of *Kent*; so that by means of their violence, that Prouince was destitute of her owne Gouernours, the space of seuenty seuen yeeres, vntill lastly the assaults of the *Danes*, a new-come *Guest* and most dangerous Enemie, caused the other Kings to stand vpon their Guards, and rather to defend what they already had gotten, then to seeke inlargement, to the hazard of all: at which time, it is said one *Offa*, to whom the right of that Crowne belonged, vpon a religious deuotion, tooke his pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Christ, and visiting in his way a kinsman of his, whose name was *Alkmund*, at the Citie *Norhenberge* in *Saxonie*, there made his will, wherin hee adopted young *Edmund* his heire, the son of *Alkmond*: and accomplishing his volage, in his return died at the Port *Saint George*, from whence hee sent young *Edmund* his King, and therwith ordained him King of the *East-Angles*. *Alkmund* a Prince of great power in those parts, maintained his sons rightfull election, and with a sufficient power sent him to claime the kingdome. These landing in the East of *England*, at a place called *Maydenboure*, built a roiall Tower, which hee named, and to this day is called, *Hunstantone*, situated vpon the North-west point of *Norfolke*, that beareth likewise his owne name.

Offa heire to the Crowne, adopteth *Edmund* the sonne of *Alkmond*.

15 An.Do.870. *Edmund* the fifteenth King. The *Danes* inuasion. *Polydor. Virg.*

Edmund thus arriued, was as willingly receiued and by the *East-Angles* made their king; in whose time *Hungar* and *Hubba*, two *Danish* Captains, with an innumerable multitude of *Heathen Danes*, entred the Land at the mouth of *Humber*, and from thence inuaded *Nottingham*, *Yorke* and *Northumberland*, where (without respect of age or sex) they laid all wast, and left the Land whence they departed like to a desolate Wildernesse. From thence they came with the like furie into *Edmunds* territories, and sacked *Thetford* a frequent City in those daies: but he not able to withstand their violence, fled into his Castle at *Framingham*, wherein hee was of them besieged; and lastly, taken (saith *Abba Floriacensis*) in a village then called *Heglisdune*, of a wood bearing the same name, or rather yeelded himselfe to their torments, to saue more Christian bloud; for it is recorded, that because of his most constant *Faith* and *Profession*, those *Pagans* first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, he still calling vpon the name of *Iesus*; for rage whereof, they bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death; and cutting off his head, contemptuously threw it into a bush, after he had raigned ouer the *East-Angles* the space of sixteene yeeres, hauing had neither wife nor issue that is read of. His body and head, after the *Danes* were departed, were buried at the same roiall Towne, as *Abbo* terms it, where *Sigebert* the *East-Anglean* King, and one of his predecessors, at his establishing of Christianity, built a *Church*, and where afterwards (in honour of him) was built another most spatious, and of a wonderfull frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne, vpon the occasion of his burial, called vnto this day, *Saint Edmondsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Pagan Danish* King in impiety and fury burned to ashes. But when his sonne *Canute* had made conquest of this Land, and gotten possession of the *English Crowne*, terrified and affrighted (as saith the *Legend*) with a vision of the seeming *Saint Edmund*, in a religious deuotion to expiate his Fathers sacrilege, built it anew most sumptuously, enriched this place with Charters & Gifts, and offred his owne Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund* the *East-Angles* Country was possessed by the *Danes*, & so continued about some fifty yeers, vntil that *Edward* surnamed the *Elder*, expulsed these *Danes*, and ioined that kingdome a Prouince to the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood three hundred fifty three yeeres.

Fabian.

Edmund taken of the *Danes*, and put to death for the faith of Christ.

Malmes. His raigne.

A Church at S. *Edmondsbury* builded in honor of *Edmund*. This Church razed to the ground by *Suenus* a Danish King.

Reedified and richly endowed by *Canutus* his sonne.

The *Danes* expulsed hence by *Edward*.

Buried at *Merden*.

After at *Hetesfud*, ouer whom was built a faire Church. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Elfrid his espousall vowed chastity. *Osbert de Clare.*

He raigned forty fiue yeeres.

A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS WITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQVESTS FROM VORTIGERNE THEIR FIRST MAINTAINER, VNTO CADWALLADER THEIR LAST RESISTER.

CHAPTER XII.

Hitherto the Saxons Heptarchy.

NOw as we haue ſpoken of euery ſeuerall *Saxon* King, that attained vnto, and held poſſeſsion of any part in the East & South of this Iland, vntill ſuch time as their Crownes were worne by their Conquerors, and the ſeuenfold diuided Heptarchy, vnited into an abſolute Monarchy: ſo by order of Hiſtory it is required, that their oppoſers (the *Britains*) ſo long as they kept their ground, and ſtood in defence of their owne rightful inheritance, ſhould be ſhewed: who with as great a diſdaine, and valorous reſiſtance, vnder-went the yoake of the *Saxons* ſubiections, as their ancient Anceſtors had endeauoured to cleere themſelues from the chaines of the *Romans* captiuity. And vntill God and deſtinie withdrew from them the hand of defence, they mated the *Saxons* in all their deſignes. For albeit that the *Romans* had robbed the Land of her ſtrength, and the aſpired *Vortigern*, called in theſe Strangers for his defence: yet their purpoſes being wiſely perceiued, the execution therof was as preſently practiſed, and as eagerly purſued, whileſt the pillars (that ſupported the frame of their gouerment) ſtood vpon their owne *Baſes*. But the ground-work failing, and thoſe props not many, the waight of all, fell vpon ſome few, whoſe acts and manly reſiſtance (Chriſt aſsiſting) ſhall further bee related, as time ſhall bring them to the yeeres of their aduentures, and carry our Hiſtory thorow the affaires of their times. Meane while, as we haue recorded the names of their Anceſtors, and worthy forerunners, the reſiſters of the *Romans*: ſo now if you pleaſe, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the foreſaid *Vortigern* (the firſt ſubdued by theſe *Saxons*) vnto *Cadwallader* the laſt of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes; who left to them his Land, and went himſelf to *Rome*: whoſe times & ſtories, according to thoſe Guids that lead vs, wee wil declare, referring the credit thereof to our *Britiſh* Hiſtorians; againſt whom howſoeuer ſome exceptions are, and may be iuſtly taken, yet are they not altogether to be caſt off, in the affaires of theſe enſuing Princes, eſpecially *Gyldas* and *Ninius*, who liued in, and preſently after the times of thoſe reſisters. Neither is it to be doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no leſſe carefull for tranſferring the remembrance of their Anceſtors actions to poſteritie, (no Nation liuing being more zealouſly deuoted in that kinde,) though their writings haue in Times ruines beene buried, and their remembrances preſerued onely by perpetuitie of traditions. and although wee haue ſhewed the ancient Coines of the *Britaines*, and obſerued a ſeries thorow the *Romanes* ſucceſsion: yet be not offended, that I leaue onely Blanks for theſe latter Princes, as alſo the firſt *Saxons*, wanting the Monies of their owne ſeuerall Mintes.

Vortigern the firſt and *Cadwallader* the laſt reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

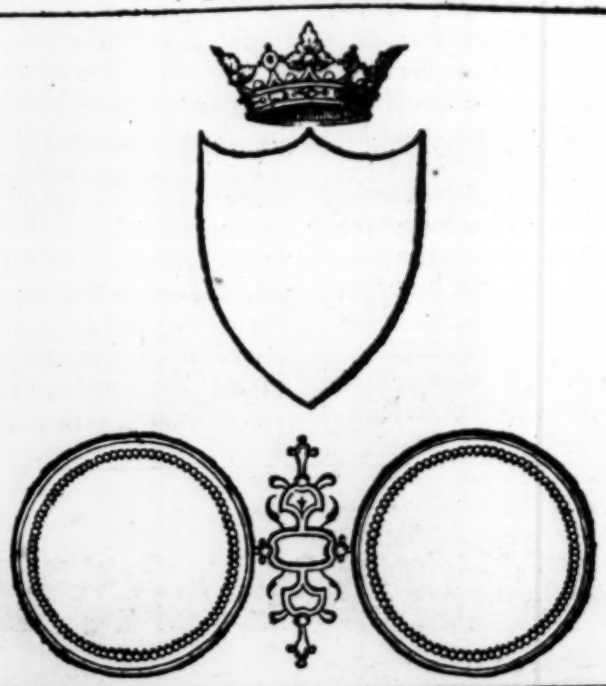
Such therfore as I haue found of any Kings ſtamp, raigning whileſt the Land was diuided and enioied amongſt them, I haue in the margent of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to euery ſeuerall kingdome: and hence will obſerue the ſame order, without any inuention or fained inſcription: which howſoeuer wee want to furniſh their ſucceſsions, yet this am I ſure of, no Nation in *Europe* can ſhew the like, or can come to ſo true a ſeries of their Soueraignes Coines, as *England* is able at this day to doe.

A ſucceſsiue Series of Great *Britaines* Coins.

The Britiſh Oppoſers.

Reſisters of the Saxons.

VORTIGERN. 1.



VOrtigern among the many moleſtatiõs of the *Scots* and *Picts*, was ordained the ſupreme Gouernor of theſe affaires; and to that end, with the *Britaines* full conſent was elected their *King*. For as touching that Monkiſh

Monkish *Conſtantine*, the ſonne of *Conſtantius*, who is ſaid to be the brother of *Aldreomus*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, ſent for and made King by theſe *Britaines*, whoſe ſimplicitie this *Vortigern* is ſaid to abuſe, and laſtly to cauſe his murther and death; I rather thinke the ſtorie to be the ſame that happened aboue fortie yeeres before, in the daies of *Honorius* the Emperor; when *Conſtantius* among other Conſpirators, was raiſed vpon a hopefull expectation conceiued in his name.

This *Conſtantius* indeed had a ſonne that bare his name, a man of a ſoft ſpirit, and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monke. But his Father riſen to his aſpiring honour, created him firſt his *Ceſar*, and next *Auguſtus*, till Fortune turned thoſe ſmiles into frownes, and ſtained their purple robes in both their own blouds. For not only the ſame names induceth this doubt, but the place, which was *Wincheſter*, and Abbey *Amphibilus*, where this Imperiall Monke was ſhorne, doth not a little confirme the ſame; the remaines of which Colledge, by that ſtrong and thicke wall ſtanding to this day at the Weſt gate of that Cathedrall Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we muſt follow for theſe times men of latter yeeres, and not without ſome ſuſpect of vncertaintie. The rather, for that the *Saxons* as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, haue purpoſely concealed all Victors and victories againſt themſelues; neither but ſparingly haue recorded their owne.

Saxons haue concealed all victories againſt themſelues.

This *Vortigern*, howſoeuer attaining the Crowne, was ouer-awed (ſaith *Ninius*) *by the Picts & Scots, ſtood in feare of the Roman forces, and dread much the returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, with his brother Vter, ſurnamed Pendragon:* and therefore wanting ſtrength of his owne to maintaine his ſtanding, ſent for the *Saxons*, as wee haue ſaid. *He* (ſaith the *Britiſh Story*) *was Earle of Cornwall*, of an honourable Familie and noble deſcent, his Lady euery way anſwerable to both; by whom hee had three ſonnes, *Vortimer*, *Catigern*, and *Paſcentius*. His ſecond wife, or rather Concubine, (hauing caſt off this firſt) was *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengiſt*, which Pagan mariage prooued not only the bane of the Land, but ſo ruinated the Church of Chriſtianity, that a Prouinciall Councell of the *Britaines* was aſſembled in Ann. 470. to repaire thoſe things that this mariage had decaied.

The cauſes of *Vortigerns* feare, and his ſending for the Saxons.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 14.

Vortigern his children by his firſt wife. *Rand. Higden li. 5. cap. 9.*

His ſecond wife a Heathen.

By this Heathen Damoſell he had a daughter, who (againſt the law of *God* and *Nature*) was his third wife, that *Kings* (as he pretended, to excuſe his inceſt) *might be deſcended from the right iſſue of Kings*, vpon whom he begot his ſad lamenting ſonne *Fauſtus*, a vertuous Impe of thoſe impious parents, that ſpent his life in a ſolitarie place neere to the Riuer *Llynterreny*, as wee haue ſaid; who abandoning the companie of men, among thoſe mountaines ſerued God in continuall teares and praiers, for remiſsion of the fault committed in his inceſtuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the reſtitution of his Country to her former libertie.

His third wife was his owne daughter.

Fauſtus the ſonne of *Vortigern* by his third wife.

This *Vortigern* raigned firſt ſixteene yeeres, and then depoſed for his fauours to the *Saxons*, was retained in durance all the raigne of *Vortimer* his ſonne, after whoſe death reeſtabliſhed, but oppreſſed by his *Saxons*, and purſued by *Aurelius*, he withdrew himſelfe into *Wales*, and among thoſe vaſt mountaines built a Caſtle by *Merlins* direction, wherof we haue ſpoken, and more we would ſpeake, were thoſe fantaſticke fictions vnderſet with any props of likelihood or truth, which *Rand. of Cheſter* in his daies vtterly reiected.

Vortigern how long he raigned. *Fabian, Chro.*

Vortigern depoſed and impriſoned.

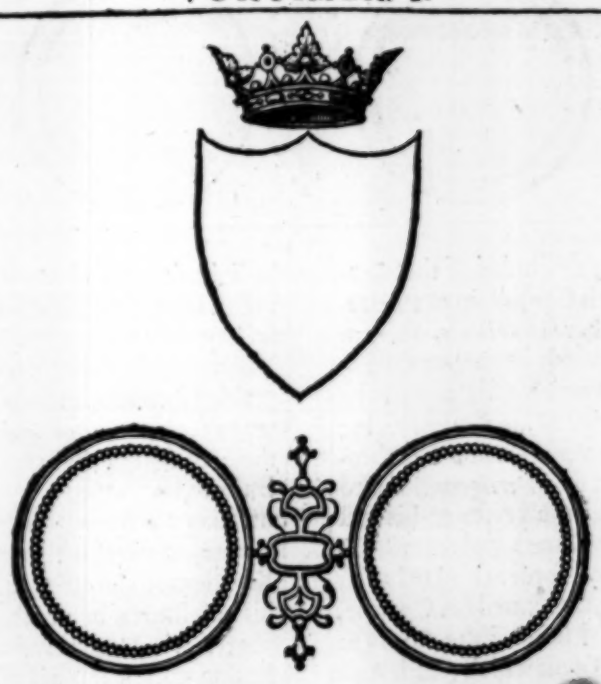
He flieth into *Wales*.

Polychr. li. 5. ca. 1.

In this Caſtle, *Vortigern* with his inceſtuous wife, after hee had ſecondly raigned the ſpace of ſix yeeres, was conſumed to aſhes, by the iuſt reuenging hand of God, by fire from heauen, as ſome haue written; or elſe kindled by *Aurelius* and *Vter*, as his Miniſters to execute his wrath.

Vortigern and his wife deſtroied by fire from heauen. *Henr. Hunt. Rand. Hig. l. 5. c. 1.*

VORTIMER. 2.



Vortimer, the eldeſt ſon of King *Vortigern*, through the abuſe of his fathers gouernment, for which he was depoſed by his owne ſubiects, was erected King of the *Britaines* the yeere from Chriſts birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether hee imploied for the redreſſe of his Countrey, according to the teſtimonie of *William Malmesbury*, whoſe words are theſe: *Vortimer* (ſaith hee) *thinking not good to diſſemble the matter, for that hee ſaw himſelfe and Countrie daily ſurpriſed by the craft of the Engliſh, ſet his full purpoſe to driue them out, and from the ſeuenth yeere after their firſt entrance, for twenty yeeres continuance fought many Battles with them, and foure of them with great puiſſance in open field; in the firſt whereof, they departed with like fortune, and loſſe of the Generals brethren Horſa and Catigern: in the other three the Britaines went away with victorie, and ſo long vntill Vortimer was taken away by fatall death.*

2. An. Do. 454. *Vortimer the ſecond reſiſter of the Saxons.*

Vortimer how long he maintained warre againſt the Saxons, & their chiefe leaders, and the ceaſſe of the ſame.

Huntington, *Monmouth*, *Randulphus*, and *Fabian*, name both the places and ſucceſſe of thoſe Battles: The firſt was in *Kent*, and vpon the Plaine neere vnto *Ailsford*, where the memoriall of *Catigern* to this day remaineth; & *Horſted* doth as yet reliſh of *Horſa* there interred. The ſecond Battle was fought likewiſe in *Kent* at *Crocanford*, now *Craford*, where many periſhed as well *Britaines* as *Saxons*. The third was at *Wepped Fleet*, with great loſſe to the *Britaines*: and the fourth vpon *Calmore*, where many of the *Saxons*, after long and ſore fight, were ſlaine, and more drowned in flight, and laſtly driuen into the *Ile of Thanet*, their firſt

The place of the firſt battle. *Beda lib. 1. ca. 15.*

The place of the ſecond battle.

The place of the third battle.

The place of the fourth battle.

The *Saxons* quite diſpoſſeſſed.

firſt aſsigned habitation, (if not ouer the Seas) ſo that ſmall hope reſted for them ſo long as this valiant *Vortimer* liued, who had now diſpoſſeſſed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often aſſailed them in the *Ile of Tannet* likewiſe, as *Fabian* confidently affirmeth.

Vortimer made away by *Rowena*.

But deſtiny going forward for the downfall of *Britaine*, remooued theſe rubbes out of her way: for *Rowena*, the mother of the *Britaines* miſchiefe, and the maintainer of the *Saxons* reſidence, found the meanes to make this worthy *Vortimer* away, and by poiſon cauſed the end of his life, after hee had valiantly raigned the ſpace of foure yeeres; all which time, by the teſtimonie of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had ſeene, *Vortigern* the father remained in durance, and vnder aſsigned Keepers in the Citie *Caerlegion*, now *Cheſter*, and ſo demeaned himſelfe towards his ſonne (then his Soueraigne) in dutifull obedience and faithfull counſell, that hee wonne againe the hearts of the *Britaines*, and was againe re-eſtabliſhed their King.

Vortimer the continuance of his raigne. *Fabian, Chro. par. 3. cap. 89.*

Vortigern reeſtabliſhed King.

It is recorded by *Ninius*, that after his laſt victorie ouer the *Saxons*, he cauſed his Monument to be erected at the entrance into *Tanet*, and in the ſame place of that great ouerthrow, which by the ſaid Author is called *Lapis Tituli*, of vs the *Stonar*, where for certaine it ſeemes hath been an hauen. In this Monument hee commanded his body to be buried, to the further terror of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his Trophy, their ſpirits might bee daunted at the remembrance of their great ouerthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceited the like, who commanded his Sepulchre to be ſo ſet, that it might ouerlooke *Africa*, ſuppoſing that his very Tombe would be a terror to the *Carthaginians*. But how that deſire of *Vortimer* was performed, I finde not, but rather the contrary: for an old Manuſcript I haue, that cõfidently affirmeth him to be buried in *London*: yet others from *Ninius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus*, hold the place to bee *Lincolne*. But howſouer his graue is forgotten, yet let this bee remembred, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that is, *After he had vanquiſhed the Saxons* (ſaith he) *whoſe drift was not onely to ouer-runne the Land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne Lawes without clemencie, he reſtored the Chriſtian Religion then ſorely decaied, and new built the Churches that thoſe enemies had deſtroied.*

Vortimer his monument the Stonar.

Vortimer ſuppoſed to be buried in London.

Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS. 3.

3. An. Do. 466. The third reſiſter of the *Saxons*.

Aurelius Ambroſius, verily deſcended of that *Conſtantine* who in the fourth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* the younger, was elected here in *Britaine*, onely in hope of his luckie name, ſucceeded *Vortigern* the Father in the Gouernment of *Britaine*, and *Vortimer* the ſonne, in affection and defence of his Country. He with *Vter* (ſaith *Geffrey Monmouth*) when their brother *Conſtantine* was murthered by *Vortigern*, fled into *France*, where they remained the yeeres of his firſt raigne; whoſe returne (as we haue heard from *Ninius*) he greatly feared, and whoſe force at his laſt he felt to his ſmart. For hauing againe reſumed his Crowne, he liued in his old ſinnes, and ſuffered the *Saxons* to be Lords of his Land: to preuent which (ſaith *Beda* from *Gyldas*) *the Britaines by little and little beganne to take ſtrength, and with ſome courage to come forth of their Caues, who with one vniforme conſent, called to God for his heauenly helpe. They had* (ſaith he) *for their Captaine a Roman called Ambroſius Aurelianus, a gentle natured man, which onely of all the bloud of the Romans remained then aliue, his parents being ſlaine, which bore the name of King of the Country. This man being their Leader, prouoked the Victors to the fight, and through Gods aſsiſtance atchieued the victory. From that day forward now the Britaines, now the Saxons did preuaile, vntill the yeere that Bathe was beſieged, which was fortie foure yeeres after their firſt comming into the Iland.*

Geffrey Gaxton, Polych.

His firſt expedition (as our Britiſh Hiſtorians report) was againſt *Vortigern*, and his Caſtle in *Wales*, wherein that inceſtuous King was conſumed to aſhes by lightning from heauen, as we haue ſaid: and then following the *Saxons*, made toward *Yorke*, & at *Maesbel* beyond *Humber*, encountering *Hengiſt*, became his Victor: vnto whoſe mercy (ſay they) his ſonne *Octa* yeelded himſelfe, and obtained in free gift the Country in *Gallaway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But theſe his affaires thus proſpering againſt the common Enemie, was enuied at by *Paſcentius*, the youngeſt ſon of King *Vortigern*, who not able either to mate the *Saxons*, or after his Brethrens deaths to recouer the Kingdome to himſelfe, ambitiouſly ſought to prefer his baſe humor before the recouery of his Countries libertie, which then lay gored in her owne bloud. For hauing gotten the aid of *Gillamare* King of *Ireland*, whether hee had fled vpon the death of his Father, and now returned into the weſt of *Wales*, firſt indammaged the Citie of *S. Dauids*, and thence proceeded with fire and ſword. *Aurelius* then ſicke in the Citie of *Wincheſter*, ſent his brother *Vter* to withſtand his force, who ſlew both *Paſcentius* and the *Iriſh King* his partaker, in a ſet & ſore battell fought betwixt them. But before this battell, *Paſcentius* had ſent a *Saxon*, whoſe name was *Eopa*, in ſhew a *Britaine*, and in habit a Phyſitian, to miniſter poiſon in ſtead of phyſicke, which according was effected with *Ambroſius* his death.

Beda hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Heller Boetius.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambroſius* is aſcribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument, now called *Stonhenge*, in the ſame place where the *Britaines* had been trecherouſly ſlaughtered and interred, whoſe manner

Aurelius Ambroſius erected Stonhenge.

manner and forme in our draught of *Wiltshire* wee haue inserted. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them containe twelue tunne in waight, and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth seuen, and compasse sixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth, and stand in a round circle by two and two, hauing a third stone somewhat of lesse quantitie laid gate-wise ouerthwart on their toppes, fastned with tenons and mortaises, the one into the other; which to some seeme so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed vnder, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe, and the rest suspected of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor vncertaintie in accounting of their numbers, as is said to be. The stones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are beaten euen by force of weather, that serue for Rauens and other birds to build in, and bring foorth their young. The groun d-plot containeth about three hundred foot in compasse, in forme almost round, or rather like vnto a horse-shooe, with an entrance in vpon the east-side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to haue beene pitched, the largest outwards, and the least inwards; many whereof are now fallen downe: but those that stand, shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to bee some Fortresse or strong Castle. A Trench also is about them, which hath beene much deeper; and vpon the plaines adioining, many round copped hilles, without any such trench, (as it were cast vp out of the earth) stand like great hay-cockes in a plaine meadow: In these, and thereabouts, by digging haue beene found peeces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus couered with earth that was brought thither by their wel-willers and friends, euen in their head-peeces; a token of loue that then was vsed, as some imagine.

The description of the Monument of Stanhenge.

Ancient fashioned Armor found at Stanhenge.

This Trophey, *Aurelius Ambrosius* (in memoriall of the *Britaines* massacre) erected, and is worthily accounted for one of the Wonders of this Iland, and are in the verses of *Alexander Netham* called *The Giants Daunce*, wherein this *Ambrosius* was interred after hee had raigned thirtie two yeeres, and wherof the towne *Ambresbury* beares the name. Others report, that the *Britaines* erected this most stately Sepulcher ouer the body of *Ambrosius* there slaine by the sword of his enemies; that his Countries loue, in such a costly peece of worke, might remaine vnto posterities in this, *the Altar of his vertue and manhood*: for *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that *this man, in succouring his decaied Countrie, tooke vpon him the Imperiall Robe, and against the violent rage of those German enemies, oft times ouerthrew their puissant armies, but was lastly slaine by them vpon the Plaines of Salesburie.* I cannot with silence let passe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, vnder the conduct of *Vter* the brother of *Ambrosius*, vnto this *Plain*, by the industrious meanes of *Merlin*, surnamed *Ambrose*, borne in the ancient City *Merdhyn*, and as *Humfrey Lhuyd* saith, *of a noble virgin, whose father, for his skill in the Mathematicks, and wonderfull knowledge in all other kinde of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the sonne of an Incubus, or a male Diuell, which in the similitude and likenesse of men doe vse carnally to companie with women.* But how this may agree with his diuine mouth, that telles vs the *Spirits* haue neither flesh nor bones; and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceiued and born, I leaue for others further to dispute. Only I know, that such begettings as *Merlines* is reported to bee, without father, and *Simon Magus* also, that before him would needs be the sonne of a *Virgin*, doe not a little contradict our *Christian Profession*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Christ* to be conceiued without the seed of man, or of sinne. But to our purpose: *Ambrosius Aurelius* (by *Panuinius* accounted the last Emperour of the British bloud) is said to raigne in *Britaine* thirty two yeeres, and to die in that of Christs Incarnation foure hundred ninety seuen.

Paulus Diacon.

Geff. Monmouth. Giral. Camb. Gerual. Dor.

Breuiary of Britaine.

Luke 24 39.

Clemens in his Recognitions.

Aurelius Ambrosius, the continuance of his raigne.

VTER PENDRAGON. 4

An. Do. 498.

Mat. Westminster.

Vter, surnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambrosius*, succeeded him both in valour, and in the Gouernment of *Britaine*. His entrance was with troubles against the *Saxons*, who vnder the leading of *Eske* and *Octa*, the sonnes of King *Hengist*, had passed with spoile to the Citie *Yorke*, whither this new-made Generall presently repaired, and giuing them battell, with the discomfiture of the whole Army, tooke both the brethren prisoners, and committed them to safe custodie.

Hect. Boetius.

But the *Britaines* (saith *Boetius*) becomming disloiall to their Prince, seldome assisted him with preuenting counsell: and the Prince enamored vpon the Duke of *Cornwals* Wife, consulted more with *Merline* to transforme himselfe from himselfe, then to giue direction against the common enemie. For comming to *Tindagell* Castle in *Cornwall*, possessed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that Prouince, beheld (in his eye) the *Paragon* of Nature, which was Lady *Igren*, his Dutches and wife. *Vter*, whose thoughts till then had bin free, and from his childhood had euer followed *Mars* in the field, was now surprised so far with her loue, that his Shield and Armes were both neglected and vnworne, and all his thoughts set on worke to purchase his most wished desire; which lastly, by *Merline* and *Magick* was effected, and that after this manner (if we

Alex. Netham. *Vter Pendragon* in loue with Ladie *Igyen*.

Geffrey Mon.

will beleeue him of *Monmouth*, who is the reporter.) His ſuites and hopes failing (ſaith he) to win her vnto diſhonour, *Merline* altogether new-moulded the ſhape of King *Vter*, and printed in his face the feature of *Gorlois* her owne Lord, by which meanes, and without ſuſpect the King diſhonourably violated this Ladies chaſtitie, in which Bed of deceit, the famous *Arthur* was begot. The captiue Captaines *Eske* and *Octa* in theſe looſe times of his loue, gat looſe from their Keepers, and with their ratling armour rouſed *Vter* from this wanton Lullaby; who with troopes of ſtrength, and trumpets of defiance, met theſe *Saxons* face to face in the field, where betwixt them was fought a moſt bloudy battell, and that euen almoſt to the laſt ſtroke, and wherein, if fatall deſtinie had withdrawne her hand, the Iland had been rid of theſe Intruders for euer. For therein (ſay our Authours) the *Saxons* periſhed by the *Britaines* ſwords; vpon whoſe points alſo *Eske* and *Octa* paid their eſcapes with the loſſe of their liues. This field was at *Verolam*, whither *Vter* ſicke, and in his Horſe-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and ſore ſiege, wonne from them that Citie. Finally, when this King had raigned the ſpace of eighteene yeeres, he died by poiſon put into a well, whereof vſually he dranke, and was buried at *Stonhenge* with his brother *Ambroſius*.

An ancient Manuſcript.

Geffrey, &c.

John Harding.

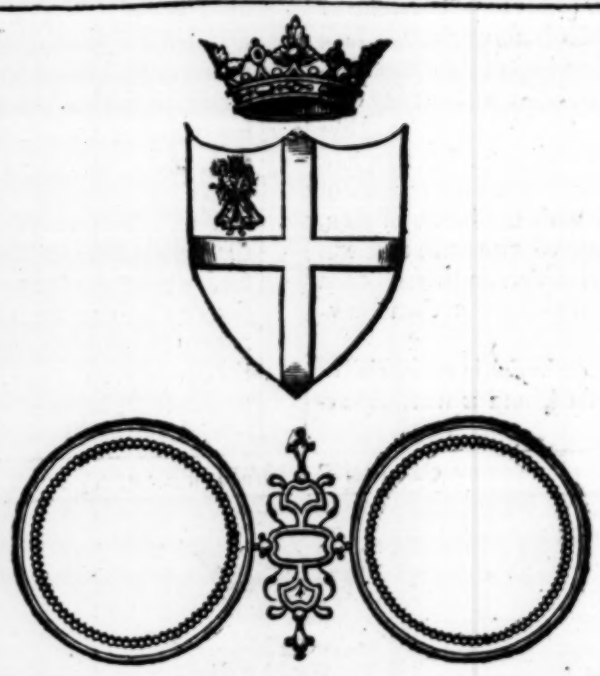
Pendragon the continuance of his raigne.

Of his ſurname *Pendragon*, theſe ſuppoſals are made: At his natiuitie (ſay ſome) appeared a fierie Comet, in ſome part reſembling a *Dragons Head*: whereupon that great reputed Prophet *Merline*, attributed this heauenly Meteor vnto this Princely new-borne Babe, and gaue him the name of *Vter-Pendragon*. Others for his *ſerpentine wiſdome*, deriue the ſurname of this Serpents Head, who like vnto that of *Dan*, *bit the Horſe heeles, ſo that the riders fell backward*. For in all his warres againſt the *Saxons*, hee was moſt fortunate and victorious, with their great ouerthrowes. But others will haue him ſo named from his *Royall Banner*, borne euer before him, wherein was portraied a *Dragon* with a *Golden Head*; of which *Standerd* ſince, neighbour Nations haue had good experience, and in far Country it hath been diſplaied in the cauſe of *Chriſtianitie*, to the terror of the *Pagans*, as in *Syria* by that *inuincible Engliſh King*, *Richard the firſt*, ſurnamed *Cur-de-lion*; in *Scotland* and *Wales* by that conquering Prince *Edward the firſt*, and the ſame as yet is in field borne for an *Imperiall Standard* in our *Engliſh Campes*.

Gen. 49. 17.

In gold and in els, as Harding ſaith.

KING ARTHVR. 5.



5. An. Do. 516.

Matth. Weſtm.

Scotia Chron.

Matth. Weſtm.

ARthur the ſonne of *Vter*, begotten as is ſaid of Ladie *Igren* Dutcheſſe of *Cornwall*, was crowned King at fifteene yeeres of age, about the yeere of *Chriſt* fiue hundred and ſixteene; or as *Matthew of Weſtminſter* hath it, fiue hundred and eighteene. His proſperous entrance was enuied at by *Lotho* King of the *Picts*, and by *Couran* King of the *Scots*, who had married his owne Aunts, *Anna* and *Alda*, the two ſiſters of *Ambroſe* and *Vter*, each of them expecting the Crowne before him, through the opinion and repute of his baſtardie, eſpecially *Lotho*, who had iſſue by *Anna*, *Mordrad*, and *Gawan*: the latter of which ſpent his life in the cauſe of that quarrell. His firſt proceedings were againſt the common enemie the *Saxons*, whoſe Captaine *Colgerne*, he chaſed from *Northumberland* into *Yorke*; which Citie likewiſe he girt with a ſtrait ſiege, notwithſtanding *Colgerne* thence eſcaped into *Germany*, and of King *Cherdick* got ſuccour for his *Saxons*, who with ſeuen hundred ſaile arriued in *Scotland*. *Arthur* aduertiſed of his great power, raiſed his ſiege, and drew towards *London*, and thence ſent for aid to his Nephew *Howel*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, who came himſelfe in perſon to ioyne with his Vncle.

Theſe from *South-hampton* marched to *Lincolne*, which Citie *Cherdick* had ſtrongly beſieged, but was thence forced by *Arthurs* conquering ſword. Twelue battels he fought againſt theſe *Saxons* (as *Ninius* recordeth) with great manhood and victorie. The firſt was at the mouth of the Riuer *Gleyne*: the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, vpon the Banks of *Douglaſſe*, in the Countie of *Lineux*: the ſixth vpon the Riuer *Baſſus*; the ſeuenth in the wood *Calidon*; the eighth neere to the Caſtle *Guynien*; the ninth in *Wales*, at the Towne *Cairelien*; the tenth at *Trachenrith*, or *Rithowode* vpon the Sea ſide: the eleuenth vpon a hill named *Agned Cathergonien*; and the twelfth at *Bathe*, or *Bathen-hill*, where the *Britaines* (as *Beda* ſaith) gaue the *Saxons* a very great ouerthrow; which (by *Gyldas* report) happened fortie foure yeeres after the *Saxons* firſt arriuage into *Britaine*, the yeere wherein himſelfe was borne.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Of *Arthurs* ſucceſſe both at home and abroad, his great magnificence in *Court* and *Countrey*, his *Banners*, and foure *Golden Swords* borne before him, his *Round Tables*, and challenges of *Martiall Honour*, let *Monmouth* the Writer, *Newbery* the Reſiſter, and *Leiland* the Maintainer, be heard for me. But certaine it is (by the report of *Malmesbury*) *that Arthur was a Prince more worthy to be aduanced by the truth of Records in warrantable credit, then by fables ſcandalized with poeticall fictions and hyperbolicall falſhoods.* Whoſe Banner was ſo often ſpread for the cauſe of *Chriſtianitie*, and defenſe of his *Countrey*, being *the only proppe that vpheld the ſame.* And lamentable it is, that *the fame of this puiſſant Prince had not beene ſounded by a more certaine Trumpet*: for to ſay the truth of his Writer euen in a word, hee was well skilled in *Antiquities* of tradition, but

Monmouth. Wil. Newb. Leiland.

Wil. Malmeſ.

Of Geffrey Arthur, or Monke of Monmouth.

but as it ſeemeth, not any of ancient credit, ſo many toies and tales hee euery where interlaceth out of his owne braine, wherewith hee was charged while himſelfe liued, inſomuch as he is now ranged among thoſe Writers whom the *Roman Church* hath cenſured to be forbidden.

This hurt therefore thoſe ouer-zealous *Monkes* haue done to the *Subiect* whereof they wrote, that through an ouer-much conceited opinion, with the vertue and fame of the perſon, they haue mingled ſuch matters as may iuſtly be reiected, whereby their worths are not only depriued of their truly-deſerued honours, but which more is, euen their perſons ſuſpected to be nought elſe but fictions, as *Hercules* in *Ouid*, or *Hector* in *Homer*. And ſo hath *Geffrey* done by this moſt worthy *Prince Arthur*, whoſe warres againſt the *Saxons* for defenſe of this *Iland*, he hath enlarged with the Conqueſts of other Kingdomes and Countries, wherein he neuer came: which hath made not onely his Acts to be doubted of, but euen his perſon to bee called in queſtion, whether any ſuch *Arthur* euer ruled in *Britaine*. Yet with better regard to the *Recorders* of his ſpreading fame, we grant both the man, and many honorable parts in him, though not in the like manner as they haue laid them downe. Neither are we ſtraied ſo farre from the ſteps of credulitie, that we can beleeue no more then wee ſee, or that ſeeing, bee fore-ſtalled with a preiudicate opinion: for though we conſent not to the fables of *Homer*, neither to the inuentions that *Euripides* and *Sophocles* made vpon the *Battles of Troy*, yet wee denie not but that there were *Warres* and *Battles* at *Troy*, wherein many Martiall acts vndoubtedly were performed: neither doubt wee of his perſon, as *Seneca* ſeemeth to doe of *Iupiters*, but acknowledge it with reuerence for truth, yet with this reſeruation, that all is not Goſpell which is written in Greeke. And had there not beene a truth of things whereupon Poets made their fables, there had beene at this day no fables of Poets in the world. And as *Geffrey* wondreth that neither *Gyldas* nor *Beda* doe mention *Arthur* nor his great deeds, ſo ſaith *Randulphus*, may we at *Geffrey*, that hath augmented them aboue the pitch of credulitie. But for the truth of this Prince, beſides a Charter exemplified vnder the ſeale of King *Edward* the Third, wherein mention is made of King *Arthur*, to haue beene a great Benefactour to the *Abbey* of *Glaſtenbury*, who as *Iohn Rouſe* reporteth, had giuen *Bren-march* and other Demaines, to the value of fiue hundred Markes yeerely, to the ſaid Monaſterie. His *Armes* (being an *Eſcocheon*, wheron a *Croſſe*, with the *Virgin Mary* bearing *Chriſt* in her armes) cut in ſtone, and ſtanding ouer the firſt Gate of entrance as yet, is ſaid to be the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. And *Ioſeph*, the iudicious Monke of *Exceſter*, who followed King *Richard* the Firſt in his warre for the Conqueſt of the *Holy Land*, in his poeticall verſes extolleth *Arthur* with *Alexander*, *Caſar*, and *Hercules*; yea and *Ninius*, farre his ancient, calleth *Arthur* an *Iron Mall*, that both bruiſed and brake the Lions iawes aſunder.

Therefore of his perſon we make no doubt, though his acts haue beene written with too lauiſh a pen: neither conſent we with thoſe *Hiſtorians* that naturalize him for a *Britaine*, ſeeing that *Ninius*, *Beda*, *Malmesburie*, and himſelfe ſeeme to ſpeake the contrarie: for *Ambroſius* being the brother of *Vter Pendragon*, as we already from *Beda* haue ſhewed, was a Captaine deſcended from the bloud of the *Romans*, whoſe parents ſaith *Ninius*, had worne the *Purple Robe*, and both of them the ſonnes of *Conſtantine*, whoſe father in *Britaine* againſt *Honorius* the Emperour had put on the ſaid *Robe*. And by his naturall deſcent from the *Romans*, *Arthur* not only denied them Tribute, but alſo threatned to haue a Tribute from *Rome*: for in his Letters to that end ſent vnto the Senate, thus in an old Manuſcript we finde it indited: *Vnderſtand among you of Rome, that I am King Arthur of Britaine, and freely it hold, and ſhall hold; and at Rome haſtily will I bee, not to giue you truage, but to haue truage of you: for Conſtantine that was Helenes ſonne, and other of mine Anceſtors conquered Rome, and thereof were Emperours, and that they had and held I ſhall haue your Goddis grace.* Whereby is manifeſt his bloud was from the *Romans*. Let not therefore any of our *Britaines* take exceptions againſt me for this, neither that I enlarge not his fame, by the enlargement of his Empire in *Ruſſia*, *Lapland*, and in making *Norway* his Chamber of *Britaine*, as if that Kingdome and Title ſhould bee giuen him by the *Pope*, that indeed cuts large thongs out of other mens Leather: his Conqueſts of thirty Kingdomes, and killing of *Denabus* the huge *Spaniſh Giant*, & his combat with *Frolo* Gouernor of *France*, and with *Lucius Hiberus* the Roman Legate, whoſe ſlaine body hee ſent to the *Senate* for the tribute of *Britaine* by them demanded: ſeeing that others before mee, farre more ripe Hiſtorians, haue made both doubts and obiections againſt them. And therefore I conclude with this *Arthur*, as *Saint Auguſtine* with the *Athenians*, *whoſe men* (ſaith he) *were euer greater in fame then in deeds*. And with *Ninius* will end with his ſaying; *Arthurus pugnabat contra illos in diebus illis; & licet multi ipſo nobiliores eſſent, ipſe tamen duodecies Dux belli fuit, Victorque bellorum: Arthur made warre againſt them in thoſe daies; and though many were more noble then he, yet was hee twelue times Generall in the Field, and returned Conquerour*. But more conſtant is the memorie of his death, and place of his buriall, both which are reported vpon warrantable credit: for *Mordred* the ſonne of *Lotho*, whereof wee haue ſpoken, affecting the Crown, vpon a pretence of right from King *Vter*, and ſuppoſed baſtardiſe of *Arthur*, gaue many attempts, through the aid of his *Picts*, and aſsiſtance of the *Saxons*, to diſpoſſeſſe him of that wherein he was ſeated: and laſtly at * *Kamblan* or *Cambula* in *Cornwall* (ſaith *Leland*) *this Britiſh Hector encountring Mordred, ſlew him out-right, and receiued of him his owne deaths wound*. The witneſſe of this Field as yet are thoſe peeces of Armour, horſe-harneſſe, and other habiliments of Warre, which are daily digged vp in tillage of the ground; vnleſſe thoſe reliques of Battle be the ſeales of that fight which *Marianus* writeth to haue beene in this place betwixt the *Britaines* and *Saxons*, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and twenty.

If then it bee true that *Arthur* heere died, this place we may ſay ſeemeth to be conſecrated vnto *Mars*: for *Tindagell Caſtle*, ſtanding hard by, firſt brought into the world this glorious *Prince*, for one of her nine *Worthies*, and *Cambula* againe receiued his laſt bloud. But from this place he was carried vnto *Glaſtenburie* in *Somerſet-ſhire*, where he died the one and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Saluation fiue hundred forty and two, after he had moſt victoriouſly raigned twenty ſix yeeres. His body was there buried, and ſix hundred yeeres after was taken vp, and found vpon this occaſion: When *Henry* the ſecond, and firſt *Plantagenet*, had ſwaied the *Engliſh Scepter* to the laſt of his raigne, it chanced him at *Pembrooke* to heare ſung to the Harpe certaine Ditties of the worthy exploits and acts of this *Arthur*, (by a *Welſh Bard*, as they were termed, whoſe cuſtome was to record and ſing at their Feaſts the noble deeds of their Anceſtours) wherein mention was made of his death, and place of buriall, deſigning it to be in the Church-yard of *Glaſtenburie*, and that betwixt two *Pyramides* therein ſtanding: whereupon King *Henry* cauſed the ground to be digged, and at ſeuen foot depth was found a huge broad ſtone, wherein a leadden Croſſe was faſtned, and in that ſide that lay downeward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely ſet and contriued) this inſcription written vpon that ſide of the Lead that was towards the ſtone:

HIC IACET SEPVLTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA.

Heere lieth King Arthur buried in the Ile of Avalonia.

And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunke of a Tree, the bones of great bigneſſe, and in his ſcull perceiued ten wounds, the laſt very great, and plainely ſeene. His Queene *Guineuer*, that had beene neere kinſwoman to *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 10.

*Camelford.

Marianus Scotus.

Wal. Conuen. Antiq. Glaſten. Arthur the continuance of his raigne.

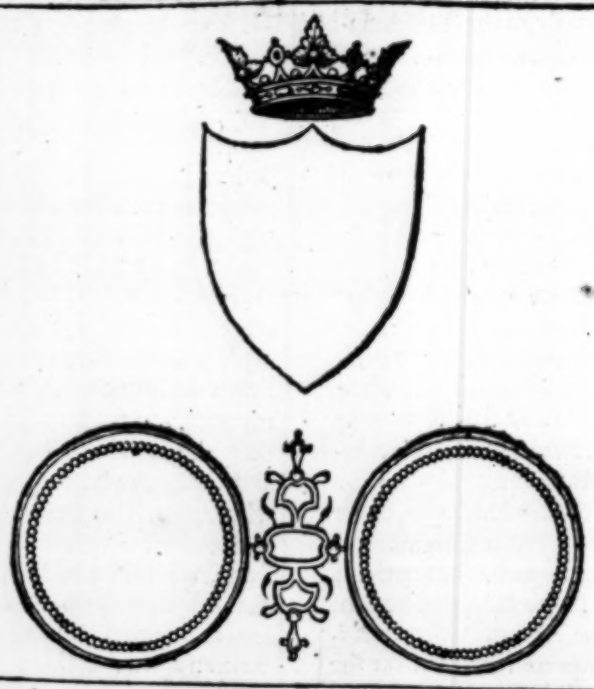
The like treſſes of haire my ſelfe ſaw in a coffin digged vp in an old houſe neere Paules in *London*, very beautifull in ſhew, but being touched, was nothing but duſt.

Lady of paſſing beautie lay likewiſe by him, whoſe treſſes of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, ſeemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) ſhewed it ſelfe to be duſt. *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, a worthy Author and an eie-witneſſe, is the reporter of this finding of *Arthurs* bones; and the Croſſe of Lead, with the Inſcription, as it was found and taken off the ſtone, was kept in the Treaſurie or Reueſter of *Glaſtenburie* Church, ſaith *Stowe*, till the ſuppreſsion thereof in the raigne of King *Henry* the eight, whoſe forme and rude letters we haue here expreſſed to thy ſight. *Iohn Stow.*

Arthurs bones intombed.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guineuar* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Henry* the ſecond, and Abbat of *Glaſtenbury*, at that preſent were tranſlated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid and his *Queenes* at his feet; which noble Monument among the fatall ouerthrowes of infinite more, was altogether raced at the diſpoſe of ſome then in Commiſsion, whoſe too forward zeale, and ouer haſtie actions in theſe behalfes, hath left vnto vs a want of many truths, and cauſe to wiſh that ſome of their imployments had bin better ſpent.

CONSTANTINE 61.



An. D. 542.

Brute booke.

Conſtantine the ſonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, and coſen to King *Arthur* by his alliance in mariage, at his death was appointed by him to ſucceed in his Dominions, and moſt ioifully receiued of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of this worthy elector and themſelues, accounted moſt fit to defend the Land from the many oppreſsions of the *Saxons*, who now beganne to ſpreade the wing as farre as to *Tyne* in the *North*, and to ſet downe the limits of their ſeuerall Kingdomes; which notwithſtanding, theſe ſtrangers daily enlarged vpon the home-bred Inhabitants, the ciuill warres of the *Britaines* giuing way to the ſame, and that not onely among themſelues, but by the *Picts* alſo, in the behalfe of the two ſonnes of *Mordred*, that ſought to diſpoſſeſſe him of the *Crown*. In which quarrel many battles were fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe to the attemptors, that theſe two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*, *Gyldas. Aber ſuccyſ.*

chester, whither *Constantine* pursued them, they taking *Sanctuarie* in the *Churches*, and not farre from the *Altars* he slew them: for which deede, the Priest *Gyldas*, that flourished in those daies, in his *inuective reprehensions* thus writeth: *Britaine hath Kings* (saith hee) *but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they are wicked, pilling and harming the innocent people; reuenging and defending, but whom? Such as be guilty and robbers. They haue many wiues, yet breake they wedlocke; many times swearing, yet periure themselues; vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; warring, but still maintaining vniust and ciuill broiles; abroad pursuing theeues, and yet at home cherish them, euen at their owne Tables, and sometimes also reward them. They giue large almes indeed, yet heape they vp sinnes high as the Mountaine. They sit in the Seat of sentence, yet seldome seeke the rule of right iudgement, despising the humble and innocent persons, and extolling vp to Heauen proud and bloudie Murderers, Theeues, and Adulterers, yea and if he would permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keepe in prison, and load them with irons, more to serue their owne purposes, then for any guilt in the person, taking solemn Oaths before & vpon the Altars, and yet despise they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but filthie stones.*

Of this hainous and wicked offense, Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lionesse of Deuon-shire is not ignorant, who this yeere, after the receiuing of his dreadfull Oath, whereby he bound himselfe, that in no wise he should hurt his Subiects, (God first, and then his Oath, with the company of Saints, and his owne mother being present) did notwithstanding in the reuerend laps of both his Mothers, the Church, and her by nature, and that vnder the vesture of an holy Abbat, deuoure with sword and speare, in stead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrailes of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewise of their two Gouernours, yea and that (as I said) before the sacred Altars; the Armes of which Persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselues with weapons (which few in those daies handled more valiantly then they) but stretched forth to God, and to his Altar, in the day of Iudgement shall set vp the reuerend ensignes of their patience and faith at the Gates of the Citie of Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the Celestiall Sacrifice, as it were with the red Mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things hee did not after any good deeds done by him deseruing praise: for many yeeres before ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, and forsaking his lawfull wife (contrary to the law of God) beeing not loosed from the snares of his former sinnes, hee increaseth the new with the old. Thus far *Gyldas*, for this time, and for the raigne of *Constantine*; whose life being no better, was cut off in battell by *Aurelius Conanus*, when he had raigned fully three yeeres, and without issue was buried at *Stonhenge*.

Constantines raignes continuance.

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.

7. An. D. 545. *Mat. Westminster.*

Aurelius Conanus, the Nephew of King *Arthur*, after he had slaine his Cosen *Constantine* in battell, was made King ouer the *Britaines* in the yeere after Christs Natiuitie fiue hundred fortie fiue. He was of disposition free and liberal, but therewithall of a light credit, and very suspicious, cherishing them that accused others, without respect of right or wrong, putting some to death, and retaining others in perpetuall prison, among whom his own Vncle was one, whose two sons he caused to be slain, no causes obiected, but that these three were in truth betwixt him & the Crowne: for which, and other the like impious parts, the said *Gyldas* continueth the tenor of his vehement reprehension in this manner. *And thou Lions whelpe* (as speakes the Prophet) *Aurelius Conanus, what dost thou? art thou not swallowed vp in the filthy mire of murthering thy Kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching Seas, ouerwhelming thee with her vnmercifull rage? dost thou not in hating the peace of thy Country, as a deadly Serpent, and thirsting after ciuill warres and spoiles (often times vniustly gotten) shut vp against thy soule the Gates of celestiall peace? Thou being left alone, as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I pray thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie, and ouer timely deaths of thy Fathers and thy Brethren: shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deserts, be reserued to liue an hundred yeeres, or remaine on earth till thou bee as old as Methuselah? nothing lesse.* And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his speech to his Successor.

Gyldas.

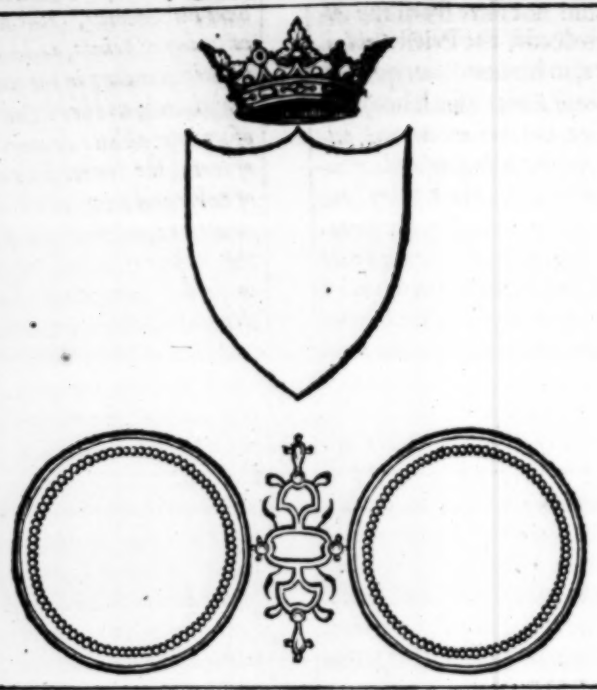
The raigne of this King, among the vncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Historians, as vncertainly. For some hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the iust reuenging hand of God for his sinnes: others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they say, most viciously hee liued: and yet *Matthew of Westminster* will haue him continue in gouernement no lesse then thirty yeeres; and *Iohn Stow* addeth three more: such extremes are wee driuen vnto, that haue our relations onelie from them.

Holinsh.

Lanquet.

Conanus the continuance of his raigne.

VORTIPORVS. 8.



8. An. Do. 578.

Vortiporus, after the death of *Aurelius*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britaines*, which then was much ſcantled by the intruſions of the *Saxons* whom in many battels (as ſaith the Britiſh Hiſtorians) he vanquiſhed, and valiantly defended his Land and Subiects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithſtanding theſe reported actions thus honorably atchieued, yea and his Parentage with ſucceſsion of gouernmeut, may be both ſuſpected and iuſtly called in queſtion, as by the words of *Gyldas* is manifeſt; who ſufferd not this King alſo to paſſe vntouched in his *Inuectiue* and lamentable paſsions. *And thou* (ſaith he) *Vortiporus the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickedneſſe, diuerſly ſpotted, as it were with many colours, with thy hoarie head in the Throne full of deceits, crafts, and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy body to the Crowne of thy head, with diuers and ſundry murthers committed on thine own kin, and filthy adulteries, thus proouing the vnworthy ſonne of a good King, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias; how chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, or rather art ſwallowed vp by thē, (the end of thy life by little & little now drawing neere) cannot yet ſatisfie thee? What meaneſt thou, that with fornication, of all euils as it were the full heap, thine own wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughteſt, doſt oppreſſe thy ſoule with a certain burthē that cānot be auoided?*

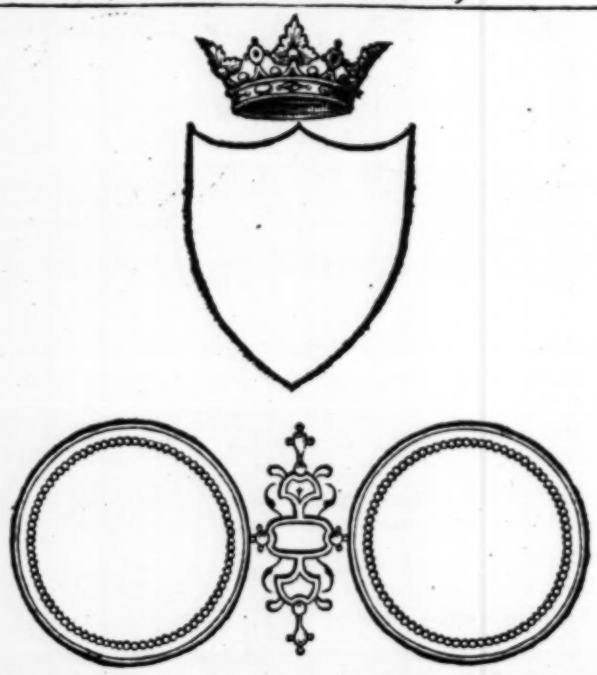
2. King. 20. 21.

Gyldas.

By this teſtimonie of *Gyldas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the ſonne of bad *Conan*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* affirme him: his Father being compared to godly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and himſelfe continuing his gouernment, as is ſaid the ſpace of foure yeeres, ended his life without iſſue to ſucceed him.

Vortiporus, the continuance of his raigne.

MALGO CANONVS. 9.



9. An. D. 581. *Mat. Weſtminſter.*

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Conanus*, as ſome write, ſucceeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of a moſt ſeemely preſence, but withall, charged with many vnbeſeeming and foule ſinnes, by ancient *Gyldas*, the onely recorder of the Actions in theſe times; who calleth him the *Dragon of the Iles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in miſchiefe and malice; a large giuer, but more lauiſh and prodigall in all ſinnes and licentiouſneſſe: in Armes and dominions more ſtrong, and greater then any other Britiſh Potentate; but ſtronger in the deſtruction of his owne ſoule, in committing the grand abhorred ſinne of Sodomie. In his youthfull daies, with ſword and fire he brought to deſtruction his Vncle by the mothers ſide (being then king) together with many others, and after vppon a ſhew-ſeeming remorſe of Conſcience, vowed the profeſſion and life of a Monke; but returned ſhortly after to his owne vomit, and became worſe then he was before: for deſpiſing his firſt mariage, he became enamored vpon the wife of his brothers ſonne, whiles he was liuing; and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murthered them both. In theſe ſinnes hee continued the terme of fiue yeeres, and dying without iſſue, left his Crowne to another.*

Malgo Canus, the continuance of his raigne.

By theſe reprehenſions of *Gyldas* it ſhould rather ſeeme

ſeeme that theſe Princes liued all together at one and the ſame time, vnto whom hee ſpake perſonally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if ſuch ſucceſſions and ſuch yeeres had beene expired, as heere is laid downe. And therefore not without cauſe ſome haue affirmed, that theſe Captaines vſurped authoritie together in diuers parts of the Iland, and not ſucceſsiuely one after another; neither indeed as Kings, but rather Tyrants, polluted with theſe greeuous ſinnes, as you haue heard, and are ſo termed by their own Hiſtorian, that bringeth *one more to tyrannize, whom neither *Monmouth* nor hee of *Weſtminſter* hath ſpoken of, which is *Cuneglaſus*, whom hee calleth, a *Lion tawney Butcher, a Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Oppreſſour of the Clergie, that fought againſt God with his many greeuous ſinnes, and warred vpon man with his martiall weapons. Hee* (ſaith hee) *did put away his lawfull wife, prouoked the godly with many iniuries, was proudly conceited of his owne wiſdome, and ſet his whole hope in vncertaine riches.* If then the head was ſo ſicke, could the body be ſound, that (as *Beda* ſaith) *were ſo ſet to breake all orders of truth and iuſtice, that ſcant any token or remembrance thereof remained?* And for witneſſe againſt them, calleth their owne Hiſtorian *Gyldas*, that accuſed them of many impieties, and this not the leaſt, that thoſe *Britaines neglected the preaching of the Goſpell to the Saxons.*

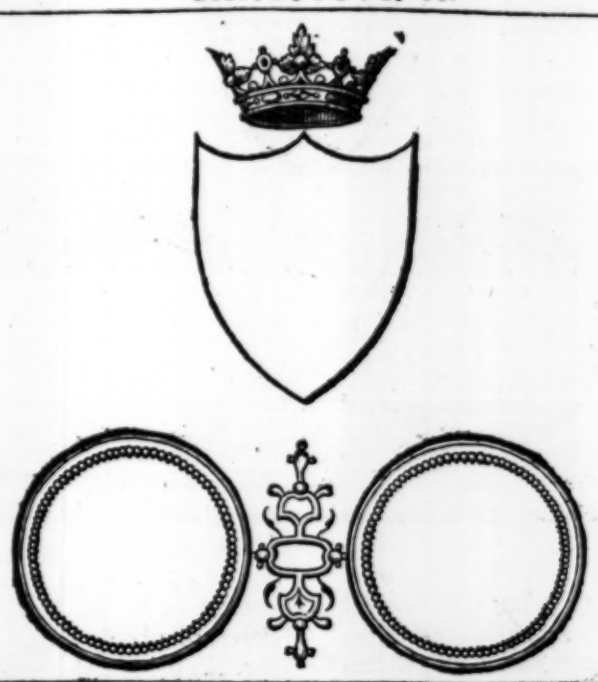
Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 22.

*If Cerdic be not another whom Beda calleth a Britain King, lib. 4 cap. 23.

For theſe ſinnes aſſuredly, God gaue their Land to another Nation, and themſelues to exile, or to the ſwords of their enemies. Howſoeuer, ſome latter *Britaine* hath rather excuſed their ſinnes by the ouer-raſh zeale of *Gyldas*, whom he tearmeth a *Pulpit-Prieſt* (but no *perfect Hiſtorian*) that beat down ſinnes with an ouer-ſharpe cenſure of the ſinners, as the maner of many Preachers is at this day. But (ſaith hee) let the true renowne of the *Britaines appeare to the world:* and ſurely ſo ſhall it doe for me. And againe I returne to my intended purpoſe.

Hum. Lloyd. Brit. Brit.

CARETICVS. 10.



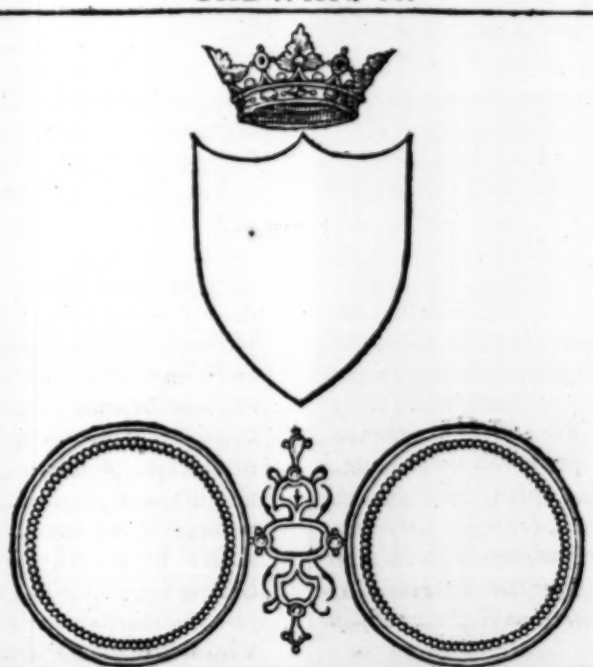
10. An. Do. 586.

Careticus ſucceeded *Malgo* in the gouernment of *Britaine*, as deſtitute of vertue and fluent in vice, as any of theſe his preceding Kings: for it is recorded that hee was a nouriſher of diſſenſions, and ſowed ciuill warres among his ſubiects; a ſinne odible to God and Man, and vnto the vnconſtant *Britaines* gaue occaſion of his hatred: which when the *Saxons* perceiued, was further inſtigated, and with the aſſiſtance of *Gurmund* an *Arch-pirate*, and Captaine of the *Norwegians*, followed againſt the King, who not able to reſiſt them, fled into the Towne of *Chicheſter* for ſafety, but by the deuice of his purſuers, certaine ſparrowes being caught, and fire faſtned to their feet, were let flie into the Towne, where lighting vpon ſtraw and other matter fit for flaming, burnt in ſhort ſpace the whole Citie, and *Careticus* flying beyond *Seuerne*, ſecured himſelfe among the Mountaines of *Wales*, wherein he died, after he had vnproſperouſly raigned three yeeres: and from that time foorth (ſaith *Randulphus*) the *Britaines* loſt their whole Kingdome in the Eaſt part of the Iland, and were confined in the Weſt by the Riuers *Seuerne* and *Dee*.

Sco Cro.

Careticus, the cõtinuance of his raigne. *Poly. b. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

CADWAN. 11.



11. An. Do. 163.

Cadwan, after foure and twenty yeeres ciuill diſſenſion maintained among the *Britaines*, euer ſince they had forgone their Country, and betaken themſelues to thoſe vaſt, but ſecuring Mountaines; of a Ruler

Wil. Malmesb.

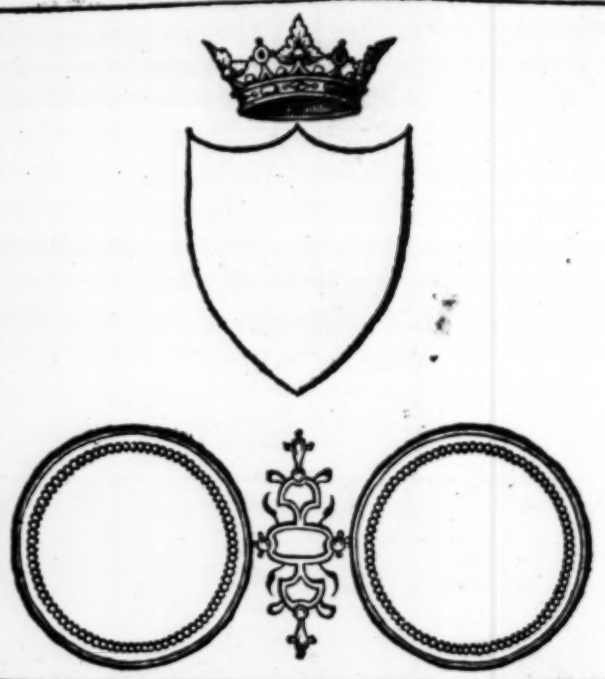
Ruler only of *North-wales*, was made Gouernour of all those parts, a man deseruing well before hee came to that estate, and being risen, maintained himselfe and subiects in great honour and peace. His first affaires against the *Saxons*, was to reuenge the deaths of his *Britaines*, and harmelesse *Monkes* of *Bangor*, slaine (as we haue said) by wild *Ethelfrid*, the mighty King of *Northumberland*, who in Field had assembled all their powers, wherein the fatall end either of the *Britaines* or *Northumbrians* must needs haue ensued, had not the quarrell beene staied by the mediation of friends. These Kings, then, and there reconciled, embraced peace, with such true friendshippe, that they continued amitie together so long as they liued.

Harding saith, that this British King *Cadwan*, honorably receiued and worthily cherished *Acca*, whom this King *Ethelfrid* had put from his bed, for the loue he bare vnto his Concubine, but is deceiued in making her the mother of *Edwin*, that was his sister, and *Cadwan* to raigne but thirteen yeeres, whereas others allot him two and twentie.

Cadwan, the continuance of his raigne. *John Harding, Chro. cap. 90.*

Paulus Diaconus.

CADWALLO. 12.



12. An. Do. 635.

Cadwallo or *Cadwallin*, the sonne of *Cadwan*, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation six hundred thirty fiue. He warred most strongly against the *Saxons*, and either by Conquest or Alliance ioined amitie with *Penda* the cruell King of the *Mercians*, a Pagan Idolater, himselfe by the report of *Beda*, *although a Christian in name and profession, yet in minde and manners so rude and outragious, that hee spared neither womens weakenesse nor childrens innocencie, but put all to death with greeuous and bitter torments, to fulfill his cruell and vnmercifull tyrannie, wasting a long time, and raging ouer the Prouinces, purposed to exterminate out of the borders of Britanny the whole Nation of the English, and to extinguish the very name of them. Neither did he ought esteeme any reuerence or honour to the Christian Religion, which those men embraced: so that euen to this day* (saith he) *the Britaines custome is to set light by the Faith or Religion of the Englishmen; neither will they communicate with them more then with Heathens or Pagans.* These two cruell Kings slew the most Christian *Edwyn* King of *Northumberland*, with his sonne Prince *Osfride*, in a great and bloudy battle at *Hethfild*, the yeere of Christs incarnation six hundred thirty three: and the yeere following, with wicked force (saith *Beda*) *but with worthy vengeance, Cadwallo the Britaine slew Osfrike and Eanfrid, Kings of Deira and Bernicia, that were become Apostataes from their Christian Faiths, and that with crueltie and losse of the Saxons, as their owne Historians held it fit neither to mention their names in their monethly Calendar, nor register the yeere wherin they were slaine, in account of their gouernment, but assigned it vnto the raigne of their Successour King Oswald, which was so obserued vnto his daies; so terrible was this worthy Cadwallo, and odious the remembrance of this vnfortunate Battle. But this cursed Captaine* (saith he) *enioied not this felicitie long: for the said Oswald, to reuenge his brothers death, came with a small power, but strongly fensed in the faith of Christ, and neere to the Riuer Denise gaue him battle, wherein himselfe and late-victorious Host were all slain and confounded.*

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 1.

But we must remember that *Beda* was a *Saxon*, in whose behalfe his penne hath somewhat passed the bounds of equitie (if not veritie) in charging this most valiant Conqueror with tyranny, and his Martiall Sword with crueltie, that was drawne and strucke in defence of his native Country, wherein the *Saxons* claime stood only vpon vniust intrusion. So likewise himselfe being a Monke and Prieft, hath euery where blamed the *Britaines* for dissenting from the *Roman* Church, in celebration of Easter and other Ceremonies; whereas in doctrine they were as sincere, which is the true substance of the Gospell. But the *Britaines* record that this valiant *Cadwallo* died not in *Heuenfeild*, neither by the hand of King *Oswald*, but that he raigned in great honour the space of eight and fortie yeeres, and in peace died 22. of *Nouember*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred seuentie seuen. His body the *Britaines* buried in *S. Martins* Church in *London*, neere *Ludgate*; whose Image great and terrible, triumphantly riding on horseback, being artificially cast of Brasse, they placed vpon the same West gate, to the further feare and terror of the *Saxons*, as *Vortimer* before had commanded his at *Stonar*. But this relation, as also that he married the sister of King *Penda*, as my often named Manuscript reporteth, I leaue to the best liking of my Reader.

Geffrey Mon.

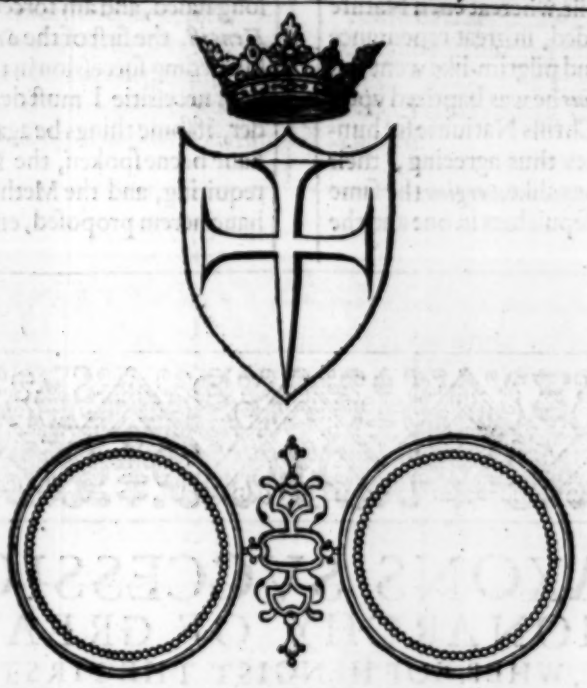
Cadwallo or Cadwan, the continuance of his raign.

About this time the most blasphemous doctrine of *Mahomet* began to infect all the Easterne World. For although himselfe liued some nine yeeres before the gouernment of this *Cadwallo*, yet presently after his death his doctrine was more publikely imbraced. He was borne in *Arabia*, of a poore and base stocke, and being fatherlesse, was sold for a bondslaue vnto an *Ismaelite*, whose name was *Abdemonaples*, a man of exceeding great riches, and in great trade of merchandizing, and *Mahomet* for his subtiltie in wit, was his fit instrument, and greatly in his fauor. The Master dying, left *Mahomet* his chiefe Factor, who hauing great riches in his keeping, married his Mistris, and so became heire of all; with whom consorted one *Sergius* a Monke, which for heresie was fled into *Arabia*, who instructed *Mahomet* in the heresie of the *Nestorians*, and now for his wealth and Magicall Arts, wherewith hee bewitched the minds of the people, assumed

assumed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to be famously published for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confused *Chaos* of all the heresies that had been before him: for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinitie; with the *Manichies*, he affirmed but two persons to bee in the Deity; with *Eunomius*, hee denied the equalitie of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macedone*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature. He borrowed of the *Iewes* Circumcision; of the *Nicholaitans*, pluralities of wiues; and of the *Gentiles*, much Superstition; and more to cloake his diuelliſh inuented fantasies, somewhat he tooke from the veritie of the Gospell. Of these compounded he deuised a Law, and wrote this his Religion in the booke called his *Alcaron*; and those his Professors he named *Saracens*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*. An.Do.625.

Hee died of the falling sickneſſe, which long time hee had dissembled, saying forsooth after his trances, that the Angell *Gabriel* had conference with him, the brightneſſe of whose glorie hee could not behold.

CADWALLADER. 13.



13. An.Do.685.

Cadwallader, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as hee of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom heare him speake in his owne words. *Cadwalader* (saith he) *raigning victoriously the time of twelue yeeres, fell lastly into a dangerous sickneſſe, with despaire of recouery, and vnable to gouerne. Much debate and strife arose among his great Lords, and others of high estate, insomuch that they warred each against others, to the no small annoiance and detriment of the whole Country.* At which very time likewise, so great a dearth of corne and victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefest sustenance: whose third calamitie was mortalitie and pestilence, raigning so sore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, and speaking, they were surprised with death, and in such number, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead; which miseries lasted no lesse then eleuen yeeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, and brought forth no fruit at all, insomuch that the King and many of his Nobles were driuen to forsake their natiue Country, and to seeke releefe in forraine parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cosen, the King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, where he was honourably receiued and maintained.

But now the Angell of God sheathing his sword from slaughter, and the earth answering man againe with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supplie, who repleniſhed the Cities, and manured the Countrey, at this day called *Lhoyger*, containing all the Land that lay on the East of *Seuerne* and *Dee*, dispossessing the poore *Britaines* of their rightfull inheritance, and diuiding their Lands vnto their owne vse. *Cadwallader* hearing of their daily arriuage, and their vniust intrusion vpon his home-bred subiects, minded their redresse by his present returne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan*, for his succour & assistance. But see how it chanced: He being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoise vp his sailes for *Britaine*, and in the silent night much spent in praier & supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affaires, behold an Angell appeared to him, or at least wise to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbade him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will that hee should vndergoe that Voiage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrariwise bade hie him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receiue the habit of Religion, wherein hee should die, and rest in peace.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told vnto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shaftesbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Sauiour Christ (if wee doe beleeue these to be true) wherein it was prophecied forsooth, that the *Britaines* should lose their Kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, vntill the time that the bones of *Cadwallader* should bee brought from *Rome*. By such toies and illusions in those daies of darkneſſe, the euer-erring minds of men were content to be lead: for not onely *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came vnto him by a diuine prouidence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gaue ouer his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subiects to bee ouer-runne by strangers, and the Land to bee enioied by a forraine Nation: and receiuing the habit of seeming Religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died soone after in the yeere of our Lord six hundred eighty nine, and there was buried in *S. Peters* Church, being the last King of the *Britaines* bloud, after they had held possession therof the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres before the Natiuitie of Christ, and six hundred eighty eight yeeres after his Birth, as the Chronicle of *Wales*, with other *Britaine* Writers, haue calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size. But howsoeuer this sudden alteration was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a King in health, hee raigned (saith *Geffrey*) in great magnanimitie, the D. Powel. Chron. of Wales.

Cadwallader, the continuance of his raigne.

terme of three yeers, and fought many Battles against the *Saxons*, whose sword was euer sheathed with victorie; for *Lothaire* King of *Kent* he slew in the Field, and *Edilwach* also King of the *South-Saxons*, with the ruine of his Country, as the *British Historians* report, and would haue it.

Beda histor. lib. 4. cap. 26.

But *Beda*, vnto whom more credit is heerein to be giuen, telles vs, that *Lothaire* was slaine by *Edrik*, his Nephew and Successour, declaring the manner and day of his death; and that *Ceadwall*, a young man of the *west-Saxons* bloud royall, being banished from among them, fell vpon the *South-Saxons*, harrying the Country and killing their King. But afterwards lamenting the bloud he had spilt, whereat euen Nature her selfe seemed to bee offended, in great repentance abandoned his Kingdome, and pilgrim-like went vnto *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized vpon *Easter Euen*, the yeere from Christs Natiuitie six hundred eightie nine. The times thus agreeing, their names so neere, their deuotions alike, *Sergius* the same ghostly father to both, their sepulchers in one and the same Church, doe strongly confirme that they both were the same and one only man, as we formerly haue said. But with this man *Cadwallader*, whereseuer he died, lay buried the last bloud of their Kings, their gouernment, and immediatelie the very Name of *Britaine*; for many hundred yeeres ensuing, as in the sequell of this Historie (Christ assisting) shall bee shewed.

Cap. 15.

Beda hist. lib. 5. cap. 7.

And now at last, according to my first intendment, I am come to speake of the succession of *Great Britaines Monarkes*, from which (vpon the fore-shewed occasions of the *Ilands* diuision, the *Saxons* possessions, and these *Britaine* Resisters) I haue beene ouerlong staied, and am forced to returne againe to King *Hengist*, the first of the *Saxons*, that I may shew their succeeding succession in this *English Monarchy*: wherin of necessitie I must desire the patience of my Reader, if some things be againe touched that formerlie haue beene spoken, the Matter of Historie so much requiring, and the Method that to my proceeding I haue herein proposed, enforcing it.

Saxon Monarchs.

THE SAXONS SVCCESSIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHEREOF HENGIST THE FIRST KING OF KENT BECAME THE FIRST MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

CHAPTER XIII.

An. Do. 450. *Beda. Malmsb.*

Engist, a Prince of the *English-Saxons*, hauing the Command ouer certaine forces planted in the Low-countries of *Germany*, in the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* foure hundred and fiftie, transported them ouer into *Britaine*, where the fifth yeere after his arriuall, he began his Kingdome in *Kent*; & hauing surprised his son in law King *Vortigern*, slain his *Britaines*, and seized into his possession the best of the Iland, he laid the foundation of a Monarchy, and deserueth to be reputed the first Monarch of the *English Nation*.

(2) He (as all the *Saxon* Kings besides) doth claime his originall from Prince *Woden*, and his wife *Fria*, by *Wechta* the eldest of their seuen sonnes, being the fifth in issue from them; as thus: Himselfe was the sonne of *Withtgils*, who was the sonne of *Witha*, and he the sonne of *Wechta*, the eldest sonne of the *Deified Woden*. *Floren. Wigorn.*

This Prince held the supreme Scepter of this Iland for thirty foure yeeres continuance, and therein died honorably, saith *Marianus Scotus*. But *Peter de Ikham*, *Polydore*, and others say, that he was slaine in battell, or else taken by *Edol*, Earle of *Gloecester*, and beheaded at *Conesborow*. Hee left issue behind him two sonnes and one daughter, whose names were *Hatwaker*, *Eske*, and *Rowena*. *Hengist*, how long he raigned. *Maria. Scot. Peter Ikham. Geffrey Mon. Polydor Virgil.*

(3) *Hatwaker* his eldest sonne, is reported by *Petrus Albinus* of *Wittenberg*, a great Genealogist and Historio- *Petrus Albinus.*

Hiſtoriographer alſo) to be Duke of the *Saxons* in *Germanie*, and there left to gouerne the people at his Fathers departure for *Britaine*. And if *Albinus* authority be ſufficient, he was the Father of Duke *Hatwegat*, and grandfather of *Hilderik* King of the *Saxons*, anceſtor to the valiant *Witikindus*, the principall progenitor of the moſt noble Familie of the Dukes of *Saxony*.

(4) *Eske*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Hengiſt*, came ouer with his Father into *Britaine*, and was his aſſiſtant in all his warres, wherein he gaue worthy teſtimonie of his valour: whoſe Kingdome of *Kent* after his death he enioyed, and gaue name to that Countries Inhabitants, who were from him called *Eskings*, ouer whom he raigned peaceably twenty yeeres.

(5) *Rowena*, the daughter of King *Hengiſt*, was borne in *Germany* before her Fathers departure, and afterwards ſent for by him into *Britaine*, to further his deſignes. At whoſe ſurpaſsing beautie and feature *Vortigern* ſo viciouſly gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and louing wife, to inioy the pleaſures of her Paganiſh bed, and to the great decay of Chriſtianitie, and griefe of the Nobilitie, ſhe became the Kings ſecond wife, and the principall cauſe of the Lands deſtruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewiſe his third wife; by whom he had iſſue *Fauſtus*, that as vertuouſly ſpent the daies of his life, as he was inceſtuouſly begot in that wicked bed.

This *Rowena*, whom ſome call *Ronixa*, by *Vlitarpius* is accounted the Neece, and not the Daughter of *Hengiſt*. But ſeeing his opinion is grounded vpon the youth of *Hengiſt*, as not ſufficient in yeeres to haue a daughter ſo mariageable, I rather thinke and hold this bare teſtimonie vnable to turne the great ſtreame of other Writers out of their vſuall courſe and receiued chanell.

Vlitarpius.

ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOVTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Ella, Monar.

Chapter XIV.

Ella a noble *Saxon*, being ſent for by King *Hengiſt*, about the three and twentith yeere of his raigne, brought a freſh ſupply of thoſe *Germans* to the reliefe of his Countrymen, who with his forces landed at the hauen now called *Shoreham* in *Suſſex*, where putting backe the Inhabitants in many skirmiſhes, laſtly chaſed them into a great wood then called *Andredſlege*, whence often being aſſailed by the ſudden aſſaults of the *Britaines*, wherein, as may bee thought, he loſt the liues of his two elder ſonnes, was ſo hardly beſet, that hee ſent for more aid of his *Saxons*, who came to his ſupply.

(2) His ſtrength thus augmented, and ambition ſtill increaſed, he fought three cruell and bloody battels, but the laſt of them moſt fatall againſt the *Britaines*, in the place then called *Macrodeſ-burne*, and beſieging the ancient and famous City *Anared-Cheſter* ſituated in the ſaid great foreſt, and chiefe defenſible fortreſſe in all thoſe Southern parts, intercepted the *Britaines* that came to their reliefe, and entring the ſame by an aſſault, put to the ſword all that were found within it. After which great loſſe, the *Britaines* ſought rather to prouide for their owne ſafety by flying into deſert places, then by making open reſiſtance to procure their owne too apparant deſtruction.

(3) *Ella* in this ſtate continued the time of fiue yeeres before he aſſumed the name of King, or the limits of that Prouince aſsigned vnder his gouernment, but then without any ſhew of reſiſtance laid the foundation of this Kingdome, which was the ſecond of the *Saxons*; and as *Hengiſt* held *Kent*, ſo he had *Suſſex* and *Surrey* for his Poſſeſsion, wherein for ſix yeeres ſpace with *Hengiſt* he liued, and that with ſuch approbation of valour as that after his death he became the ſecond *Saxon* Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the yeere of grace 488.

An. Do. 488.

Ella, how long he raigned.

(4) He is ſaid to be the elder ſonne of *Oſa*, whoſe genealogie *Florentius* of *Worceſter* thus deriueth: *Oſa* (ſaith he) was the ſonne of *Etherbert*, and he the ſonne of *Ingengeat*, who was the ſonne of *Angengiat*, whoſe father was *Aluſa*, the ſonne of *Ingebrand*, the ſonne of

Florent. Wigorn.

of *Wegbrand*, the ſonne of *Beorn*, the ſonne of *Beornus*, the elder ſonne of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealdeag*, the ſixth ſonne of prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his wife.

(5) His iſſue were *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Ciſſa*, three valiant ſonnes, that came ouer with him, and aſsiſted him in his enterpriſes for *Britaine*. From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arriued, was called *Kymeniſhore*; by the *Britaines*, *Cuneueſhore*, which time and ſeas hath both ſhortened, and altered: and now is it called *Shoreham*, a well knowne hauen in *Suſſex*. This Prince came to his graue before his Father, either by the ſtroke of warres, or by the courſe of nature, without further mention of his acts, and his ſucceſſion, cut off by his death.

VVil. Malmsb.

(6) *Plenching* his ſecond ſonne, was borne vnto him in the Lowe countries of *Germany*, and with his brethren aſſiſted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by vntimely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures appointment, is vncertaine.

Florent. VViz.

(7) The yongeſt ſonne of king *Ella*, was *Ciſſa*, whom death ſpared to liue a long life; but fame as ſparing to adorne it with memory of his acts: for nothing of him is left memorable, beſides the building of *Chicheſter*. Fortune indeed ſet his fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *weſt-Saxon*, vnto whom *Ciſſa* gaue yeerely contribution, to ſecure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath been, and ſhall bee ſhewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and erection of his Kingdome, for time is vncertaine; but his raigne therein, as alſo in his Monarchie, is more certainelie knowne: for hee was King of the *South-Saxons* the ſpace of thirty two yeeres, and Monarch of the *Engliſh-men* ſix and twenty, dying in the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation fiue hundred and foureteene, which was the thirty ſixth after his firſt arriuall into *Britaine*.

See Chap. 4.

CHERDIK THE FIRST KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Cherdik.

CHAPTER XV.

1. An. Do. 495.

THe *Saxons* Sunne, thus riſen and high aſcended vpon the South of *Britaine*, began now to ſpreade his beames towards the *Weſt*; for *Kent* being quietly poſſeſſed by King *Eske*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the ſubdued, at the diſpoſe of great *Ella*, *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low Country *Germans*, thought himſelfe as ſufficient in warres, and as able to reach at, to weare, and to weld a Crowne of Eſtate, as either of them that had ſo done before him: and ſeeing that *Britaine* was now the ſeede-plot for *Diadems*, ſet his affection and preparation that way.

Mat. VVeſtm.

(2) He with his forces entred in the Weſt of that Iland, where he in his firſt battell ſo danted the Inhabitants, that apparāt ſignes of approching glory were added to his aſpiring hopes: for therein hee ſlew *Natanleod*, otherwiſe called *Nazaleod*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an eaſie entrance was laid open to his deſired Empire, and a more eaſie warre left to his poſteritie. This battle chanced about the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus fiue hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natanleod*, (which Country bare the name of the King) and neere vnto a brooke of water in the Weſt of *Hampſhire*, which from *Cherdik* began to be called *Cherdiks-ford*, where now a Towne of the ſame name ſtandeth, but by contraction and ſhortneſſe of ſpeech is called *Chardford*.

Hen. Hunt.

(3) *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, the *Saxons Genealogiſt* (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the reſt of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (ſaith he) was the ſonne of *Eliſius*, and hee the ſonne of *Eſla*, the ſonne of *Geriſius*, the ſonne of *Wigga*, the ſonne of *Friaſrin*, the ſonne of *Freodegar*, the brother of *Beorn*, the progenitor of *Ida* the firſt King of *Bernicia*, and both

Flor. VVigorn.

both of them the ſonnes of *Brand*, the ſonne of *Bealdæg*, the fift ſonne of the foreſaid *Woden*.

(4) In the ſeuenth yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his arriuage, and ſix yeeres after hee beganne his Kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſeating himſelfe and foundation therof betwixt the *Britains* and the *South-Saxons*, for whoſe further ſecuritie, *Ciſſa* King of that Prouince, gaue him an yeerely contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warre; wherein hee got ſuch reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, hee aſſumed the Monarchie vnto himſelfe, and was both the firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Engliſh-men*, wherein he continued the ſpace of twentie one yeeres, and deceaſed in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred thirty fiue, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his firſt arriuall.

(5) His iſſue were two ſonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolfe*: the one immediately, and the iſſue of the other collaterally attained to the ſame poſſeſsion and title that *Cherdike* heere firſt laid.

(6) *Chelwolfe* his ſecond ſonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldeſt wee are hereafter to ſpeake) hath little mention made among our writers: more then that hee was the Anceſtour of *Eskwin* the eight King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, that is to ſay, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenſy*; which *Kenſy* had iſſue the ſaid *Eskwin*, who was the Succeſſor of king *Kenwalk*, and predeceſſor of King *Kentwin* in the kingdome of the *Weſt-Saxnos*. See chap. 7.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENG-LISHMEN.

Kenrik.

CHAPTER XVI.

Enrik, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Cherdick* (as is ſaid) being borne in *Germanie*, and following his father into *Britaine*, valiantly ſerued vnder him, as well in the Battle fought againſt King *Natanleod*, the firſt day of his arriuage, as in other battles againſt the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdiksford*, *Cherdiſley*, and in the Conqueſt of the *Ile of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he ſucceeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the ſecond King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the ſame time, the yeere of Chriſt his Natiuitie fiue hundred thirty foure.

(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britaines*, gaue them two great ouerthrowes; the one at *Searesbery* in *Wilt-ſhire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford-ſhire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the ſpace of twenty ſix yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God fiue hundred ſixty. An. Do. 556. *Kenrik, how long he raigned.*

(3) He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Cheuline*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*. *Chelwin* the firſt, ſucceeded his father in the Monarchie, and *Weſt-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwolfe*, the ſecond, aſsiſted his brother in many victories, as preſently in his raigne ſhall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his iſſue, though mentionleſſe for action in himſelfe, whereof more largely hath beene ſpoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as he was King only of the *Weſt-Saxons*. In Chap. 7. Sect. 2.

Cheuline.

CHEVLINE THE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Chapter XVII.

An. D. 561.

Matt. Weſtm.

Heuline, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Kenrike*, ſerued with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres againſt the *Britains*, and is ſpecially mentioned at the Battle of *Banbury* in *Oxford-ſhire*; and after his fathers death became the third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the fifth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdome, and increaſed the power and glorie of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Henry Hunting.

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely ſubdue the *Britaines* in many Battles, but alſo ſet himſelfe againſt his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and ſought to impoſe the ſcope of his power vpon the South of the Riuer *Thames*: for entring *Kent* (whoſe King was then a childe, by name *Ethelbert*, the ſonne of *Imerik*) at *Wiphanaun* or * *Wilhandun* in *Surrey*, in a ſet and ſore Battle, defeated all his forces, whence the young King was chaſed, and two of his greateſt Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were ſlaine, as we haue ſaid.

* *Wimbledon.*

(3) Not long after this victory, he ſet his minde to inlarge his *Weſt-Saxons* Dominions vpon the poſſeſſion of the declining *Britaines*, and to that end furniſhed forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. Theſe marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britaines*, where they ſlew them downe-right, and ſurprized foure of their chiefeſt Townes, at that time called *Liganburge*, * *Eglesbourgh*, *Benſington*, and *Eueſham*, which they fortified, to their owne ſtrength, and the *Britaines* great loſſe.

* *Ailsburie.*

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about ſix yeeres after ſent forth againe his *Saxens*, vnder the conduct of the foreſaid *Cuthwin*, who encountred the *Britaines* at *Dierth* or *Deorham*, with ſuch valour and ſucceſſe, that beſides great ſlaughter of the *Britiſh Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whoſe names were, *Coinmagill*, *Candidan*, and *Farimnagill*, fell in the Field, with the ſurprizall of theſe three Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Cirenceſter*. *Then* (ſaith *Gyldas*) *euidently appeared the Lands deſtruction, the ſins of the Britaines being the only cauſe, when neither Prince nor People, Prieſt nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but diſobediently wandred in their owne waies.* *Matth. Weſt.* *Gylda.*

(5) But no greater were the ſinnes of the *Britains*, then the vnſatiable deſires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Cheuline* about the laſt of *Malgoe* his gouernment, met the *Britaines* at *Fethanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great ſlaughters of them both, and with the death of *Prince Cuth*, King *Cheulins* ſonne: notwithſtanding the victorie fell on his ſide with great ſpoiles obtained, and poſſeſſions of many Prouinces, which himſelfe no long time enioied. *Tho. Rudborn.*

(6) For growne proud through his many proſperous victories againſt his enemies, and tyrannizing ouer his owne Subiects, the *Weſt-Saxons*, fell into ſuch contempt, that they ioined with the *Britaines* for his deſtruction. The greateſt againſt him, was diſloyall *Chell*, or *Cealrik*, his nephew, the ſonne of *Cuthwin* his moſt loyall brother, whom both the Nations had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they muſter and march into *Wilt-ſhire*, and at *Wodnesbeothe* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Cheuline* that thought hee lead fortune in a leaſe, with confident boldneſſe built his preſent proceedings vpon his former ſucceſſe, and in the face of his enemies diſplaied his colours. But the Battles ioined, and the Field goared with bloud, the day was loſt vpon the Kings ſide, and he in diſtreſſe ſaued himſelfe by flight. Heere might you haue ſeene the world, as it is, vnconſtant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had ouer-borne the *Britains* in ſo many Battles, and had raiſed his *Saxons* vnto ſo great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captiues, and to exile himſelfe from the ſight of his owne Subiects, after he had glorioufly raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as ſome will) thirty three, and as a *Leyland.*

meane

meane man, died in his baniſhment, the yeere of grace fiue hundred ninety two.

(7) He had iſſue two ſonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder whereof had valiantly ſerued in his fathers warres, namely at *Wimbledone* in *Surry*, againſt King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kentiſhmen*, in the yeere of Chriſt fiue hundred ſixty ſeuen; and laſtly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britaines* receiued a great ouerthrow. Notwithſtanding, as hee was valiantly fighting among the thickeſt of his enemies, hee was there ſlain, in the yeere of our Lord fiue hundred eighty foure, being the fiue and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, and that without iſſue.

(8) *Cuthwin*, the younger ſonne of King *Cheuline*, ſuruiued his father, but ſucceeded him not, becauſe of his young yeeres; or elſe (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchaſed of his Subiects, which they repaied him in his owne expulſion, and in this his ſonnes depriuation. But although the wreath of the *Weſt-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwines* head, yet ſhone it more bright, and ſtood with greater maieſty vpon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous King of *Weſt-Saxons*, and of *Egbert* the victorious and firſt ſole abſolute Monarch of the *Engliſh Empire*: both of them in a right line iſſued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the ſeuenth Chapter we haue ſaid.

ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT,

AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THe flame of the *Weſt-Saxons* for a time thus quenched, the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to ſhine, and to aſſume the Title of the Monarchie, after it had beene ſuppreſſed in them through the raignes of theſe foure laſt Kings: for young *Egberts* entrance, with the great loſſe of his *Kentiſh*, ouerthrowne by King *Cheuline*, gaue rather inducements to a tributary ſubiection, then any apparant hopes to purchaſe an Empire.

(2) But ſuch is the diſpoſe of God in his hidden Counſell, that things of leaſt appearance many times become the greateſt in ſubſtance, as in this Prince it was euidently ſeene, who making vſe of his owne youth and loſſe, got thereby experience, both to defenſe himſelfe, and to prouoke others, and with ſuch victories abroad, repaired his loſſes at home, that as farre as *Humber* he made all ſubiect to *Kent*.

(3) Thus growne to be the greateſt of any *Saxon* before him, hee ſought to hold it vp by forraine alliance, and to that end became ſuter for *Berta* a moſt vertuous Chriſtian Lady, the daughter of *Chilperik* King of *France*; vnto whom by her father ſhe was laſtlie granted, but with theſe conditions, that ſhe might reſerue her *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, enioy the preſence and the inſtructions of *Luidhard* her learned Biſhop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) Theſe couenants concluded, and many *French* Chriſtians attending her in his Court, by their daily ſeruice of God, and continuall practiſe of pietie, drew many of the *Engliſh* to fauour their Religion, yea and the King alſo to bee inclined that way. And as theſe were working the ſaluation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conuerſion of the reſt.

(5) It chanced great *Gregory* (then but Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to ſee certaine youths of this Iland brought to that Citie, to be ſold for ſlaues: His Chriſtian heart pitying at ſuch heatheniſh tyrannizing, and beholding ſtedfaſtly their faces to be faire and Angellike, demanded of their Merchants, of what Nation they came; who made him anſwer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name were knowne vnto other Nations. Indeed, ſaid he, and not without cauſe, for their reſemblance is *Angelicall*, and fit it is that they be made inheritours with the *Angels* in Heauen. But of what Prouince are they? ſaid *Gregory*. It was replied; Of *Deira*, a Country ſituated in the Continent of *Britaine*. Now ſurely, ſaith he, it is great pity but theſe people

people ſhould bee taken from *Dei ira, the ire of God.* And farther asking what was the name of their King, it was anſwered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he alluding, ſaid, that *Alleluia*, to the praiſe of God, in that Princes Dominions ſhould ſhortly be ſung.

Auſtine commeth into *England.*

(6) And to that purpoſe himſelfe, being afterwards Pope, ſent *Auſtine* a Monke, with forty others, for aſsiſtance, whereof *Melitus*, *Iuſtus*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. Theſe landing in *Tanet*, in the moneth of *July*, about fiue hundred ninety and ſix yeeres after the Incarnation of Chriſt, and one hundred forty and ſeuen after the firſt arriuage of theſe *Angles* into *Britaine*, had immediately acceſſe vnto the preſence of King *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open Field, for hee feared to conferre with them in any houſe, leſt by ſorcerie (as hee fondly ſurmiſed) he might be ouercome.

(7) Theſe preaching vnto him the word of life, his anſwer was, that preſently he could not conſent to their Doctrine, neither raſhly forſake his ancient and accuſtomed Religion. But ſeeing (ſaid hee) you tell vs ſtrange things, and giue vs faire promiſes of after life, when this life ſhall be ended, wee permit you to preach the ſame to our people, and to conuert as many as you can; and wee our ſelues will miniſter all things behouefull for your liuelihood. Which promiſe hee inſtantly performed, and in *Canterburie* his head City, allowed them fit places for reſidence, and ſufficient prouiſion for their maintenance; wherein theſe religious men, following in ſome meaſure the examples of the Apoſtles, ſpent their times in preaching and praiers, watching for the peoples conuerſions, and exerciſing the workes of true piety, as examples and motiues vnto others, to embrace the Goſpel which they ſought to plant.

Auſtine and his followers maintained in *Canturbury.*

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 26.

(8) Neere vnto the Eaſt part of the City, ſtood an ancient Church, built by the *Chriſtian Romans*, whiles they had dwelt in *Britaine*, and by them dedicated to the honour of *S. Martin*, and is ſo yet called. To this Church the Chriſtian Queene *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily reſorted to pray, and vnto theſe, and in this Church, *Auſtine* and his fellowes began daily to preach: vnto whoſe Sermons ſo many of the *Kentiſh* alſo reſorted, that a plentifull harueſt in ſhort time appeared, vpon the ſeede-plot of their tillage; for it is reported that ten thouſand of the *Engliſh* people were baptized there in one day, inſomuch that the King himſelfe forſooke his *Heatheniſh Idolatrie*, and likewiſe receiued the Sacrament of *Baptiſme*, vnto his ſaluation in *Chriſt*: in witneſſe whereof, hee gaue the Lordſhip and Royaltie of his chiefe Citie *Canterburie*, vnto *Auguſtine*, and reſigned his princely Palace therein vnto him, who in the Eaſt of this City laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the ſeruice and name of *Chriſt*, which at this day is the *Cathedrall* of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to giue him more roome, withdrew himſelfe vnto *Reculuer* in *Tanet*, where he erected a Palace for himſelfe and his ſucceſſours, the compaſſe wherof may be traced by an old wal, whoſe ruines remaine there yet to this day.

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 26.

Gregory lib. 7. cap. 26.

Canturbury giuen to *Auſtine.*

Wil. Lambert Paramb. of Kent.

(9) *Auſtine* thus ſeated, and in the well deſerued fauour of King *Ethelbert*, got one requeſt more, which was this, that whereas by the Law of the *Twelue Tables*, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walles of any Citie, (the practiſe whereof, wee daily finde by monuments taken vp in the fields adioining) it would pleaſe him to giue to that vſe, an old Idoll-Temple ſtanding without the Eaſt Wall of the Citie, wherin the King himſelfe had wontedly worſhipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged frō that prophane exerciſe, to the ſeruice of God, being honored with the name of *S. Pancras*, King *Ethelbert* added thereunto a moſt faire *Monaſterie*, built vpon his owne coſt, and dedicated it vnto the name of *Peter* and *Paul* the *Apoſtles*, appointing it to bee the place for the *Kentiſh* Kings Sepulchers, and *Auſtine* likewiſe meant it for the burials of his ſucceſſours in that See. But firſt it became the Monument of his owne name: for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were ſoone ſwallowed vp, and the whole called onely by the name of *S. Auſtines.* In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and tenne of their *Arch-biſhops* therein laid, vntill that *Cuthbert* the eleuenth in ſucceſsion, in fauour of *S. Iohns*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the ſonne of *Ercombert*, that the ſucceeding *Arch-biſhops* might be buried there. This *Monaſterie*, as all the reſt did, came to her fatall period in the daies of King *Henry* the Eighth; whoſe vncouered walles ſtood ſo long languiſhing in time and ſtormes of weather, that daily increaſed the aſpect of her ruines, till now laſtly they are made ſubiect to other publike vſes, and the whole tract of that moſt goodly foundation in the ſame place no where appearing. Onely *Ethelberts Tower*, in memorie and honour of the man, as yet hath eſcaped the verdict and ſentence of deſtruction; whoſe beauty, though much defaced and ouerworne, will witneſſe to ſucceeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all ſtood compleat in their glory together.

S. Auſtins Monaſterie.

Ethelberts Tower yet ſtanding.

The burial of the dead granted within the Citie.

(10) Theſe his happie beginnings, *Auſtine* ſignified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how he might further proceed: which queſtions, were they not written by the *Venerable Beda*, wee could hardly beleeue that ſuch idle conceits ſhould haue place in the minde of a man ſo well and fruitfully buſied: as, *Whether a woman with child might receiue the Sacrament of Baptiſme, or in her monethly diſeaſe, the holy Communion, or enter the Church: how long after her deliuerance, the husband ought to refraine her Bed: How the Gifts that were offred on the Altar, ought to be diſtributed: and vnto what degree of conſanguinitie Chriſtians might marie:* and many others ſuch like, as though himſelfe had neuer read either *Moſes* or *Paul.* But of the thing then more needfull, for that at that time it ſtirred moſt contention, it ſeemeth he was ſufficiently inſtructed; neither among his other queſtions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Eaſter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romans* was ſuch, that it cauſed Lord-like *Auſten* to prophecie (if not to ſeeke) their deſtructions; and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the Man of Sinne: for thus the Storie is reported.

Beda hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 27.

Auſtines queſtions to the Pope.

(11) *Auſtine*, by the aſsiſtance and authoritie of King *Ethelbert*, called an Aſſemblie of the *Britiſh Biſhops* and *Doctours*, that had retained the doctrine of the *Goſpell* amongſt them, euen from the firſt plantation thereof by the *Apoſtles* themſelues, to be holden in the Borders of the *Victians* and *Weſt-Saxons*, and at the place vpon that occaſion called * *Auguſtines Oake: thither reſorted ſeuen Britiſh Biſhops, and many other well-learned men* (ſaith *Beda*) *out of their greateſt Monaſterie at Bangor, where at that time Dinoth was Abbat. Theſe men now ready to goe to the foreſaid Synod, came firſt to a certaine holy and wiſe man, which liued thereabout an Anchorets life, to aske his counſell, whether they ought at Auſtins preaching and exhortation, leaue their Traditions or no: The Anchoret replied, If he be a man of God, follow him. But how ſhall we proue* (ſaid they) *that hee is a man of God? The Anchoret anſwered, Our Lord ſaith, Take yee on you my Yoke, and learne ye of me, for I am milde and humble of heart. If therefore this Auſtine bee milde and humble of heart, it is like that himſelfe beareth the Yoke of Chriſt, and will offer you the ſame to beare. But if hee bee curſt and proud, it is certaine that hee is not of God, neither muſt we much eſteeme his words. Then they enquired, how they might know whether this Auſtine were proud or no: Prouide* (quoth he) *that he and his companie may come firſt to the place of the Synod or Councell-houſe: and if it bee ſo that when you approch neere him, he ariſe courteouſly, and ſalute you, then thinke him to bee the ſeruant of Chriſt, and ſo heare him, and obey him: but if when you approch, hee deſpiſe you, and will not vouchſafe to riſe at your preſence, which are the greater number, let him likewiſe bee deſpiſed of you. And truly* (ſaith hee) *as this Anchoret bade them, ſo did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, S. Auſtine was already ſet in his chaire, and ſtirred not: which*

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 2. Rand. Ceſ. Sigebertus. Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.

* About Smithamton as thought.

The Anchorits counſell.

which when they saw, forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeuoured to ouerthwart and gainsay whatsoeuer he proposed. And so the *Synod* brake vp without any thing done.

Thus then wee see, that the substance of doctrine was embraced in *Britaine*, before the sending of *Austin* from *Rome*: only in ceremonies they dissented, as the most of Christian Churches, without derogation to the Gospell, at this day doe. And this for the celebration of *Easter*, a matter of no great moment (if we consider our Christian libertie, and the *Apostles* feare, that the obseruations of daies, moneths, times, and yeeres, turne the hearts after *beggerly rudiments*, bring againe into bondage, and make his labours for Christ in vaine) yet for the different obseruation only of this Feast from the *Romans*, how oft are the *Britaines* tearmed by *Beda*, a wicked people, a cursed nation, and well deseruing those calamities which the Lord did afflict vpon them? This controuersie for *Easters* celebration, thus begun, continued no lesse then ninety yeeres after, and was lastly concluded in manner as followeth.

(12) This variance (saith *Beda*) made not onely the people to doubt and feare, lest bearing the name of *Christians*, they did and had *runne in vaine*, as the Apostle speaketh, but also good *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*, and learned Prince *Alkfryd*, with Queene *Eanfled*, were much distracted and perplexed: for by this variance (saith hee) it often times hapned, that in one yeere two *Easters* were kept; for the King breaking vp his Fast, and solemnizing of the Feast, the Queene with Prince *Alkfrid*, continued their Fast, and kept that day their *Palme-Sunday*. To conclude which contrarietie, a *Synod* purposely was called, and the Question disputed by their best Diuines. The place was *Stranshalch* or *Whitby*, whereof *Hilda* was Abbesse. The chiefe parties for, and against the accustomed time of keeping that feast, were King *Oswy* and Prince *Alkfrid* his sonne. The Disputers for *Oswy* and the established orders, were *Colman* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, with his *Scotish Clergie*, and *Hilda* the vertuous and learned Lady Abbesse of the place. For *Alkfrid* and the attempted alteration, were *Agilbert* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*; *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Rippon*, with *Iames* and *Romanus*, two learned men, and the reuerend *Cedda* newly consecrated Bishop, appointed *Prolocutor* of the Assembly.

The *Conuocation* set, King *Oswy* made a solemne Oration, wherein hee vrged a necessitie, that those people which serued one God, ought to celebrate his heauenly Sacraments alike, and should keepe one order and rule in the same: the truth of which seruice, and surcease of that long vnchristian variance, for the Christian celebration and time of *Easter*, was then presently by those learned men to bee handled, and by best approouements to be determined; whereunto hee requested their vttermost endeuours, and to that purpose commanded his Arch-bishop *Colman* first to speake: whereupon *Colman* with reuerence stood vp and said: *The Easter which I obserue, I receiued of my Fore-fathers, of whom I was consecrated, and sent hither for your Bishop. They all (you know) were godly men, and obserued the Feast as we doe now; neither thinke you they kept this tradition without sure warrant from greater then themselues, which was Saint Iohn the Euangelist, and the Disciple whom Iesus especially loued, who in the Churches which himselfe planted, celebrated the Feast of Easter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man so worthy, and the manner so ancient, I hope you will all confesse, it is not safe for vs now to reiect.*

Wilfride the declaimer, appointed to answer, stood vp and said: *The Easter which we obserue, wee our selues haue seene obserued in Rome, where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul liued, preached, suffred, and are buried: and in our trauels thorow France and Italie, either for studie or vpon pilgrimage, we haue seene the same order kept: and we know by relation, that in Africke, Asia, Ægypt and Greece, nay thorowout all nations and tongues in the world where Christ hath his Church, that this our time and order is obserued. Shall then these obstinate Picts (I meane the Britaines) and these remote Ilands in the Ocean Sea, and yet not all of them neither, fondly contend in this point against the whole world?*

But here *Colman* interrupted him, and said, *I much marueil, brother, that you terme our doings a fond contention, seeing we haue for our warrant so worthy an Apostle as Iohn was, who only leaned vpon our Lords brest, and whose life and behauiour all the world acknowledgeth to bee most wise and discreet.*

God forbid (said *Wilfrid*) *that I should accuse Iohn: but yet we know that he kept the decrees of Moses literally, and according to the Iewish Lawes; and so the rest of the Apostles were constrained in some things to doe, for the weakenesse of them who accounted it a great sin to abrogate those rites that God himselfe had instituted; and for that cause S. Paul did circumcise Timothie, offred bloud-sacrifices in the Temple, shaued his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla: vpon which consideration also spake Iames vnto Paul, You see brother how many thousand of the Iewes haue receiued the faith, and all of these are yet zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospell now shining thorow the world, it is not lawfull for any Christian to bee circumcised, or to offer vp bloudy sacrifices of Beasts. Saint Iohn therefore, according to the custome of the Law, in the fourteenth day of the first moneth, at euen began the celebration of Easters Festiuitie, regardlesse whether it fell vpon the Sabbath day, or any other of the weeke. But S. Peter preaching the Gospell in Rome, remembring that our Lord arose from his graue the first day after the Sabbath, giuing thereby vnto vs certaine assurance of our resurrection, obserued the Feast of Easter according to the Commandement of that Law he looked for, euen as S. Iohn did, that is to say, the first Sabbath after the full Moone of the first moneth. Neither doth this new obseruation of the Gospell, and Apostles practise, breake the old Law, but rather fulfilleth it; for the Law commandeth the Feast of Passeouer to bee kept from the foureteenth day of that moneth, to the twentie and one of the same. And this hath the Nicene Councell not newly decreed, but rather confirmed (as the Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth) that this is the true obseruation of Easter, and of all Christians after this account is to bee celebrated: and thereupon charged Bishop Colman, that hee neither obserued it according to Iohn nor Peter.*

To this the Bishop replied, that *Anatholius for his holinesse much commended by the said Ecclesiasticall Historie, and Columba a Father of like sanctitie, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the Feast according as he then did, from whose imitation he durst not digresse.*

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy soeuer they bee (said *Wilfrid*) *and what miracles soeuer they haue wrought, yet this I answer, that in the day of iudgement many shall say vnto Christ, that they haue propheried, cast out Diuels, and wrought miracles in his name, to whom our Lord will answer, I know you not. And if your Father Columba (yea and our Father, if hee be the true seruant of Christ) were holy and mightie in miracles, yet can hee by no meanes bee preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, vnto whom our Lord said, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and to thee will I giue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen.* Thus said, the King asked *Colman*, whether *our Lord indeede spake thus vnto Peter, who answered, He did. But can you* (said hee) *giue euidence of so speciall authoritie granted to your Father Columba?* The Bishop said, *No. Then* (quoth the King) *doe you both agree confidently, that these words were principally spoken vnto Peter, and that vnto him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen were giuen?* They all answered, *It is most certaine.* Whereupon the King concluded this great controuersie, and said, *Then will not I gainesay such a Porter as this is, but as farre as I know, and am able, I will conuet in all points to obey his ordinance, lest perhaps when I come to the Doores of Heauen, I finde none to open vnto mee, hauing his displeasure, which is so cleerely prooued to beare the keyes thereof.*

And with this so simple a collection of King *Oswy*, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of *Easter*; which heere, as borne before the

Colmans temeritie.

Wilfrids moderation.

Act. 21. 20.

Exod. 12.

Rufinus lib. 10. cap. 6.

Colman.

Wilfrid.

Matth. 7.

Matth. 16.

The Synod mildly dismissed by King Oswy.

time, I haue inſerted, to continue the narration thereof together, & to auoid repetition of the ſame things, which I ſeeke purpoſely to ſhunne; and ſo returne againe to King *Ethelbert*.

(13) Who now became an inſtrument himſelfe for the conuerſions of his Nation the *Saxons*. The firſt fruits of his intendements were wrought vpon *Sebert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, his owne ſiſters ſonne, whom not onely hee conuerted to Chriſtianitie, but therein aſsiſted him in the building of the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul* for *Miletus* his Biſhop; as alſo the Church of *S. Peters* on the Weſt of *London*, then called *Thorny*, with the aſsiſtance of a *London* Citizen, as ſome haue ſaid; and himſelf at *Rocheſter*, built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the *Apoſtle S. Andrew*.

Holinſh. hiſt. Ang. lib. 5. cap. 21. Beda hiſtor. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(14) This noble King hauing a care for them that ſhould come after, brought the Lawes of his Country into their owne mother tongue, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance the glorious *Goſpell of Chriſt*, or with honour adorne his owne temporall raigne; and is worthily an example to all ſucceeding Princes, in all true pietie, and heroicall parts of a true Chriſtian King. He died the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, in the yeere of our Lord God ſix hundred and ſixteene, being the one and twentieth of his *Chriſtianitie*, the three and twentieth of his *Monarchie*, and the fifty ſixth of his Kingdome of *Kent*, and was buried at *Canterbury* in the Church of *S. Peter* and *Paul*, afterwards called *S. Auguſtines*, in the Chapell of *S. Martines*.

VVil. Malmeſ. Wil. Thorne. Regiſter Cant.

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 5. Ethelbert, how long he raigned.

(15) His firſt wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik* King of *France*, as we haue ſaid, who was the ſon of King *Clotayre*, the ſonne of *Clodoue*, the firſt Chriſtian King of that Country. Shee deceaſed before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of *S. Peter* & *Paul* and *Canterburie*, within the Chapell of *S. Martines* there.

(16) He had a ſecond wife, whoſe name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, vnworthy of remembrance, becauſe of the vnnaturall contract and mariage of *Edbald* her husbands ſonne; a ſinne that both Law and Religion doe condemne: and laſtly by her conuerted husband was forſaken, without either note of her iſſue or death.

(17) The iſſue of King *Ethelbert* by Queene *Berta* were *Edbald* that ſucceeded him in the *Kentiſh* Kingdome, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburge* two daughters.

(18) *Ethelburg*, the elder, was a Lady of paſsing beautie and pietie, and ſurnamed *Tace*, who greatly deſired and intended a Virgins life, had not her mind beene auerted by the intreaty of her brother, the perſwaſions of Biſhop *Paulinus*, and the earneſt ſuit of *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*; vnto which *Edwine* laſtly ſhe yeelded to bee his wife, in hope of his conuerſion, and vnto whom for that purpoſe Pope *Boniface* directed his Epiſtle from *Rome*, earneſtly exhorting her that ſhee ſhould bee diligent for the Kings ſaluation: which ſhee ſoone after effected, to the great ioy of both the Kings, and to the comfort and increaſe of the Chriſtian Faith thorowout *England*.

Beda hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 11.

(19) *Edburg*, another daughter of King *Ethelbert*, is warranted only by the teſtimonie of *Iohn Capgraue*, a great traueller in Antiquities, and ſhould bee moſt skilful in his own Country of *Kent:* notwithſtanding he is to be ſuſpected in this, that hee reporteth her to haue beene a Nunne in the Monaſterie of *Minſter* in the Ile of *Thanet*, vnder the Foundreſſe *Domnewe*, being the daughter of her nephew *Ermenred*, and that ſhee ſucceeded in the gouernment of that houſe, *Mildred* the daughter of the ſame *Domnewe*. Hee reporteth alſo, that ſhee died and was buried in the ſame place, and that her body was from thence remooued by the Arch-biſhop *Lankfrank*, to his Church of *S. Gregorie* in *Canterburie*.

Capgraue.

REDVVALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XIX.

AN. D. 616.

Edwald, the ſonne of *Titulus*, and the third King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, had been a ſubſtitute vnder *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and ſerued a long time as his Vice-roy ouer all his dominions, whereby he gained ſuch reputation to himſelfe, that either for his owne valour, or *Edbalds* vices, (contemned of the people for his Apoſtaſie, frenſie, and inceſtuous bed) became the ſeuenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, about the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation ſix hundred and ſixteene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne ouer the *Eaſt-Angles*.

(2) This *Redwald* (ſaith *Beda*) had receiued Baptiſme in *Kent*, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perſwaſion of his wife, returned againe to

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 15.

to his superstitious worships; and in one and the same Temple, after the manner of the old *Samaritans*, hee erected an Altar for the seruice of Christ, and another little Altar for burnt sacrifices to his Idols, which stood vnto the daies of *Beda* himselfe. But as she was an instigator to the *East-Saxons* idolatry, so was shee an instrument to the further spreading of Christianitie (though not by her so purposely meant) in sauing the life of *Edwine*, who afterwards planted the Gospell in all the North parts of the *Saxons* gouernment.

(3) For *Edwine* flying the rage of wilde *Ethelfrid*, was succoured and maintained in the Court of King *Redwald*, vnto whom lastly, the *Northumbrian* sent both threats and rewards to haue him deliuered, or else put to death: and surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presently died. But she alleaging the law of humanitie, the trust of a friend, and the royaltie of a Prince, preuailed so farre, that *Redwald* did not onely saue his life, but assisted him in battell, to the destruction of his enemie, and the gaining of *Northumberlands* Crowne. For vpon the return of *Ethelfrids* Ambassadors, vnto whom *Redwald* had yeelded to make *Edwine* away, he with his power of the *East-Angles* were at their backes, and as an enemie made towards *Northumberland*.

(4) *Ethelfrid*, whose rage and reuenge was ready enough vpon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparation as he was able to make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Nottingham*, and that not farre from the Riuer *Idle*, where boldly encountring his vnequall enemie, at the first brunt slew *Reynhere* the sonne of King *Redwald*, to the great griefe of him and his whole host: whose reuenge was so violently sought, that they slew King *Ethelfrid* in the field, and established *Edwine* to be his successor; which was the second yeere of *Redwalds* Monarchy. *Redwald, his raigne.*

(5) Wherein he raigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the *East-Angles* thirty one, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord six hundred twentie foure; the eighth of *Edbalds* King of *Kent*; the thirteenth of *Kingils* King of the *West-Saxons*, and the eighth of *Edwins* ouer the *Northumbrians*.

(6) The Queene and wife of this King is not named by any of our Writers, but that she had been the widow of a Nobleman, descended of the bloud-royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserued great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had she been a Christian, or a fauorer of the Christians, or had not been an vtter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named *Sigebert*, that proued a learned and most religious Prince, of whom we haue spoken in Chapter eleuenth.

(7) His issue were *Reynhere* and *Erpenwald*. *Reynhere* the elder, and Prince of the *East-Angles*, was slaine as you haue heard, in the battell that his father fought against wilde *Ethelfrid*, neere vnto the Riuer *Idle* in *Nottingham-shire*.

(8) *Erpenwald* the younger succeeded his father *Redwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and was the fourth King of that Nation, whose life and raigne we haue declared in the succession of the *East-Angles* Kings: Chapter 11.

EDVVINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE EIGHTH SOLE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XX.

THE Monarch reuerted from the *East-Angles*, was next possessed by the *Northumbrians*, wherein it was held with greater glorie and for longer time. For *Edwine* in King *Redwalds* life growne very potent, after his death became his successor in the *English* Monarch, and most worthily did adorne the same by his ciuill iustice and diuine pietie: his exile, visions, and obtaining of the *Northumbrians* Crowne, we haue already spoken of, and therefore without repetition will passe on to his end. An.Do.617.

(2) This *Edwine*, the sonne of great *Ella*, the first King of the *Deirians*, was the third King that possessed the same, the eighth of *Bernicia*, the second (and first Christian) King of all *Northumberland*, at the age of twenty three, and in the yeere of Christ six hundred twenty foure, succeeded *Redwald* in the Monarchy, and was the greatest King of all the *Saxons*. For (as An.Do.624.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(as *Beda* saith) hee subdued all the coasts of *Britannie* whersoeuer any Prouinces were inhabited, either of *English* or of *Saxons*, which thing no King of the *English* before him had done; and added the * *Meuian Iles* vnto his owne Dominions. The first of them, and next the South, was large and fertile, gaue roome for nine hundred and sixty of his English Families, and the second, ground for aboue three hundred Tenements.

Hebrides.

(3) His first wife dead, he became suiter for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, deceased, and sister to King *Eadbald* then raigning: whose Ambassadours were answered, that it was not lawfull for a *Christian Virgin* to bee espoused to a *Pagan*, lest the faith and sacraments of the heauenly King should bee prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worship God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgins beautie, integrity, and pietie, was so farre ouergone and rauished therewith, that hee condescended, shee should with her place retain her owne *Christian Profession*, and enioy the *Christian* societie both of her men, woman, Priests, and seruants, to bee her attendants in his Court. These couenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reuerend Bishop, and an honourable retinue, all of them Christian, came to King *Edwins* Court, and with great ioy shee was espoused his Queene.

Ethelburgs good parts.

(4) The greatnesse and prosperitie of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them a farre, that raigned in no such power, and beheld by his neerer, with an enuious eie: among whom, *Quinchelme* that raigned with his father king ouer the *West-Saxons*, sent a desperate Ruffin, whose name was *Eumerus*, to murder *Edwin* the next yeere of his mariage; who repairing to his Court, then resident neere the riuer *Deruent*, at the place that is now called *Aldeby* in *Yorkshire*, with a double-edged short sword, the point thereof poisoned, and girt vnder his garment, vpon *Easter* day entred his Palace, as an Ambassadour, and with craftie speech reteined the Kings attention, where getting occasion, and stepping forward, drew his sword, which one *Lilla* the Kings seruant saw, and wanting wherewith to defend his person, put himselfe betwixt the King and the sword: and thorow his bodie so slaine, the same was so farre runne, that it dangerously wounded the King with his point, and with the same sword, before he could be beaten down by the *Guard*, slew another seruant, whose name was *Fordhere*.

A conspiracie.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(5) It happened the same night, being holy *Easter* Sunday, that Queene *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for ioy whereof, and her safe deliuerance, the King gaue thankes to his *Idols*; which Bishop *Paulinus*, then in presence, greatly reproued, and bade *Edwin* to giue thankes vnto *God*, from whom only all goodnesse came; and spake vnto him of our new birth in Christ: at which conference the King much reioiced, and promised that hee would euer after renounce all his *Idols*, and worship that *Christ* whom he preached, if that God would grant him his life, and giue him victorie against that King, who had sent this Manqueller to murder him; in pledge whereof, he assigned *Paulinus* to baptise his daughter, the which vpon *Whitsunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Eanfled*, and shee the first of the *Northumbrians* which receiued that *Sacrament*. At which time also, *Edwin* being recouered of his wound so lately receiued, made an Armie, and marched forth against the *West-Saxons*, and in battle either slew or tooke prisoners al them that had conspired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Country.

Bishop Paulinus.

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires prospering to his owne desires, hee was yet in minde distracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God he should worship. The sanctitie of the *Christians* mooued him much, and the ancient customes of his Ancestours sate neere his heart, betwixt whom there seemed a combat in himselfe. And in these dumps sitting one day alone, it chanced Bishop *Paulinus* to haue accesse to his presence, where laying his right hand vpon the kings head, demanded of him whether hee remembred that signe: whereat *Edwine* suddenly fell at the Bishops feete, whom hee in haste and reuerence presently lifted vp, and spake vnto him as followeth.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Behold O Soueraigne (said he) *by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you haue escaped the hand and vengeance of your most hated and dreadfull enemie. Behold also, by his most gracious goodnes you haue obtained the soueraigntie of raigne and rule of the Kingdome. Remember now therefore the third thing which you promised him, and deferre no longer to accomplish the same by receiuing his faith and keeping his Commandements, who hath deliuered you from your temporall aduersities, and exalted you to the honour and Maiestie of a King; whose holy will if you hereafter obey, and doe his precept which by mee is preached, hee will also deliuer you from the perpetuall torment of Hell, and make you partaker with him in his heauenly Kingdome and eternall blisse without end.*

Edwine put in minde of couenants.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his *Counsell*, whereof Bishop *Coyfi* was chiefe, for the establishing of the Gospell, and suppressing of Idolatrie, it was then concluded, that the true God should bee worshipped, and the Altars of their wonted Idols ouerthrowne: vnto which action, *Coyfi* himselfe became the first man; for mounted on horsebacke in armour, with a girt sword and launce in his hand (all which was vnlawfull for those *Idoll-Priests*) he brake downe their Altars, Grates, and Barres, and destroied their Temples whersoeuer he came. Some ruines thereof not farre from *Yorke*, and neere vnto the rising of the riuer *Derwent*, remained to be seen vnto the daies of *Beda*, and were then called *Gotmund* in *Gaham*. And king *Edwine* himselfe, with all his Nobilitie, and most of the Commons, receiued the lauer of *Baptisme*, the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, and of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty and seuen, one hundred and eighty yeeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britaine*. The king was baptized the twelfth of *Aprill*, being Easter Sunday, at the Citie *Yorke*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the kings Oratorie, which he enclosed about with a deepe foundation; and laying the walles with squared stones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Conuerter *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of that See.

Idolatrie abolished.

Beda hist. Angl. cap. 13.

(8) The Gospell thus established in these Northerne parts, spread daily further into other Prouinces, and with such fruit of peace, that in the raigne of this *Edwin*, and thorowout his Dominions, a weake woman with her new-borne babe might haue passed without dammage or danger ouer all the Iland, euen from Sea to Sea. And so much did the King tender his Subiects, that his prouident care was extended to the way-faring passengers, for whose vse he enclosed cleere Springs by the waies, where he set great Basens of brasse, both to wash and to bathe in; which either for loue or displeasure of the king, no man defaced, or tooke away.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 16.

And so great was the magnificence of this *Monarch*, that (according to *Bede*) he had not only in Battle the Ensignes proper to battle borne before him, but in his ordinarie passages thorow the Cities and Towns of his kingdome, there alwaies went an Ensigne-bearer before him. And (to vse the words of the same venerable Author) he went not in any street, in which there was not borne before him that kinde of Standard which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and the *English Thuuf*. That the *Romans* had such an Ensigne, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Iustus Lipsius* in his Commentarie vpon that place in *Vegetius* (*lib. 3. cap. 5.*) where the seuerall Ensignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare, correcting that place of *Vegetius* (where *Rufa* was set for *Tufa*) by this place of *Bede*, and in the same shewing, that *Tufa* signified a *Ball*, as the *Ball* (by the example of *Augustus*) was an Ensigne of Monarchie, or absolute gouernment.

Tufa the Roman Ensigne.

Iustus Lipsius.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his rising, his height and

and descent, and euer is mouing in the circle of his celestiall orbe; so man hath his birth time, being, and death, and till then is neuer staied in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they be Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, goe to the shadow of death: neither can the strength of their power, wisdome, or policie, loue or applause, stay the hand heere that holds the fatall knife; for so in this King *Edwin* wee see, raised aboue hope to attaine the Diademe, and ruling in loue and liking of the people, was notwithstanding cut off in the midst of his glorie and greatnesse of strength.

(10) For *Penda* the stout *Mercian* enuying his peace, and *Cadwallo* the *Britaine* seeking to receiue his right, ioined in friendship against this Monarch, and met him as his enemies in the face of a Field. The plaine was large, and called *Hethfeild*, where after a long and most bloudie fight, king *Edwin* was slaine, with prince *Offryd* his sonne, his whole Host put to the sword, or most shamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty three, the sixth of his *Christianitie*, the seuenth of his *Monarchie*, the seuenteenth of his kingdome, and the forty seuenth of his age. His bodie was lastly buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Whitby*.

His Wiues.

(11) *Quenburg* his first wife, was the daughter (as *Beda* reporteth) of *Ceorle*; but as all other Writers doe witnesse, of *Crida* King of *Mercia*. She was married vnto him in the beginning of his youth; (and when he was dispossessed of his inheritance by the Tyrant *Ethelfrid*, as we haue said) with him shee liued a great part of his banishment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles* deceased, before her husband could recouer his Kingdome.

(12) *Ethelburg*, surnamed *Tate*, was the second wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and of Queene *Berta* his first wife. She was married vnto him in the yeere of grace six hundred twentie fiue, being the second of his Monarchy, and was his wife six yeeres: but suruiuing him, and desirous to liue a religious life, shee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her selfe to a place not far from the Sea side, called *Lymming*, wherein shee built a Monasterie of Nunnes, and among them spent the rest of her life, and therein died, and was there buried.

His Issue.

(13) *Offride*, the eldest sonne of King *Edwine*, and *Quenberg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *East-Angles*. He was baptized in the faith of Christ by *Paulinus* the first Archbishop of *Yorke*, and was slaine the same day, and in the same battell that his father was. He had a sonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized also by Bishop *Paulinus*; and after the death of his father and grand-father, for feare of King *Oswald*, was conueied ouer the Seas into *France*, to bee brought vp in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he died in his childhood, and was there honourably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edwine* and Lady *Quenberg* his first wife; was borne in the time of his fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offrid* by Bishop *Paulinus*. After his fathers death, for feare of King *Oswald*, hee fled to *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who was his fathers enemie, and his mothers kinsman; by whom hee was most treacherously murthered. He left behind him a sonne named *Hererik*, who by his wife *Bertswith* had issue the vertuous & learned lady *Hilda*, Abbesse of *Streanshalch*: & Queen *Hereswith* her sister, the wife of *Ethelhere* King of the *East-Angles* brother to King *Anna*, by whom shee had issue *Aldwolfe*, *Elswold*, and *Beorne*, all three succeeding Kings of the *East-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third sonne of King *Edwine*, and the first of Queen *Ethelburg* his second wife, was baptized by *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, not long after his father and halfe-brethren; but in short space after his baptisme, he departed out of this world, euen in the time that he wore the white attire, which in those daies was vsed to bee worne by such as were newly baptized for a certaine space. His body was with all due funerall obsequies enterred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the Citie of *Yorke*, which his father had newly founded.

(16) *Vskfrea*, the fourth sonne of King *Edwine*, and the second of Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife; and the last and youngest of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grandfather. He was baptized by the Arch-bishop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the decease of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*; and from thence conueied him ouer into *France* with his Nephew *Iffy*, the sonne of his halfe-brother *Offrid*, where hee continued in the custodie of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers cosen-german, and there died, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Eanfled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine* and Queene *Ethelberg* his second wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded and baptized, hee being a Pagan. Shee was afterwards married to *Oswy*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as shall bee said

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3 cap. 19.

(18) *Ethelbrid* the younger daughter, the fifth and last-borne child to King *Edwine* and of Queene *Ethelburge*, was baptized at the same time with *Ethelme* and *Vskfrea* her brethren. She died an infant, the white clothing not yet put off, which in those daies was vsually worne at certaine set times after their baptisme, and was with like funerall obsequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the Church of *S. Peters* in *Yorke*, which their father had founded.

Oſwald.

OSVVALD KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 9.

Chapter XXI.

An.Do.634.

OSwald, the fifth King of *Deira*, the ninth of *Bernicia*, the third of *Northumberland*, and the ninth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, began his raigne the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſix hundred thirty foure. He with *Eanfrith* and his brethren, the ſonnes of wilde *Ethelfrid*, and *Oſrik* alſo the ſonne of *Alfrid* King *Edwins* Vncle had been ſecured in *Scotland* all his raigne, and among the *Red-ſhanks* liued as baniſhed men, where they learned the true religion of Chriſt, and had receiued the Lauer of Baptiſme. But *Edwines* death wrought and diuulged, theſe Princes returne again to their Country, and the *Northumbrians* Kingdome lately gouerned by one, was now againe diuided into two ſeuerall parts, as formerly it had been.

(2) Ouer the *Deirans*, *Oſrik* was made king, and of *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* aſſumed the raigne; but Gods iuſtice ouer taking their Apoſtaſie, neither their liues nor this diuiſion laſted long. For *Cadwall* the Chriſtian, and *Penda* the Pagan were Gods inſtruments, that with worthy vengeance in the firſt yeere of their gouernment, cut the one off in battell, and the other by trechery; whoſe names and yeere of raigne as vnhappy and of hatefull remembrance, the Hiſtoriographers of thoſe times would haue to be omitted.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(3) But religious *Oſwald* lamenting the effuſion of his Countries bloud, long ſlept not, their reuenge. For aſſembling his power, which was not great, hee ſuddenly and vnlooked for came vpon *Cadwallo*, and at *Deniſeburne* pitched downe his tents. The place (ſaith *Beda*) ſtood neere the wall that *Seuerus* had made, where *Oſwald* for the firſt day forbare to fight, and among his Souldiers for his Standerd ſet vp a Croſſe of wood; whereunto it ſeemeth thoſe dawning daies of Chriſtianity were ouermuch addicted. Here *Oſwald* making firſt interceſsion to God, the onely preſeruer of his people, in ſore & long fight obtained great victory, with the ſlaughter of *Cadwallo*, and of all his Britiſh Army: which ſo accompliſhed, many haue attributed the vertue of that Croſſe to bee no ſmall cauſe of that great ouerthrow. This Croſſe ſo ſet vp, was the firſt we read of to haue been erected in *England*, and the firſt Altar vnto Chriſt among the *Bernicians*, whoſe pretended miraculous cures, not onely in the wood it ſelfe, but in the moſſe and in the earth wherein it was ſet, let *Beda* report them, and *Stapleton* vrge them, yet for my part, I hold them no Article of our canonicall Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that *Oſwald* himſelfe was a moſt religious and godly king, and tooke ſuch care for the conuerſion and ſaluation of his ſubiects, that he ſent into *Scotland* for *Aidan* a Chriſtian Biſhop, to inſtruct his *Northumbrians* in the Goſpell of truth. And whereas the Biſhops could not ſpeake their language, the king himſelfe was interpreter at his Sermons, and gaue his words in the *Engliſh*, as hee ſpake and pronounced them in the *Scotiſh*, which language *Oſwald* perfectly ſpake, hauing beene there the ſpace of eighteene yeeres.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Hect. Boetius.

Thus the godly proceedings of the king and Biſhop, produced ſuch increaſe of their heauenly ſeed, that it is reported in ſeuen daies ſpace, fifteene thouſand Chriſtians receiued Baptiſme; and many of them forſaking the pleaſures of the world, to haue betake themſelues to a religious and ſolitarie life.

(5) At this time the whole Iland flouriſhed both with peace and plentie, and acknowledged their ſubiection vnto king *Oſwald*. For, as *Beda* reporteth, *all the Nations of Britannie which ſpake foure languages, that is to ſay, Britaines, Redſhanks, Scots, and Engliſhmen, became ſubiect vnto him. And yet being aduanced to ſo royall Maieſtie, he was notwithſtanding (which is maruellous tobe reported) lowly to all, gracious to the poore, and bountifull to ſtrangers.* The fruits whereof the ſame Author exem-

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 6.

exemplifieth in his bounty and humilitie towards the poore; who vpon a ſolemne feaſt day, ſeeing many ſuch at his gates, ſent them both the delicates for himſelfe prepared, & commanded the charger of ſiluer to be broken, and diuided among them. The Biſhop much reioycing thereat, tooke the king by the right hand, and praied that it might neuer conſume; as after his death it did not, but was ſhrined in ſiluer, and in *S. Peters* Church at *Bebba*, now *Bambrough*, with worthy honor was worſhipped for the many miracles in cures that it did, as likewiſe the earth wherein his bloud was ſpilt: with ſuch lauiſh enlargements haue thoſe writers interlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his ſhadow, and the higheſt tide her ebbe, ſo *Oſwald*, how holy ſoeuer, or gouernment how good, had emulators that ſought his life, and his Countries ruine: for wicked *Penda* the *Pagan Mercian*, enuying the greatneſſe that king *Oſwald* bare, raiſed warres againſt him, and at a place then called *Maſerfeild* in *Shrop-ſhire*, in a bloudie and ſore fought battle ſlew him; and not therewith ſatiſfied, in barbarous and brutiſh immanitie, did teare him in peeces, the firſt day of Auguſt, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſix hundred forty two, being the ninth of his raigne, and the thirty eighth of his age: whereupon the ſaid place of his death is called to this day *Oſwaldſtree*, a faire Market Towne in the ſame Countie.

(7) The diſmembred limmes of his body were firſt buried in the *Monaſtery* of *Bradney* in *Lincolnſhire*, ſhrined with his ſtandard of Gold and Purple erected ouer his Tombe, at the induſtry and coſt of his neece *Offryd*, Queene of *Mercia*, wife vnto king *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Oſwyn* that ſucceeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards remooued to *Gloceſter*, and there in the north ſide of the vpper end of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chapell ſet betwixt two pillers in the ſame Church.

His Wife.

(8) *Kineburg*, a moſt vertuous Lady, and daughter to *Kingils* the ſixth, and firſt Chriſtian king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was the wife of king *Oſwald*, who became both his father and ſonne in the day of her mariage, by receiuing him at the Font, and her of his gift. She was maried vnto him in the ſecond yeere of his raign, which was the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred thirty ſix: no other relation made of her beſides the birth of his ſonne.

His Iſſue.

(9) *Ethelwald*, the only childe of king *Oſwald* and Queene *Kineburg* his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred thirty ſeuen, being the third yeere of his fathers raigne; and but an infant at his fathers death, was diſappointed of the *Northumbrian Kingdome* by the fraud of his vncle *Oſwyn*. Notwithſtanding at the death of *Oſwin* king of *Deira*, and then not aboue ſixteene yeeres of age, hee tooke the ſame kingdome, and by ſtrong hand held it againſt his vncle ſo long as he liued, and at his death left it to his coſen *Alkefryd*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwyne*, as in the ninth Chapter we haue ſaid.

OSVVY KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE TENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND CHILDREN.

Monarch. 10.

CHAPTER XXII.

Swye, the illegitimate ſonne of King *Ethelfrid*, ſurnamed the *Wilde*, at thirty yeeres of age ſucceeded *Oſwald* his halfe brother in his Dominions, being the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and the tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, entring his gouernment the thirteenth day of October, and yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred forty three. His firſt beginnings were much diſquieted by *Penda* the *Heathen Mercian*, by the rebellions of his baſe ſonne *Alkfrid*, and by the oppoſitions of *Ethelwald* the ſon of King *Oſwald*: but none ſate more neere his heart then *Oſwyn* king of the *Deirians* did, whoſe vertuous gouernment did much darken (as hee tooke it) his owne, and the free loue of thoſe ſubiects, daily to leſſen his among the *Bernicians*.

Oſwyns enuie.

(2) This *Oſwyn* of *Deira* was the ſonne of *Oſrike* (who

Oſwyn King of the *Deirians*.

Oſwyn King of the *Deirians.*

(who did apoſtate from his faith) and ruling his Prouince in plentie and peace the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, was therefore greatly enuied by *Oſwy* of *Bernicia*, and laſtly by him prouoked into the field. Their hoſts met at the place then called *Wilfares Downe*, ten miles

Cataract. Village.

Weſt from the village *Cataracton*, and there attended to hazard the day. But *Oſwyn* finding himſelfe too weake for *Oſwy*, and to ſaue the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, forſooke the field, accompanied onely with one Souldier, and went to Earle *Hunwald* his friend as he thought, to ſecure his life. But contrary to truſt, hee deliuered him vnto King *Oſwy*, who cruelly ſlew him the twentieth of *Auguſt*, and ninth of his raigne, at the place called *Ingethling*; where afterwards for ſatisfaction of ſo hainous an offence, a Monaſterie was built, as vpon like occaſions, many the like foundations were laid; whoſe ſtones were thus ioyned with the morter of bloud.

Oſwyns betraied into the hands of *Oſwy.*

Beda his report of *Oſwyns* vertue.

(3) Of this *Oſwine* thus ſlaine, *Beda* reporteth the Story following: *Among his other rare vertues and princely qualities, his humility* (ſaith he) *and paſſing lowlineſſe excelled*: whereof he thus exemplifieth: *The reuerend Chriſtian Biſhop Aidan vſing much trauell to preach the Goſpell thorowout that Prouince, the King for his more eaſe, gaue him a goodly Gelding with rich and coſtly trapping. It chanced one day, as the Biſhop rode to miniſter the word of life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but hee not hauing wherewith to releeue him, and pitying his diſtreſſed poore eſtate, preſently alighted, and gaue vnto him his horſe and rich furniture; whereof when the King heard, he blamed him, and ſaid, What meant you (my Lord) to giue to the begger the horſe that I gaue you, with my ſaddle and trappings? Had we horſes of no lower price to giue away to the poore? To whom the Biſhop replied, And is the brood of a beaſt dearer in your ſight, then this poore man the childe of God? The King thus reproued, turned himſelfe towards the fire, and there ſadly pauſing vpon this anſwer, preſently gaue from him his ſword, and in haſte fell at the Biſhops feet, deſiring forgiueneſſe in that he had ſaid. The Biſhop much aſtonied, ſuddenly lift vp the King, deſiring him to ſit to meat, and to be merry; which the King immediately did, but the Biſhop contrariwiſe began to bee penſiue and ſadde, and the teares to trickle downe his cheekes: in which paſſion hee burſt out into theſe ſpeeches, and ſaid to his Chaplaine in an vnknowne tongue, I neuer till this time haue ſeene an humble King; and ſurely his life cannot bee long, for this people are not worthy to haue ſuch a Prince to gouern them.* But to returne to King *Oſwy*.

His gift to the Biſhop *Aidan.*

The Biſhops Almes to a poore man.

King *Oſwins* repentance.

Biſhop *Aidans* teſtimonie of King *Oſwyns* pietie.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 14.

(4) Who after many cruell inuaſions of the mercileſſe *Penda*, was forced to ſue vnto him for peace, with proffers of infinite treaſure and moſt precious iewels: all which reiected, and the Tyrant comming on, *Oſwy* ſought his helpe by ſupplication to God, and with ſuch zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elfled* to be conſecrated in perpetuall virginitie vnto him, with twelue Farmers and their lands, to the erection and maintenance of a Monaſterie: and thereupon prepared himſelfe for battle.

Elfled the daughter of King *Oſwy.*

(5) The Armie of this enemie is reported to redouble thirty times his, all well appointed and old tried ſouldiers: againſt whom *Oſwy* with his ſonne *Alkfryd* boldly marched, *Egfryd* his other ſonne then being an hoſtage with *Cinwiſe* an vnder Queene of the *Mercians*: *Ethelwald* the ſonne of *Oſwald*, tooke part with *Penda*, againſt his naturall Vncle and natiue Country: ſo did *Ethelherd* the brother of Chriſtian *Anna*, ſide with this heatheniſh and cruell *Mercian*.

Alkfrid.

Ethelwald.

(6) The battle was fought neere to the riuer *Iuuet*, which at that time did ouer-flow his bankes, ſo that the victorie falling with *Oſwy*, more were drowned in the water then ſlaine with the ſword. And heerein proud *Penda* loſt his life, with the diſcomfiture of all his *Mercian* power. Heerein alſo died *Ethelherd*, the *Eaſt-Angles* King, who was the only motiue to theſe warres: and *Ethelwald* eſcaping, returned with diſhonour vnto *Deira*. The day was thus gotten the thirteenth yeere of King *Oſwy* his raigne, the fifteenth day of Nouember, and yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation ſix hundred fifty fiue.

Iuuet Riuer.

Penda ſlaine.

Ethelwald his eſcape.

(7) After this victorie, king *Oſwy* raigned in great glory the ſpace of three yeeres, ſubduing the *Mercians*, the ſouth parts of the *Engliſh*, and made the northerne parts likewiſe ſubiect vnto him. He it was that decided the long controuerſy for Eaſters celebration, and founded the Cathedrall Church in *Lichfeild* for a Biſhops See: which Citie, with all *South-Mercia*, diuided from the north by the riuer *Trent*, hee gaue to *Peada* the ſonne of king *Penda*, in mariage with his naturall daughter *Alkfled*, on condition that he ſhould become a Chriſtian: all which the ſaid king not long enioied, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the *Mercians* erecting *Vulfhere* his brother and their natiue country-man for king, rebelled againſt *Oſwy*, and freed themſelues from a forraine ſubiection.

Leber Lichfild. Tho. Radburn.

Oſwy his gift to *Peada.*

(8) Thus *Oſwy* ending in troubles as he began in warres, raigned the ſpace of twenty eight yeeres, and then falling ſicke, was ſo ſtrucke with remorſe for the death of good *Oſwyn*, and bloud which hee had ſpilt, that hee vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reputed holy place hee purpoſed to haue ended his life, and to haue left his bones therein to reſt: but his diſeaſe increaſing, and that purpoſe failing, he left this life the fifteenth of Februarie, and his body to remaine in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanſhach*, the yeere after Chriſts birth ſix hundred ſeuentie, and of his own age fifty eight.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 5. The time of King *Oſwys* raigne.

His Wife.

(9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this king, was the daughter of *Edwin* and *Ethelburg*, king & Queene of *Northumberland*. She was the firſt Chriſtian that was baptized in that Prouince, and after her fathers death, was brought vp in *Kent* vnder her mother, and thence maried vnto this *Oſwy*, whom ſhe ſuruiued, and ſpent the whole time of her widow-hood in the Monaſtery of *Steanſhalch*, where her daughter *Elfred* was *Abbeſſe*, wherein ſhe deceaſed and was interred in the Church of *S. Peter*, hard by her husband king *Edwin*.

Eanfled.

Steanſhalch Monaſterie.

His Iſſue.

(10) *Egfryd*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Oſwy* and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace ſix hundred forty fiue. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God ſix hundred ſeuenty one, he ſucceeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his *Monarchie*: of whoſe life and acts, wee haue further ſpoken in the ſeuenth Chapter of this Booke.

Egfryd the eldeſt ſonne.

(11) *Elfwine*, the ſecond ſonne of king *Oſwy*, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred ſixty one, being the ninth of his fathers raigne; at whoſe death he was nine yeeres old: and in the ninth yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, was vnfortunately ſlaine in a battell, wherein he ſerued his brother *Egfrid*, againſt *Ethelred* king of the *Mercians*, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Chriſts natiuity ſix hundred ſeuentie nine.

Elfwyne the ſecond ſonne.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 21.

(12) *Elfled*, the eldeſt daughter of king *Oſwy* and queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the month of *September*, the yeere of grace ſix hundred fiftie foure, being the twelfth of her fathers raigne; and when ſhe was a yeer old, by him committed to the cuſtodie & bringing vp of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, Abbeſſe of *Streanſhall*, wherein ſhe liued vnder her a Nun, and after her death did ſucceed her Abbeſſe of the place, and in great holineſſe and vertue, ſpent therein her life, vnto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſeuen hundred fourteene, and of her owne age ſixtie, being interred in *S. Peters* Church within the ſame Monaſterie.

Elfled his eldeſt daughter.

Hilda Abbeſſe *Streanſhall.*

(13) *Offrid*, the younger daughter of king *Oſwy* and queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fifteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred ſixtie ſeuen: and when ſhe was fully twenty, was married vnto *Ethelred* king of *Mercia*, the twelfth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the third yeere of his raigne, and of Chriſt ſix hundred ſeuenty ſeuen.

Offryd the younger daughter.

(14) *Alkfrid*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwy*, did firſt ſucceed his coſen *Ethelwald*, ſonne of king *Oſwald* his

Alkfryd a naturall ſonne.

his Vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the ſame by force againſt his Father, which afterwards he peaceably inioyed both with him and his halfe brother King *Egfrid*, whom laſtly hee ſucceeded in the whole kingdome of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the ſame ſtory we haue declared.

(15) *Alkfled*, the naturall daughter of king *Oſwy*, borne before her father was king, in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation ſix hundred fiftie three, and the eleuenth of her fathers raigne, was married to *Peada* the ſonne of *Penda*, that by his permiſsion had gouerned ſome part of *Mercia*, and by *Oſwy* his gift with this *Alfled*, all the South of that Prouince. She was his wife three yeers, and is of moſt writers taxed to be the actor of his death, being wickedly murthered in the feaſt of *Eaſter*, the yeere of grace ſix hundred fiftie ſixe, and the fourteenth of her Fathers raigne.

VVLFHERE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 11.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Vulfhere, after the murther of his brother *Peada*, aduanced againſt *Oſwy* by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his title and kingdome for twelue yeeres continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* Monarch, and after his death tranſlated the Monarchy from thoſe Kings, and Country, vnto himſelf and his ſucceſſors the *Mercians*, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reuerſement, vntill ſuch time as great *Egbert* ſet it vpon the *Weſt-Saxons* head.

He was the ſecond ſonne of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, and the ſixth in ſucceſſion of that kingdome, beginning his raigne the yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation, ſix hundred fiftie nine, and twelue yeeres after, *Anno* ſix hundred ſeuenty one, entred his Monarchy ouer the *Engliſhmen*, and was in number accounted the eleuenth Monarch of the Land.

(2) His entrance was with trouble againſt the *Northumbrians*; for vnto *Egfrid* their King he had loſt the poſſeſsion of the Iland *Linſey*, and was expelled the Country: yet three yeeres after he fought againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* with better ſucceſſe, whoſe Country with conqueſt he paſſed thorow, and wan from *Rewald* their King the *Ile of Wight*, which Iland he gaue to *Edilwach* the *South-Saxons* King, whom he receiued his God-ſonne at the font-ſtone: notwithſtanding himſelfe had lately been a prophane Idolater, and moſt cruell Heathen, as by the Liger booke of the Monaſtery of *Peterborow* appeareth, whoſe ſtory is this:

Lib. Peterbur.

(3) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia* remaining at his Caſtell in *Vlfercheſter* in *Stafford-ſhire*, and vnderſtanding that *Vulfald* and *Rufin* his two ſonnes, vnder pretence and colour of hunting, vſually reſorted to reuerend *Chad*, to bee inſtructed in the fruitfull faith of Chriſt Ieſus, and had at his hands receiued the Sacrament of Baptiſme, at the perſwaſion of one *Werebod*, ſuddenly followed, and finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in deuout contemplations, ſlew them there with his owne hands. Whoſe martyred bodies Queene *Ermenhild* their mother cauſed to be buried in a Sepulchre of ſtone, and thereupon a faire Church to be erected, which by reaſon of the many ſtones thither brought for that foundation, was euer after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the ſame County. But King *Vulfhere* repenting this his moſt vnhumane murther, became himſelfe a Chriſtian, and deſtroied all thoſe Temples wherein his heathen Gods had been worſhipped, conuerting them all into Chriſtian Churches, and religious Monaſteries: and to redeeme ſo hainous an offence, vnderwent the finiſhing of * *Mediſham*, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and poſſeſsi-

Vulfercheſter Caſtell.

Vulfhere ſlaieth his two ſonnes.

John Capgraue.

Vulfheres repentance.

Now Peterborow.

ons : notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William of Malmesbury* with the foule sinne of Symony, for selling vnto *Wyna* the Bishopricke of *London*.

Wil. Malmsbury.

(4) He raigned King ouer the *Mercians* the space of seuenteene yeeres, and Monarch of the *English* fully foure, leauing his life in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuentie foure, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which was of his brothers and his owne foundation.

The time of his raigne.

His Wife.

(5) *Ermenhild*, the Wife of King *Vulfhere*, was the daughter of *Ercombert*, the seuenth King of *Kent*, and sister to *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both Kings of that Countie. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anna*, the seuenth King of the *East-Angles*, whose sisters were many and most of them Saints. She was married vnto him in the third yeere of his raigne, and was his wife fourteene yeeres. After his decease, she went to her mother Queene *Sexburg*, being then Abbesse of *Ely*, where she continued all the rest of her life, and therein deceased and was buried.

Ermenhilds parentage.

Queene *Sexburg* Abbesse of *Ely*.

His Issue.

(6) *Kenred* the son of King *Vulfhere* and of Queen *Ermenhild*, being the heire apparant of his fathers possessions, was vnder age at his fathers decease; and by reason of his minority, was withheld from the gouernment, which *Ethelred* his Vncle entred into, without any contradiction of this *Kenred*, who held himselfe contented to liue a priuate life: notwithstanding *Ethelred* taking the habit of a Monke, left the Crowne to him who was the right heire.

Kenred the first sonne.

(7) *Vulfald* a young Gentleman conuerted to the Christian faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for profession of the same by King *Vulfhere*, is reported by *Water of Wittlesey*, a Monke of *Peterborow*, in a Register which he wrote of that Monastery, to bee the supposed son of King *Vulfhere* himselfe, and to haue been slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was a Christian, or could indure to heare of the Christian faith. He was buried in *Stone*, as we haue said, where his father built a Colledge of Canons regular, which was afterwards called *S. Vulfaldes*.

Vulfald a supposed sonne. *Water Wittlesey.* *S. Vulfalds* Colledge.

(8) *Rufine* the fellow martyr of *Vulfald*, is by the same Writer reported to be his brother, and the supposed sonne also of *Vulfhere* the King. Their murthers, as he saith, was committed the ninth Calends of *August*, which is with vs the foure and twenty of *July*, vpon which day there was yeerely celebrated a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the same place, where they both suffered, and where their Monument was then remaining.

Rufine another supposed sonne.

(9) *Wereburg*, the daughter of King *Vulfhere* and Queene *Ermenhild*, was in her childhood committed to the bringing vp of Queene *Etheldrid* her mothers Aunt, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion she professed virginity, and returning to her Country in the raigne of King *Ethelred* her Vncle, was by him made ouerseer of all the Monasteries within his dominions. She deceased at *Trickingham* (now called *Trentham*) in *Stafford-shire*, and was buried at *Hanbery*. Her body was afterwards remooued to *Westchester*, where *Leofrik* the Earle built in honour of her a goodly Church called *S. Wereburgs*, which to this day is the Cathedrall Church of that Citie.

Wereburg, the daughter of *Vulfhere*. Buried at *Hanbery*. *S. Wereburg* Church.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TVVELFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 12.

CHAPTER XXIIII.

An.Do.675.

Ethelred, the third sonne of King *Penda*, and brother to the last declared *Vulfhere*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred seuenty fiue, beganne his raigne in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and at the same time in the Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, being the seuenth King among them that ware their Diademe, and the twelfth person that bare the Imperiall title of the whole: his claime was not immediately nor next in succession, young *Kenred* his Nephew standing betwixt him and the Crowne. But himselfe a child in yeeres, and in them also addicted vnto a priuate life, he gaue his Vncle way to vndergo so publike a charge, which without contradiction was likewise accepted of the subiects.

Circumstances belonging to the beginning of his raigne.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Kentish*, *Lothaire*, whose Country he destroied, sparing neither Churches nor religious Abbeys, the King not daring

Henry Hunting.

daring to appeare in field. The Citie *Rochester* felt also his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their buildings ruinated, and their Bishop *Putta* driuen to such distresse, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeeres from the necessity of perishing want. These stirres (saith *Beda*) happened in the yeere of grace six hundred seuenty seuen; and the next following, so fearefull a Blazing starre, as was wonderfull to behold, first discouered in the moneth of *August*, and for three moneths together continued rising in the morning, and giuing forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glittering flame.

(3) The remorse of conscience for the bloud he had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destroied, (besides his intrusions into another mans right) strucke so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast, that euer hee bethought him what recompence to make. First therefore building a goodly Monastery at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the County of *Lincolne*, thought that not sufficient to wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but determined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was the terme attributed to the monasticall life: wherein notwithstanding, in lesse cares they liued, and their persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then when they publikely administred their lawes to their people, the iust executions whereof, many times breed the ouerthrow of their Princes, and their Persons neuer secure amidst their owne gards.

(4) But such was the religion then taught, and the godly zeale of the good Princes then raigning, whose works haue manifested their vertues to posterities, and faith in Christ the saluation of their soules, in whose Paradise we leaue them, and *Ethelred* to his deuout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first vnto *Kenred*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he liued a regular life the terme of twelue yeeres, and therein lastly died Abbat of the place, when hee had raigned thirty yeeres, the yeere of Christs natiuity, seuen hundred sixteene.

Ethelred resigneth his Crown.

The continuance of his raigne.

His Wife.

(5) *Offryd*, the wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Oswy*, and of Lady *Eanfled*, King and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was married vnto him in the yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty seuen, being the third of his raigne, and the twentieth of her age. Shee was his wife twenty yeeres: and passing thorow the North parts of *Mercia*, she was set vpon and slaine by the people of that Country, in reuenge of the death of *Peada* their King, who had long before bin murthered by *Alkefled* his wife, and her half sister, as we haue said. And thus strangely came shee to her vntimely end, the yeer of our Lord six hundred ninety seuen, the twenty three yeere of her husbands raigne and the fortieth of her owne age.

Offryd. *Beda hist. Angl. lib 3. cap. 11.*

Beda in Epit. *Offryd* slaine.

His Issue.

(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Offryd* his wife, was the heire apparant of his fathers kingdome, and of sufficient yeeres to haue succeeded him, when he entred into religion; but that it was his fathers will to make amends to his Nephew *Kenred*, sonne to his elder brother King *Vulfhere*, that now he might raigne before his sonne, who should haue raigned before himselfe.

Chelred the first sonne.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 13.

CHAPTER XXV.

An. Do. 704.

Kenred the sonne of *Vulfhere*, because of his minoritie at his Fathers death, was defeated of his dominions by his Vncle *Ethelred*, and vntill it pleased him to resigne his Crown, liued a priuate life, whereunto by nature hee was most inclined. But King *Ethelred* for the wrongs to him committed, and to redeeme the time that in warre and wealth he had prodigally spent, yeelded the Scepter vnto his hand, and set his seeming ouer-heauy Crowne vpon his Nephew *Kenreds* head: who began his raigne at one and the same time, both ouer the *Mercians* and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, which was the yeere of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred and foure.

The matters pertaining to his entrance into gouernment.

(2) He is in account the eighth King of that Prouince, and the thirteenth Monarch since *Hengist* the *Saxon*. He raigned in peace the space of foure yeeres; then weary of gouernment, and desirous of contemplation

The continuance of his raigne.

plation, after the example of his Vncle, ſought a more priuate and religious life: and thereupon appointing *Chelred* his Coſen germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his kingdome and Country, and departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, and with *Edwine* Biſhop of *Worceſter*; where both theſe Kings were made Monks in the time of Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, *Juſtinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne: and in a Monaſtery at that citie, both theſe penitent Conuerts in the Coules and Orders of Monks, ſpent thereſt of their liues, and therein died and were enterred; this *Mercian* King *Kenred* hauing had neither wife nor child, that I can reade of.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Kenred and *Offa* turne Monks.

(3) It is not greatly to be wondered at, in that theſe times to much ouerſhadowed with ſuperſtitious zeal, the holy acts of men, which no doubt were many, & the habit of Monks, the accounted holy garments of humility, were ſo meritoriouſly reſpected and reputed in the deuout hearts of the religious, when by the Clergy (that are accounted the light of the world) in a Councell at *Rome* held vnder Pope *Conſtantine* the firſt, it was decreed and commanded, that carued Images, which neither had action, nor life, nor could ſaue themſelues from the ſtroke of deſtruction, ſhould bee made to the memoriall of Saints, and ſhould be ſet vp in Churches, with reſpectiue adoration, contrary to Gods moſt expreſſe commandement, and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of ſacred Scripture.

Bale.

Leuit. 26.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE AND SVCCESSION.

Chelred.

Monarch

CHAPTER XXVI.

An. Do. 709.

Helred, the ſonne of King *Ethelred*, was of ſufficient yeeres, and well able of rule, at ſuch time as his father reſigned his Scepter vnto his Nephew *Kenred*, had not the pricke of that ſinne touched his conſcience, which made him to beſtow the ſame as he did; notwithſtanding the Crown being too waighty for *Kenred* to weare, he as freely againe gaue it the ſonne, as he had receiued it of the father before, and relinquiſhed his claime and title thereto.

The appendances of his ingreſſe into goucramét.

(2) *Chelred* thus aduanced before he it expected, entred his gouernment with great applauſe of the people, in whoſe opinions he was held the onely man worthy of their Crowne. Ouer the *Mercians* he raigned the ninth King, and of the *Engliſh* Monarchs the fourteenth in number, beginning them both in the yeere of grace ſeuen hundred & nine, and the fourth of *Iuſtinian* the younger, Empire.

Chelred worthy of the Crowne.

(3) His quietnes was diſturbed by *Inas* the *Weſt-Saxon*, whoſe fame for his fortunes beganne then to grow great. For *Kent* he had forced to buy their peace with mony: the *Britaines* ſubdued, and had inlarged his confines vpon them. And now againſt *Chelred* this new riſē Monarch, he meant to try chance, whoſe glory he looked at with an ouer enuious eye.

Inas King of the *Weſt-Saxons.*

(4) His greatneſſe likewiſe *Chelred* ſuſpected, who either to himſelfe or ſucceſſors, (by the foundation which he laid) would diuert the Monarchy from him and his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himſelfe or his *Weſt-Saxons*. Hereupon great preparation was made, and each ſet forward with all the powers, the one to attaine, and the other to keep, the glory and title that both of them ſo much thirſted after. At *Wodnesbury* they met, and with vndaunted ſpirits ſo fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could ſay the battell was his, or that he departed with the leſſer loſſe.

Chelred prepareth againſt *Inas*

Henry Hunting.

Mat. Weſtmin.

(5) Theſe emulations were followed betwixt theſe two Princes the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, and longer had done, if *Chelred* had liued, or *Inas* not been ſtrucke with remorſe of conſcience for his ouermuch ſpilling of bloud. Of this *Chelred*, ſome Authors haue cenſured, that he was maruellous in proweſſe, and valiant of courage, but his Country miſerable by

Iohn Stow.

by his vntimely death, whose raigne lasted only seuen yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and sixteene: his body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lichfield*: and he died without any issue.

His Wife.

(6) *Wereburg* the wife of King *Chelred*, is mentioned by *Marianus* the learned *Scotish* Historian, and by *Florence of Worcester*, who was the follower and continuer of his History, whom we may reasonably credit in this matter, being not incredible, although she must of necessity be thought to haue been married very young, or to haue died very old, because they record her decease to haue beene in the yeere of Christ seuen hundred eightie one, which was almost sixtie yeeres after the death of her husband, and towards the end of the long raigne of King *Offa*.

She died sixtie yeeres after her husband.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIFTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ACTS.

Monarch 15.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Thelbald, cosen germane once remoued vnto King *Chelred*, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *Mercians*, whereof he was the tenth in number, and of the Monarchs ouer the *Englishmen*, the fifteenth in account. He beganne his raigne in the yeere of grace seuen hundred sixteene, and with great honour raigned ouer all the Kings on the South side of *Humber*, whose time for the most part was spent in peace; yet some wars he had, and those with variable euents.

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, hee beleiged *Sommerton*, and wanne it; and inuading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoile. The *Britaines* also that were ioined confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee molested and ouercame, for whose reuenge King *Cuthred* gaue him battell neere vnto *Burford*, where he with his *Mercians* receiued the foile, and lost the Banner, wherein was portracted a *Golden Dragon*, the thirty seuenth yeere of his raigne.

(3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englishman*, and Archbishop of *Mentz*, is most manifest, wherein he reproued his adulterous life, who refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like: *and their women, as well Nunnes as others, made away their children borne out of wedlocke, whereby the graues were filled with dead bodies, as hell it selfe with damned soules.* And in another Epistle sent vnto *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he complaineth of the *English Nunnes, who wandring in pilgrimage vnder shew of deuotion, liued in pleasure and wanton fornications, through all the Cities of* France *and* of Lumbardy.

Nunnes infamy.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance King *Ethelbald* released and priuiledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe, and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, for the pacifying of Gods wrath towards his sinnes; when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Conuocation held in his Prouince, *that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Praier and Creed, taught in the English tongue*: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirty yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seuen hundred forty eight.

Crowland Abbey built.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled forty two yeeres, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a warre not prudently vndertaken, he was traiterously slaine by his owne subiects, at the procurement of *Bernred* a Leader of them, who affecting the kingdome by this stratagem of Treason, sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowen seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*; and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, where with honourable obsequies he was enterred, the yeere of Christs humanity seuen hundred fiftie eight, hauing had neithe Wife nor Childre n.

The continuance of his raigne.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Offa.

OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIXTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

An.Do.758.

OFfa, the coſen of King *Ethelbald*, after ſome time of *Inter-regnum*, ſucceeded him in his dominions of *Mercia*; a man of ſo high ſtomacke and ſtoutnes of mind, that he thought nothing vnpoſsible for him to attaine: and for vertue and vice, ſo equally compoſed, that hardly could bee iudged to whither of them the ſcale of his carriage moſt inclined, although the Monke of *S. Albans*, and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with ſuperlatiue praiſes.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Liber M.S.

The parents of Offa.

(2) His Parents hee nameth *Twinfreth* and *Mercella*, and himſelfe hee ſaith to haue been firſt named *Pinered*, borne both lame, deafe, and blinde, wherein he ſo continued vnto his mans eſtate. The rage of *Bernred* (ſaith the ſame Author) had forced all three into a ſolitary place, where ſuddenly by miracle *Pinered* was reſtored, and for that cauſe called another *Offa*, who preſently aſſailed, and in a great battel manfully fought, ſlew the vſurping *Bernred*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly imbraced & receiued him for their King; who began his raigne with greater ſhew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleuenth that had raigned in that Prouince, and is accounted the ſixteenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*.

Bernred ſlaine.

King Charles the Great.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreſeeing whereat his eye glanced, ſollicited by Letters *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, againſt him, who wrote vnto *Offa* in their behalfe, and in threatning wiſe commanded him to deſiſt. But he was ſo farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

Malmsbury.

(4) The firſt that felt his fury, were the *Kentiſhmen* vnder *Alrik* their King, whoſe ouerthrow was the leſſe diſhonourable (ſaith *Malmesbury*) *for that they were vanquiſhed by ſo great a Monarch.* The place was *Otteford*, vnfortunate to them, where their King was ſlaine by the hand of *Offa* himſelfe, their forces quite diſcomfited by the loſſe of this field, and their Country trodden downe vnder the feet of the *Mercians*.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched, and beyond *Humber* made hauocke of all that ſtood againſt him; whence returning triumphant, he ſet vpon the *Weſt-Saxons*, that had formerly ioined with his enemies: the place was *Benſinton*, which Caſtell King *Offa* tooke, with the diſcomfiture of King *Kenwolfe*, and all his *Weſt-Saxons*, who ſought their reuenge by the aides of the *Britaines* in *Wales*. Their *King* (ſaith mine Author) was then *Marmodius*, betwixt whom ſome intercourſe by letters paſſed, & great preſents to King *Offa* ſent, onely to protract time, and to worke vpon aduantage.

(6) In this *Interim* of complements, for a further ſecurity, *Offa* cauſed a great *ditch* to be drawn betwixt his and the *Britaines* borders, which worke began at *Baſingwark* in *Flint-ſhire*, and *North-wales*, not farre from the mouth of *Dee*, and ranne along the mountaines into the *South*, & ended neer *Briſtow* at the fall of *Wye*; the tract whereof in many places is yet ſeene, and is called to this day *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offaes* ditch. *Marmodius*, who openly bare ſaile to this wind, and ſeemed to winke at *Offaes* intent, ſecretly called a Counſell of *State*, wherein he declared how the Act thus in working, would ſoone proue the bane of liberty vnto their country, and the marke of diſhonor to thēſelues & poſterity for euer; therefore his aduice was, that by ſome ſtratagem it might be ſtaid by time.

(7) To this his *Britaines* conſented, the truce yet laſting, and the feaſt of *Chriſts Nativity* euen then at hand; in the celebration wherof was held the greateſt aduantage with leaſt ſuſpect, to put themſelues in action againſt it; and ſecretly working the aſsiſtance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *Weſt*, and the *North*, vpon Saint *Stephens* day at night, ſuddainely brake downe the banke of this fortification, filling vp againe a great part of the *Ditch*, and in the morning moſt furiouſly ruſhed into *Offa* his Court, put-

putting a great number to the ſword, who were more intentiue and regardfull to the Feaſt, then to any defence from their cruell and mercileſſe ſwords.

(8) Theſe wrongs King *Offa* delaied not to requite; firſt making their hoſtages his vaſſals and ſlaues, and then with a great army entring Wales, in a bloody and ſore-fought battaile hee ouercame *Marmodius* and all his aſſociates in the field. Thus then as a Conquerour ouer all his enemies triumphantly after ten yeares wars abroad returned he to his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor ſuffring his title to be enlarged according to his conqueſts: yet he was not neglectiue of regall ſtate, by the report of the Ligger booke of S. *Albans*, which ſaith, *that in regard of his great prerogatiue, and not of any pride, he firſt inſtituted and commanded, that euen in times of peace alſo, himſelfe and his Succeſſors in the Crowne, ſhould at he paſſed through any Cities, haue Trumpetters going and ſounding before them, to ſhew that the perſon of the King ſhould breed both feare, and honor in all which either ſee him or heare him.*

(9) Vnto King *Charles* of *France* he wrote in excuſe of his warres, and deſire of his amity; whom *Charles* againe congratulated with letters of gladnes, both for his victories, and the Chriſtian piety in his land embraced; deſiring of *Offa* ſafe conduct for ſuch his ſubiects, as came to his country in deuotion to God, and withall ſent to him, (for a preſent) a Booke of the Decrees of the ſecond Councell of Nice. Which *Synodall Booke* (to vſe *Roger Houedens* owne words) *was ſent vnto King* Charles *from* Conſtantinople, *wherin (alas for pity) by the vnanimous aſſertion of three hundred Biſhops or more congregated in that Councell, were decreed many things inconuenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith; as is moſt eſpecially the worſhipping of Images, which the Church of God doth vtterly deteſt. Againſt which Booke* *Albinus *wrote an Epiſtle, admirably ſtrengthned by the authority of the holy Scriptures, which together with the foreſaid Booke himſelfe preſented in the name of the Princes & Biſhops of this land, vnto the foreſaid* Charles *King of* France. Such intercourſe both for State and Church had this great *Offa* with that great *Charles*.

(10) His laſt warres (according to mine Author) were againſt the *Danes*, whom he forced to their ſhips with the loſſe as well of their booties, as of many of their liues; and then (ſaith he) with the ſpirit of humility, both to recall himſelfe from the trace of blood, and to the better eſtabliſhment of his kingdomes peace, he ioined in affinity with his neighbour Princes, vpon whō he beſtowed his daughters in mariage.

(11) And making *Egfrid* his ſonne a King with himſelfe, in great deuotion went to *Rome*, where with the like zeale and example of *Inas* the *weſt-Saxon*, he made his Kingdome ſubiect to a Tribute, then called *Peter-pence*, afterwards *Rom-Scot*; beſides other rich gifts that he gaue to Pope *Hadrian* for canonizing *Albane* a Saint: in honour of whom, and in repentance of his ſinnes, at his returne (ouer againſt *Verolanium*, in the place then called *Holmehurſt*, where that *Protomartyr* of *Britaine*, for the conſtant profeſſion of Chriſt, loſt his head) *Offa* built a magnificke Monaſtery in Anno 795. indowing it with lands and rich reuenewes for the maintenance of an hundred Monks: vpon the firſt gate of entrance in ſtone ſtandeth cut a *Salteir Argent* in a field azure, & is aſſigned by the iudicious in Heraldry to bee the Armes that he bare.

(12) Alſo in teſtimony of his repentance for the bloud hee had ſpilt, he gaue the tenth part of all his goods vnto the Churchmen, and vnto the poore. At *Bathe* he alſo built another *Monaſtery*, and in *Warwickſhire* a Church, where the adioyning towne, from it and him, beareth the name *off-church*.

(13) Finally, when hee had raigned thirty nine yeares, he died in peace at his towne *Off-ley* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, ſeuen hundred ninety foure: and with great ſolemnity his body was buried without the towne of *Bedford* in a Chapell ſtanding vpon the Banke of *Ouſe*; which long ſince was ſwallowed vp by the ſame riuer: whoſe Tombe of lead (as it were ſome phantaſticall thing) appeareth often (ſaith *Rouſe*) to them that ſeek it not, but to them that ſeeke it, is altogether inuiſible.

Lib. 2. Albani M.S. Iohn Rouſe.

His wife.

(14) *Quendrid* the wife of King *Offa* hath not her parentage ſet down by any of our Writers: notwithſtanding, the recorder of this his life, ſaith that her name was *Drida*, and that ſhee was the kinſwoman to *Charles the Great* King of France, and by him for ſome offence baniſhed his Realme, who arriuing vpon the coaſts of *England* in a ſhip without tackle, was taken thence, and relieued by *Offa*, being then a young Nobleman, where ſhee changed her name vnto *Petronilla*; with whom hee fell ſo farre in loue that hee made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his Parents. She was a woman of condition ambitious, couetous, and cruell, as appeared ſpecially in the death of *Ethelbert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, that came to her husbands Court to marry their daughter; whoſe port ſhee ſo much enuied, that ſhee procured him to bee treacherouſly murdered: the manner the foreſaid Author declared to be by his fall into a deepe pit, purpoſely made in his bed-chamber, and vnder his chaire of eſtate. That his head was cut off, and found by a blind-man, that the well which beares his name ſprung vp preſently in the place where it lay, that the bloud thereof gaue the blind man his ſight, and that *Dryda* died in the ſame pit which ſhe had digged for *Ethelbert*, I leaue to the credite of my author, and the liking of my Reader: but certaine it is that Gods vengeance followed this heynous fact within one yeare after the ſame was committed, by the death of her ſelfe, her husband, & her Sonne, and the tranſlation of that Kingdome from the *Mercians* to the *Weſt-Saxons*.

In the life of S. *Albane*, prefixed before the Ledger booke of that Abbey.

Offa affectioned to *Quendred*.

Quendred her trechery.

An ancient Saxon coine inſcribed with her name, CENEDRED REGIN. we haue found and here placed, which the iudicious ſuppoſe to be hers, and that not vnlikely, ſhee being ſo powerfull, proud and ambitious.

Quendred rewarded with the like paines.

His Iſſue.

(15) *Egfrid* the onely ſonne, and heire apparant of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was the onely ioy and pride of his parents, who ſucceeded his Father in his dominions and title, and in the ſame yeare alſo in the ſhades of death.

Egfrid the only ſon of *Offa*.

(16) *Ethelburga*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred* was maried to *Brithrick* the ſixeteenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*: ſhee was a Lady of paſſing beautie, but withall of an inſolent diſpoſition, hating all whom her husband loued, and practiſing the deathes of them that ſhe hated. She departed into *France* after the poiſoning of her husband, & for that her offence, a law was enacted to the great preiudice of the *Weſt-Saxons* Queenes, as in the raigne of *Brithrick* we haue declared.

Ethelburga the firſt daughter.

Cap. 7. ſect. 16.

(17) *Elfled*, the ſecond daughter of King *Offa*, & Queene *Quendred*, by the report of *Randulph Higden* the Monke of *Cheſter*, was the ſecond wife to *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland*, who in regard of her had put from him his former wife, for which his ſubiects roſe in Armes againſt him, and ſlew him in the laſt yeare of King *Offa* his raigne.

Polychr. *Elfled* the ſecond daughter.

(18) *Elfrid* the third and yongeſt daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, being promiſed in mariage, and aſſured vnto *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſt Angles*, after the murther of her hoped Bridegroom, with great lamentations, and propheſying threats of reuenge, abandoned the ſociety of men, and withdrew herſelfe vnto the monaſtery of *Crowland* in the *Fennes*,

Elfrid the third daughter.

Fennes, where in contemplation and ſolitary ſadnes ſhe ſpent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that ſuppoſe her to bee the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, who was the founder of *Winchcombe* Monaſtery, & the ſucceſſor of his brother *Egfride*.

Iohn Capgraue. (19) *Fremund* by *Iohn Capgraue* is ſuppoſed to be the ſonne of King *Offa*, who, as he ſaith, was traiterouſly murdered by one *Oſwy* that enuied his victories which he gat againſt the *Danes*: his body was buried at *Offchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, and neere vnto the Palace of *Offa*; alleadging for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet ſome there are that thinke him miſtaken, for that hee calleth him a young man, when as thoſe warres hapned an hundred yeares after King *Offa* his life. *Burghard.*

Egfrid.

EGFRID THE TVVELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SEVENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER XXIX.

An.Do.794. EGfrid, the ſonne of King *Offa*, ſucceeded his father in the *Mercians* Kingdom, wherof he was the twelfth in number, and in the Monarchy of the *Engliſhmen*, ranked in account the ſeuenteenth. He began his raigne the thirteenth day of *Iuly*, in the yeer of Chriſt his natiuity, ſeuen hundred ninety foure. The firſt buſineſſe that he vndertooke after hee came to the Crowne, was the reſtauration of antient priuiledges to the Church, which his father had depriued them of; and great hope was conceiued of his further proceedings, had not God cut him off by vntimely death. For hauing raigned onely foure moneths, hee gaue place vnto nature, and to another ſucceſſour, the ſins of the people deſeruing no ſuch Prince: for whoſe cauſe, and his fathers great bloudſhed, as *Alcuine* wrote to *Osbertus*, he was taken away ſo ſoone.

(2) He deceaſed the ſeuenth day of *December*, and in the firſt of his raigne, hauing had neither Wife nor Iſſue that we reade of. His body with all due obſequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of *S. Albans*, of his fathers foundation.

KENWOLFE

KENVVOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 18.

CHAPTER XXX.

Kenwolfe, not ſo neere in bloud to king *Egfryd*, as he was like him in all vertuous conditions, by him was ordained to ſucceed in his Dominions, whereby hee became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the yeere of our Lord ſeuen hundred ninety ſeuen. At home he was an example of piety, peace, and religion, & ſet the ſcale of Iuſtice without reſpect to all alike; abroad temperate, humble, and courteous, without vain oſtentation or ambitious conceits: in warres hee was ſtout and victorious, in peace ſtudious to enrich his ſubiects: briefly, at all times ſo carrying himſelfe, that enuie could not touch him with her tongue.

Do.794.

(2) Whether vpon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* againſt thoſe of *Kent*) I cannot ſay; but true it is, that in the entrance of his raigne, he entred that Prouince with a great hoſt of men, and in a ſore fought field diſcomfited the *Kentiſh*, and carried away priſoner their King, whoſe ſirname was *Pren*. His kingdome hee gaue to *Cuthred*, and kept him captiue in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his ſubiects diſhonour.

(3) But *Kenwolfe* in peace, & minding the works of true piety, gaue himſelf to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchcombe* in *Gloceſterſhire*; where vpō the day of dedication in the preſence of *Cuthred* (aſſigned his Viceroy in Kent) thirteene Biſhops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourſe of people, he led *Pren* this *Kentiſh captiue* vp to the *high Altar*, and there without either his entreaty, or ranſome for Redemption, releaſed and ſet him free; ſhewing thereby his deuotion to God, and the heroicall parts of a magnanimous Prince.

(4) His raigne was twenty two yeares, and *death in Anno* eight hundred nineteene, beeing ſolemnely buried in the Church of the *Monaſtery* at *Winchcombe* aforeſaid which himſelfe had founded.

Kenwolfes burial.

His Wife.

(5) *Elfryd*, the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, hath not her parentage certainely reported by any of our Hiſtorians; yet ſome later vpon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, haue thought her to be the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath beene ſaid: but in theſe obſcurities, conieCture may wander aſtray.

Elfrids parents vnknowne.

His Children.

(6) *Kenelm* the ſonne of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryde* his wife, was very yong at his fathers death, and ſucceeded in the *Mercians* Kingdom, but not in the *Monarchy* of the *Engliſh*; King *Egbert* the *Weſt-Saxon* King then growne too great. And in the ſame yeare that he beganne his raigne, by the treaſon of his vnnaturall ſiſter hee was murthered, and firſt obſcurely buried, but afterwards ſolemnly remoued and repoſed neere to his Father in the *Monaſtery* of *Winchcombe*, as in the Mercian Kings ſucceſsions wee haue ſaid.

Kenelms death.

Chap.10. ſect.14.

(7) *Quendred* the eldeſt daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and Lady *Elfryd* his Queene, after the deceaſe of her father, ambitiouſly aſpiring to compaſſe the ſway of the *Mercian* Kingdome wholy to her ſelfe, wickedly conſpired the death of her brother King *Kenelme*, which was traiterouſly acted by *Askebert* her inſtrument, who had the charge of him: but the ſame turning to her reproch, for very ſhame of ſo damnable a deed, ſhee within ſhort time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

Quendred the eldeſt daughter of *Kenwolfe*.

(8) *Burgenhild*, the yonger daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryd*, hath not been ſo famous to poſterity as her ſiſter *Quendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithſtanding, ſhe may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to haue lead a better life, and to haue died a better death, eſpecially of vs, who find her not ſtained with any aſperſion of miſdeſeruing.

Burgenhild the younger daughter.

Egbert.

EGBERT THE EIGHTEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE NINETEENTH, BVT FIRST SOLE AND ABSOLVTE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XXXI.

An.Do.800.

THe *Saxon Heptarchy* drawing now to a period, the ſpring of an entire Monarchie began to ſhew it ſelfe, and the glory of the Engliſhmen more cleerely to ariſe: for thongh they had weakned each other by their own wars, yet ſtood their power ſtrong in the poſſeſsion of the whole, and the ouerborne *Britaines* held ſtill at the worſt.

(2) But ſuch is the diſpoſe of the ſole diſpoſer of Empires, that they haue their riſings, their fals, and their fals: neuer ſtaying in one and the ſame point, neither entailed to one and the ſame Nation, how ſtrong, politicke or populous ſoeuer. The proofe whereof is apparant in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whoſe change of State vnto, and in, this *ſeuen-fold* Gouernment hath hitherto beene ſeene: the ſeuerall Kings thereof long contending to branch their own fountaines furtheſt and faireſt, laſtly let them fall into one ſtreame, which ſo meeting, made a more famous confluence in this *Monarchy*, then the *ſeauen heads* of *Nilus* in the *Egyptian Sea*.

The ſeuen fold gouernment mutable.

(3) Formerly, the *Kentiſh*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *Northumbrians*, and the *Mercians*, through no leſſe then eight deſcents had worne the Emperiall Diademe, whoſe rayes ſhone now ſo bright in the *Weſt-Saxons* eyes, that they againe ſought to reeſtate themſelues in ſo glorious a poſſeſsion. For, whereas *Brightrik* was poſſeſſed and contented with the *Weſt-Saxon* Crowne, neither that worne without iealouſie and feare; yet others of the bloud royall from *Cherdik* raiſed the wings of their ſoaring thoughts much higher, among whom *Egbert* was one, neither the laſt nor the leaſt in the opinion of the people, or ſuſpect of his Prince.

weſt-Saxons ambition.

(4) This *Egbert* hauing commaund of ſome part of that Prouince, ſo carried himſelfe, that his fame grew fearefull to *Brightrik* the King, and hatefull to the enuious *Ethelburg* his moſt proud Queene, by whom he was enforced firſt to ſecure himſelfe with the *Mercian Offa*; and laſtly conſtrained to flie into *Fraunce*: where vnder *Charles the Great*, he turned his aduerſity into an occaſion of his valour, by ſeruing in his warres, and learned by his politicke gouernment, how to rule a quiet or diſturbed State.

Egberts exile and relicts.

(5) But King *Brightriks* death acted, and his Queene the contriuer baniſhed, *Egbert* is ſolicited to the wearing of the *Weſt-Saxon* crowne, where hee became the eighteenth *King* in number, and nineteene yeares after the nineteenth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*; entring his raigne the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, eight hundreth, being the ſame yeare that *Charles* was made Emperour of the *Weſt*, and *Conwall* then ruling ouer the *Scots*.

Simeon Dunel. 801. Mat. Weſtm. ſaith 801.

(6) His firſt warres were againſt the *Corniſh*, and their aſſociats the *Welſh*, both of them a remnant of the old *Britaines*, who had beene oftentimes vanquiſhed, but neuer would ſeeme to be ſubdued, and for foureteene yeares continuance held ſide againſt *Egbert*; which their reſiſtance ſo prouoked his furie that hee enacted a moſt ſeuere law againſt them, commanding that no *Britaine* ſhould preſume to paſſe ouer great *Offaes* ditch, and preſent death to them that durſt ſet foot vpon any Engliſh ground. Their great *Caer-legion* (now *Weſt-cheſter*) hee tooke from them, and at *London* from their *Weſt-gate* caſt downe the braſen Image of *Cadwallo* there ſet vp by the *Britaines* for a terrour to the *Saxons*, as we haue ſaid.

John Brom. Chap.13.

(7) His warres thus proſpering, his puiſſance grew dreadfull, and his glory much enuied at by the other Princes, whereof *Bernulfe* of *Mercia* was the firſt attempter that ſought to plucke the wing of this weſt-Saxon Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne downefall; for *Egbert* ioyning battaile with him at *Ellenden* ouerthrew his power, and in that quarrell *Bernulfe* was laſtly ſlaine.

Chap.16.fol.

(8) *Kent* was the next, and faireſt marke in *Egberts*

berts eye, whose king not gratious in his own subiects sight, was the easiest to be subdued; him he chased ouer Thamisis, and added not onely that Countie, but also Sussex and Surrey, for Prouinces vnto his owne Kingdome: next were the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and in truth all, both vpon the *North*, and the *South of Humber* gaue him obedience; so that the bounds of his Dominion were greatly enlarged, and his royall authority by those seuerall Kings acknowledged.

(9) Then hee to confirme his estate called an assembly vnto the City *Winchester*, where causing himselfe to bee solemnly crowned, became the first Saxons absolute Monarch of the whole Iland, so reducing the Monarchiall title from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*, in whose Progeny it continued without reuersement vntill the *Danes* first got, and againe lost it, and the *Saxons* issue failing, the same fell to the *Normans* Duke by Conquest, as in continuance of our history, Christ assisting, shall be seene.

(10) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, and entrance in the yeare of Grace, eight hundred and nineteene, at which time by his Edict in that City dated, he caused all the South of the Iland to bee called *England*, according to the *Angles*, of whom himselfe came, and promising great felicity to his State and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his affaires he had beene fortunate.

(11) For those *Saxons* that by warre and blood, had made themselues Lords of other mens rights, and of one Kingdome no lesse then seuen, are now endangered to bee made seruants vnto subiection, and by warre and bloud their seuen-fold Kingdome brought againe vnto one; neither yet freed from the reuenge of bloodie violence: for that a fierce and cruell nation (the *Danes*) ceased not continually to inuade them, till they had subdued and set the crowne thereof vpon their owne heads, who in King *Brightrick* dayes, and about the yeere seuen hundred eighty seuen, hauing with three vessels landed in the *West* of *England*, at three seuerall times, in so many seuerall places, sought the ruine of the land in the raigne of this *Egbert*.

(12) The first was in his thirty third yeare, when with thirty fiue ships they landed at *Lindisferne* vpon the *North* of *England*, where they were met and fought with at *Carham*, but with such losse to the *English*, that two chiefe Captaines, *Dudda* and *Osmond*, two Bishops, *Herefrid* of *Winchester*, and *Vigferd* of *Shirborne*, with many Souldiers were therein slaine, King *Egbert* himselfe hardly escaping by the couert of the night.

(13) Their second attempt was in the second yeare following, when in *West-Wales* they landed, vnto whom the *Britaines* there ioyned, and in the place called *Hengistenton* abode the King in field, where *Egbert* with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew both the *Danes* and the *Welsh*.

(14) The third place of their arriuage was *Sheepie* in *Kent*, which Iland they sacked, and with much a doe were expelled in the last of King *Egberts* raign, and but the new beginning of their sauage cruelties.

(15) This *Egbert* by *Florentius* of *Worcester* is said to be the sonne of *Alkemund*, who was the sonne of *Eafa*, and he the sonne of *Eoppa*, the sonne of *Ingils*, the brother of *Ine*, the eleuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and both of them the sonnes of *Kenred*, descended from *Cherdik* the first King of that Prouince: he was but low of stature, yet well composed and strong of limme, very valiant, wise and politicke, a skilfull souldier, and as great in mind, as fortunate in warre; he raigned ouer the *West-Saxons* the space of thirty six yeares and seuen monethes, and *Monarch* of the whole *Iland* seuenteene: his death hapned the fourth day of February, and yeare of Christs Incarnation eight hundred thirty six. The continuance of his raigne.

(16) His bodie was with all obsequies solemnly buried at *Winchester*, and his bones since taken vp, remaine with others in that Cities Cathedral Church, bestowed in Chests set vpon the Wall of each side the Quier, with these verses neither ancient, nor elegant, thereon inscribed:

Hic Rex Egbertus pausat cum Rege Kenulpho,
Nobis egregia munera vterque tulit.

His wife.

(17) *Redburg*, the wife of King *Egbert*, was the first of the *West-Saxons*, that by their new made law was depriued of title, authority, or place of a Queene; notwithstanding it seemeth shee bare a great stroke with her husband, in that *Iohn Beuer* the Monke of *Westminster* reporteth, that shee procured a law to be made against the *Britains*, the penalty whereof was present death for any of them to set footing within the realme of England, or to passe the *Ditch* that King *Offa* had made. *Redburg* cruelty.

His Issue.

(18) *Ethelwolfe*, the eldest sonne of King *Egberi*, and Lady *Redburg* his wife, was in his childhood committed to the charge of *Helmestan* Bishop of *Winchester*, vnder whom hee was carefully trayned vp in learning and vertue, who comming to mans estate proued also a perfect Souldier, and had the leading of his fathers power against *Baldred* King of *Kent*, whom he forced to flie ouer the Thamisis, and to abandon his Kingdome, which he subdued to the subiection of his father, and afterwards succeeded him in the *Monarchy* of the Englishmen. *Ethelwolfe* eldest sonne.

(19) *Ethelstane*, the younger sonne of King *Egbert*, and of the Lady *Redburg* his wife, was by his father deputed King ouer the *Kentishmen*, the *South-Saxons*, and the *East-Saxons* after hee had brought them vnto his subiection; which people hee most valiantly defended against the inuasions of the *Danes*, defeating their forces both by sea and land, and at *Sandwich* gaue them a most memorable ouerthrow, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred fifty one, being the sixteenth of his brother King *Ethelwolfes* raigne; in whose time hee deceased, and is reported to haue left a sonne named *Ostride*, who by reason of his minority succeeded not in his fathers dominions, which *Ethelbert* the second sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* entred vpon, and being *Monarch* reunited these kingdomes inseparably vnto the *Monarchy*. *Ethelstan* yonger sonne.

(20) *Edgith*, commonly called Saint *Edith* the daughter of King *Egbert*, was in her childhood by her brother *Ethelwolfe* committed to the charge and bringing vp of a Lady in *Ireland*, greatly renowmed for her holinesse of life, named *Modewine*, by whom she was afterwards recommended to a Disciplesse of the said Lady, named *Athea*, and made Gouernesse of a *Monastery* of the Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had giuen her, called *Pollesworth*, situated in *Arden* in the north verge of the County of *Warwicke*, wherein she liued, died, and was honourably buried, and the place in regard of her afterwards called Saint *Ediths of Pollesworth*. *Edgith* a daughter.

Ethelwolfe.

ETHELVVOLFE THE NINTEENTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS WARRES, ACTS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN.

CHAPTER XXXII.

An.Do.837.

Thelwolfe, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Egbert*, committed in his youth to the care of *Helmeſtan* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and by him vnto *Swithun* a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke ſuch a liking vnto the quiet and ſolitarie life, (onely enioyed by men of Religion, all other degrees moleſted to withſtand the intruding *Danes*) that he vndertooke the Monkiſh vow and profeſſion, and was made Deacon; ſhortly after which degree taken, *Helmeſtan* died, in whoſe place Prince *Ethelwolfe* was conſecrated, as *Roger Houeden* affirmeth, or at leaſt elected, (as *Iohn Brampton* Abbat of *Iarnaux* writeth) Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. But the death of his Father King *Egbert* immediately following, by great intreaty of the Nobles, and partly by conſtraint of the Clergy, hee was made King, and was by the authority of Pope *Gregory the fourth*, whoſe creature in both profeſsions he was, abſolued and diſcharged of his vowes.

Roger Houeden. *Iohn Brampton.* *Henry Hunting.* *Mat. Weſtminſter.*

(2) He entered his *Monarchy* the fourth day of *February* in the yeare of *Chriſts* Incarnation, eight hundred thirty ſeuen, and was the nineteenth *King* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twentieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*. His Biſhopricke he gaue vnto *Swithun* his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withſtand the dangerous *Danes*, that attempted the vtter ſubuerſion of his faire land: whoſe *fift inuaſion* in his firſt yeare happened; which drew the *Saxons* ciuill warres vnto a conſtrained peace, hauing more then they could well doe to defend their liues from their ſlaughtering ſwords, or to ſaue their vniuſtly gotten land from the ſpoiles of thoſe common enemies; who, not like Conquerors, but deſtroying Caterpillers, left nothing vndeuoured whereſoeuer they came, and had now begunne their mercileſſe depopulations in diuers places at once, ſo that the diſtracted *Engliſh* were to ſeeke where was moſt need firſt to withſtand.

Wil. Malmib.

(3) At *Hampton* & *Porteſmouth* many of theſe *Norway* Pirates had entred; at *Hampton* with their ouerthrow, at *Porteſmouth* with victory; and the ſame time at *Carrum*, a Troupe of theſe *Danes* diſcomfited King *Ethelwolfes* power. The next yeare at *Merſeware*, *Lindſey*, in *Eaſt-Angle*, and *Kent*, they did much miſchiefe, and harried all the Country before them: yet in his tenth yeare at *Pedredeſmouth*, the *Sommerſet* and *Dorſetſhire* men gaue them a memorable ouerthrow, vnder the conduct of Earle *Enwulfe*, Biſhop *Adelſtan*, and *Oſred* their captaines.

Simeon Dunel. Henry Hunt. An.Dom.851.

(4) But in the ſixteenth yeare of this King, the great Planet *Mars* ſeemed to prædominate continually, and *Fortune* to caſt the chance of victory euer on his ſide: for two hundred and fifty ſhips, (ſome reckon a hundred more) entred into *Thameſis* mouth and ſet on ſhore an infinite number of theſe deſtroying *Danes*. *London* and *Canterbury* they had ſacked and left waſt, had pierced into *Mercia*, and chaſed *Berthulfe* their King out of his Country, and now in *Southery* had pitched their battle, as able and reſolute to abide all the power of the *Engliſh*, whither King *Ethelwolfe* with his ſonne prince *Ethelbald* repaired, and tooke the field at the place called *Otley*; wherein after a long and ſore fight, the victory fell to the *Engliſh*, with ſuch ſlaughter of theſe *Norway* inuaders, as is incredible to report, and the ſame held as great and famous, as euer had hapned in the land before.

Henry Hunt. Artdus Flor.

(5) With the like ſucceſſe his Brother *Athelſtan* King of *Kent*, fought with the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where chaſing them to ſea, tooke nine of their ſhips; and in *Deuonſhire*, Earle *Ceorle* at *Winleſbore* ſo ouerthrew their whole power, that in deſpaire they withdrew themſelues into the Ile of *Thanet*, where they made their abode all the winter ſeaſon; and if deſtiny had not withſtood the *Engliſh*, the *Danes* had beene expulſed for euer. But the *Saxons* ſeeming

seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrels with the euer depressed *Britaines*; against whom *Burthred* the *Mercian* obtained the assistance of *King Ethelwolfe* in his eighteenth yeare, whose daughter *Ethelswith* hee had obtained in mariage; whereby for a while was encreased the fame and power of that valiant, but vnfortunate King.

(6) In this State the affaires of the land stood vnto the nineteenth yeare of *King Ethelwolfes* raigne, who now remembring his former Ecclesiasticke profession, ordained that Tithes and Lands due to holy Church should bee free from all Tributes or Regall seruices; and in great deuotion went himselfe to *Rome*, where hee was both honourably receiued, and entertained the space of a whole yeare; in which time hee new built the *English Schoole*, that *Offa* the *Mercian* before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of *Thomas the Holy*; confirming also his Grant of *Peter pence*, and further couenanting in lieu of his kind entertainement to pay yeerely three hundred markes to *Rome*, thus to bee emploied; one hundred to Saint *Peters* Church, an other hundred to Saint *Pauls Light*, and the third to the *Pope*: the Bride that euermore must be kissed and largely paid.

(7) His returne from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, hee there married *Iudith* the most beautifull daughter of *Charles the Bald* then *Emperour*; in honour of whom in his owne Court, he euer placed her in a Chaire of Estate, with all other maiesticall complements of a *Queene*, contrary to the law of the *West-Saxons* for *Ethelburgaes* offence, formerly made. Which his doing so disliked the *Nobles*, that Prince *Ethelbald* his eldest Sonne, *Adelstan* Bishop of *Shirborne*, and *Enwulfe* Earle of *Somerset*, rose vp rebelliously in Armes and sought to depose him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a comprimize, and the land to be diuided betwixt the *Father* and *Sonne*, but with such partiality that the better part *west-ward* was allotted to *Ethelbald*: which vnequality gaue great suspition, that this reuolt was rather grounded vpon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all disloiall attempts of seditious subiects against their soueraigne Lords.

(8) Howsoeuer it was, long after this he liued not, but left his *Monarchy* vnto his eldest sonne *Ethelbald*: and by will appointed *Ethelbert* his second, to be King of *Kent* and *Essex*, which countries he had conquered. He raigned twenty yeares, one moneth, and nine dayes, and deceased at a place called *Stamrige*, the thirteenth day of *Ianuary*, in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred fifty seauen, being the twenty one of his Raign. His body was first buried at the place of his decease, and afterwards remoued into the *Cathedrall Church* at *Wincheſter*.

His wiues.

(9) *Osburg*, the first wife of King *Ethelwolfe*, was the daughter of a Nobleman named *Oslake*, who had the office of *Great Butler of England*, and was descended of the stocke of *Stuffe* and *Withgar* two brethren, being noblemē of the people called *Iutes*, who were the first Princes of the Ile of *Wight*, and Nephewes to *Cherdik*, and cosen germans to *Kenrik* the first and second Kings of the *West-Saxons*, and the third and fourth *Monarchs* of the *Englishmen*. She was the second Kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of *Queene*. Shee deceased three years before the King her husband, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Christs Natiuity eight hundred fifty fiue.

(10) *Iudith* his second wife, was the daughter of *Charles* the Emperour, and King of *France*, as wee haue said: her Mother was Queene *Ermentrude*, the daughter of *Vodon* Earle of *Orluance*. She was a Lady of passing beauty, and marryed to this King in France; and when she came into England was receiued with the title and place of a Queene, in abolishment of the peruerse law of the *VVest-Saxons*, made against the Kings *VViues*, as before was touched. She was his wife three yeares, and suruiued him without any issue.

His Issue.

(11) *Ethelbald*, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, and of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was brought vp in his youth in the exercise of warre, and serued vnder his Father in the great victory obtained against the *Danes* at *Ocley* in *Surrey*, in the yeare eight hundred fifty one: afterwards hee turned his force against his Father; and at his returne from *Rome*, practised to defeat him of his Kingdome, and was ready to haue giuen him battaile, had not his Father parted with him his Dominion. *Ethelbald* the first Sonne.

(12) *Ethelbert*, the second son of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the decease of his vncle *Ethelstan*, appointed and placed his Successor in his *Kingdome* ouer the *South-Saxons*, the *Kentish*, and the *East-Saxons*, without any mention or meaning (as it seemeth,) that hee should intermeddle further with any other part of *England*. Notwithstanding after the death of his brother *Ethelbald*, it was generally holden of all men for law, equity, and reason, that he should succeed him in the *Monarchy*: and so he did, with the consent of his Brethren, and without resistance, or contradiction of any other. *Ethelbert* the second sonne.

(13) *Ethelred* the third sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, had by the disposition of his Father in his last will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all such land as King *Egbert* his Grandfather had before hee was King, and was no part of the Demaines of the *Kingdome*, and this was diuided betwixt him and his brother *Elfred*, as the kingdome was betweene their elder Brethren *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*: with an intent that this *Ethelred* should succeed his brother *Ethelbald* in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; notwithstanding, his brother *Ethelbert*, after the decease of *King Ethelbald*, entred into the other part, adioining it to his former kingdome, and was king of the whole, and after left it entire to this *Ethelred*, who succeeded him in the *Monarchy*. *Ethelred* a third sonne.

(14) *Elfred*, the fourth sonne of *King Ethelwolfe* and of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was borne at *Wantage* in *Barkeshire*, in the yeare of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine; and the thirteenth of his fathers raign. Being a child of fiue yeeres old, he was sent very honourably attended to the City of *Rome*, where *Leo* the *fourth* then Bishoppe confirmed him, was his Godfather at the confirmation, and annointed him to the expectation of a kingdome: growne in yeares, hee grew so in discretion, magnanimity and fauour of all men, that in the succesiue raignes of his three elder Brethren, he ruled as a Vice-roy or secondary king vnder euery of them, and after them at the last succeeded in the English *Monarchy*. *Elfred* a fourth sonne.

(15) *Ethelswith*, the daughter of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg*, was maried to *Burthred* the twentieth King of *Mercia*, which mariage was solemnized at the towne of *Chippinham* in *wiltshire*, in the moneth of Aprill, and yeare of Christs Natiuity eight hundred thirty fiue, and the fifteenth of her fathers raigne: but within twenty two years after, they were both forced by the *Danes* to abandon their kingdom, and departed into *Italy*, where the King died the same yeare in the English Colledge at *Rome*: shee liued after him fifteene yeares in the habite of a *Nunne*, at the City of *Padua*, and there died, and was honourably buried in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred eighty nine, which was the eighteenth yeare of her brother *King Elfreds* raigne. *Ethelswith* a daughter.

(16) *Neote*, supposed by *Iohn Capgraue* the *Legend writer*, to be the sonne of *King Ethelwolfe*, was in his youth brought vp at *Glastenbery* vnder *Dunstan*, who was afterward *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*. He proued a man of great learning, and was one of the first Readers of *Diuinity* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, at the *Neote* a supposed sonne.

foundation, or as ſome will haue it, the reſtauration thereof by King *Elfred*; hee planted a *Monaſtery* in *Cornwall*, whereunto hee vſed for deuotion and ſtudious meditations often to withdraw himſelfe, which of his abode there, was afterward called *Neoteſtoke*; and when he was dead, his body was with great honour enterred in the County of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Anulfesbery*, and afterward in regard of his enterment, Saint *Neotes*, and now Saint *Needes*.

S. Neotes Town

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS AND RAIGNE.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

An.Do.847. *Floren. Wigorn.*

Thelbald, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Ethelwolfe*, hauing had part of the kingdome in the life time of his Father, after his death entred vpon the whole, and was the twentieth King of the *Weſt Saxons*, and the twenty one Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, beginning his raigne in the yeere of Chriſts incarnation eight hundred fiftie ſeuen.

His wars againſt the *Danes*.

(2) His youth he had ſpent in the exerciſe of war, hauing made proofe of valour in his ſeruice againſt the *Danes* in many battels; and likewiſe attempted (though not in ſo good a cauſe) to haue fought againſt his owne father. Which his aſſaies, as they ſeemed violent and vnnaturall, yet being in the quarrell of the *Weſt-Saxons* law, enacted in preiudice of their Queenes, he was both ſided and approued, as hath been ſaid.

Wil. Malmsbury.

(3) But howſoeuer vnwilling he was this faire Queene ſhould ſit in ſtate by his fathers ſide, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or man, hee laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his ſinfull and inceſtuous bed. Which act, though foule enough, ſome haue made worſe, in reporting his Wife to be his owne Mother, whom King *Ethelwolfe* kept for his Concubine. And ſurely this his ſin was not long vnpuniſhed by the ſhortneſſe of his raigne and life, leauing no other memory of his acts, beſides this foule blot to his faire name.

The time of his raigning.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeeres and an halfe, and death chanced vpon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeere of Chriſts aſſuming our fleſh, eight hundred ſixtie. His body was firſt buried at *Shirburne* in the County of *Dorſet*, where at that time was the Cathedrall Church and Epiſcopall See; but afterwards was remoued and enterred at *Salesbury*, in the County of *Wiltſhire*.

His Wife.

(5) *Iudith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his owne Father, a moſt vnlawfull matrimonie contracted againſt all law of God or of nature; which being both diſſolued and puniſhed by the haſtie death of the King, and ſhe returning towards her father and Country in *Flanders*, was rauiſhed by *Baldwin* the Foreſter of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept vntill ſhee conſented to become his wife, who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperor *Charles* her Father, was by him created the firſt Earle of *Flanders*, by whom ſhe had iſſue *Baldwin the ſecond*, who eſpouſed Lady *Elfrid*, the youngeſt daughter of *Elfred* King of *England*, from whom, through fiue deſcents lineally, *Maud* Queene of *England*, Wife to *William the Conquerour* deſcended, and from her, all our *Norman Engliſh* Kings vnto this day.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTIETH
ONE KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWO AND TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ISSVES.

Monarch 22

CHAPTER XXXIIII.

ETHELBERT, the ſecond ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, who had ſucceeded his Vnckle *Ethelſtan* in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentiſh*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, and for fiue yeeres continuance, ruled thoſe Countries with great equity and valour, after the deceaſe of his brother *Ethelbald*, ſucceeded him alſo both in the *weſt-Saxons* kingdome, and the whole Lands Monarchie: whereof he was the one and twentieth King, and the two and twentieth Monarch.

An. Do. 860.

(2) His raigne began in the yeere after Chriſts natiuity, eight hundred and ſixtie, and was diſquieted from firſt to laſt by the inuaſions of the bloudy *Danes*. For preſently after his coronation, theſe common enemies entred the Land, ruinating all before them vnto the Citie *Wincheſter*, which they ſacked, and left it troden vnder their deſtroying feete, euen to the ground. But in their returne were encountred by the *Barkſhire-men*, vnder the leading of *Oſrick*, Earle of *Hampton*, by whom they were vanquiſhed, the prey recouered, and a great number of thoſe Infidels ſlaine.

(3) In his firſt yeere alſo a nauie of *Danes* and *Normans* entred into the Iland *Tanet*, and began their wonted ſpoiles among thoſe people: whereupon the *Kentiſh* compounded their peace for a great ſum of money giuen. Notwithſtanding theſe miſcreants, which knew not God, gaue little regard to their promiſed couenants, and before the daies of truce were expired, like a ſudden floud ouer-bare all before them. Theſe their irruptions to withſtand, the *Kentiſh* then prepared, rather aduenturing themſelues vpon the chance of battell, then to reſt vpon a ſeeming truce, wherein their deſtruction was too apparant, and forthwith aſſembling all the powers together, ſet vpon thoſe truce-breakers, and with much ſlaughter forced them at length out of their Country.

(4) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, hee yeelded his body to the courſe of nature, and his Kingdomes to his next Brother, after he had raigned ouer the *Kentiſh*, *South*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeeres, and had ſate Monarch of the whole onely fiue. He died the yeere of grace eight hundred ſixty ſix, and was honourably buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Shirburne* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, by his brother King *Ethelbald*.

Ethelberts time of raigning.

His ſuppoſed Iſſue.

(5) *Athelm*, the brothers ſonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the laſt will and teſtament of the ſame King, ſeemeth by all likelihood to be the eldeſt ſon of this King *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the ſame King *Elfred*, although hee ſucceeded not his father in his Kingdome. For in thoſe daies, if the Kings ſonne were vnder age, the ſucceſsion went to the next brother; and if that brother left his ſonne at full age, then it went vnto him; otherwiſe it reuerted to the elder brothers ſonne.

Athelm the eldeſt ſonne.

(6) *Ethelwald*, ſurnamed *Clito*, which is a word of addition giuen to all the *Saxon* Kings ſonnes of *England*, is mentioned in King *Elfreds* wil to be his brothers ſonne, and is moſt likely to be the ſonne of this King *Ethelbert*, he prooued a moſt deadly enemy to his coſen King *Edward*, the ſonne of King *Elfrid* his Vncle, deſtroying his townes in *Dorſet-ſhire*, and being driuen out of *England*, ioined himſelfe with the *Danes*, who made him their King in *Northumberland*; and vnder his leading, greeuouſly aſſailed the Countries of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Mertians*; wherein hee was laſtly ſlaine, the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and fiue, being the fourth of King *Edward* his coſen-germanes raigne.

Ethelwald the ſecond ſonne.

Henry Hunting.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TVVENTIETH KING OF THE WEST.

SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 2

CHAPTER XXXV.

An.Do.866.

ETHELRED, the third ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, after the deceaſe of his Brother ſucceeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty third *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*; he beganne his raigne in the yeare of our ſaluation eight hundred ſixty and ſix, and for the time that hee was *King*, raigned in continuall warres againſt the Pagan *Danes*, whoſe numbers now were greater, and footing ſurer in this land then formerly had beene.

Hungar and *Hubba.*

(2) In the firſt yeare of his raigne, there arriued vpon the *Engliſh* coaſts a huge Army of theſe *Danes*, whereof *Hungar* and *Hubba*, men of incredible ſtrength and cruelty, were the Captaines: Theſe wintred in *Eaſt Anglia*, made truce with the inhabitants vpon certaine conditions, and forbare a time from their wonted rauening.

(3) But in the next yeare the King being buſied to put backe a freſh inrode of *Danes* in the *South* and *Weſt* of the *Iland* then entred; theſe deuourers tooke aduantage vpon the ciuil broiles commenced among the *Northumbrians*, who in theſe turmoiled times ſought to withdraw their ſubiections from the *Weſt Saxons*, and to ſet vp Kings againe of their owne.

The Danes march Northward.

The foreſaid Captaines *Hungar* and *Hubba*, hauing in time of their truce ſtrengthned themſelues with new ſupplies of aid, marched further into the *North*, where finding the people vnprouided of ſtrength, and the two Kings *Osbright* and *Ella* of reconciled enemies to be made no ſure friends, they harried the Country before them, and entring *Yorke* ſlew the two Kings, with infinit number of the *Engliſh*; which City they conſumed with fire, and burnt therein all thoſe that had fled thither for ſuccour.

(4) The State thus ſtanding, and their forces encreaſing euery day, brought new feares vpon the inhabitants, when euery late victory with increaſe of Captiues and rich ſpoiles, miniſtred occaſion & meanes of ſome other conqueſt to follow; which theſe Pagans ſo purſued, till laſtly they ſet a ſubſtitute King to raigne vnder them, ouer all the *North* Borders beyond the riuer *Tyne*; and ſo retiring themſelues out of *Northumberland* into *Mercia*, came to *Nottingham*, which City they wanne, and therein wintred the third of King *Ethelreds* raigne, who with the aid of *Burthred* the *Mercian* King, conſtrained the *Danes* to ſue for peace, and a ſafe departure, yeelding the City, and againe retyring themſelues ouer *Tyne*, remained in *Yorke* all the next winter. Ingulphus.

An.Do.87

(5) The Summers opportunity approching, their wonted deſire for ſpoile was with it encreaſed, and to cut off long trauell theſe *Danes* by boates paſſed *Humber*, where *Hungar* and *Hubba* beganne with fire and ſword to lay all waſt before them, ſparing neither Perſon, ſexe nor age. The places reſpected for publike good, and ſacred Temples conſecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants haue forborne, theſe ſauage men as the earths deſtroiers caſt downe and trampled vnder their prophane feete: among which for note were the goodly Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, all laid in leuell with the ground, and their Votaries, aſwell the *Nunnes* as the *Monkes*, murthered with their vnhumane and mercileſſe ſwords; to auoid whoſe barbarous pollutions, the chaſt *Nunnes* of *Coldingham* deformed themſelues to their laſciuious eyes, by cutting off their vpper lips and noſes; but to euerlaſting remembrance they remain moſt faire, and well beſeeming faces of pure Virgins. Flores Hiſtr.

(6) Theſe *Pagans* piercing further into the land, came into the territories of the *Eaſt-Angles*, wherein holy *Edmund* raigned King, whoſe *Martyrdome* in moſt cruell manner they wrought, he conſtantly calling vpon the name of Chriſt, whereof wee haue already

ready ſpoken; and ſhall bee occaſioned hereafter to ſpeake.

(7) But in the laſt yeare of this Kings raign, their raging power was moſt great: for with a new ſupply two *Daniſh* Kings *Sreeg*, and *Halden*, entred into *Weſt-Saxia*, and at *Reading* the Kings towne intrenched themſelues: theſe forraging the Country, were encountred with at *Engleſield* by *Ethelwolfe* Earle of *Barkeſhire*, and his men; who in skirmiſh ſlew one of their leaders, and chaſed the reſt backe to their Trench.

(8) Theſe *Danes* fearing leſt delaies would proue dangerous, and knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe is commonly ſeconded with further courage of hope; foure dayes after ſhewed themſelues in field ready to fight: their hoaſt they diuided into two battalians; whereof the one was guided by two of their *Kings* and certaine *Earles* were leaders of the other; which when the Engliſh perceiued, they alſo diuided theirs, whereof King *Ethelred* had the leading of the firſt, and *Elfred* his brother was *Generall* of the ſecond; the place was *Aſſendon*, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for battaile: King *Ethelred* in his Tent ſtaid ſo long in praiers that *Elfred* vpon a forward courage haſted to encounter the enemy, and that with a moſt fierce and ſharpe fight, wherein hauing ſpent the moſt of their ſtrengthes, and ready to decline, and giue backe: *Ethelred* manfully entred the battaile, and ſo ſeconded his brother, and ouer-tyred Souldiers, that hee made way by dint of his ſword through the thickeſt of their almoſt-conquering enemies, and with ſuch loſſe of the *Daniſh* bloud, drawne from the ſides of one of their *Kings*, fiue *Earles*, and an infinite number of the common Souldiers, that the ſtreames thereof ſeemed as an ouer-ſwelling tide, altogether to couer the face of the field, and is accounted for the nobleſt victory that the Engliſh till then had gotten of the *Danes*.

(9) Yet were not theſe *Pagans* therewith diſcouraged, but gathering more ſtrengthes and ſupplies from other parts; foureteen dayes after, made head againe againſt the *Engliſh*, and pitching downe their ſtandards at *Baſing*, abode the cõming of *Ethelred* and triall of battaile, wherein ſucceſſe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was diſcomfited, and the *Danes* the winners of the day.

(10) Thus both ſides borne vpon rage & hope, in their heat of bloud prepare for new fight. The *Danes* power was augmented with a further ſupply ſent from beyond Seas, and the *Engliſh* confirmed with hope of ſucceſſe: Theſe meeting at *Merton* (two moneths after the battaile of *Baſing*) encountred each others both boldly and bloodily; wherein at firſt the *Engliſh* preuailed, and the *Danes* were chaſed; but their numbers the greater, and freſh ſupply maintaining their battaile, they recouered themſelues, and wonne the day; wherein King *Ethelred* receiued his deaths wound, with ſuch ſlaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters; to haue been afterwards attempted any more by the *Engliſh*. Paldon. Vita.

(11) Great was the valour and reſiſtance of this King; for in his ſhort time of Raigne, as Writers record, no leſſe then nine ſet battales againſt the *Danes* he fought in one yeare, to the great effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and to no little loſſe of the *Daniſh* power; for in his raign fell of them one *King*, nine *Earles*, and of the common ſort without number. Will. Malmſb.

(12) He died at *Wittingham* of his wound receiued the three and twentieth day of April, in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred ſeauenty two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of *Winburne* in *Dorcetſhire*, where remaines his *Tombe* and his *Armes* vnto this day, with this Inſcription: Scala Chron. Marian. Scot.

In hoc loco quieſcit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis Weſt-Saxonum Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. *die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit.*

His Iſſue.

Elfred, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Ethelred* ſeemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned *Ethelward*, who being Kinſman, Counſellor and Treaſurer to King *Edgar*; wrote an hiſtory of his Country, beginning at the firſt arriuall of the *Saxons* into *England*, and continuing vnto his own time: which hiſtory he dedicated to his kinſwoman, and coſen germane the Lady *Maude* Abbeſſe of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonie*, being the daughter of the Emperour *Otho*, by *Edgith* his wife, daughter of King *Edward* the elder, and ſiſter of *Ethelſtane*, and *Edmund* Kings of England. *Elfred* the eldeſt ſonne. The Abbeſſe of Quedlingburg.

Oſwald, a young ſonne of *King Ethelred*, is mentioned in a Charter of his Fathers, by which he gaue lands to the *Monaſtery* of *Abingdon* neere *Oxford*; and to which this ſonne of his hath his name ſet downe for a witnes; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legier-booke, and Regiſter of the Euidences of the lands ſometime belonging to the ſaid *Monaſtery*. *Oſwald* a yonger ſonne.

Thyre, the daughter of King *Ethelred*, is reported by the hiſtories of *Ireland* to bee married to *Gormon* King of the *Danes*, and to haue had iſſue *King Harald*, which *Harald*, by Queene *Gonhild* his wife, had iſſue; *Sweyn* king of *Denmarke*, *Iringe* king of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. *King Sweyn* by Queene *Sigred* his wife, had iſſue *Cnute King* of *England* and *Denmarke*, *Oſtryde* wife of Duke *Wolfe*, and mother of *King Sweyn* the yonger, and *Thyre* the firſt wife of Earle *Goodwin* of *Kent*. Thyre a daughter.

Elfred.

ELFRED THE TVVENTIE THIRD KING OF THE VVEST SAXONS, AND TWENTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch 2

CHAPTER XXXVI.

An.Do.872.

Mariannus. Florentius.

ELfred, or *Alfred*, the fourth ſonne of *King Ethelwolfe*, though he had beene annointed King at *Rome* by Pope *Leo* in his young years & Fathers life time; yet raigned he in no part of his dominions, before the deathes of all his Brethren, vnder whom hee ſerued in moſt of their warres, aſſiſting them likewiſe in all their counſels: the land now miſerably torne by the cruell incurſions of the bloudy *Danes*, was left vnto him, both to redeeme, and to raigne ouer, by the death and Teſtament of King *Ethelred* his laſt brother.

(2) Hee beganne his raigne in the yeare of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God eight hundred ſeuenty two, being crowned in the City of *Wincheſter*, the twenty third King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twenty foure *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: but of ſome Hiſtorians he is famouſed by the ſtile of the *firſt abſolute Monarch*.

Aſſer.

(3) His raigne beganne with troubles and wars in defence of the land which the *Pagan Danes* intended to deſtroy; and though his powers were ſmal, yet was he forced into the field within one month after his Coronation; the place was *Wilton* in the County of *Wiltſhire*, on the ſouth-banke of the riuer *Wily*: where the *Danes* at firſt gaue backe and fled: but ſeeing the fewnes of their purſuers, reenforced their battle, and got the field, with whom the *Weſt-Saxons* entred league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

Speculum hiſt. Ricardus Corenceſtrencis.

(4) Theſe Rouers then with their aſſociates at *Reading*, got themſelues into *London*, where they wintred; with whom the *Mercians* likewiſe compoũded for their peace, which proued ſhortly to be the deſtruction of their princely bloud; and laſtly, the lands ſubuerſion to a forraine nation. For the *Danes* hauing got footing in the *North*, the *Weſt*, and the *South* of this land, (vnto whoſe aide many new-come gueſts from their *Eaſterne* countries were arriued, vnder the leading of other three Kings, *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond*) all together ſet their griping tallents with ſuch faſt hold vpon *Mercia*, that at *Rependon* they conſtrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elſwith* out of the land, and in his ſtead placed a King of their owne choiſe, vpon condition to deliuer vp the ſame againe vnto them when they would demaund it.

Mat.Weſt.

Polychron.lib.5.

(5) In the fourth yeare of King *Elfred* their armies diuided themſelues into two parts, the one of them guided by *King Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*; where hee beſtowed that Country among his followers, and therein remained for two yeares continuance, doing much harmes both to the *Engliſh* and *Pictſ*. The other part led by the laſt new-come King, came to *Granabridge*, whence they wintered and ſpoiled the Country, and there ſpreading themſelues as Graſhoppers vpon the face of the earth, eate vp all where they came; ſo that *King Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his owne kingdome in *Weſt-Saxia*; to which couenants they promiſed and ſwore; yet contrary to both tooke into *Deuonſhire*, and wintred at *Exceſter*, vnto whom a further ſupply by ſea ſought to ioine themſelues, but met with ſuch boiſterous blaſts, that one hundred and twenty of their ſhips were caſt away by tempeſt at *Swanwicke* vpon our coaſts, and their land-army marching towards *Exceſter*, were there welcommed with ſo ſharpe an encounter by *King Elfred*, that they gaue him both pledges and oath to depart with all ſpeed.

An.Dom.877.

Elf. ads compoſition.

(6) But Fortune euer dallying with them, whom ſhee meanes to down-caſt, ſet the chance of loſſe preſently

ſently vpon the *Saxons* ſide: for now the three Kings *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus reſt, and thereupon drew their forces weſtwards towards him, where at *Chipingham* (a Mannor of his) they wintred, and compelled th *Weſt-Saxons* there, either to yeeld, or to forſake the Country.

(7) King *Elfred* therefore, with ſuch ſtrength as he had, haſted towards them, and ſeuenteene miles from *Briſtow* pitched downe his tents euen in the face of the enemy; where betwixt theſe fierce nations a great battaile was fought, to the infinite loſſe of bloud on both ſides, and that vpon ſuch equall departure, as neither could challenge to bee maſters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was diſcomfited, which turned greatly to his aduantage; for thereupon many of the Engliſh haſted to his ſuccour, leſt the ouerthrow of him ſhould be the bane of them all; his ſtrengthes thus renued with an vnexpected ſupply, no time was detracted to ſtay the *Daniſh* rage, who were now returned further into the heart of the land, and at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their ſtandreds for fight.

(8) Thither the Engliſh repaired, and the next morning he ordered his Army; neither were the enemies vnprepared, but with braues ſtood ready to receiue the encounter. The battaile ioyned, continued with ſuch loſſe of bloud, that it is accounted one of the ſoreſt that euer betwixt them before had beene fought, and onely parted by the approch of the night, neither party challenging the honor of the day, the loſſe being ſo great vpon both ſides.

Seuen of theſe battailes are reported to be fought in that yeare, whereby both their ſtrengthes were much abated, and their ſpilt bloud ſo cooled their liuers; that laſtly they concluded vpon a peace; one article was this, that *the Danes ſhould admit no more of their nation to arriue in this Iland*: but how ſoone that was broken, the ſequels did ſhew.

(9) For in the yeare eight hundred ſeuenty ſixe, (ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*) *Rollo* a nobleman of *Denmarke* with a great Army entred into *England*, with no leſſe ſpoile and deſtruction then other of thoſe *Danes* before him had done, notwithſtanding the truce: with whom King *Elfred* met, and gaue him ſo hoat welcome, that hee liked not greatly his entertainement; and being warned (forſooth) in his ſleepe, that better fortune attended him in *France*, hee left his countrimen to tugge with the *Engliſh*.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hiue, infect all the land, inſomuch that this vndaunted *King Elfred* was ofttimes brought to ſuch extremities, that he hid himſelfe out of ſight, and in the Fens & Marſh grounds was forced with ſuch ſmall companies as he had, to liue by fiſhing, fowling, and hunting of wild beaſts for his food, hauing no more of his great *Monarchy* left him, but *Somerſet*, *Hamton*, and *Wiltſhires* only, neither yet them free from the incurſions of the *Danes*.

(11) The ſolitary place of his moſt reſidency, was an *Iland* incloſed with the two riuers *Thone* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the County of *Sommerſet*, commonly called *Edelingſey*, where he in very poore attire diſguiſed, was entertained into a Cowheards houſe (if not into his ſeruice,) where on a time as he ſate by the fire in trimming of his bow and ſhafts, a cake of dow baking vpon the hearth before him, chanced to burn; the Cowheardeſſe comming in, and ſeeing him mind more his bow then his bread, in a great fury caſt away both his bow and arrowes, and checking him as her Groom, ſaid, *Thou fellow, doeſt thou ſee the bread burne before thy face, and wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eate it before it bee halfe baked?* little ſuſpecting him to be the man that had beene ſerued with more delicate cates.

(12) But this Prince, the very mirrour of Princes, more minding the wealth of his ſubiects, then the maieſty of State, diſguiſed himſelfe in the habite of a common Minſtrell, and in perſon repaired to the *Danes* Campe, who lay like *Senacheribs*, wallowing in wantonneſſe, and ſecure in their owne conceit from impeach of danger; which *Elfred* a moſt skilfull *Muſitian*, and an excellent *Poet*, did not a little egge on by his ſweet muſicke, and ſongs of their valour; ſo that he was ſuffered to paſſe vncontrolled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or elſe where: whereby he both ſaw their negligent ſecurity, and by diligent obſeruance learned the deſignes that in their counſels they entended. *Fabian.*

(13) Returning to his comfortleſſe company, he told them the condition of the hoſtile Campe, and how eaſie it was to recouer againe their decaied eſtates: whereupon ſhewing himſelfe to his ſubiects, vnto whoſe ſight nothing could bee more ioyous; on the ſuddaine ſet vpon the careleſſe Campe of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great ſlaughter, to the great terrour of others in other parts, that had accounted him dead long ſince. *Henry Hunt.* An. Do. 878

(14) *Hubba*, that had harried the *Engliſh*, and now rowzed vpon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life; with thirty three ſhips ſailed from *Wales*, and arriuing in the mouth of *Tau*, where it falleth into the *Seuerne Sea*, aſſaied to take there the then-ſtrong Caſtle called *Kinwith*, vnto whom the *Deuonſhire* men gaue battle, and ſlew eight hundred and eighty perſons of their retinue; where died the *Daniſh* King *Hubba*, whoſe corps being there interred vnder a great heape of copped ſtones, gaue name to the place, and was called *Hubbleſtone*. There and then was taken the *Daniſh* much eſteemed *Banner*, called *Reafan*, wherin a *Rauen* was purtraied wrought in needle-worke, (ſo *Aſſerius Meneuenſis* reporteth) by the three ſiſters of *Hubba* and *Hungar* the daughters of *Lothbroke* (that is *Leather-breach*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as alſo for the opinion of good lucke, as they tooke it, it was euer born before them in their wars. An. Do. 879. *Aſſer. Menr.*

(15) Theſe aduerſe proceedings of the *Danes* deſignes, eſpecially falling when the game was neere wonne, made them ſuſpect, how faire ſoeuer the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would ſerue it in the end to their loſſe: for *Elfred* now flocked vnto vpon euery ſide, beganne to build fortreſſes behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering ſword: whereupon the *Danes* ſent to him for Peace, and deliuered him hoſtages, vpon aſſurance that they meant as they ſpake: The conditions were, that their King ſhould receiue *Baptiſme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the land. *Danes ſend for peace.*

(16) Whereupon *Gurmound* or *Gurthrun* the *Daniſh* King repaired to the new built Caſtle of *Edelingſey* vnto King *Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was waſhed in the lauer of *Baptiſme*, whom *Elfred* receiued for his God-ſon by the name of *Athelſtane*, and gaue him in free gift the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*. In the ſame fountaine of Grace (ſaith *Simond Dunelmenſis*) thirty of the chiefe *Daniſh* Nobility were initiated: vpon whom the truly Chriſtian King *Elfred* beſtowed many rich gifts: And that the limites of the *Engliſh* might be free from their incurſions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* kingdome were laide forth, as we find it in the end of thoſe *Lawes* that *Elfred* publiſhed, whoſe words are theſe: *Let the bounds of our Dominion ſtretch from the riuer Thameſis, and from thence to the water of Lea, euen vnto the head of the ſame water, and ſo forth ſtraight vnto Bedford: and finally, going along by the riuer of Ouſe, let them end at Watling ſtreet.* *Simon Dunelm.* *Wil. Lambert* in his booke of the old Engliſh lawes.

(17) But ſo farre were the *Danes* from performance of couenants, that in this eight yeare of King *Elfreds* raigne, and the eight hundred ſeuenty nine after Chriſt, this *Gurmund* and his company wintered at *Chipnam* in *Wiltſhire*, and a new ſupply of theſe *Pagans* (known by the name of the *Wiccingi*) wintred at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after vpon better aduice, the one went into their aſſigned circuit, and the other An. Do. 879 *Marianus.*

other departed to the realme of *France*; and ſo to his twelfth yeare the land tooke ſome reſt, that had been kept long waking by the loud ſound of warre.'

(18) In the yeare of Grace eight hundred eighty fiue, theſe laſt retired *Danes* finding *France* not fitting their purpoſe, returned into *Kent*, and put into *Medway*, where on his Eaſt ſide they began a fierce ſiege vnto the City *Rocheſter*, before whoſe gate they built a ſtrong Caſtle: Thither King *Elfred* haſted, before whoſe power theſe *Danes* could not ſtand, but were forced to their ſhippes, and backe againe into *France*,

An.Do.889. (19) Whereupon the King remoued his ſiege vnto *London*, whence all the *Danes* fled (as Wolues abide not the preſence of the *Lion*) the inhabitants reioicing to ſee the face of their King: which City hee reſtored to her former liberty and beauty, and committed the cuſtody thereof vnto *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, that had maried his daughter the Lady *Ethelfred*, whoſe title the King had maintained againſt *Colwolphus*, made King thereof by the *Danes*. Wherupon both *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and *Weſt-Saxons* came willingly, and ſubmitted themſelues to King *Elfred*. The *Eaſt-Angles* being gouerned, or rather ſpoiled by *Athelſtan* the chriſtned *Dane*, who after twelue yeares raigne there died, and was buried at *Hadley* in *Suffolke*.

Aſſerius. Flo. W. gorn.

Wil. Malmsbury.

An.Do.892. (20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, and of Chriſts Incarnation eight hundred ninety two: thoſe rouing *Danes* returned out of *France*, & againe arriued in *Kent* in the mouth of the riuer *Limen*, with two hundred and fifty ſhips, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andreads Weald*, and there deſtroied a Caſtle that ſtood for defence, building another more ſtrong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the ſame time likewiſe entred one *Haſtings*, a Nobleman of *Norway*, with eighty ſhips; but with a fairer ſhew as hee entended, for he ſent his oath vnto *Elfred* not to annoy any part of his dominions, and withall his two ſonnes to bee baptized: which King *Elfred* accepted, himſelfe becomming the Godfather of the one, and Duke *Ethelred* of the other; and both they, and his Ambaſſadors returned with rich gifts. Againſt theſe *Kentiſh* inuaders, King *Elfred* fought a great battaile at *Fernham*, neere vnto *Aeleſford*, wherein he wounded their King, and forced his Army to flee ouer *Thameſis*; in paſſing whereof, through ouermuch haſt, and great feare many of them were drowned, and they that eſcaped, fled to an *Iland* called *Brekleſey* incloſed about by the riuer *Colne*.

Simon Dun.

Fernham battaile

(21) Newes then being brought into the Eaſt, that the *Danes* from *Northumberland* had infeſted the Weſt, and with a ſtrong ſiege begirt the City *Exceſter*. *Elfred* left for *Generall* his ſonne in law Duke *Ethelred*; whileſt he with a ſtrong power went to ſuppreſſe their rage: who hearing of his comming, brake vp their ſiege, and were gone: vpon the aduantage of his abſence, periured *Haſtings* then wrought, who out of his new built Caſtle at *Beamfield*, made ſpoile of the Kings people, and forraged all the Country before him. Whereupon Duke *Ethelred* aſſembled a power, and firſt aſſailing his wel ſtored Caſtle, tooke thence his wife and two ſonnes, with exceeding ſpoiles of gold, ſiluer and garments; all which were preſented vnto *King Elfred* at his returne to *London*: who out of his princely magnanimity, ſent backe to *Haſtings* his wife and two ſonnes; becauſe (ſaid hee) ſhee was no warriour, and his two ſonnes were his *God-children*: whereupon *Haſtings* repaired his Caſtle, and ioined with the other *Danes* that lay at *Apulder*.

* *Beauſiet.*

Haſtings wife and children ſet at liberty.

(22) Thoſe then that had fled but lately from *Exceſter*, in their returne met with other their conſorts, and rouing about the coaſt for their prey, fell laſtly vpon the aneient City *Cheſter*, which preſently they beganne to ſacke and burne. But the country inhabitants comming to the reſcue, begirt them about with their hoaſt, and foreſtalled the paſſages of all ſupply of victuals; ſo that for want of food, the *Danes* were conſtrained to eate vp their horſes, and vpon compoſition thence to depart.

Exceſter and *Cheſter* beſieged.

(23) Thence fetching a compaſſe all along the coaſts of *Wales*, in the ſame yeare they arriued in *Eſſex*, being the twenty foure of King *Elfreds* raigne: and in the Winter following, drew their ſhips by the *Thameſis* into the riuer *Lea*, by which they paſſed in thoſe light Pinnaces twenty miles North-ward into the land, and built them a fortreſſe at the place called * *Weare*, thither forthwith the *King* repaired, and pitched his tẽts before his enemies in the ſame place; who ſeeing their ſtrength, and the danger of long ſiege, did that by policy, which power could not ſo ſodainely do: for he diuided the riuer into ſundrie ſtreames, whereby the Chanell was made vnnauigable, and the Shippes bedded in the mudde, lay rather to their annoiance then defence; the former experience of their hunger-ſtarud beſiege made thẽ the more fearefull to fall into the like; and therfore in great haſt departed their fortreſſe, leauing their wiues and children to the mercy of the Engliſh. Neither ſtayed they till they came vnto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Cartbridge* vpon *Seuerne* they built another Caſtle, and lay there all the next winter.

* *Ware.*

(24) Long there they ſtayed not, without diſlike of their lodgings, and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted ſpoiles, and diuiding themſelnes, ſome to *Northumberland*, and ſome into *Eaſt-Anglia*, like Locuſts eate vp all as they went: whoſe breath as it were, ſo infected the aire, that for three yeares following a great mortality raigned both vpon men and beaſts, and ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great ſorrow of his ſubiects vpon wedneſday the twenty eight of *October*, when hee had raigned twenty nine yeares and ſixe moneths, of his age fifty one, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus nine hundreth and one.

(25) The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that euer raigned before him, and exceed the moſt that euer raigned after him, both in ſeruice of God, whoſe *Subſtitutes* they are, in defence of his Country, which charge they all beare, in prouiding good lawes, the ſinewes of Kingdomes, and care of poſterities, from which no man is exempted.

Scal. Iu. Regiſt. Hyd. Tho. Rudborn Roy. Hiſt.

The day and night containing twenty foure howers, he deſigned equally to three eſpeciall vſes, and them obſerued by the burning of a taper ſet in his *Chappell* or *Oratory*; eight howres hee ſpent in contemplation, reading, and prayers; eight, in prouiſion for himſelfe, his repoſe and health; and the other eight in the affaires of his common-wealth and ſtate. His Kingdome hee likewiſe diuided into *Shires*, *Hundreds* and *Tithings*, for the better ordering and adminiſtring of iuſtice, and for the abandoning of theeues, which had formerly increaſed by the meanes of long warres; whereby, notwithſtanding the multitude of ſouldiers continually imploied, it is reported that a *Virgin* might trauaile alone in his daies through all his dominions, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hanged in the high waies, and no man ſo hardy as to take them away.

Aſſerius &c.

Hee was a moſt zealous, and ſtudious protector and prouider for the Clergy, Widdowes, and Orphans, liberall of his goods, wiſe, temperate and iuſt, valiant, patient in aduerſities, and euer relgious in the ſeruice of God. A moſt learned Prince, a skilfull Muſition, and an excellent Poet: the beſt lawes beefitting his Subiects he tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue: as alſo the Paſterall of *Gregory*, the hiſtory of *Beda*, and *Boetius his conſolation of Philoſophy*, the *Pſalmes* of *Dauid* (whoſe godly raigne he propoſed to himſelfe for imitation) hee likewiſe began to tranſlate, but died before hee could finiſh the ſame. And ſo great a deſire had he vnto learning, that (as *Alfredus Riuallenſis* witneſſeth) he publiſhed this Act: *We will and command, that all Freemen of our Kingdom, whoſoeuer*

Wil. Malm.

Alfredus Riuallenſis &c.

soeuer possessing two hides of land, shall bring vp their sons in learning till they be fifteene yeares of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to bee men of vnderstanding, and to liue happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise then of a beast, or a brainelesse body, and a very sot. And for the furtherance of this his roiall intent, consorted with *Aserius Meneuensis, Grimbald, Iohn Scot* and others, neither permitted he any in office in Court, or elsewhere, vnlesse he were learned, which incited his Nobles to the earnest pursuit of learned Arts, and to traine vp their children in good letters: his buildings were many, both to Gods seruice, and other publicke vse, as at *Edelingsey* a *Monastery*, at *Winchester* a *New-Minster*, and at *Shaftsbury* a house of *Nunnes*, wherein hee made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbesse. But the foundation of the *Vniuersity of Oxford* (which hee began in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ninety fiue, and whose lectures he honoured with his owne presence) surmounteth all his others, to the continuance of posterities, a liuing spring and gratious fountaine, whence issue the streames of all knowledge, that abundantly haue watred both this and other kingdomes.

(26) His body was first buried in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters* at *Winchester*, vnder a faire Monument of most pretious Purphory, afterwards because the lewd-religious Chanons giue it out (to work some feat of their vsual imposture) that his Ghost did walk euery night from house to house; both it and the Monument were taken vp, and by his son the Kings commaund (in detestation of those sorceries) remoued into the Church of the new *Monastery*: and lastly, his body, Monument, Church and Monastery, were taken thence, and remoued without the *Northgate* of the City, since called *Hyde*.

(27) Some alleadge that the malice of those Chanons against him, was for displeasure that he placed ouer thē a rude Swineheard named *Denewlphus*, whom he made their Bishop; but the ground of that assertion seemeth vnwarrantable by the relation of *Wigornensis*, & also of *Tho. Rudburne*; the first of which saith, that *Elfred* caused him to be trained vp in learning, and the later, that after long study, he attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Diuinity* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Winchester* by the King. For doubtlesse at that time the Bishops of *Rome* had not deuested our Kings of that prerogatiue.

His Wife.

(28) *Elswith* the wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred* surnamed *Muchel*, that is the *Great*, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gainesborough* in *Lincolnshire*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Bloud-roiall of *Mercia*. She was married vnto this King in the twentieth yeare of his age, being the second of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*, and was his wife twenty eight yeares, and liuing after him foure; died in the year of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monastery* of *Nunnes* which shee had founded at *Winchester*; out of which afterwards King *Henry the first* took to his wife *Maud* the daughter of *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, by whom the roiall bloud of the ancient Kings of *England* became vnited to the *Normans*, whereby he wanne much loue of the *English nation*.

His Issue.

Edward, the eldest sonne, and second child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elswith*, was borne about the beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred seuenty one: hee was brought vp in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, and instructed by men of great vertue and knowledge in learning, and in all other qualities, and exercises conuenient for Princes. He was maried, and had diuers children: hee was thirty yeeres of age before his Father deceased, and then he succeeded him in his *Kingdome* and *Monarchy*.

Ethelward, the second son, & fist, and last child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elswith*, was borne about the midst of his Fathers raigne, and about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and eighty. Hee was in his youth by his Fathers appointment; and for the example of other young Nobles brought vp in the study of good Arts, at the vniuersity of *Oxford*, where (saith *Th. Rudburne*, and the *Annales* of *Winchester*) he became a man very learned, and a great Philosopher: he had of his Fathers gift by his last Wil great liuings in the Counties of *Deuon*, *Sommerset*, *South-Hampton*: he proued a man of great iudgement and wisedome, and liuing vntill he was aboue forty yeres old; hee died the sixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yeare of his brother King *Edwards* raign, *Anno* nine hundred twenty two, and was buried at *Winchester*.

Elfleda, the eldest daughter and first child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elswith* his wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in respect of this mariage was suffered to haue all roiall iurisdiction ouer that Country, in as ample maner as the Kings thereof had enioied; and after the decease of her husband, which happened in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred and twelue: shee continued the gouernement in the same sort eight yeares, with such resolution and valiant resistance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that she stood her brother *Edward* in great stead, as in the relation of his life shall be further shewed. She died the fifteenth of Iune nine hundred and nineteene, and was buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Gloucester*, leauing issue, a daughter, named *Elswin*, whom King *Edward* her brother depriued of that *Duchy*, which her owne mother enioied, and he his crowne by her assistance.

Ethelgeda, the second daughter and fourth child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elswith*, was neuer married, but tooke vpon her the profession and vow of *Virginity*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, in the *Monastery* there founded by him: who is also accounted the first of the Towne it selfe. Shee was afterward *Abbesse* of the house, and therein spent, and ended her life, and was there also buried.

Elfride, the yongest daughter, and child of King *Elfred* (and Queene *Elswith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the second, surnamed the *Bald*, Earle of *Flanders*, sonne of Earle *Baldwin* the first, and Queene *Iudith* his wife, the widdow of King *Ethelwolfe* her Grandfather. Shee was his wife thirty yeares and more; shee suruiued him and was a widdow eleuen yeeres, she died the seuenth of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelstan* her Nephew. She is buried by her husband in the Chappell of *our Lady*, within the *Monastery* of S. *Peter*, at the City of *Gaunt*. She had issue *Arnulfe* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* since his time, & *Adnulfe* Earle of *Boloigne* and *Terwin*.

Rudburne Annales Santi Swisburni.

Ethelward the second sonne.

Elfleda the eldest daughter.

Ethelgeda the second daughter.

Elfride the yongest daughter.

Edward

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER THE TWENTIE FOVRTH KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, AND TWENTY FIFT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE; ACTS, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

An.Do.901.

NO greater were the griefes conceiued for the death of worthy *Elfred*, then were the hopes of the people in his ſonne Prince *Edward*, whoſe valour had beene often approued againſt the raging *Danes*, & whoſe vertues were both many and princely; not ſo learned as his Father, neither ſo patient to vndergoe his chance; but as glorious in martiall proweſſe, and as fortunate in al his fights, vnder whoſe hand the *Danes* euery where fell, and vnder his *Monarchy* all the *Engliſh* did ſtoope excepting the *Northumbrians*.

Speculum hiſt. Ric. Ciren.

Iohn Stow.

(2) He entred his raigne the yeare of Chriſts natiuity, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames* was crowned and annointed with holy oyle. The *Daniſh* warres continuing in a ſucceſsiue maner, fell as it were hereditaryly from the Father vnto the Sonne, and ripened dayly towards their wiſhed harueſt. Beſides *Ethelwald* the ſonne of *Ethelbert*, the vncle to this King *Edward*, young at his fathers deceaſe, and therefore perhappes held vncapable of gouernment, ſhewed now the bloſſoms of vnder-ſucking plants, whoſe fruits are neither plenteous nor pleaſant in taſt; for his humours euer working vpon diſcontents, drew his thought onely how to make the poſſeſſor fall.

Ethealwld his minority.

Winborne taken by him.

(3) He then entring action of rebellion, tooke the towne of *Winborne* neere vnto *Bathe*, and beſides the allegiance due to his Prince, in ſacrilegious manner brake the heſts of holy Church, in deflowring and taking a Votariſt to wife: *Edward* the elder ſo called, (it may be in regard of this his *Oppoſite*) with a ſelected Army repaired to *Bathe*, and thence prepared for the *field*: whoſe ſight was ſo cockatrice-like to his coſen-Germans eye, that in the night he bade his *Nun* and *Winborne* adew, poſting to *Northumberland*, and proffering his ſeruice to the *Danes* that lay for aduantage of rapine and ſpoile.

Henry Hun.

(4) Him as a fitte inſtrument they created their King, and forward in hope of ſome proſperous ſucceſſe, paſſed through the *Eaſt-Saxons*, the *Eaſt-Angles*, and the *Mercians Countries:* and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wilt-ſhire*, whence they departed ouer *Thameſis* to *Baſingſtoke*; and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned vnto *Eaſt-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by theſe dreadfull enemies, gaue them no aduantage by lingering delaies, but followed their tract vnto Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gaue him battaile, and obtained the victory, though bought with the liues of *Ethelwald* and *Cochricus* their Kings, and loſſe of many *Engliſh*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the fift of his raigne.

Ran. Higd.

S. Edmund

(5) That the *Engliſh* were moſt expert for war in theſe daies, is witneſſed by their reſiſtance of thoſe ſturdy *Danes*, againſt whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King or Captaine to guide them: and they were likewiſe famous in other lands: for about this time it was, that the *Engliſhmen* at the perſwaſion of the *Gothes*, beſieged the great City *Argilla* in *Barbary*, which they wanne with ſuch ſlaughter of the enemy, and ſpoile of the towne, that for thirty yeares after it lay deſolate without inhabitants, whereby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would haue departed *Europe*, as *Ioannes Leo Afer* hath told vs, who according to the *Saracens* doth referre this ſiege to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet Hegira*, which meeteth with the yeare of Chriſts Natiuity, nine hundred and fiue.

An.Do.9

Ioannes Leo Afer in Deſcrip. lib. 3.

(6) The

(6) The truce yet lasting, the *Danes* in *Northumberland* were nothing quiet, to stay whose irruptions King *Edward* lent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much slaughter returned victorious. These daliances of Fortune made the *Danes* very desperate, and therefore to stay the rowling ball before it should passe their goale, they gathered their powers & entred *Mercia*, where with victory and spoile they raged for a time. But *Edward* to aid *Ethelred* his brother in law, and Earle of that Prouince, mustered his men, and at *Wodnesfield* neere *Wolfrune-hampton* in *Stafford-shire* gaue the battaile, wherein the *English* so behaued themselues that the two Pagan-Kings *Cowilfus* & *Healidine*, the two Earles *Vter* and *Scurfa*, besides other Nobles & Commons innumerable they slew: and now the clouds of these distemperatures being driuen backe, King *Edwards* Monarchy ascended the *Horizon*, and the *Sunne* of his power beganne to shine very bright, therefore he seeking to hold what he had got, set his thoughts to secure his towns with Castles and walles of defence.

(7) These his proceedings caused him to be both beloued and feared; but his mind still free from any ambitious pride, as may appeare by the intercourse betwixt *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* and himselfe, wherof *Wal. Mapæus* maketh mention as followeth. *What time* Edward *the Elder* (saith he) *lay at* Austeline, *and* Leolin *Prince of* Wales *at* Bethesley, *intending a Parly*, Leolin *refused to come downe, or to crosse the* Seuerne: *Whereupon* Edward *tooke boat and entred the riuer towards him, which when* Leolin *saw, and knew who shee was, he cast off his rich roabe wherewith he was clad, and which hee had prepared for that roiall assembly, and entred the riuer breast-hie, where clasping the boat with an imbrace, submissiuely said: Most wise and sage King, thy humility hath ouercome my insolencie, and thy wisedome triumphed ouer my folly; come, get vpon my necke which I haue (foole as I am) lifted vp against thee, so shalt thou enter into that land which thy benigne mildnes hath made thine owne this day: and after he had taken him vpon his shoulders, he would needs haue him sit down vpon his roiall roabe, and so putting his hands iointly into his, did him homage.*

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as *Henry Huntington* hath it; *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, who had married *Elfleda* King *Edwards* sister, departed this life, she hauing borne him one onely daughter named *Elfwen*, whose trauell in childbirth was so grieuous, that euer after she forbare the nuptiall imbracements of her husband, alleadging that it was an ouer foolish pleasure, which brought with it so great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted affection of her sexe from the bed vnto battaile, gouerned *Mercia* eight yeares after her husbands decease, as another *Zenobia*, and did not a little assist her brother in his warres: for the *Welsh* she pursued as farre at *Brecknoke*, which she tooke with their Queene: from the *Danes* shee wonne the Connty of *Darby*, and assaulting the towne vpon them, put her selfe in great danger; for enterprising to enter the Gate, shee was resisted by whole multitudes of *Danes*; notwithstanding, she persisted, & got entrance, in which encounter many died, and foure of her chiefe men of war, being Warders of her person-euen fast by her side were slaine.

The *Danes* in *Yorkeshire* she constrained to bee at her deuotion, so that some of them became her subiects, some vowed to attend in her aide, and some promised to be prest at her dispose. Her policie in warre proued euer the surest; her counsell of State was regarded with the wisest, and her prouidence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale-publick, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which shee extended vpon *Chester*, *Tamworth*, *Lichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwicke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Weddesbury*, *Eadsbury*, *Finborow*, *Rimcorne*, *Brimsbery-Bridge* and others.

This renowned Lady giuing place vnto Nature, left the warres to bee continued by her brother, her daughter at the dispose of her vncle, and her body to be buried at *Glocester* in the Monastery of S. *Peter*, which her husband and her selfe had formely built.

(9) The last battaile of this King against these vnsatiate enemies, was in the Country of the *East Angles*, whereof *Edrick* the *Dane* was King; for hee intending new warres with the *English*; sought to incite other *Danes* to his aide, whereof *Edward* hauing intelligence, preuented his purpose, by his sodaine approch into those parts. *Polyd.*

Edrick therefore hauing all in a readinesse, rashly encountred with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great losse of his Army, and dammage of his life; for returning to his Court after so foule a discomfiture, became odious to his owne subiects, who violently fell vpon him and murdered him; and them selues brought low by ciuill dissention were shortly made subiect to the *English King Edward*, and that Kingdome with *Mercia*, ioined vnto his *west-Saxons*. *Edrick* his doings.

And now hauing raigned in great warres and honour the space of twenty foure yeares deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barke-shire*, the yeare of Christs incarnation, 924. and was buried in the *new-Monastery* of *Winchester*, which his Father begunne, and himselfe wholy finished. The time of King *Edwards* raigne. His death and buriall.

His Wiues.

(10) *Eguina* the first wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Bercher*, whose eye-pleasing feature and alluring beauty made her to be educated aboue the degree of her birth, and was brought vp by the nurse of King *Edward* in tender affection and great esteeme. It chanced Prince *Edward* in kindnes came to visite his nurse, where seeing the admirable beauty of the Maide, fell so farre in loue, that he tooke her to his wife without the consent or knowledge of his father: In which regard she is reputed by some Writers rather his *Concubine* then his Queene, no other cause mouing them but her meane parentage, and secret making and keeping of this mariage, although there bee some good histories and many likelyhoods to induce that she was his lawfull Queene. *Eguina.* Prince *Edward* marrieth *Eguina.*

(11) *Elfleda* the second wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter (as *Mathew* of *Westminster* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelhelme*, and *Asser* the Bishop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wiltshire* among the *West-Saxons* of the same name, who was in great fauour with King *Elfred*, the father of this King, by whom hee was sent Ambassador to carry his Almes to *Stephen* the sixt, of that name Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of our Lord 887. and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, hee seemeth to bee the man that was father to this Queene. *Elfleda.* *Stephen* the sixt Bishop of Rome.

(12) *Edgiua*, the third wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigeline* Lord of *Meapham*, *Culings*, and *Leanham* in *Kent*, who was there slaine in battaile against the *Danes*, *Anno* 927. She was married vnto King *Edward* about the fourteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. She was his wife ten yeares, and after his death she liued a widdow all the times of the raignes of King *Ethelstan* her sonne in law, of King *Edmund*, and King *Edred* her owne sonnes, of King *Edwy* her Grand-child, and was liuing in the Raigne of King *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almost fortie yeares after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. Shee offered her lands and euidences to Christ vpon his Altar at *Canterbury*. She deceased the twenty fift of *August* in the fourth yeare of the said King *Edgar*, and of Christ, 963. *Edgiua.* Two Kings her sonnes.

His Children.

(13) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Edward*, and the Lady *Eguina*, was borne and growne to good yeeres in the time of the raigne of his Grandfather King *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gaue him the order of Knighthood, after a very honourable manner *Ethelstan* the first sonne.

ner of creation, as *William* the Monke of *Malmsbury*, a great obſeruer of ſuch things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put vpon him a Purple Robe, and girt him with a girdle wrought with pearle, and a *Saxon* ſword in a ſcabard of gold, hanging at the ſame. He was the Succeſſor of his Father in the *Weſt-Saxons* dominions, and the *Engliſh Monarchy*.

Wil. Malmsb.

(14) *Elfred*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, is warranted by the teſtimony of the ſtory of *Hyde*, to haue been loued of his Father aboue all his other children, that he cauſed him in his owne lifetime to bee crowned King, and to ſit with him in his Seat of Eſtate, as his Partner in the Kingdome, and that he enioyed that great honour but for a ſmall time, deceaſing ſhortly after his creation, and long before his fathers death; and was buried in the New Monaſtery at *winchester*, which afterwards was remoued to *Hyde*.

Elfred the ſecond ſonne.

Crowned King in his father's time.

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scotiſh* Writers call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Eguina*, with great honour was maried to *Sythrick*, the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, in the firſt yeere of the raigne of her brother King *Ethelſtane*, being the yeere of grace 915. Within one yeere after her mariage, her husband deceaſed, and his ſonne *Guthfrid* ſucceeded him in his Kingdome. Wherefore ſhe forſaking that Country, obtained of her brothers gift, the Caſtell of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*, where ſhe began a Monaſtery of Nunnes, and therein liued, died, and was interred, and both the Monaſtery and Body afterwards was remoued from thence vnto *Polleſworth*.

Editha the firſt daughter. *Mat. Weſtminſter. Polidor.*

Tamworth Caſtell.

(16) *Elſward*, the third ſon of King *Edward*, & the firſt of Queen *Elfleda* his ſecond wife, was born, as it ſeemeth, about the beginning of his Fathers raigne. He was carefully brought vp in the ſtudy of Liberall Arts, and in all other princely qualities; ſo that it was expected he ſhould haue ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdome: but preſently vpon his fathers deceaſe, he deceaſed himſelfe in *Oxford*, and was buried at one time, and in one place with him in the New Monaſtery at *Winchester*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 924.

Elſward the third ſonne.

Buried at *Winchester*.

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was very young when his father was buried, and his brother *Ethelſtane* crowned. Notwithſtanding a deep ieloſie poſſeſsing the King, that his title was too neere the Crowne, he cauſed him to be put into a little Pinneſſe, without either Tackle or Oares, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waues: whence the young Prince ouercome with griefe, and not able to maſter his owne paſsions, caſt himſelfe headlong into the ſea, and his dead body being driuen vpon the coaſts of *Flanders*, was taken vp by *Adulphe*, Earle of *Boloine*, his coſen-germane, and honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of *S. Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by King *Ethelſtan*, who greeuouſly puniſhed the ſuggeſtions of his owne ieloſie, and the procurers of his brothers death; ſending great thanks to the Earle that buried him, and rich preſents to the Monaſtery which entombed him, and to appeaſe the ghoſt of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of *Midleton* in the County of *Dorſet*.

Edwine the fourth ſonne. *Wil. Malmſ.*

James Maier, in his Annals of *Flanders*.

(18) *Elfleda*, the ſecond daughter of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, entred into the orders of Religion, and tooke vpon her the profeſsion and vow of Virginity, in the Monaſtery of *Rumſey*, ſituated vpon the Riuer *Teſt*, in the County of *Southampton*. In which Monaſtery, ſhe was firſt a Nunne, and afterward Abbeſſe during the whole time of her life, which was there ſpent and ended, and her body in the ſaid Abbey buried.

Elfleda the ſecond daughter.

Ramſey Monaſtery.

(19) *Eguina*, the third daughter of King *Edward*, and the ſecond of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was the ſecond Wife to *Charles the third*, ſurnamed the *Simple*, King of *France*, ſon to King *Lews* the brother of *Judith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had iſſue by him *Lewis the third*, ſurnamed *Beyond-ſea*, becauſe he was brought vp here in *England* with his Vnkle King *Ethelſtan*; and *Gillet* Ducheſſe of *Normandy* maried to *Rollo* the *Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to bee the firſt Duke of that Country. This Queene ſuruiued King *Charles* her Husband; and afterwards was remaried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Vermandoys*; which marriage was taken for ſo great an indignity, becauſe Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had cauſed the King her Husband to die in priſon, that King *Lewis* her ſonne preſently purſued her, apprehended, and committed her to the ſtrait cuſtody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: ſo as ſhee had no recourſe vnto him, nor iſſue by him.

Eguina the third daughter.

Her marriage with Herbert diſliked.

(20) *Ethelhild*, the fourth daughter of King *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, followed the example of her elder ſiſter *Elfleda*, and became a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, which was ſometime the head Towne giuing name to the whole County of *Wiltſhire*, and antiently called *Ellandon*.

Ethelhild the fourth daughter.

(21) *Edhild*, the fifth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fourth of Queene *Elfleda*, was maried to *Hugh* ſurnamed *the Great*, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-maſter and Conſtable of *France*, in the yeere of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother King *Ethelſtanes* raigne. This *Hugh* was the ſonne of *Robert*, brother to *Endes* King of *France*, and father of King *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, euer ſithence vnto this day: but ſhee died before him without any iſſue by him.

Edhild the fifth daughter.

(22) *Edgith*, the ſixth daughter of King *Edward* and the fifth of Queene *Elfleda*, was the firſt wife of *Otho* the firſt, ſurnamed *the Great*, Emperour of the Weſt, ſonne to the Emperor *Henry*, ſurnamed *the Falconer*. By him ſhe had iſſue *Ludolfe*, Duke of *Swabe*, *William* Arch-biſhop of *Mentz*, *Ludgard* married to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorrayn*, and *Mechthild* Abbeſſe of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonie*: in which Citie ſhe deceaſed the ſeuen and twenty of *Auguſt*, in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 947. the eleuenth of her husbands Empire, and the firſt of her brother King *Edreds* raigne in *England*. She was buried at the Eaſt end of the North ſide of a Chapell which her ſelfe had founded in the ſame Citie.

Edgith the ſixth daughter.

(23) *Elgiua*, the ſeuenth daughter of King *Edward*, and the ſixth of Queene *Elfleda* his ſecond Wife, was by King *Ethelſtan* her brother, with her ſiſter *Egith* ſent to the Court of the Emperor, *Henry the firſt* King of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, who honourably entertained her, brought her vp with his owne daughters; and after he had maried her elder ſiſter to his eldeſt ſonne, he placed her alſo in marriage with a Duke of *Italy* obout the *Alpes*, who is not named of our Writers, but may eaſily be coniectured by the honourable diſpoſition of the maker of the match, to haue been a Prince of note and account, worthy of her eſtate and parentage.

Elgiua the ſeuenth daughter.

Married to a Duke of Italy.

(24) *Edmund*, the fifth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt Wife, was borne in the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of the worlds ſaluation 921. and at his fathers death little more then three yeeres of age, was notwithſtanding by the carefull prouiſion of his mother, brought vp with all princely education conuenient for his yeeres and eſtate, inſomuch as there was generally a great expectation amongſt the people conceiued of him in the life of his brother *King Ethelſtan*, vnder whom he learned ſome experience of ſeruice in warre, and after whom hee ſucceeded in the Kingdome of *England*.

Edmund the fifth ſonne.

Three yeere old at his fathers death.

(25) *Edred*, the ſixth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the ſecond of Queene *Edgiua* his third Wife, and the youngeſt ſonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, and yeere of grace 923. which was not long before the death of his father, who left him a little infant in the cuſtody of his mother, by whom hee was carefully brought vp, and prooued a Prince of ſo great vertue and

Edred the ſixth ſonne.

A good Prince

and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother, in regard of the minority of his Nephews, hee was with the generall conſent, and liking of the whole nation, choſen to be his brothers ſucceſſor in the kingdome and gouernment ouer them.

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Edgiua*, in her child-hood had her diſpoſition tried, and her courſe of life diſpoſed by her Father in this manner: he laid before her gorgeous apparrell, and rich Iewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Teſtament and Bookes of princely inſtruction in the other; willing her to make her choiſe of which ſhe liked beſt: ſhe preſently tooke vp the bookes, and he her in his armes; and kiſſing her ſaid, *Goe in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a *Monaſtery* at *Wincheſter*, wherein ſhee did moſt vertuouſly ſpend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

Edburg the eight daughter.

(27) *Edgiua*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the ſecond of his laſt Queene, whoſe name ſhee bare, is reported in the hiſtory of the *Monaſtery* of *Hyde* by *Wincheſter*, and other Writers of our Country, to haue beene married to *Lewes* Prince of *Aquitane* in *France*, which not long before had beene a *Kingdome* of it ſelfe, ſometime allotted to the portion of *Lewes* the third ſonne of the Emperour *Charles* the *Great*; of which houſe it ſeemeth this *Lewes* was; afterward it became a Dukedome, and the poſſeſsion of an other Family, by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conqueſt to the Kings of *England*, which were deſcended of the houſe of *Angeow*.

Edgiua the ninth daughter.

Aquitaine belonging to England.

ETHELSTAN THE TVVENTIE FIFT KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND SVPPOSED ISSVE.

Monarch 26

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Thelſtan, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene ſaid) for the great hopes conceiued of him, was crowned with a greater ſolemnity then any of his anceſtors euer before him. The place was *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis* in the County of *Surrey*, the yeer of Chriſt Ieſus 924, where, in the midſt of the town a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Athelmus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſhouts of ioy as that of *Salomon*.

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reaſon of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a nobleman, either in fauour of King *Edwards* other ſonnes, holding *Ethelſtan* a Baſtard, or elſe vpon an ambitious hope blinded of himſelfe, intended at *Wincheſter* to haue pluckt out the eyes of his Soueraine: but his treaſon being knowne, before the ſeed could ſhew blade, he was apprehended & ſent to *Rome* to purge himſelfe by oth: where, before the Altar of *S. Peter* and Pope *Iohn* the tenth, he there abiured the act, and thereupon fell ſodainly down to the earth, ſo that his ſeruants tooke and bare him into the Engliſh Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the *Pope* denying him chriſtian buriall vntill he knew King *Ethelſtans* pleaſure.

Pope Iohn the tenth.

(3) Theſe ſtormes ouerpaſt, as great a cloud ſeemed to ariſe vnto *Ethelſtans* ſight, whoſe eye of iealouſie euer followed the aſcent, and his eare euer opened vnto the inſtillations of Paraſites, amongſt whom his Cup-bearer was a chiefe; who brought daily more and more ſuſpition into the Kings head, that laſtly (as wee haue ſhewed) hee conſented to young *Edwins* death, though with too late a ſorrow hee repented the ſame: for beſides his ſeauen yeares penance voluntarily vndergone, to paciſie

Paraſites.

Edwins death.

The occaſion of the founding of *Midleton* and *Michelneſſe* Monaſteries.

the ghoſt of his betraied brother, hee built the two *Monaſteries* of *Midleton* and *Michelneſſe*, as for the moſt part ſuch ſeed-plots were euer ſowne in the furrowes of bloud, which hapned vpon this occaſion: It chanced his *Cup-bearer* in his ſeruice vpon a feſtiuall to ſtumble with the one foote, and recouering himſelfe with the other, pleaſantly to ſay, *you ſee how one brother helpeth another*; vpon which ſpeech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with deſerued death: & himſelfe was euer after more tender and carefull towards his other brethren, with a more reſpectiue regard, and beſtowed his ſiſters moſt honorably in mariage, as hath beene ſaid.

His Cup-bearer put to death.

(4) At his entrance of gouernment, to diſcharge the expectations of his ſubiects, hee endeauoured both by warres and allianuces to make them ſtrong and rich. Firſt, therefore entring friendſhippe with *Sithricke* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, vpon whom with condition that hee ſhould receiue Baptiſme, he beſtowed his ſiſter *Editha* in marriage, hee bent himſelfe to ordaine *Lawes* for the weale-publike, & thoſe to bind aſwel the *Clergie* as the *Layety*, out of which firſt ſprang the *attachment* of *Fellons*, to take hold of ſuch as ſtole aboue *twelue pence*, & were aboue twelue yeares of age.

Sithrick. *Wil. Malmsbury.*

A law againſt Fellons.

(5) But *Sithricke* the *Northumbrian* dying the firſt yeare of his mariage, and his *Queene* returning to a religious life, his ſonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlafe*, offended that their *Pagan-Gods* were neglected, and onely by the meanes of this their fathers laſt wife, ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to diſquiet the Engliſh, which occaſioned *Ethelſtan* to inuade their country, and forced *Anlafe* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*, which laſt ſo wrought with *Conſtantine* their King, that he vndertooke to ſide in his quarrell, with whom ioined ⁎ *Howel King* of *Wales*. Theſe in a fierce battle hee ouercame and conſtrained them to ſubmit themſelues to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to bee variable, and pittying the caſe of theſe down-caſt Princes, reſtored them preſently to their former eſtates, adding withall this princely ſaying, *that it was more honour to make a King then to be a King*.

Godfrey and *Anlafe* the ſonnes of *Sithrick*.

⁎ *Ludwall* ſaith *Malmſbury*.

An. Do. 937.

Mat. Weſt. *Rand. Higd.*

(6) This notwithſtanding, the caſe of *Godfrey* ſo moued the ſpirit of *King Conſtantine*, that hee againe aſſiſted him in his inrodes into the Engliſh part, which drew againe *King Ethelſtan* into the *North*: & cõming to *Yorkſhire* (as he was a man much deuoted to God-ward) turned aſide to viſite the tombe of *S. Iohn* of *Beuerley*, where earneſtly praying for his proſperous ſucceſſe, for want of richer Iewels, there offered his knife, vowing that if hee returned with conqueſt, hee would redeeme it with a worthy price, and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward pitching downe his tents at *Brimesburie*, his nauie waffing along thoſe ſeas.

King *Conſtantine* aſſiſteth *Godfrey*.

Wil. Malmsb. *Simon. Dun.* *Rad. Higden.*

(7) To the aide of *Conſtantine* came *Anlafe*, called by writers King of the *Iriſh*, and of the *Iles*, who had married his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and deſperate, as appeared by the Action he vnderwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the Engliſh had attempted to know the State of the *Danes*: ſo this *Dane* at this place did to vnderſtand the *Engliſh*: for, diſguiſing himſelfe like a Harper, hee went from Tent to Tent, and had acceſſe euen into *King Ethelſtans* preſence, vntill hee had learned what he moſt deſired, and then returned againe to his Campe, which part of his was no bolder, or more wiſely performed, then was kept ſecret, and after reuealed by a moſt faithfull ſouldier: for *Anlafe* departed & free from purſuit, this Souldier made the act known to *King Ethelſtan*: who being ſore diſpleaſed with his enemies eſcape, imputed the fault vnto him the reuealer: but he replying, made him this anſwere: *I once ſerued* Anlafe (ſaid he) *vnder his pay for a ſouldier, and gaue him the ſame faith that I doe now vnto you; if then I ſhould haue betraied his deſignes, what truſt could your Grace repoſe in my truth: let him therefore die, but not through my treachery, and by his eſcape ſecure your royall ſelfe from danger; remoue your Tent from the place where it ſtands, leſt at vnawares hee happily aſſaile you.*

Anlaf King of Ireland.

Hector Boetius.

Anlafe his policy

Anlafe his ſouldiers fidelity.

(8) The King ſeeing the faith of his ſouldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to bee remoued, where preſently a Biſhoppe new come to his Campe pitched vp his owne, and the night following both himſelfe and retinue were ſlaine by the ſame *Anlafe* that ſought the Kings life in aſſaulting the place; and preſsing forward came to his tent, who awaked with the ſuddain Allarum, boldly ruſhed vpon his enemies, & encouraging his men, put them backe with the death of fiue petty Kings, twelue Dukes, and well neere of the whole Army, which *Anlafe* had brought.

Wil. Malmsb.

Fiue Kings and twelue Dukes ſlaine.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more laſting by a peece of ancient Saxon coine of ſiluer, inſcribed with his name, ANLAF CYNYNE, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honour of the man, we haue here imprinted, & placed though in the texture of our *Engliſh Saxon Kings*.

(10) To leaue a memoriall of *King Ethelſtans* great victory, giue me leaue to write what I find; namely, that neere vnto the Caſtle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, he praying that his right vnto thoſe parts might bee confirmed vnto poſterities by a ſigne, at one blow with his ſword ſtroke an elle deepe into a ſtone, which ſtood ſo clouen a long time after, and vndoubtedly was the whetſtone to the firſt Authors knife: but this is moſt certaine, that hee ioined *Northumberland* to the reſt of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beuerley* redeemed his owne knife.

Poſter. Sk. [illegible] Dunbar Caſtle.

Beuerley.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whoſe Rulers and Princes hee brought to bee his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entered couenant to pay him yeerely twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of ſiluer, and twenty fiue hundred head of cattle, with hawkes and hounds to a certaine number, towards which paiment by the ſtatutes of *Howell Dha*, the *King* of *Aberfraw* was charged at ſixty ſix pounds; the Prince *Dineuure*, and the Prince of *Powys* were to pay the like ſummes.

The Princes of *Wales* tribut.

Corn. Wal.

(12) The *Britaines*, which to his time with all equall right inhabited the City of *Exceſter* with the *Saxons*, hee expelled into the further promontary of *Cornwal*, and made *Tamar* the confines of his own Empire; ſo that his dominion was the largeſt that any *Saxon* before him had enioied, and his fame the greateſt with all forraine Princes, who ſought his friendſhip both with loue and alliance, by matching with his ſiſters, and preſenting him with rich and rare preſents; for *Hugh King* of *France* beſides other vneſtimable Iewels; ſent him the ſword of *Conſtantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all couered with gold) was one of the nailes that faſtned Chriſt to his Croſſe: he ſent likewiſe the ſpeare of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the ſame that pierced *Chriſts* ſide, as alſo part of the *Croſſe* whereon hee ſuffered his paſsion, and a peece of the *thorny Crowne* wherwith his bleſſed Temples were begoared, and with theſe came the Banner of S. *Maurice* ſo often ſpread by *Charles the Great* in his Chriſtian warres againſt the *Saracens*: And from *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his ſiſter, was ſent a veſſell of pretious ſtones artificially made, wherein were ſeene Lanskips with vines, corne, and men, all of them ſeeming ſo natu-

Wil. Malmsb.

Ran. Higd. in Polichron. lib. 6. cap. 18.

The King of *France* his Preſents to King *Athelſtan*.

Conſtantines ſword with a naile of the Croſſe ſent into *England*.

naturally to moue, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* ſent him a goodly ſhippe with a guilt ſterne, purple ſailes, and the decke garniſhed all with gold.

(13) Of theſe accounted holy reliques *King Ethelſtan* gaue part vnto the Abbey of *S. Swithen* in *Wincheſter*; and the reſt to the Monaſtery of *Malmeſbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the founder, and his *Tutelar Saint*, in honour of whom he beſtowed great immunities vpon the towne, and large endowments vpon the Abbey; hee new built the monaſteries of *Wilton*, *Michelneſſe*, and *Midleton*, founded *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal*, *Saint Petrocus* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Pilton*, new walled and beutified the City of *Exceter*, and enriched euery famous Abbey in the land, either with new buildings, Iewels, Books, or Reuenewes.

(14) As alſo hee did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, whereof in *London* were eight houſes, at *Wincheſter* ſixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Haſtings* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chicheſter* one, in *Rocheſter* three, two for the King, and one for the Biſhop; at *Canterbury* ſeuen; foure for himſelfe, two for the Archbiſhop, and one for the Abbat, although it appeareth the Archbiſhop had his before the raigne of this King. For among theſe ancient *Saxon-Coines*, we find one of *Ceolnothus*, who ſate there Archbiſhop in the yeare 831. which both for the antiquity & authority of truth wee haue here inſerted.

(15) This Prince King *Ethelſtan* was of an indifferent ſtature, not much exceeding the common ſort of men, chearefull in countenance, his haire verie yellow, and ſomewhat ſtooped forward as he went; for valour inuincible, in reſolution conſtant, and for his curteſie beloued of all; he raigned in great honour the ſpace of fifteene yeares and odde monethes, and deceaſed in the City of *Glouceſter*, vpon wedneſday the ſeuenteenth of October, and was buried at *Malmesbury* the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 940. hauing neuer had wife mentioned in our hiſtories. *Athelſtans vertues.* *The time of his raigne.*

His ſuppoſed Iſſue.

(16) *Leonet*, the ſuppoſed daughter of King *Ethelſtan*, is reported by *Iohn Rouſe* and *Papulwick*, writers of the miſtruſted ſtory of *Guy of Warwicke* to bee married vnto *Reynburn* Earle of *Warwicke*, and ſonne to the ſame *Guy*, whoſe remembrance and reputation is preſerued & kept with no leſſe renowne among the common people, for the liberty of *England* ſaued by his victory in ſingle combate againſt *Colbrand* the *Dane*, then was *Horatius* the *Romane* for the preſeruatiō of *Rome*, whoſe hiſtorie I wil leaue for others to enlarge that haue more leaſure & better inuention. *Iohn Rouſe.* *Papulwicke.*

EDMVND THE TVVENTIE SIXTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, DEATH, WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch 27

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EDmund the fifth ſonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt wife, at the age of nineteen yeeres ſucceeded his brother King *Ethelſtan* in his kingdome, and Monarchy: hee began his raigne the yeare of the worlds ſaluation 940. and with great ſolemnity was crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*, in the fifth yeare of *Otho* the firſt Emperour of that name, and his brother in law; his valour had often beene tried in the warres of King *Ethelſtan* againſt thoſe ſtout and ſturdy enemies the *Danes*, *Scotiſh*, *Iriſh*, and *Welſhmen*, that often had aſſaied to diſturbe his peace. Do. 940. *Simon Dunel.*

(2) *Athelſtan* deceaſed, and the crowne ſcarſe ſet vpon *King Edmunds* head, but that the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, diſliking ſubiection, called again *Anlafe* out of *Ireland* to be their King; who now in the infancie *Wil. Malm.*

infancy of *Edmunds* eſtate, with great power of men purpoſed to ſubdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full reſolution ment to keepe what was got, and ſo gathering his power, proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leiceſter* encountred with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, *Odo* and *Wolſton*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the vttermoſt.

An.Do.942. (3) The next yeare of his raigne, the ſaid *Anlafe* (whom ſome hold to haue beeene the King of *Norway*) being dead, an other *Anlafe*, ſonne to King *Sithrick*, of whom we haue ſpoken, intruded vpon the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. Theſe heads, as *Hidras*, ſpringing vp each after others, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a prouoked Lion, ſubdued, as he went, thoſe townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leiceſter*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receiue Baptiſme, and to become his Subiectes; ſo that the Country was wholy his vnto *Humber*. Theſe his proceedings cauſed *Anlafe* and *Reinold* the ſonnes of the *Daniſh Gurmo*, ſubduers of *Yorke*, to yeeld themſelues wholy to his deuotion, offering him ſubiection, and withall to receiue the Chriſtian faith; for performance wherof, they likewiſe receiued Baptiſme, vnto whom *King Edmund* was Godfather, to *Reinold* at his *Confirmation*, and to *Anlafe* at the *Font*: but how ſoone they fell from both, the ſequell ſhewed; for caſting off the faith and fealty thus promiſed, they ſtirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better ſucceſſe then deſert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and *King Edmund* adioined that Country to his owne gouernment; without the admittance of any Secondary or Vice-roy to rule there vnder him.

Mat. Weſtminſter

Wil. Malmſ.

An.Do.944. *Simeon Dun.*

King *Dunmaile.* (4) *Cumberland* alſo, which ſeldome was quiet, hauing beene a Kingdome entire of it ſelfe, and now aided by *Leolin King* of *Southwales*, he vtterly waſted: and apprehending the two ſonnes of *Dunmaile King* of that Prouince, commanded the eyes of thoſe ouer-bold Princes to be puld out, and gaue their inheritance to *Malcolme King* of *Scots*, to hold the ſame by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing thoſe coaſts whence the ſharpeſt ſtormes had continually blowne, hee returned into the *South*, and there ſet himſelfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, leſt time the conſumer of al things might chance to obliterate, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* tranſlated into Latine, and imprinted in the yeare 1568. next, to ſhew his loue to God, and bounty to his Church, he gaue the towne of *Saint Edmondsbury* with the liberties thereof, wholy to that Martyr, and to the Monks that liued in ſeruing at his Altars.

Wil. Lambert.

(5) But as each thing hath his ſpring, growth, & decay; ſo all men their dates, howſoeuer eminent in degree, & the ſhank of their Compas ſo ſet in a center that the Circle of their lines are oftentime abrupt, before it be drawn to the full round: for ſo with others, we may ſee in this *Monarch*, who being ſafely returned from many great dangers of war, at peace in his Pallace, came to a lamentable & vnexpected end: for at his Manor of *Pucle-kerkes* in the County of *Glouceſter*, whiles hee interpoſed himſelfe betweene his *Sewer* and one *Leoue* to part a fray, was, with a thruſt through the body, wounded to death the twenty ſixt of May, in the yeare of our ſaluation 946. when he had proſperouſly raigned the ſpace of fiue yeares and ſeuen moneths, and his body, with no leſſe ſorrow then ſolemnity, was buried at *Glaſenbury*

Marian.

Wil. Malm.

His Wife.

(6) *Elfgine*, the onely wife of *King Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I find) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that ſhee was married vnto him in the firſt yeare of his raigne, which was the yeare of Grace, 940. and that ſhe was his wife foure yeeres & vpward, after whoſe ſlaughter ſhe remained a mournfull widdow all the reſt of her life, which ſhe ſpent with ſo great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the writers of that age ſhee is commended to poſterity by the name of a Saint.

Elfgine.

His Iſſue.

(7) *Edwy*, the eldeſt ſonne of *King Edmund*, and *Queene Elfgine* his wife, was borne in the ſecond yeare of his fathers raigne *Anno* 942. When his father died, hee was but foure yeeres of age, and in reſpect of his minority was not permitted to ſucceed him in the Kingdome, but forced to giue place to his vncle *Edred*, vnder whom he liued nine yeares; and in the tenth, his vncle being dead, and himſelfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the ſucceſsion of the *Monarchy*.

Edwy.

(8) *Edgar* the ſecond ſonne of *King Edmund*, and of *Queen Elfgine*, was borne in the third yeare of his fathers raigne, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 943, and was but three yeeres old when his Father died; notwithſtanding, he proued afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the ſecond yeare of *King Edwy* his brothers raigne, being then but fourteene yeeres of age, he was choſen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people he gouerned vnder the title of King of *Mercia*, for the ſpace of two yeeres befor his brothers death, and then ſucceeded him in the whole *Monarchie*.

Edgar.

EDRED

EDRED THE TVVENTIE SEVENTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 28

CHAPTER XL.

EDred, the ſixth ſonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiua* his third and laſt wife, at the age of twenty three yeeres ſucceeded his brother King *Edmund* in the nonage of his children in al his dominions, and was the twenty ſeuenth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twentie eight Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*. He began his raigne in the yeere of Mans ſaluation 946. and was annointed, and crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey* vpon Sunday the ſeuenteenth day of *Auguſt* by the hands of *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

(2) His Coronation robes ſcarſly put off; news was brought him that the *Northumbrians* had reuolted and ſtirred a dangerous inſurrection; notwithſtanding the Couenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots* to ſecure the ſame. Therfore leſt delaies might proue dangerous, with a great Army hee entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without ſight of enemy, or any reſiſtance. But peace being concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme* and the *Northumbrians*; yea and the ſame confirmed ſtrongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the laſt named lurers; for no ſooner was *Edred* returned, but that they ſent into *Ireland* for *Anlafe*, the ſonne of *Gurmo* the *Dane*, who had been expelled the Country as we haue ſaid.

(3) *Anlafe* gathering a fleete and forces accordingly, came into *Northumberland*, where he was with great ioy receiued and made their *King*, which title hee maintained for foure yeeres continuance, banding againſt *Edred*, and ſtill holding him play, till laſtly the *Northumbrians* diſloiall to both, took their feather out of *Anlafe* his plume, and ſent him packing to the place, whence he came, electing one *Hericus* King in his ſtead.

(4) *Edred* awaked with the waſts that they made, prepared a iourney into thoſe parts, where with fire and ſword hee bare downe all before him; and albeit he was a man religiouſly bent, yet ſpared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all vnto aſhes as he went, the enemy not daring to ſhew the face. In his returne ſuſpecting no perill, ſuddainely an hoaſt brake out of *Yorke*, and fell vpon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but careleſly, and broken out of their array, whereby many periſhed before any complete order of reſiſtance could be made. The King ſeeing this bold attempt of theſe Rebels, ſtroke downe his ſtandard, turning his face againe to the *North*, and threatened the reuenge, with the Countries ſpoile and their liues.

(5) In this plot of ſedition *Wolſtan* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* had ſowne ſome ſeed of treaſon, both in the aſſiſtance of action, and counſell for the enterpriſe, very ill beſeeming a man of his ranke: this *Wolfe* therfore hauing thus awaked the *Lion* from reſt, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northumbrians* expulſing their ſtateleſſe *Hericus* with ſubmiſsiue teares and golden ſhowers, ſo pacified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane waſhed away: but hee good man (a Saint at the leaſt) was mued vp in priſon (againſt whom accuſations daily came, and namely, that he had commaunded ſundry of the Burgeſſes of *Thetford* to bee ſlaine) where hee abode till he was by *Edred* vpon a reuerent regard of his calling, releaſed from thence: for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous; ſo is he no leſſe for his iuſtice towards the vitious, and for the practiſe of his Religion, as forward as any, ſuffering not onely his manners to be reproued and corrected, (a quality truely roiall, and beſt beſeeming Princes) but alſo (ſo much below the pitch of ſoueraigne Maieſty) his body to bee chaſtiſed at the will and direction of *Dunſtan* Abbot

Wil. Malmsb.

Rand. Higd. Simon Dun.

Wolſtan.

Wil. Malmſ.

of *Glaſenbury*, vnto whoſe cuſtody, he alſo committed the greateſt part of his treaſure and richeſt iewels to be lockt in his cheſts, and vnder the keyes of this Monaſtery.

Aſſer. (6) The ſtately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* neere *Oxford* built by King *Inas*, but deſtroyed by the *Danes*, he newly repaired, indowing it with lands & faire reuenewes, and confirmed the Charters with ſeales of gold: hee alſo ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal* to be a Biſhops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopall See of *Kyrton* in *Deuon*, both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward the Confeſſor* tranſlated to the City of *Exceſter*: but ſith the brighteſt day hath his night, and the higheſt tide his preſent ebbe, what maruaile is it, if then *Edred* in the middeſt of his ſtrength were ſeazed vpon by ſickneſſe and death, which ſurpriſed him after hee had raigned in great honour nine yeeres and odde moneths, to the great griefe of his Subiects, who ſolemnly interred him in the old Minſter within the City of *Wincheſter*, the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 955. whoſe bones with other Kings, to this day are preſerued in a guilt Coffer, fixed vpon the wall in the ſouth ſide of the Quier.

His Iſſue.

Elfred. (7) *Elfred*, the ſonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mother, or any act by him done; onely in the ſixt yeare of *King Edred* his raigne, which was the yeere of Grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witneſſe to his Fathers graunt of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Ethelwolfe* a Duke of *England* in thoſe daies, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeere aforeſaid.

Bertfrid. (8) *Bertfrid* an other, and as it ſeemeth an elder ſonne of *King Edred*, was borne before his father was King, without any mention alſo of his Mother, who liuing in the ſecond yeare of his fathers raigne, namely *Anno*, 948. was written for a witneſſe in the ſame yeare, to his grant of lands in *Bedlaking*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to bee ſeene vnto this day.

Edwy.

EDVVY THE TVVENTIE EIGHTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

CHAPTER XLI.

An.Do.955. EDWY, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, after the deceaſe of his vncle *Edred*, ſucceeded him in his dominions, and was the twentie eighth King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the twentie ninth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*: he began his raigne in the yeare of the worlds ſaluation, 955. and was annointed & crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by the hands of *Otho* the 22. Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edwyes ſinne. (2) Yong hee was in yeares, and vitious of life, if the Monkiſh Story-writers of thoſe times his deadly enemies may be credited, not paſt thirteene when he entred gouernment, and that begun with a capitall ſinne: for they report, that vpon the ſolemne day of his Coronation, and inſight of his Nobles, as they ſate in Counſell, with ſhameleſſe and vnprincelike luſt, he abuſed a Lady of great eſtate, & his neere kinſwoman, whoſe husband ſhortly after he ſlew, the more freely to poſſeſſe his inceſtuous pleaſure: and to fill the pennes of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, hee was a great enemy vnto the Monkiſh orders (a ſore in thoſe dayes very tender to be touched, and may well be thought the cauſe of many falſe aſperſions on him,) whom from the Monaſtery of *Malmsbury* *Glaſenbury* and others, hee expelled, placing married Prieſts in their roomes: *Dunſtan* likewiſe the Abbot Saint of *Glaſenbury* hee baniſhed the Realm, for

for his ouer-bold reprehenſions; if not rather for retaining the treaſure deliuered him by King *Edred*, and demaunded againe in his ſickneſſe; when by the voice (forſooth) of an Angell from heauen, his iourney was ſtaid, and thoſe rich Iewels not deliuered the King in his life; I will not ſay kept backe, leſt *Dunſtan* with *Balaam* (whoſe ſtories are not much vnlike) ſhould bee thought to follow (as he did) *the wages of deceit.*

(3) Howſoeuer, the reuerent opinion of the *Monks* ſingle life, and the conceiued holines of Abbot *Dunſtan* in thoſe miſty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in eſteeme, which made his beſt acts conſtrued, and recorded to the worſt; inſomuch that his Subiects minds, ebbing as the Sea from the full, drew backe the current of their ſubiectiue affections, and ſet the eye of obedience vpon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeeres may ſeeme to cleare him from the imputation of ſo luſtful a fact, as he is charged with, at the day of his aſſuming the Crowne; and the ſeparation from his wife, (as too neere in conſanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his diſtreſſed heart, yet pittileſſe of his eſtate, and careleſſe of their owne allegiance, the *Mercians* with the *Northumbrians* did vtterly caſt off obedience, and ſweare their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully foureteene yeeres aged: *Edwy* then raigning in a ſtill decaying eſtate, was held of ſuch his ſubiects, in no better eſteeme, then was *Iehoram* of *Iudah*, who is ſaid *to haue liued without being deſired:* for very griefe whereof after foure yeares raigne hee ended his life, the yeare of our Lord 959: whoſe body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide* at *Winchester*, erected without the Wall in the North of that City. 1 Chr. 21. 20.

His Wife.

(4) *Elfgine*, the wife of King *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly deſcended, yea, and by ſome deemed ſomewhat too neare in the bloud roiall, to bee matched with him in ſpouſall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgiue*, whom ſome ſcandalized to haue beene his Concubine, and the onely cauſer of *Dunſtans* baniſhment. The ſubiects diſliking of this vnlawfull marriage, & further inſtigated by the Monkes, (whoſe humorous pleaſures, or diſpleaſures could very much ſway the ſtate in thoſe daies,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewiſe enforced to a ſeparation, in the third yeere of his regardleſſe gouernment, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 958. without other mention of her life or death. *Iohn Capgraue.*

Monarch 30

EDGAR SVRNAMED THE PEACEABLE THE THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE; ACTS, WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XLII.

Do. 959.

EDgar, the ſecond ſon of King *Edmund* hauing raigned two yeares ouer the *Merciane* and *Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his Brother, to the great impairing of King *Edwyes* reputation and eſteeme; after his death at ſixeteen yeares of age was choſen to ſucceed in all his dominions, and was the thirtieth *Monarch* of the *Engliſhmen*, or rather now of whole *England*, all other titles of Kingdomes falling vnder his ſcepter, and becomming Prouinces annexed vnto his abſolute *Monarchie*.

(2) He beganne his raigne in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity, 959. and was crowned (as ſome write) the ſame yeare at *Kingſton*, vpon *Thameſis*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But *Randulphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yeere of his raigne: *William* Monke of *Malmesbury* to the thirtieth yeare of his age, and the *Saxon* Chronicle of *Polydor Virg. Ran. Higden. Wil. Malm. Saxon Chron.*

of *Worceſter* Church, to the yeere of Chriſt, 972, and that in the City of *Bath*, hee was annointed and conſecrated with great ſolemnity by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Edgar the Peaceable.

(3) The raigne of this King is ſaid to haue beene altogether in a calme tranquility, and therefore hee was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; his vertues were many, and vices not a few, the one gloriouſly augmented, and the other fairely excuſed, by thoſe *Monkiſh* writers, vnto whoſe profeſsions he was moſt fauourable: his Guides were *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwold* Abbot of *Glaſenbury*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, three ſtout Champions againſt the married Clergie, (for women in thoſe dayes were great bugs in their eyes,) therfore the married Prieſts he diſplaced, & brought in Monkes of ſingle life to poſſeſſe their roomes, whoſe ſinnes of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witnes, which cauſed *Treuiſa* the tranſlator of *Higden*, to blame King *Edgar*, charging him to bee lewdly moued in following their counſell againſt married Clerkes.

Policr. lib. 6. cap. 9

wil. Malmsbury.

(4) So doe *Malmsbury* and *Higden* taxe him with too fauourable affections towardes the *Danes*, who dwelled alike in euery town with the *Engliſh*, though formerly they had ſought the deſtruction of all, and ſtill lay in wait attending for the ſpoile of his true ſubiects, who apt enough vnto euil, lerned the beaſtly ſinne of quaffing, and emptying of cups, which King *Edgar* was enforced to redreſſe, by enacting a law againſt exceſsiue drinking, ordaining a ſize by certaine pinnes ſet in the pot, with penalties to any that ſhould preſume to drinke deeper then the marke.

cap 38. Sect. 8.

Cron. Wald.

(5) His policie was no leſſe prudent (but much more ſucceſsefull) for the deſtruction of *Wolues*, that in his daies did great annoiance to the land; for the tribute impoſed vpō the Princes of *Wales* by the *Engliſh* King *Ethelſtan* (as we haue ſaid) he wholy remitted, and in lieu thereof, appointed certaine numbers of Wolues yeerely to bee paid; and *Ieuaf*, or *Iage* Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yeerely three hundred, which continued for three yeeres ſpace, but in the fourth was not a Wolfe to bee found, and ſo the tribute ceaſed.

Marianus. Alred Riual. Ran. Higd.

(6) His Nauie roiall, containing three thouſand and ſixe hundred ſhips, he diuided into three parts, appointing euery of them to a ſeuerall quarter to waffe the Seas, and ſecure the coaſts from Pirats, and forraine enemies, wherein himſelfe euery ſummer would ſaile with thoſe in the Eaſt parts, vnto thoſe in the Weſt, and ſending them backe to their charge, would with the Weſt ſaile into the North, and with the northerne fleete compaſſe againe into the Eaſt, whereby the ſeas were ſcowred, and his Kingdom exceedingly ſtrengthned.

Edgars honeſt vigilancy.

(7) The like cuſtome vſed he in the winter ſeaſon in his ieyſts, and circuits throughout his Country, ſo to take account of the adminiſtration of his lawes, and the demeanour of his great men, eſpecially of his *Iudges*, whom ſeuerely he puniſhed, ſo often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; ſo that there was neuer leſſe robbery, deceit or oppreſſions, thē in the raigne of this worthy King.

Edgars league with diuers Kings.

(8) His ſtate thus flouriſhing in peace and proſperity, he cauſed diuers Princes to bind themſelues vnto his allegiance, but perchance it may iuſtly be doubted, whether in ſuch performance of homage and ſeruice, as *Malmsbury*, *Florentius*, *Randulphus*, *Marianus*, *Houeden*, and other writers affirme to haue beene at the City *Cheſter*, where (they ſay) *Kennadie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* of *Cumberland*, *Maxentius* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty King of *Wales*, *Duffnall*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Iacob*, and *Iudithil*, did with oares row his Barge vpon the riuer *Dee*, from his Pallace to Saint *Iohns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himſelfe the while ſteering the helme, and ſaying in his glory that *then his ſucceſsors might trulie account themſelues Soueraigne Kings of England, when they enioyed ſuch a Prerogatiue of ſublimity, and ſupreme honour*: although (ſaith *M. Fox*) he might much better, and more Chriſtianlike haue ſaid, *God forbid that I ſhould reioice, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.*

Gal. 6.14.

(9) Warres he had none in all his raigne; onely towards the end, the *Welſhmen* moued ſome rebellion, which to preuent, hee aſſembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the County of *Glamorgan*, ſharply puniſhing the ringleaders thereof, but his ſouldiers doing great harms in the country, laden with ſpoiles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to be againe reſtored, whereby hee purchaſed ſingular loue and honour of the inhabitants.

Polycron.

Monaſtery la by King Edg.

(10) To his magnanimity was ioined much deuotion, but moſt eſpecially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* hee built and repaired forty ſeuen *Monaſteries*, intending to haue continued their number vnto fifty, as himſelfe teſtifieth in theſe words of his Charter.

Ex chart. Ed.

The Monaſteries, aſwell of Monks as of Virgins haue beene deſtroied, and quite neglected throughout England, which I haue now determined to repaire to the glory of God for my ſoules health, and ſo to multiply the number of Gods ſeruants and handmaides: and now already I haue ſet vp forty ſeuen Monaſteries with Monks and Nunnes in them, and if Chriſt ſpare me life ſo long, I am determined in offering my deuout munificence to God, to proceed to fifty, euen to the iuſt number of a Iubilee.

M. Fox in his Acts and Monuments.

And by this his Charter did not onely approue the enlargement of S. *Maries Monaſterie* in *Worceſter*, and the reſtoring of Votaries in ſtead of married Prieſts, but himſelfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the houſe of *Ely*, *Glaſenbury*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramſey*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchorne* and *Thumſtocke* with great coſt, and large endowments, hauing the Clergie in an high and reuerent eſteeme, and moſt of all his Confeſſor *Dunſtan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkiſh* Writers bind them vp for good corne: for *ſome men tell* (ſaith *Randulphus Higden*) *that Edgar in his beginning was cruell to Citizens, and lecherous to maidens*, whereof theſe his actions enſuing beare ſufficient witnes.

Ran. Higden.

Wil. Malm. Matthew Par. Mat. Weſtm.

(11) The firſt was committed againſt the virgine *Wolfhild*, a ſacred Nunne as ſome affirme, though others ſomwhat mitigating that ſacrilegious offence, haue reported, that ſhe to auoid his fleſhly and laſciuious luſt, was forced to take the habite of a Menchion vpon her, and in the ſame brought to his bed, wherein the chaſt S. *Edith* was begot, and for whom, ſay they, he vnderwent his ſeuen yeeres penance without the wearing of his Crowne.

Polict. lib. 6.

(12) A like offence hee committed againſt the virgine *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *Eaſt-Angles*, who for her ſurpaſsing beauty was ſurnamed the *White*; on whom he begat his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*; for which fact as *M. Fox* affirmeth, hee did his ſeuen yeeres penance inioined by *Dunſtan*: and indeed by *Oſberne* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that *the child begotten of the harlot, he baptized in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and ſo giuing his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to bee his ſonne.* With whom agree *Nicholas Triuet* in his *Engliſh* ſtory, written in *French*, *Iohannes Paris* in his *French* ſtory, written in Latine, both of them calling *Edward* a ſonne illegitimate; as alſo doth *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Mathew Paris*, *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Randulphus* and others, will haue her his firſt and lawfull wife, and *Edward* in true matrimony to haue deſcended from them.

Oſborn in vit. Dunſtan.

Nicholas Tr. Joan. Par.

Vincent. Antonin.

(13) An other inſtance of his laſciuious life is produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occaſioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare a Virgine and daughter to a Weſterne Duke, exceeding

Edgar enam with a daug

dingly praised for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which string from his eare resounded to his heart, and as a bait it drew him presently into those parts; where comming to *Andeuer*, commanded the damsell to his bed: The mother tender of the Virgins honour, brought in the darke her maid, but not her daughter, who, all as well pleased the King in his sinnefull dalliance: the day approching, this late laid maid made hast to arise, but the King loth to part yet with his supposed faire Lady, demanded why she made such hast? who answered him, that her taske was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day should preuent her ere she rose; but yet being staied aboue her howre, vpon her knees she made this humble request, that shee might be freed from her shrewde dame, alleadging, it was not fitting, that the woman who had tasted the pleasures of a Kings embracements, should endure a seruitude vnder the rule of any other. The King perceiuing the deceit, and therewith moued to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather vndone) and therefore turned his conceiued wrongs vnto a iest; but so, that hee both sharpely checked the deceiuer, and kept this damsell, (whose night-worke and pleasance had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby she ruled them that lately had the command of her: and to vse the words of *Malmsbury*, he loued this Concubine most entirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time he married for his lawful wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

(14) His last lasciuious Act, was as *Dauids* ioyned with bloud, and wrought in manner as followeth. Fames lauish report of beauteous *Elfrida* (the paragon of her sexe, and wonder of Nature) the only daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Deuonshire*, sounded so lowd in those Westerne parts, that the Eccho thereof was heard into King *Edgars* Court, and entred his eares, which euer lay open, to giue his eyes the scope of desire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of will: to trie the truth whereof, hee secretly sent his minion or fauourite Earle *Ethelwold* of *East-Anglia*, who well could iudge of beauty, and knew the diet of the King; with Commission, that if the Pearle proued so orient, it should bee seized for *Edgars* owne wearing, who ment to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the Father of a King.

Ethelwold a iolly young Gallant, posted into *Deuonshire*, and gueſt-wise visited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where seeing the Lady surpassing the report, blamed Fames ouer-sight for sounding her praise in so base and leaden a Trumpet; and wholy surprised with her loue, himselfe beganne to wooe the Virgin, yea, and with her Fathers good liking, so as the King would giue his assent. Earle *Ethelwold* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire; but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts any wise befitting a King. *Edgar* mistrusting no corriuall in his loue, nor dreaming false fellowship in wooing, did with a sleight thought passe ouer *Elfrida*, and pitcht his affections the faster another way. Earle *Ethelwold* following the game now a foot, desired *Edgars* assistance to bring it to a stand, pretending not so much for any liking to the Lady, as to raise his owne fortunes to be her fathers heire, to which the King yeelded, and for his minion solicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be shrowded vnder the fauours of such a fauourite, willingly consented, and his daughters destinies assured to Earle *Ethelwold*.

The marriage solemnized, and the fruits thereof a short time enioyed; the fame of her beauty beganne againe to bee spread, and that with a larger Epithite then formerly it had beene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubting of double dealing, laid his angle faire to take this great gull; and bearing no shew of wrong or suspect, inuited himselfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into those parts, did not a little grace his old seruant, to the great ioy of *Ordgarus* the Duke: but *Ethelwold* mistrusting the cause of his comming, thought by one policy to disappoint another: and therefore reuealing the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings hee had wronged her beauty, and deceiued his Soueraigne, requested her loning assistance to saue now his endangered life, which lay in her power, and of the meanes he thus aduised:

Ethelwolds speech to Elfrida.

"Like as (said he) the richest Diamond rough and "vncut, yeelds neither sparkle nor esteeme of great "price, nor the gold vnburnished giues better lu-"stre then the base brasse; so beauty and feature "clad in meane aray, is either sleightly looked at "with an vnfixed eye, or is wholy vnregarded, and "held of no worth; for, according to the Prouerbe, "cloth is the man, and man is the wretch: then to "preuent the thing that I feare, and is likely to proue "my present ruine, and thy last wracke, conceale thy "great beauty from King *Edgars* eye, and giue him "entertainement in the meanest attires: let them "(I pray thee) for a time bee the nightly curtaines "drawne about our new-Nuptiall bed, and the day-"ly cloudes to hide thy splendent Sunne from his "sharpe, and too too piercing sight, whose vigour & "raies will soone set his waxen wings on fire, that "ready are to melt at a farre softer heat. Pitch (thou "seest) defileth the hand, and we are forbid to giue "occasion of euill: vaile then thy faireneſse with "the scarfes of deformity, from his ouer-lauish and "vnmastered eye; for the faireſt face drawes euer "the gaze, if not the attempts, and natures endow-"ments, are as the bush for the wine, which being "immoderately taken doth surfet the sense, and is a-"gaine cast vp with as loathing a tast. Of these dregs "drunke *Amnon* after his fill of faire *Thamar*, *Herod* "of *Miriami*, & *Æneas* of *Dido*; yea, and not to seeke "examples farre off, King *Edgars* variation in his vn-"fixed fast motion doth easily bewray it selfe: for "could either holy *Wolfhild*, beautifull *Ethelfled*, or "the wanton Wench of *Andeuer*, keepe the needle "of his compasse certaine at one point? nothing lesse, "but it was still led by the load-stone of his euer "mutable and turning affections. But thou "wilt say, hee is religious, and by founding of Mo-"nasteries hath expiated those sinnes. Indeed ma-"ny are built; for which time and posterities must "thanke holy *Dunstan*, from whose deuotion those "good deeds haue sprung: but is thy person holi-"er then sacred *Wolfhilds*; thy birth and beauty grea-"ter then *Ethelfled* the *White*, daughter also to a Duke? "the former, of an holy Votary, hee made the sinke "of his pollution; and the later is branded to all "ages, by the hatefull name of a Concubine, and her "sonne among vs esteemed for a Bastard. These "should bee motiues to all beauteous and ver-"tuous Ladies, not to sell their honours at so low "and too-late repented a price. Neither think (sweet "Countesse) that thy husband is iealous, or suspects "thy constancy, which I know is great, and thy selfe "wholy complete with all honourable vertues: but "yet consider I pray thee, that thou art but young, & "maist easily be caught, especially of him that is so "old a Master of the game: neither perswade thy "selfe of such strength, as is able to hold out so "great an assault; for men are mighty, but a King is "much more. I know thou art wise, and enough "hath been said, onely let mee adde this, that euill "beginnings haue neuer good ends: and so with a "kind kisse, hoping hee had wonne his Wife to his "Will, prepared with the first to welcome King *Edgar*.

Wolfhild. Ethelfled.

2 Sam. 13. Iosephus. Virgil. Aeneid. Amnon and Thamar.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her selfe, began seriously to thinke vpon this Curtaine Sermon, whose text she distasted, being taken out of an ouer-worne and threed-bare cloth prouerbe, as though her fortunes had been wholly residing, and altogether consisting in her parentage and apparell, but nothing at all in any parts of her selfe,

Elfrida alone.

"Hath my beauty (thought she) been courted of

« a King, famoused by report, compared with *Helen*, « and now must be hid? Must I falsifie and bely Na- « tures bounties, mine owne value, and all mens re- « ports, only to saue his credit, who hath impaired « mine, and belied my worth? And must I needs de- « foule my selfe, to be his only faire foule, that hath « kept me from the State and seat of a Queene? I « know the name of a Countesse is great, and the « Wife of an Earle is honourable, yet no more then « birth and endowments haue assigned for me, had « my beauty been far lesse then it is. He warnes me of « the end, when his owne beginnings were with tre- « chery; tels me the examples of others, but obserues « none himselfe: he is not ielous, forsooth, and yet I « must not looke out; I am his faire, but others pitch, « fire, wine, bush, and what not? Not so holy as *Wolf- « hild*, nor so white as *Ethelsled*; and yet that must now « be made far worse then it is. I would men knew the « heate of that cheeke wherein beauty is bla- « zed, then would they with lesse suspect suffer our « faces vnmaskt, to take aire of their eies, and wee no « whit condemnable for shewing that which cannot « be hid, neither in me shall, come of it what will.

And thus resoluing to bee a right woman, desired nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made preparation to put it in practise. Her body shee endulced with the sweetest balmes, displaied her haire, and bespangled it with pearles, bestrewed her breasts and bosome with rubies and diamonds, rich Iewels glittering like starres depended at her necke, and her other ornaments euery way sutable. And thus, rather Angell, then Lady-like, shee attended the approach and entrance of the King, whom with such faire obeisance and seemely grace shereceiued, that *Edgars* greedie eye presently collecting the raies of her shining beauty, became a burning glasse to his heart, and the sparkle of her faire falling into the traine of his loue, set all his senses on fire: yet dissembling his passions, he passed on to his game, where hauing the false *Ethelwold* at aduantage, he ranne him through with a Iaueline, and tooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife.

Elfrida dissoialtie.

Ethelwold slaine.

(15) These were the vertues and vices of this King, little in personage, but great in spirit, and the first vnresisted Monarch of the whole Land, whom all the other *Saxons* acknowledged their supreme, without diuision of Prouinces or title. He raigned sixteene yeeres and two moneths in great tranquillity and honour, and died vpon tuesday the eighth of *Iuly*, the thirty seuenth of his age, and yeere of Christ 975. whose body with all funerall solemnitie was buried in the Abbey of *Glasenburie*.

The fifteenth, saith *Higden*.

His Wiues.

(16) *Ethelsled*, the first wife of King *Edgar*, was surnamed in the Saxon English Eneda, in Latine *Candida*, which with vs is *White*, because of her exceeding great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke amongst the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was married vnto him the second yeere of his raigne, and the eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Christs Natiuitie 961. She was his wife not fully two yeeres, and died the fourth of his raigne, in Anno 962.

Ethelsleds parents.

(17) *Elfrida*, the second wife of King *Edgar*, was the widow of slaughtered *Ethelwold*, of whom wee haue said. She was daughter to *Ordgarus*, and sister to *Ordulfe*, both of them Dukes of *Deuonshire*, and the Founders of *Tauestoke* Abbey in that Countie: a Ladie of passing great beauty, and as ambitious as faire: for after the Kings death, she procured the murther of King *Edward* her sonne in law, that her owne sonne *Ethelred* might come to the Crowne: and afterwards to pacifie his and her first husbands ghost, and to stop the peoples speeches of so wicked a fact, she founded the Abbeys of *Ambresbery* & *Wherwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *South-hampton*.

Elfridas second wife.

His Children.

(18) *Edward*, the eldest sonne of King *Edgar* and Queene *Ethelsled* his first wife, was born in the fourth yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mothers death, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 962. He was a child disposed to all vertue, notwithstanding great meanes was made by his mother in law for the disinheriting of him, and the preferment of her owne son to the succession of the Crowne; yet by prouident care taken in the life time of his father, he succeeded him after his death, as right heire both of his kingdome and conditions.

Edward the eldest sonne.

(19) *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Edgar*, and the first of Queene *Elfrida* his second wife, was borne in the seuenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace 965. He liued but foure yeeres, and died in his infancie, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers raigne, and was honourably enterred in the Monasterie of Nunnes, at *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*, which King *Edgar* had founded.

Edmund the second sonne.

(20) *Ethelred*, the third sonne of King *Edgar*, and the second of Queene *Elfreda* his second wife, and the last of them both, was borne in the eighth yeere of his fathers raigne, and yeere of saluation 966. He was vertuously inclined, beautifull in complexion, and comly of stature; at the death of his father being but seuen yeers old, and at his brothers murther ten: which deed he sore lamented, to the great discontentment of his mother, who for his aduancement had complotted the same, and wherein at those yeeres he vnwillingly succeeded him.

Ethelred the third sonne.

(21) *Edgith*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*, had to her mother a Lady named *Wolfhild*, the daughter of *Wolfhelm*, the sonne of *Byrding*, the sonne of *Nesting*, the two latter bearing in their names the memorie of their fortunes: the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Elfred* as he was on hunting. This *Edgith* was a vailed Nunne in the Monastery of *wilton*, and according to some Authors, made Abbesse thereof by her father at fifteene yeeres of age, saith her Legend. She died the fifteenth day of *September*, the yeere of her age twenty three; the sixt of her brother King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of Christ Iesus 984. By all which accounts it is manifest, that she was borne before *Edward*, and by *Master Fox* proued, that for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his seuen yeeres penance. She is greatly commended for her chastitie and beauty, which later she somewhat augmented with more curious attire then to her profession was beseeming: for which Bishoppe *Ethelwold* sharply reproued her; who answered him roundly, that God regarded the heart more then the garment, and that sins might bee couered as well vnder rags as robes.

Edgith.

This *Edgith*, as *Iohn Capgraue* reporteth, after the slaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy Archbishop *Dunstan* would haue aduanced to the Crown, & inuested her against *Ethelred* the lawfull heire, had she not by the late experience of *Edwards* fall, vtterly refused that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor was safe for her person to vndertake. Her body was buried at *Wilton*, in the Monastery and Church of *Saint Denisse*, which her selfe had caused to bee built.

EDWARD

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE MARTYR THE THIRTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 31

CHAPTER XLIII.

Great were the troubles & ſidings that preſently enſued the death of King *Edgar*, about the election of one of his ſons to ſucceed; Queene *Elfrida* with *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles combined for young *Ethelred*, diſauowing Prince *Edward* as illegitimate, and therfore not reputable for ſucceſſion: againſt them and *Ethelred* ſtood *Dunſtan* and the *Monkes*, holding their ſtates dangerous,& their new-gotten footing vnſure, if in the nonage of the King, theſe their oppoſites ſhould rule all vnder him; whereas *Edward* was altogether wrought in their mould; whoſe title they abetted, as being lawfully borne, and begot in the nuptiall bed of Queene *Ethelfleda*. Their claimes thus banded amongſt theſe *Stateſ-men*, began to be diuerſly affected among the *Commons*, and had put the game to the hazard, if the wiſedome of *Dunſtan* had not ſeene to the chaſe; for a Councell being aſſembled to argue their rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his banner and croſſe, and not ſtaying for further debating *de iure*, did *de facto*, preſent Prince *Edward* for their lawfull King; and the aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy-men, perſwading peace, drew the approbation of the reſt, and ſo was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their Soueraigne.

(2) He beganne his raigne at twelue yeares of age, in the yeare of Saluation 975, and was ſoone after by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* crowned King at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*: being the thirtie one Monarch (ſince *Hengiſt*) of the Engliſhmen. His beginning was miſerably afflicted with barrenneſſe of the ground, famine amongſt his people, morraine of cattle, and to their further terrour, a fearefull Comet appeared: which men thought to bee ſignes from heauen, as ſent from God, for the ſinnes committed againſt the married Clergy, whoſe cauſe was much pitied, eſpecially of the Nobles, & whoſe complaints of wrongs they inſtantly vrged, that without deſerts they were expulſed from their ancient poſſeſſions; a thing which neither God nor goodmen euer allowed, and was contrary to the preſcript rule of Chriſt, that wils vs to doe, as wee would be done vnto: whereto the *Monkes* anſwered, that Chriſt reſpected neither the perſon nor place, but onely them that tooke vp the Croſſe of Penance and followed him, as themſelues in their ſingle life pretended to doe. But they good men little knew the incumbrances of wiuing; for otherwiſe they would haue felt, that the condition of the married, was more truly a ſuffering of the Croſſe, and enduring of Penance. *Wil. Malmſb. Fox.*

(3) Theſe Church men thus diuided and rent, were diuerſly ſided as affection did moue, and that not onely of the meaner ſort, but euen of the Nobles & great Ones; for the *Mercian* Duke *Alferus* fauouring the iuſt cauſe of married Prieſts, deſtroied the *Monaſteries* in his Prouince, caſt out the Monkes, and reſtored againe the ancient reuenewes to them & their wiues: contrariwiſe, in *Eaſt-Anglia* the Prieſts went to wracke, where the Monks were maintained by the authority of *Edelwin* their Duke, who in their quarrell, with the aſsiſtance of his brother *Alfred*, and of *Brightnoth* Earle of Eſſex, raiſed a mighty Army, and ſtood with that power for their defence. *Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Iohn Capgraue. Iornalenſis in vita Edgari.*

(4) The fire thus blown from a ſparke to a flame, was feared to mount higher, if not quenched in time, and therefore by mediation, armes laid aſide, the cauſe was referred to be heard in Councel, & at *Wincheſter* firſt the aſſembly was held, where after long diſpute, and much againſt the Monkes, it was greatly ſuſpected their ſide had gone down, but that the matter was referred from them to the *Roode*, placed vpon

on the refectorie Wall, where the Councell ſate. To this great Oracle S. *Dunſtan*, deſired them deuoutely to pray, and to giue diligent eare for an anſwere: who, with as great bounty, as they in deuotion, made it not ſquemiſh to giue them this aduice; *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo* (ſaid he,) *you iudged well once, and to change that againe is not good.*

Dunſtans counſell.

This was authority ſufficient to ſuppreſſe the *Prieſts*, who now with their wiues went downe the wind; and indeed too blame they were to ſuſpect this their Iudge, who neuer was heard to giue wrong ſentence before: but they, vnſatisfied men, thought once more to blow the coale, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perſwading the people, that this was but a ſubtile practiſe of the *Monks*, in placing behind the wall a man of their owne, who through a truncke vttered thoſe words in the mouth of the *Roode*; it was therfore inſtantly deſired, that the cauſe might once more come to ſcanning.

The Prieſts' ſuſpition of the Monkes.

An. Do. 977. (5) This laſtly was granted, and a great aſſembly congregated at *Cleue* in *Wiltſhire*, whither repaired the Prelates with moſt of the States of the land, beſides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable ſort.

This Synode being ſet, and the controuerſie propounded, a hote and ſharpe diſputation enſued, and a while was maintained with many bitter inuectiues, ill beſeeming ſuch perſons: But whether through the weakeneſſe of the foundation, or the ouer-preſſe of weight, or both, the ioyſts of this vpper-loft, wherein the Councell was held, ſuddainly brake, and downe fell the flore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlaine outright, onely Archbiſhop *Dunſtan* then Preſident, and mouth for the *Monkes* remained vnhurt: for the Poſt whereon his chaire was ſet (and not without miracle) ſtood wholy vntouched.

A heauy miſchance.

Polychr. lib. 6. c. 12

Thus by this fall, fel the cauſe of the ſecular Prieſts; and the Monkiſh foundations vnderpropped with more ſurer pillars, *Dunſtan* vnburdened of many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monkes, and the Prieſts at liberty now to accompany their wiues without any cure, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the prouidence of *Dunſtan*, and his ſtrange preſeruation on the poſt; no leſſe wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beam of a houſe was ſuncke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the ſigne of the Croſſe thereon, with his fingers hee made it returne to his former place: ſo wonderfully potent was he in ſuch woodden miracles. To which, why ſhould wee not giue credite, ſince the very Harpe which hee had touched could worke miracles? as when of it ſelfe it ſounded melodiouſly that *Hymne*, *Gaudent in cœlis anima Sanctorum*, &c. Yea ſith the bleſſed virgine *Mary* her ſelfe, is ſaid to haue come to ſolace him with her ſongs, *Cantemus Domino Socia, &c.* For, as for Angels ſinging familiarly vnto him, and Diuels in ſhape of dogs, foxes and beares, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewiſe his making the ſhee-diuel to roare, when comming to tempt him to dalliance, in ſhape of a beautifull laſſe, hee caught her by the noſe with hote burning pincers, and ſo ſpoilde a good face. But to leaue thoſe figments wherewith our Monkiſh ſtories are ſtuffed to the deluding of their Readers, and diſhonouring of thoſe, whom thereby they thinke to magnifie; let vs looke backe to yong Prince *Edward*.

Priests without cure, but not without care.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Malmſ. de geſtis Ponſi. l. 1.

Malmſb.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an Imitator of his Father, and for his modeſt gentleneſſe worthily fauoured of all men: but as enuy is alwaies the attendant of vertue; ſo had he them that much maligned his life, namely, the fauourites of Prince *Ethelred*, whereof Queene *Elfrida* his mother was chiefe, who laſtly betraied him, and that in this maner.

(7) King *Edward* for his diſport was hunting in a forreſt neere vnto the ſea, vpon the ſouth-caſt ſhore of the County *Derſet*, and in the Iland *Purbeck*; not farre off, vpon a ſmall riuer, ſtood pleaſantly ſeated a faire and ſtrong Caſtle called *Corfe*, where his mother in law Queene *Elfrida*, with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then therein reſiding: *Edward* that euer had beene louing to both, held it a kind office, now being ſo neere to viſite them with his preſence, and thereupon either of purpoſe or chance ſingled from his attendants, hee ſecretly ſtole from them all, and came alone to the caſtle gate.

(8) The Queene who had long laine in wait for occaſions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, ſhee humbly and cheerefully gaue the King welcome, deſiring him to grace her and her ſonne with his preſence for that night; but hee with thanks refuſed the offer, as fearing leaſt his company would ſoone find him miſsing, and craued onely of his mother a cup of wine, that in his ſaddle hee might drinke to her and his brother, and ſo bee gone. The cuppe was no ſooner at his mouth, then a knife in his backe, which a ſeruant appointed by this trecherous Queene ſtroke into him; who feeling himſelfe hurt ſet ſpurs to his horſe, thinking to eſcape to his more faithfull company.

(9) But the wound being mortall, and he fainting through loſſe of much bloud, fell from his horſe, and one foot entangled in the ſtirruppe, hee was thereby rufully dragde vp and downe through woods and lands; and laſtly left dead at *Corfes*-gate: which hapned the eighteenth day of May, after hee had raigned three yeares and ſixe (ſome ſay eight) monethes, the yeare of his age ſixeteene, and of Chriſt Ieſus 979. His body found, was firſt buried at *Warham* without all funerall pompe, but after three yeeres by Duke *Alferus* remoued, and with great celebrity enterred in the *Minſter* of *Shaftesbury*: and for this vntimely death, he gained the ſurname of *Martyr*.

(10) Queene *Elfrida* ſore repenting her cruell and ſtep-motherly fact, to expiate her guilt, and pacifie the crying bloud of her ſlaine ſonne, buik the two ſaid Monaſteries of *Almesbury* and *Worwell* in the Counties of *wilt-ſhire* and *Southampton*, in which later ſhe liued with great repentance and penance vntill the day of her death, and in the ſame lieth her body enterred.

Theſe and other the like foundations built vpon the occaſion of rapine & bloud, howſoeuer they may ſhew the ſorrowfull repentance of their founders: yet their ſtones being laide with the ſimmond of murther, and the morter tempered with bloud, haue felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the wall the ſtone ſhall crie, and the beame out of the timber ſhall anſwere it; *Woe vnto him that buildeth a towne with bloud, and erecteth a City by iniquity.*

ETHEL-

ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADIE, THE TVVO AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS WARS, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVES.

Monarch 32.

CHAPTER XLIIII.

Ethelred the ſonne of King *Edgar*, & brother to King *Edward* the *Martyr*, at the age of twelue yeers entred his gouernment ouer the Engliſhmen, the yeere of mans ſaluation, 979, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch ſince King *Hengiſt*: he was crowned King at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis* the foureteenth of *April*, being *Eaſter* day, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, who did it much againſt his will.

(2) He was a man neither forward in action, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonly called the *Vnready*: his youth was ſpent in idlenes, feeding his ſenſes with all voluptuous baites, his middle yeares with a careleſſe gouernment, maintaining ciuill diſſenſions, and his latter end deſeruingly in continuall reſiſtance of the bloud-thirſty *Danes*. With theſe imputations by writers hee is taxed, though we find no ſuch iuſt cauſe in recording his life; but to ſuch extreames are euen great Monarches themſelues brought, that their breath and dignity once left and laid downe, they are ſubiect to the cenſures of euery affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to ſuch mens humors, the working of *Dunſtan* euer againſt him, is a ſufficient witnes, who not onely did refuſe to act his Coronation, but would haue preferred Lady *Edgith* a baſtard before him to the Crown, as we haue ſaid. And beſides the generall quarrell of the Monkes and married Prieſts, to which later himſelfe and his Abetters were better inclined, his iuſt indignation conceiued againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and that not pacified without the Biſhops ſubmiſsion and payment of money, was cauſe inough for thoſe Monkiſh Writers to brand the *Lords Annointed* with their marks of infamie, vnto whom they impute the miſeries of thoſe times, and the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* by the intruding *Danes*.

(3) Theſe *Danes* had kept quiet euer ſince the diſliked raigne of King *Edwy*, without any notable attempts, for the ſpace of twenty two yeares: but now perceiuing the hearts of the ſubiects to bee drawn from their Soueraigne, they thought it a ſufficient occaſion to forward their intendements; and omitting no time, in the ſecond of his raigne with ſeuen ſhips they arriued vpon the coaſt of *Kent*, ſpoiling the Country, but moſt eſpecially the Iland *Thanat*, from whence they did great hurt likewiſe to the towne of *Southampton*. An.Do.980.

The Engliſh led in diſlike of young *Ethelreds* gouernment, were the rather drawne to impute theſe and other aduerſities to this vnfortunate Prince, by reaſon of a prediction of *Dunſtan*, who had propheſied, *That they ſhould not bee free from bloud and ſword, till there came a people of an vnknowne tongue, that ſhould bring them to thraldome*: and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of bloud and fire, immediately after his vnaffected Coronation. Polycr. lib. 8. cap. 13

(4) The next yeere, thoſe rouing *Danes* entred the *Britiſh Seas*, and coaſting to *Cornwall* deſtroied there the Abbey of Saint *Patrick*, *Porland* in *Deuonſhire*, and many other places vpon thoſe ſhores; the like was done vnto *Cheſhire* by the *Norway-Pirates*, which broke into thoſe parts in the ſame yeare. An.Do.981. Simon Dun. Ran. Higden.

(5) And theſe calamities were ſeconded with others as fearefull; for in the yeare 982. the City *London* was miſerably deſtroied and defaced by fire, whoſe beauty then chiefly extended from *Ludgate* weſtward; for, that within the walles, and where the An.Do.982. Th. Rudburne. John Stow.

heart of the City is now, was then neither beautiful, nor orderly built; what time alſo raged a ſickneſſe till then vnknowne in *England*, which was a ſtrong burning feuer, and bloody fluxe, as alſo ſcarſity of victuals, and murraine among cattle. This hand of God thus correcting the ſinnes of all, was receiued as ſent for the offences of ſome few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Raiſers; *Dunſtan* ſtill propheſying further woes to the land, when himſelfe ſhould be dead.

Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 13.

(6) The *Danes* hereupon more boldly aſſaulted each ſhore, and in ſo many places at once, that the *Engliſh* were to ſeeke, where firſt to withſtand. In the *Weſt* they were encountred by *Goda* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, as ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*, by whom they were ouerthrowne, though with the loſſe of his life, as alſo of *Sternwold* a man of great eſteeme and valour in thoſe parts, who ſerued there vnder him.

Wil. Malmsbury. Mat. Weſtminſter Simon Dun.

An.Do.989.

(7) In the Eaſt their leaders *Iuſtine* and *Guthmond* warred with better ſucceſſe; for at *Malden* in *Eſſex* they gaue *Brightnod* the Earle, a great and bloody battaile, wherein himſelfe with moſt of his people were ſlaine. The *Danes* thus proſpering, more boldly went forward; and where they ſet their tallants, there they held faſt, and lay on the land like vnto Graſhoppers. Theſe euils King *Ethelred* could not redreſſe, his ſtrengthes being ſmall, and his ſubiects affections leſſe; therefore calling to Counſell his *Stateſmen* & Peeres, demanded their aduice what was beſt to bee done. Some few of theſe proffered the King their aſſiſtance, but more of them perſwaded vnto a compoſition, whereof *Siricius* Archbiſhop of Caterbury was chiefe; and in fine, ten thouſand pounds paid to the *Danes* for their departure.

An.Do.991.

Malmſb. de geſt. Pontif. l. 1. Polycr. lib. 6. ca. 13.

(8) This golden Mine once entred, was more eagerly digged into, by theſe ſtill-thirſting *Danes*, who finding the branch ſo beneficiall at firſt, hoped the veine in following, would proue farre more bountifull, and therefore regardleſſe of promiſe, the next yeere prepared themſelues againe for *England*, and with a great fleete diſpatched to ſea: the newes whereof ſtrucke ſuch terror into the *Engliſh* hearts, that deſpairing of hope, they accounted themſelues the bond-ſlaues of miſery: The King therfore with much adoe prepared a Nauie, whereof hee made *Elfrick* Earle of *Mercia* Admirall; who ſetting from *London* vnto the ſeas, had power ſufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traitor could neuer proue true; for, hauing been baniſhed, forgiuen, and now taken into fauour, found meanes to bee falſe, and to betray his charge; and ſending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gaue the way to their eſcape; and another fleete of *Danes* encountring with the Kings, at firſt hee fainedly and faintly fought againſt; and laſtly, turned to their ſide; through which treaſon many *Engliſhmen* died, and the Kings Fleete and power was greatly weakened; but he eſcaping due puniſhment himſelfe, left his ſonne to anſwere the fault, whoſe eyes King *Ethelred* cauſed to be put out.

An.Do.992.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Elfrick Earle of *Mercia.*

(9) About which time alſo another *Daniſh Fleet* entring *Humber*, waſted the countries of *Yorkeſhire* and *Lyndſey*: againſt theſe King *Ethelred* ſent his power, vnder the charge of three valiant but trecherous Captaines, namely, *Frena*, *Godwin* and *Fredegiſt*; for the battle but begun, theſe with their followers fled away, which was the occaſion of a great ouerthrow of the *Engliſh*; notwithſtanding the country people not able to diſgeſt their intollerable dealings, fell vpon the *Danes*, ſlew ſome, and chaſed the reſt. At what time alſo other of the *Danes* with ninety foure ſhips ſailed vp the riuer *Thameſis*, and laid their ſiege againſt *London*, giuing it a great aſſault; but the Citizens thereof ſo manfully defended themſelues, that they chaſed the *Danes* thence to their ſhame and great loſſe: yet fell they ſo foule vpon *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Hampſhire*, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the

An.Do.993.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Mat. Weſt.

A Fleete of *Danes* on the Thames beſiege London.

payment of ſixteene thouſand pounds: for confirmation whereof, *Ethelred* ſent to *Southampton* for *Anlaf* theſe *Norwegians* King, and honourably entertained him at *Andeuer*, where the ſame time he receiued Baptiſme, King *Ethelred* taking him at the Font for his God-ſonne, and with great gifts returned into *Denmarke* without any further harme done to the *Engliſh*.

Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun.

(10) But God and deſtiny ſuffering it, (that would haue the *Saxons* to fall before the *Danes*, as formerly the *Britaines* had done before them) no couenant could be ſo ſurely made, but was as ſlackly in thē performed; for albeit this *Anlaf* honourably kept both faith and promiſe, yet others of his Country continued their inuaſions, and as an other *Hydra* ſhewed their ſtill-reuiuing heads.

(11) For the nineteenth yeare of King *Ethelreds* moſt troubleſome raigne, and of our ſaluation 997. the *Danes* with a great fleete ſailed about *Cornwall*, and came into the mouth of *Seuern*, robbing, as they went, *Deuonſhire*, *Cornwal*, and *South-Wales*: and marching further into the Continent, conſumed *Lydford*, and the Abby of Saint *Ordulfes* at *Eſſingſtocke*, thence paſsing through *Dorſetſhire* with fire & ſword, found not a man in the way to reſiſt them, and wintering in the *wight* liued by ſpoiles gotten in *Hampſhire* and *Suſſex*.

An.Do.99

An.Do.99

(12) The next Spring they put into the mouth of *Thameſis*, and ſo by the riuer *Medway* arriued at *Rocheſter*: thither the *Kentiſh* with their ſtrengthes repaired, but vnfortunately fought, and left the field to the *Danes*, who ſhortly after hoiſed their ſailes, & with a merry gale arriued in *Normandy*.

An.Do.99

An.D.10

(13) King *Ethelred* thus rid of theſe his vnlooked for gueſts, ſought to remoue thoſe leigers that lay in *Cumberland*, whither hee repaired, and with ſore warre waſted the Country, before whoſe ſword the *Danes* were not able to ſtand; which ſomewhat encouraged the ſpirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towardes him: but farre this ſunne paſt not without a cloud, nor was his ſucceſſe entailde to be fortunate.

(14) For the next yeare, thoſe *Danes* that departed from *Kent*, came now from *Normandy* with their full ſailes, and landing in *Exmouth*, their firſt and greateſt fury was againſt the City of *Exceter*, which when they fiercely beſieged, they were ſo valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged aboue meaſure with the ignominy of that repulſe, they thence as a ſodaine floud bare downe all that ſtood in their way; and then plainely beganne to appeare the riſe of the *Danes*, which euery where lorded it, where they had to doe, and the fall of the *Saxons*, whoſe ouertopped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold vp the weight; for the Captains of the *Engliſh* (ſaith *Higden*) wanting lore in deeds of Arms, their direction neuer proſpered; if ſhips were made they neuer ſped well, but were either chaſed of the enemy, or deſtroied by tempeſt; if the Nobles euer aſſembled to conſult of the State, that time was rather ſpent in whetting the ſpleene each againſt other, then iointly agreeing how to redreſſe their preſent danger, or to repreſſe the common enemy: for moſt of the Nobles were allianced into the *Daniſh* bloud, whereby not onely the ſecret of thoſe conſultations were reuealed, but being imploied in ſeruice, many of them reuolted to the enemy. The Clergy as backward as any, denied the King their aſsiſtance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priuiledge of the Church, when the land lay bleeding and deploring for helpe, and ſcandalized all his other proceedings for demaunding their aide: to theſe were ioined ſcarſity, hunger and robberies. Theſe miſeries cauſed the ſummes of their compoſitions to bee augmented, whoſe laſt was ſixteene thouſand, now twenty thouſand, immediately twenty four, then thirty, and laſtly, forty thouſand pounds, vntill the land was emptied of all the coine; the Kingdome of her glory; the Nobles of courage; the Com-

Roger Hou. annal. par.

Higden. Cox lan.

The Cler. vetouſneſſe.

The effect

Commons of their content, and the Soueraigne of his wonted reſpect and obſeruance.

(15) The *Danes* thus preuailing, did not a little glory in their fortunes, and grieued the poore *Engliſh*, whoſe ſeruice they emploied to eare and till the ground, whileſt themſelues ſate idle, & eate the fruit of their paines, abuſing the wiues and daughters of their hoſts where they lay, and yet in euery place for feare and reuerence were called the *Lord-Danes*, (which afterwards becam a word of deriſion to ſuch ſturdy and lazy lozels) ſo that the like daies of miſerie the land neuer felt. To redreſſe which, the carefull King *Ethelred* was farre too weake, and therfore intending to doe that by policy, which he could not by ſtrength, he deuiſed a deſperate ſtratagem that proued the deſtruction of the *Saxons* royall bloud, and conqueſt of the land to another nation.

(16) For ſeeking to disburden the Realme of theſe deuouring *Danes*, which by open force hee could no waies doe; he attempted in a bloudy maſſacre to deſtroy them, giuing a ſecret commiſsion vnto euery City within his dominions, that at an appointed time they ſhould ſet vpon, and kill all the *Danes*; the day was the thirteenth of *Nouember*, being the feſtiuall of S. *Bricius*, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1002, and preſently after his marriage with *Emma*, the flower of *Normandy*; in confidence of which affinity, hee preſumed to do what he did. His commaund was accordingly performed, and with ſuch rigour, that in *Oxford* the fearefull *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of *S. Frideſwyd*, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquity and priuiledge among ancient Kings; but they in fury regarding neither place nor perſon, ſet the Church on fire, wherein were burned a great ſort of thoſe *Danes* with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof vtterly defaced. At which time (if *Malmsbury* ſay true) King *Ethelred* himſelf was in that City, and had ſummoned a Parliament both of *Danes* and *Engliſh*, with which euen the King was much grieued: and therefore at his very great coſt beautifully repaired the Church, and all the loſſes accruing by the fire, endowing it with large priuiledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that *Daniſh* ſlaughter.

In this maſſacre, Lady *Gunhild*, ſiſter to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, a great and continuall friend to the *Engliſh*, with her husband and ſonne, together were ſlaughtered, although ſhe lay in hoſtage vpon conditions of peace, whoſe husbands name was *Palingus* (ſaith *Malmsbury*) an Earle of great might, & both of them Chriſtians.

(17) Newes brought into *Denmarke* of this ſuddaine ſtratagem, no neede there was to vrge them to reuenge, or to adde more fuell vnto that ouer kindled fire; for preparation being made, the yeere enſuing, *Swain* with a great Nauy landed in the *weſt*, ſpoiled the Country, and gaue aſſault to the City of *Exceter*, which by the trechery of one *Hugh* a *Norman* (whom in the fauour of the Queen, King *Ethelred* had made Gouernour of that City) he razed and leuelled with the ground, all along from the *Eaſtgate* to the *Weſt*.

This treaſon and ſtirres great of themſelues, but made much more rufull in the relating, cauſed *Ethelred* preſently to muſter his men; ouer whom hee made Earle *Edrik* (for his couetouſnes ſurnamed *Streton*) his Generall, who bare a braue ſhew till it came to the puſh, and day of battle: but then to couer his treaſon, he fained himſelfe ſicke, and left his ſouldiers to ſhift as they could. The *Danes* hereupon rifled *Wilton*, and paſsing forward tooke *Salisburie* in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ſhips; but hearing that the King himſelfe in perſon was preparing to giue them battle, they left the land, and tooke againe to ſea.

(18) The next yeare following, (which was the twenty foure of King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of grace, one thouſand and foure,) King *Swaine* with a mighty fleete of ſhips arriued vpon the coaſts of *Norffolke*, where landing his men, hee made ſpoile of all before him, and comming to *Norwich* ſacked the City, with great ſlaughter of the Citizens; then tooke he *Thetford*, and ſet it on fire, notwithſtanding hee had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was ſcarſe in the land, he returned to ſea, and ſo into *Denmarke*.

Norwich raced.

An.D.1005.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, encreaſed his Nauie and number of men, and the next Spring arriued at *Sandwich*, miſerably deſolating the Countries along the ſea ſide, neuer ſtaying in any certain place; but to preuent the Kings Forces roued from coaſt to coaſt, euer carrying to their ſhips their booties and prayes, and to encreaſe the calamitie, the harueſt was neglected, and in many places ſpoiled, both for the want of labourers, & by the feet of the ſouldiers which lay in field all that ſeaſon, who from place to place trauailed, although in vaine.

Henry Hunt.

An.D.1006.

Towards the Winter the *Danes* tooke into the Ile of *Wight*, and in the deepeſt time thereof, paſſed through *Hampſhire*, into *Barkeſhire*, vnto *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Coleſey*, and *Eſſington*, making clean worke whereſoeuer they came; for that which they could not carry they conſumed with fire, with triumphes euer returning to their ſhips.

The *Danes* in the Ile of *Wight*.

(20) The King lying in *Shrewsbury*, vnable to reſiſt, called to him his Councell, to conſult what was beſt to bee done; whereof *Edrik* was a principall, and in ſo high eſteeme with the King, that he created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gaue him his daughter *Egith* in marriage: notwithſtanding, theſe gluts of fauours wrought onely the diſgeſtion of falſhood in him, who could taſt nothing vnleſſe it was ſauſed with treaſon. This man, then the Kings onely *Achitophel*, perſwaded him to pay thirty thouſand pounds to the *Danes* for their peace, whereof no doubt ſome fell into his owne Coffers.

An.D.1007.

Edrick an vntruſty Councellor.

Simon Dun.

(21) This intollerable impoſition extorted of the Subiects eſpecially at that time when the land was leaſt able, made many ſuſpect great matters againſt *Edrik*, and ſome did not feare to accuſe him to his face, to bee the onely cauſer of this payment; charging him as ouer-affectionated to the *Danes*, and to haue bewraied the Kings ſecrets and deſignes vnto them: but he ſeated in the heart of his Soueraigne, rubd off this ſtaine with a few fawnings, and a faire ſhew, being a man in wit ſubtle, in ſpeech eloquent, and for riches inferiour to none, (a ſtone that could turne euen great ſtreames aſide) ſo that theſe ſuppoſals of treaſons (as proceeding from enuy to him for his good ſeruices) wanne him greater truſt, and ſent he was Ambaſſador to the *Danes* to mediate for peace: where reuealing the weakenes of the land, and the feares which the *Engliſh* conceiued of a conqueſt, treacherouſly diſſwaded them from giuing eare to any motiues of Truce.

His accuſations.

His ſubtilty.

His treachery.

(22) The State of the land thus ſtanding, or rather hanging at ſuſpence, King *Ethelred* gaue order, that out of euery three hundred and ten hides of land a ſhippe ſhould bee built, and of euery eight hides a complete Armour furniſhed. Theſe meeting at *Sandwich*, and furniſhed with ſouldiers, made ſhew of ſuch reſiſtance, as had not beene ſeene, although the euent was nothing but a ſhew. For *Wilmot* a Noble man of *Suſſex* (baniſhed for ſome offence by *King Ethelred*) with twenty Sailes roued vpon the coaſts, and by Piracy did much hurt among the Engliſh Marchants: wherefore *Brithrik* the brother of *Edrik* to winne himſelfe honour, got the Kings conſent to purſue this grand-Pirate, with foureſcore ſaile of the foreſaid ſhips, threatning to bring in *Wilmot* either dead or aliue: but his ſailes being ſpread vnder a faire wind, a violent tempeſt ſodainely aroſe, and outragiouſly droue his ſhippes vpon ſhore, where diſtreſſed and torne, their beaten huls lay vnable to recouer themſelues, or the Sea: *Wilmot* taking aduantage of this preſent miſhap, fell fiercely vpon them, and after much ſlaughter of their

An.D.1008.
An. Reg. 30.

Henry Hunting.
Simon Dun.

Matth. Weſt.

Brithrick (chaſing *Wilmot*) croſſed by tempeſt.

their weather-beaten warders, set them all on fire; so that all this preparation proued not onely vaine, but also very hurtfull.

Money paid the *Danes*.

(23) At the receit of the said thirty thousand pounds, the *Danes* departed, in semblance satisfied, and friends with the *English*; but how long that lasted the sequele shewed: for the next harueſt, and

An.D.1009. yeere of saluation 1009. a great fleete of their ships

Three *Danish* Captaines. strongly appointed landed at *Sandwich*, vnder the conduct of three *Danish* Princes, *Turkil*, *Henning* and *Anlafe*: these comming to *Canterbury*, were compounded with by the Citizens, paying a thousand

Money paied the *Danes*. pounds for their departure; who thence in the

Three thousand Pound, saith *Simon Dun*. *Wight*, *Sussex* and *Hampshire* made hauoke of all.

King *Ethelred* seeing no truth in their promises, nor quietnesse in State, his landthus exhausted of prouision and coine, thought it best to aduenture once for all, and to commit his cause vnto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end hee gathered his power, and comming vnlooked for, when the enemy was altogether vnprepared, and taken at disaduantage, he had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrick* had not perswaded him from fight, and

Edrick againe perfidious. put him into a cause sse feare with his forged tales. The *Danes* thus escaping returned to *Kent*, and the winter following lodged their ships in the riuer *Thamesis*, whence often they gaue assaies for *London*, though to little purpose.

(24) Then took they through the *Chiltern* woods

An.D.1010. vnto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne wasted all the countries on both sides of *Thamesis*, but hearing that *London* was prepared against them, they crossed ouer at *Stanes*, passing through *Surrey* into *Kent*, where they fell to amending their ships, and thence sailing about the coasts of *Suffolke*, tooke

Henry Hunt. *Ipswich*, and pitched their battle vpon *Rigmer*, against *Vikel* (Gouernour of *Norffolke*) and his *English*, vpon the fift of *May*; where they wonne the day with a great slaughter made of the *Suffolke*, *Norffolke*, and *Cambridge-shire* men, and after harried those Countries with the borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntingtonshires*; burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the *Abbies* and Churches that stood in their way, and then through *Essex* returned vnto their ships.

The *Danes* forrage the Countries before them (25) Neither rested they there long in quiet, ere, as people wholly deuoted to spoile, they brake into *Buckinghame*, *Bedford*, and *Northampton-shiers*, the chief Towne of which last, they set on fire after much slaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entring *Wiltshire* depopulated all before them, which was the seauenth Shire in number that they had laid wast like a solitude.

(26) And now not satisfied with spoil nor bloud-

An.D.1011. *Henry Hunt.* *Vincentius.* spilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleagered the Citie, which by treason of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Elphegus* the *Arch-Bishop*, and slew nine hundred Monks and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tithed the captiue multi-

Addit. ad Asserii. tudes after an inuerted order, slaying all by nines, and reseruing onely the tenth to liue; so that of all the *Monkes* in the towne there were but foure saued, and of the lay people foure thousand eight

Wil. Lambert, in Peram. hundred, by which account M. *Lambert* collecteth that there died in this massacre forty three thousand and two hundred persons.

The Archbishop *Elphegus*, for that he refused to

Polychr. li. 6. c. 16. charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to

An.D.1012. pay for his ransome, they most cruelly stoned to death at *Greenewich* the nineteenth of *April* following.

Turkillus the Leader of these murtherers, tooke into his possession all *Northfolke* and *Suffolke*, ouer whom he tyrannized in most sauage maner. The rest compounding with the *English* for eight thousand

Money paied the *Danes*. pound sojourned a while quiet among them.

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the dissensions,

An.D.1013. and weakenesse of the land, in the yeare of Grace, 1013, with a great number of ships arriued in the mouth of *Humber*, and entring Trent landed at *Gainsborough*; whose terrour stroke so deepe into the *Northumbrians* conceites, that they with them of *Lyndsey* yeelded themselues to the yoake of his subiection, so that now ouer all the *North* from *Watling street* he raigned sole King, and exacted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the *North* hee sought to spread his wings further into the *South*, and leauing his sonne *Canute* to take charge of his shippes, and new conquered countries, sped himselfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Winchester*, bringing all vnder the power of his commaund: with which gales of his fortunes, hee was so puffed vp, that thinking nothing vnpossible for him and his *Danes* to doe, in the heat of his courage he came vnto *London*, and presently begirt the walles with a strait siege.

(28) In the City lay vnfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon* Monke of *Durham* reporteth) had with him, and vnder his pay *Turkillus* the *Danish* Prince before spoken of, and forty fiue *Danish* ships to defend the coasts. King *Swaine* at his first comming fiercely assaulted the City, hoping his fortunes would haue proued as before; but the presence of the King, and *London* the eye of the land, made the Citizens aboue measure couragious, who beat the *Danes* from their walles, and sallying forth of the Gates, slew them on heapes, so that *Swain* himselfe was in great danger, had hee not desperately runne through the midst of his enemies, and by flight escaped their swords; marching both day and night in great feare vntill hee had entred *Bath*, where *Ethelmere* Earle of *Deuonshire* with his Westerne people submitted themselues vnto him. But this last ouerthrow, and want of victuals, caused him after he had receiued a certaine summe of money, to hast into *Denmarke*, minding with more power, and better aduantage to prosecute the quarrell.

(29) Not long it was ere he returned, and immediately was met by the *English*, where betwixt them was strucke a fierce battaile, which had been with good successe, had not the treasons of some hindered it, in turning to the *Danes*. King *Ethelred* therefore seeing himselfe, and land betraied in this manner, to those few true *English* that were left, he vsed this speech as followeth.

Ethelreds Oration. " (30) If there wanted in me a fatherly care, ei-
" ther for the defence of the Kingdome, or admini-
" stration of iustice in the common wealth, or in you,
" the courage of Souldiers for the defence of your
" native Country; then truely silent would I bee
" for euer, and beare these calamities with a more
" deiected mind: but as the case stands (be it as it
" is) I for my part am resolued to rush into the
" midst of the enemie, and to lose my life for my
" Kingdome and Crowne. And you (I am sure)
" hold it a worthy death that is purchased for the
" liberties of your selues and kindred; and therein I
" pray you let vs all die, for I see both God and de-
" stiny against vs, and the ruine of the *English* nation
" brought almost to the last period; for wee are o-
" uercome not by weapons and hostile warre, but by
" treason and domesticke falshood; our Nauy be-
" traied into the *Danes* hands, our battaile weakened
" by the reuolt of our Captaines, our designes be-
" wraied to them by our owne Counsellors, and they
" also inforcing compositions of dishonourable
" peace, I my selfe disesteemeed, and in scorne tear-
" med *Ethelred* the *vnready*; your valour and loial-
" ties betraied by your owne leaders, and all our
" pouerty yeerely augmented by the paiment of
" their *Dane-gilt*, which how to redresse God one-
" ly knoweth, and we are to seeke; for if we pay
" money for peace, yea, and that confirmed by oth,
" these enemies soone breake it, as a people that nei-
" ther regard God nor man, contrary to equity and
" the lawes of warre, or of nations: and so farre
" off is all hope of better successe, as we haue cause
" to

A Battaile betweene Danes & English.

"to feare the losse of our Kingdom, and you the "extinct of the *English* nations renowne; therefore "seeing the enemies are at hand, and their hands at "our throats; let vs by foresight and counsell saue "our owne liues, or else by courage sheath our "swords in their bowels: either of which I am wil- "ling to enter into, to secure our estate and nation "from an irrecouerable ruine.

(31) This lamentable Oration deliuered from the passions of a iustly-pensiue King, touched the hearers to the heartes, and asmuch distracted their afflicted minds: to abide battaile they saw it was bootlesse, the treason of their leaders so many times defeating their victories; to yeeld themselues to the enemy, would but beginne their seruitude and misery; and to flee before them, their eternall ignominy and reproch.

Thus their opinions were canuased, but nothing put in practise, whereas meane whiles the *Danes* went forward with victories, and had got the most part of the land, yea and *London* also by submission; wherewith vnfortunate *Ethelred* more and more dejected, sent his wife *Emma* with his two sonnes by her, vnto her brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, and for his owne safest refuge committed himselfe vnto *Turkil* the *Dane*, in whose shippes he remained a while at *Greenewich*, and from thence went into the Isle of *Wight*, where he abode most part of the winter, and thence sailed into *Normandy* to his wife and brother, leauing the *Danes* lording it in his realme.

(32) These were the daies of *Englands* mourning, shee being vnable to maintaine her defenders, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her deuourers: for the *Danes* in two factions most cruelly afflicted the land like two milstones crushing & grinding the grain. *Swayn* as an absolute King, extorted of the *English* both victuals and pay for his souldiers: and *Turkil* on the other side, in defence of the *English*, commanded the like for his ships and men; so that the *Danes* had all, and the *English* maintained all. Neither were churches free from their spoils, (whom other Conquerors haue held most impious to violate,) but either suffered the flames of their consuming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings with great summes of money. Such composition King *Swaine* demaunded for the preseruation of S. *Edmunds* Monastery in *Suffolke*; which because the Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatned spoile both to the place, & to the Martyrs bones there enterred; in the midst of which iollity (saith *Houeden*) he suddainely cried out that he was strucke by S. *Edmund* with a sword, being then in the midst of his Nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horrour and torment, three daies after vpon the third of February ended his life at *Thetford* (others say at *Gainsborough*:) but with his death died not the title of the *Danes*, who immediately aduanced *Canutus* his sonne for their King.

(33) The *English* that liked nothing lesse then bondage, especially vnder such tyrannizing intruders, thought now or neuer the time to shake off the yoake; and therefore with great ioy and hast sent into *Normandy* for their native King. *Ethelred* now not *vnreadie* for the recouering of his right, forestowed no meanes either to hasten or strengthen the enterprize, and hauing the assistance of his brother of *Normandy*, in the Lent following landed in *England*, vnto whom resorted the people from all parts, accounting it their greatest ioy to see the face of their King.

(34) *Canutus* then at *Gainsborough*, Souldier-like mustered and managed his men, and holding it good policie to keepe that by bounty, which his father had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase the hearts of the *English*; by which meanes those of *Lyndsey* became his Creatures, with an agreement to find him both horse and men against their owne King and Country.

Ethelred therefore now raging for reuenge, with a mighty host entered *Lyndsey*, where hee burnt all the Country, and put the inhabitants to the sword. *Canute* not able to resist this puissant Army, held the sea more safe for him then the land; and entring *Humber*, sailed to *Sandwich*, where being sore grieued at the miseries of these his confederates, required King *Ethelreds* friends with the like, and commaunded that those pledges which had beene deliuered by the Nobles vnto his Father, should haue their noses slit, and their hands cut off; which cruelty acted, hee sailed to *Denmarke*, as hopelesse of any good issue in *England*.

He is chased by *Ethelred*.

Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

(35) But *Turkil* the *Dane*, retained (as we said) into King *Ethelreds* pay, seeing successe so sodainely altered, sore repented him of his reuolt from the *Danes*, and knowing now the time to recouer his reputation, with nine of his shippes sailed into *Denmarke*, instantly importuning *Canut* to addresse againe for *England*; alleadging the feares and weaknesse of the people, the beauty and fertility of the land, an *Eden*, in respect of their owne barren seat, and (which did most moue) himselfe would assist, when the *English* least thought it: with these and the like hee spurred him on, who of himselfe was forward in a full curriere.

Turkil inciteth *Canut* against *England*.

Canutus therefore with the aide of his brother *Harrold*, rigged forth a Nauie of two hundred saile, all furnished with souldiers and abiliments of warre, whose terror landed in *England* before him, and his power by report made greater then it was; and to encrease the terrour of this fearefull enemy, the sea with a spring-tide brake into this land, and destroyed both townes and many inhabitants; a signe foreshewing (as was thought) the successe of that fleete, borne hitherward vpon those waues; and to encrease the *English* miseries, thirty thousand pound was then collected by way of Tribute to pay the *Danish* auxiliary Nauy lying before *Greenewich*. The States also conuening in a grand Councell at *Oxford* to determine vpon the great affaires of the Kingdom, were diuided into factions, and two Noblemen of the *Danes* there murthered by practise of *Edrick* the Traitor. These (I say) were accounted ominous amongst the *English*, that made each mole-hill to seeme a mountaine, and euery shadow the shew of an enemy.

Canutus and his Nauie.

Money collected for the *Danes*.

(36) In the meane while *Canutus* had landed at *Sandwich*, and giuen a great ouerthrow to the *English*; entred *Kent*, and by his sword had made way through the Countries of *Dorset*, *Sommerset*, and *Wilton*.

Wil. Malmsbury. Henry Hunt. Mat. Westminster. Simon Dunel.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at *Cosham*, the managing of these warres was transferred to Prince *Edmund* his sonne, who preparing to meete the enemie with his Army in the field, had sodainely notice that *Edrik* his brother in-law ment to betray him into his enemies hands; which newes strucke a great astonishment vnto his heart, and caused him to retrait his host into a place of security; whereby *Edrik* perceiuing his trecherous purposes were discloased, gaue more open proofe of his intendments, flying to the enemy with forty of the Kings shippes; whereupon all the west Countries submitted themselus vnto *Canutus*.

Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

(37) By this time King *Ethelred* had recouered his sicknesse, and minding reuenge on his most wicked sonne *Edrik*, with purpose to trie his last fortunes by hazard of fight, summond all his forces to meete him at a certaine day and place; where being assembled, he was instantly warned not to giue battaile, for that his owne subiects ment to betray him.

An. D. 1016.

King *Ethelred* euer vnfortunate in this, to find treasons amongst them that ought him most trust, withdrew himselfe to *London*, whose seruice against the *Danes* he had lately seene, and therefore accounted his person most sure in their walles. Prince *Edmund* with his power posted ouer *Humber*, where obtaining Earle *Vtred* to side in his quarrell, entred

Londons fidelity.

the Countries of *Stafford*, *Leiceſter*, and *Shropſhires*; not ſparing to exercile any cruelty vpon theſe inhabitants, as a condigne recompence for their reuolt. Neither did *Canut* for his part ſpare the Kings ſubiects, but through *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Lincolne*, and *Yorkeſhires*, made ſpoile of all, ſo that the miſerable *Engliſh* went to wracke on all ſides; inſomuch that *Vtred* alſo forſaking *Edmund*, became ſubiect to *Canut*: whereupon *Edmund* haſted to *London* to ioine his ſtrength with his Fathers, and *Canute* with no leſſe ſpeed ſailed about the Coaſts into *Thameſis*, preparing his Armie for the ſiege of *London*.

Canutus deuaſtatiõs

(38) At which time King *Ethelred*, either faln into relapſe of his laſt ſickneſſe, or tired with the many troubles, and daily renued treaſons againſt him, gaue vp his ghoſt, and found reſt by death, which neuer hee could attaine by life, the twenty third of *April*, and yeere of our Saluation 1016, when he had moſt vnfortunately raigned thirty ſeuen yeeres, and nine daies: his body was there buried in the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul*, and bones as yet remaine in the north-wall of the Chancell in a cheſt of grey-Marble, reared vpon foure ſmall pillers, couered with a copped ſtone of the ſame, adioining to another of the like forme, wherein *Sebby* King of the *Eaſt-Saxons* lieth intombed.

Ethelred dieth.

The time of his raigning.

His Tombe in S. Pauls in London.

(39) Of Parſonage he was very ſeemely, and of countenance gratious, affable and courteous to his Subiects, and a maintainer of iuſtice among them, as by his excellent Lawes which himſelfe made, and by his ſharpe, but godly and wiſe cenſures againſt vnlearned, bribing, delaying, partiall Iudges & Lawyers, and their purloining officers (at large ſet down by M. *Fox*) is very apparant. Very louing and tender affectionated he was to his brother King *Edward*; for whoſe death hee made ſuch lamentation, that his mother beat him with a taper of waxe that ſtood before her, yea and ſo ſore that he could neuer after wel endure the ſight of a taper. Fauourable he was to the married Prieſts, and leaſt eſteemed the opulent and idle liues of the Monkes, whoſe pens therefore (as in ſuch caſes we euer find them partial) haue been very lauiſh in his diſpraiſe, accuſing him with ſloth and vnreadineſſe of Armes, of voluptuouſnes and lechery, couetouſneſſe, pride and cruelty: whereas in following the records of his life, laying aſide the *Daniſh* maſſacre, we find no ſuch ſinnes, neither any mention of Concubine that euer hee kept, or name of child vnlawfully begot, hauing had many by his wiues, which were as followeth.

Fox Martyrologe in King Egelreds life ex Hiſt. Iornalenſ.

Polycr. li. 6. ca. 13.

His Wiues.

Elgiua the firſt wife, by ſome called *Elſlede*,

(40) *Elgiua*, the firſt wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of an *Engliſh* Duke named *Thored*, who is reported in the hiſtory of that time, to haue done great ſeruice againſt the *Danes*. She was married vnto him when hee was ſeuenteene yeeres of age, in the ſixt of his raigne, being the yeare of grace 984. and was his wife ſeauenteene yeares, who dedeceaſed in the twenty foure of his raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 1003.

Emme the ſecond wife.

(41) *Emme*, the ſecond wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Richard* the ſecond Duke of *Normandy*, and ſiſter of Duke *Richard*, and Duke *Robert* Father to *William* the Conqueror; her mother was ſiſter to *Herfaſt* the *Dane*, Grandfather of *William Fitz-Osbert* afterward Earle of *Hereford*. She was a Lady of paſsing beauty, and therefore commonly called the *flower of Normandy*; married vnto him in the twenty and fift yeare of his raigne, & yeere of Saluation, 1003. with whom ſhee liued thirteene yeeres, and ſuruiuing him was remarried to King *Canute* the *Dane*.

His Iſſue.

Ethelſtan the eldeſt ſonne.

(42) *Ethelſtan*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was borne about the eight yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 986: hee liued vnto the age almoſt of twenty fiue yeeres, (being then by great likelihood) cut off by vntimely death in the warres of the *Danes*, raging then moſt extreamely, which was the thirtie third of his Fathers raigne, and of Chriſts Natiuitie 1011.

Egbert the ſecond ſonne.

(43) *Egbert*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, ſeemeth to haue beene borne two yeeres after his brother *Ethelſtan*, in the tenth yeare of his Fathers raigne, and yeare of our Lord 988, and to haue deceaſed in the very prime of his youth before the death of his father, or of his elder brother, and before hee had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

Edmund the third ſonne.

(44) *Edmund*, the third ſonne of King *Ethelred* & Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was borne in the eleuenth yeare of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989 and of all his fathers Children proued to be the only man that ſet his helping hand to the redreſſe of the eſtate of his Country diſtreſſed by the miſerable oppreſsions of the *Danes*, which hee purſued with ſuch exceeding toile, and reſtleſſe hazards of his body, as he was therefore ſurnamed *Iron-ſide*; and when hee had followed thoſe warres with great courage the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeeres vnder his Father, being come to twenty ſeuen of his owne age, hee ſucceeded him in his Kingdome and troubles, as preſently ſhall be ſhewed.

Edred the fourth ſonne.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was born about the foureteenth yeare of his fathers raigne, being the yeare of Grace 992. His name is continually ſet downe, as a witneſſe in the teſtees of his fathers Charters, vntill the thirtie fift yeare of his raigne, by which it appeareth that hee liued vnto the two and twentieth yeere of his owne age, although I find no mention of him, or of any thing done by him in any of our hiſtories, and it ſeemeth he died at that time, becauſe his name is left out of the Charters after that yeare.

Edwy the fifth ſonne.

(46) *Edwy*, the fift ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, ſuruiued his father and all his brethren, and liued in the raigne of *Canute* the *Dane*, who being iealous of his new-gotten eſtate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew vnto him by this *Edwy*, and ſuch others of the Engliſh bloud roiall, practiſed to haue him murthered, which was accordingly done by them, whom hee moſt fauoured, and leaſt ſuſpected, the yeare of our ſaluation, 1017.

Edgar the firſt ſonne.

(47) *Edgar*, the ſixt ſonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was borne about the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, beeing the yere of our Lord God nine hundred ninetie and eight. He ſeemeth by the Teſtees of his fathers Charters, to haue beene liuing in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but beeing no more found in any of them after, may be ſuppoſed by all coniectures, to haue died in, or, about the ſame yeere, beeing but the eleuenth after his owne birth, and the ſeuenth before his fathers death.

The eldeſt daughter.

(48) The eldeſt daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, although her name bee not to bee found in any writer of thoſe times, appeareth notwithſtanding, to be married to one *Ethelſtan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridge-ſhire* men, at the great battle fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *Engliſh-men* had the ouerthrow; and this ſonne in law of King *Ethelred*, with the reſt of the chiefe Leaders, were ſlaine in the yeere of Chriſts Natiuity 1010. being the two and thirtieth of his father in lawes raigne.

Edgith the ſecond daughter.

(49) *Edgith*, the ſecond daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was married to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his couetouſneſſe in getting was ſurnamed *Streattone*: This *Edrik* was the ſonne of one *Egelrik* ſurnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egelmere* the grandfather of *Goodwin* Duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and beeing but meanely borne, was thus highly aduanced by this King; notwithſtanding he

he was euer a traitor to his Countrie, and a fauourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him, and King *Edmund* his ſonne to King *Canut*, that he thereby might gette new preferments by him; who worthily rewarded him as a traitor and put him to death.

Elfgine the third daughter.

(50) *Elfgine*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was the ſecond wife of *Vtred* ſurnamed the *Bold*, ſonne of Earle *Waldeſe* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom ſhee had one onely child, a daughter, named *Aldgith*, married to a Noble-man called *Maldred*, the ſonne of *Crinan*; ſhee was mother of *Coſpatricke*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his diſpleaſure to fly into *Scotland*, where hee abode and was anceſtor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Countrie.

Gode the fourth daughter.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngeſt daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiua* his firſt wife, was firſt married to one *Walter de Maigne* a Noble-man of *Normandy*, greatly fauoured by King *Edward* her brother; who liued not long after the marriage, and left iſſue by her a ſonne named *Rodulfe*, whom King *Edward* his vncle created Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Rodulfe*, died the one and twentieth of December, in the thirteenth yeere of his vncles raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*; leauing iſſue a young ſonne named *Harrald*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conqueror, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Glouceſter*, and Anceſtor to the Barons of that place ſucceeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudeley* now being. This Lady *Gode*, after the deceaſe of the ſaid *Water de Maigne*, was remarried to *Euſtace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne* in *Picardy*, a man of great valour in thoſe parts of *France*; and a moſt faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grand-father to *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, King of *Ieruſalem*; albeit it ſeemeth he had no iſſue by this Lady.

Edward the ſeuenth ſonne.

(52) *Edward*, the ſeuenth ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and his firſt by Queene *Emme* his ſecond wife, was borne at *Iſlipe* in the County of *Oxford*, and brought vp in *France* all the time of his youth; with his vncle *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandy*, miſtruſting his ſafety in *England* vnder King *Canute* the *Dane*, although he had married his mother; but hee found the time more dangerous by the vſage of his brother *Elfred*, at his beeing heere in the raigne of King *Harrald* ſonne of the *Dane*. Notwithſtanding hee returned home, when *Hardiknut* the other ſonne (beeing his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably receiued and entertained by him, and after his death ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *England*.

Elfred the eight ſonne.

(53) *Elfred*, the eight ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and his ſecond by Queene *Emme* his ſecond wife, was conueied into *Normandie* for feare of King *Canute*, with his eldeſt brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to ſee his mother, then beeing at *Wincheſter*, in the ſecond yeere of King *Harrald* ſurnamed *Harefoote*; by whoſe practize hee was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, depriued of his eie-ſight, and committed priſoner to the Monaſtery of *Elie*: his *Normans* that came with him moſt cruelly murthered, and hee himſelfe ſoone after deceaſing, was buried in the Church of the ſaid Monaſterie.

Edmund.

EDMVND SVRNAMED IRONSIDE THE THIRTIE THREE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN. HIS WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 33

CHAPTER XLV.

Anno D.1016.

EDmund, the third ſonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldeſt liuing at his Fathers death, ſucceeded him both in his dominions, & in his troubled eſtate againſt the *Danes*; entring his gouernement in the moneth of *April*, and crowned at *Kingſton* vpon *Thameſis*, by *Liuingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the yeere of mans ſaluation 1016. Notwithſtanding, a great part of the Engliſh, conſidering the puiſſance of the *Danes*, both feared and fauoured *Canut*, eſpecially, a great part of the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, ſwearing to him the fealty of true ſubiection; but the *Londoners* ſtood moſt firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his election. *Polyer. lib. 6. ca. 37.*

(2) In reuenge whereof *Canutus* who had beſieged

Henry Hunting. Simon Dun.

ged the Citie before the death of King *Ethelred*, caused his ships now to be towed, and drawne vp the *Thames*is vnto the west side of the bridge, and from the riuer with a deepe and large Trench encompassed the City, shutting vp all entrance or egresse of any: but the Citizens manfully stood in resistance, whereto the comming of their new King for their succour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*, who now thought it best to breake vp their siege and be gone: and the rather(saith the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*) for that King *Edmund* sent *Canute* a peremptory challenge of single combate, which he neither accepted, nor yet staied the siege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors sailed along the Coast to the Ile of *Sheepie*, where he wintred with his Nauie and men.

Proffer of single combat.

(3) But loth to lose opportunity, when time serued for warre; on the sodaine he assailed the west of *England*, and brought much of those parts vnder his commaund: to meet whom the restlesse *Ironside* prepared, and with such small power as his leasure would admit to leauie, he hasted into *Dorsetshire*, where *Canut* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penham* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a sore battaile was fought, and bloudy to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the sword, and the rest to flight.

An.D.1016. In the Rogation weeke.

(4) *Canute* immediately tooke into *Winchester*, to secure himselfe from danger, and the rest escaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begirt the Citie with a strait siege. King *Edmund* as ready to saue, as they to destroy, made presently thitherward with his small and ouertired company; whom *Canut*, waiting for aduantage, followed with a great host, and in *Worcestershire*, at a place called *Sheroston*, in the sight of his enemy pitched his battaile. To the aide of *Edmund* came many of the *English*, so that his Army was greatly encreased, and their courages inhaunsed, which made the *Danish* souldiers somwhat to droope.

Polydor.

(5) Notwithstanding, vpon the twentieth of *Iune*, 1016. their battailes ioined, and with equall fortune continued all the day, vntill the night constrained them to part.

Simon Dun. Matt. West.

(6) But their bloud not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no lesse courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going down, & the *English* in great forwardnes of victory: which when the Traitour *Edrik* perceiued, he cut off the head of a souldier, whose name was *Osmearus*, like vnto King *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and shaking his bloody sword with the halfe-gasping head, cried vnto the host of the English: *Flie yee wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is slaine, behold here is his head, therefore seeke now to saue your owne liues.*

Wil. Malmsbury. Edricks treason.

(7) But *Edmund* hauing present notice of this treacherous stratageme, and seeing his men ready to giue ouer the fight, hasted himselfe where he might be best seene, encouraging his Army to stand to it like true Englishmen, and posting from ranke to ranke, both performed the parts of a wise Generall, and vnderwent the dangers of the meanest souldier: his men seeing his presence, & the apparant treachery of Duke *Edrik*, bent their bows against the traitour, and had shot him to death, had he not presently auoided to the enemy: but the night approching, parted againe the battaile of this second day: *Duke Edrik* excusing his fact, as beeing meerely mistaken in the countenance of the man, and thirsting to saue the bloud of the English; was taken againe into fauour, and bare himselfe outwardly faire for his Country.

Edriks excuse.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battaile, but yet stood still without any attempt, onely refreshing their wearied, and almost tired bodies, and burying the dead slaine in the two daies fights before.

(9) The night following, *Canutus* in great silence brake vp his Campe, and marched very fast towards *London*,, against whose Citizens he carried great spleene, and most earnestly desired the conquest of the Citie, which in a sort was still besieged by the *Danish* ships.

Canut marcheth to London.

(10) The Centinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addressing himselfe for the battaile) of the suddaine departure of his enemies, whereupon hee as ready to preuent their designes, followed them by tract euen vnto *London*: where with small adoe, hee remoued their siege, and entred the City in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus discomfited, great hope was conceiued, that these faire proceedings would haue a prosperous end.

Dislodged by Edmund.

(11) *Edmund*, therefore following the aduantage of their discouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* bad them battaile, and that with their great ouerthrow; notwithstanding, in passing the *Thames*is at the same place, he lost many of his men, who were drowned before they could recouer the shore: vpon which losse the Traitor *Edrike* plaied, who earst had much feared the downefall of the *Danes*. For hereupon hee perswaded his brother in law King *Edmund* to come to truce with *Canute*, which as he confidently affirmed, should be to the great benefite and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canute* himselfe so plotting it, that by his meanes hee might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

Edrik wicked counsell.

Henry Hunt.

(12) The affaires thus standing, King *Edmund* returned into the West, and *Canute* with spoiles vnto his shippes that were in *Medyway*, not far from *Rochester*, where he a while lay still to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariwise louing nothing lesse then to linger his businesses, made preparation against those truce-breakers that had wasted the Country in their returne, and with a great Army entred *Kent*, where he pitched down his tents neere vnto *Oteford*.

Edmunds preparations.

Canut, who had prepared himselfe in most warlike array to meete his approch, beganne the battaile in a furious manner, which continued verie bloudy for foure howres space, vntill the foot of his vaward beganne to shrinke, which when hee perceiued, he drew his horsemen for their aide: but whilest the one gaue hastily back, & the other made as slowly forward, the array of the whole army was broken, and the *Danes* slaine on all hands: for it is reported that *Canute* lost foure thousand fiue hundred men, and King *Edmund* onely six hundred; the rest of these *Danes* trusting to their legs, whom if *Edmund* had pursued in chase, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt those two Nations for euer: but Destiny, that would haue the *Saxons* downe, who had raised themselues by the fals of the *Britaines*, made *Edrik* her instrument, & mall of the English, who kept King *Edmunds* hasty foot from following his enemies, by guilefull vrging the danger of ambush, and the ouer-wearied bodies of his souldiers, so that *Canute* thereby had leasure in safety to passe ouer into Essex.

Polyd. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Mat. Westmin. Henry Hunt. Wil. Malms.

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increase of his power to despoile al the Country before him, brought feare to the inhabitants, and to himselfe submission of many English. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherward, and at *Ashdone* three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, gaue battaile to *Canute*, wherein a bloudy slaughter ensued, though a while with equall chance of foile or of victory, vntill lastly the *Danes* beganne to giue backe, which when the euer-traiterous *Edrik* perceiued, he went with his strength, vnto their side, and maintained their battaile, which otherwise was at point to be lost, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betraied English, the ouerthrow. There died of *Edmunds* Nobility, *Duke Alfred*, *Duke Goodwin*, *Duke Athelward*, *Duke Athelwin*, and *Earle Vrchell*, with *Cadweth* Bishop of *Lincolne*, and *Wolsey* Abbot of

A battaile betweene Edmund Canute.

Wil. Malmsb. Simon Dun. Ran. Higden.

of *Ramſey*, beſides other of the Clergy that were come thither to pray for the preſeruation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which field is retained vnto this day, by certaine ſmall hilles there remaining, whence haue beene digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chaines of horſe-bridles.

(14) King *Edmund* thus traiterouſly forced to retire from the field, on foot marched vnto *Glouceſter* with a very ſmall Army, leauing *Canut* ouerſwollen in conceit for this his great victorie, vnto whom then the *Londoners* ſubmitted, and ſo did many other great townes of Name; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the Weſt; who now like a Tygar robbed of her Whelpes, ſeeking the reuenge of his loſt day, gathered a moſt puiſſant Army, meaning to trie the vttermoſt chance of Fate, or Battaile. Their hoſtes meete at *Dearhurſt* neere vnto the riuer *Seuerne*, where they were reſoluedly bent to eſtabliſh the ones title with the others downefall; and now being ready to ioyne, a certaine Captaine of vncertaine name, ſtept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and vttered in effect this ſpeech.

" (15) Many battailes haue beene fought, and " too much bloud already ſpilt for the ſoueraignitie " of this Land, betwixt theſe two fierce Nations, " and the valours of the Generals, Captaines and " Souldiers ſufficiently tried; wherein euen fortune " her ſelfe ſeemeth to haue beene conquered; for " if one Battaile were wonne, it was not long kept, " neither the loſer ſo weakened, but that hee had " both courage and power to winne the next: what " is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour " and fame? Titles indeed which accompany war; " but neither long enioyed, nor much attained vn- " to by the common Souldiers, by whoſe valours " and bloud it is for the moſt part wonne. Let " him therefore that would weare the Diademe, " beare the hazard himſelfe, without the confuſi- " on of ſo many men, and either trie the fortune " of a ſingle combat, who ſhall commaund, and " who obey, or diuide betwixt them the King- " dome, which may ſuffice two, that hath main- " tained ſeuen.

(16) Some affirme that this ſpeech was Duke *Edriks*; but I hardly belieue ſo good a motion ſhould proceede from ſo bad a man; by whom ſo euer vttered, it was acceptably receiued by *Edmund* and *Canut*, who thereupon in ſight of their Armies, entred into a ſmall Iland, embraced about with the armes of *Seuern*, called *Alney*, adioyning vnto the City *Glouceſter*, where thoſe princes in complete Armour at firſt aſſailed each other moſt dangerouſly on horſebacke, and after as valiantly on foot. The *Ironſide* was ſtrong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not ſo tall, but euery way as ſtout, fought for his honour, and ſo the combate continued with an abſolute reſolution, till at length *Canute* hauing receiued a dangerous wound and ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched in ſtrength, wiſhed a comprimiſe, and thus ſpake to *Edmund* with a loud voice.

" *What neceſsity ſhould thus moue vs moſt valiant* " *Prince, that for the obtaining of a Title, we ſhould* " *thus endanger our liues? better it were to lay ma-* " *lice and Armour aſide, and to condiſcend to a lo-* " *uing agreement: let vs therefore now become ſworne* " *brothers, and diuide the Kingdome betwixt vs, and* " *in ſuch league of amity, that each of vs may vſe the o-* " *thers part as his owne; ſo ſhall this land be peacea-* " *bly gouerned, and we iointly aſsiſtant to each others* " *neceſsity.*

Whereupon they both caſt downe their ſwords, imbracing as friends with the great ioy and ſhouting of both their Armies, who ſtood before doubtfully wauering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the ſucceſſe of their Champions.

Thus was the Kingdome diuided betwixt thoſe two Princes; *Edmund* enioying that part that lay coaſted vpon *France*, and *Canute* entring vpon the reſt. The Kingdome parted betweene them.

(17) Thus then the *Saxon* Monarchy ſpent to the laſt period, and their tottering crowne faſt graſped with a hard *Daniſh* hand, was ſuddainelyy torne from the *Ironſides* helmet, by his complotted and haſtned death. For Duke *Edrick* a very compound of treaſons, glutted with the fauours of both theſe Kings, to ſcrue himſelfe deeper into *Canut* his conceit, contriued the end of renowmed *Edmund*: who being retired to a place for natures neceſsity, was thruſt from vnder the draught into his body with a ſharpe ſpeare; which done, the treacherous *Edrick* cutting off his Soueraignes head, preſented it to *Canut* with theſe fawning ſalutations. *All haile, thou now ſole-Monarch of England; for, here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy ſake I haue aduentured to cut off.* *Edmund* murthered. A ſpit, ſaith *Higden.*

Canute though ambitious inough of ſoueraignety, yet of princely diſpoſition, abaſhed, & ſore grieued at ſo vnworthy and diſloiall an attempt, repliied, and vowed, that *in reward of that ſeruice, the bringers owne head ſhould be aduanced aboue all the peeres of his kingdome*. Which high honour whiles this prodigious wretch greedily expected, (and indeed for a time, ſaith *Malmesbury*, *hee found ſome ſhew of fauour with the King*:) ſoone after, by the Kings commaund, his head bad his ſhoulders farewell, and was placed vpon the higheſt Gate to ouerlooke *London*. *Canutus* puniſheth the traitors *Wil. Malmsbury.*

(18) The traiterous death of this worthy Prince, as ſome affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, and liued the ſame time, blancheth the matter, ſaying that hee died of a naturall death in *London*: *God minding his owne doctrine, that a Kingdome diuided in it ſelfe, cannot long ſtand, and pittying the* Engliſh, *tooke away* Edmund, *leſt if the Kings had continued long together, they ſhould both haue liued in danger, and the Realme in continuall trouble.* Old *Manuſc. Fabian. Ran. Higden.*

That hee died in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeth, and ſaith further, it chanced about the Feaſt of *S. Andrew:* and *Marianus* is of the ſame opinion, being the yeere of Chriſt, 1016. Whenſoeuer, or howſoeuer, his Raigne was but ſeuen monethes, and his body buried at *Glaſtenbury*; neere vnto his Grandfather King *Edgar*. *Simon Dunel. Marian. Scotus. Edmunds raigne. Polychr.*

(19) He was of perſonage tall, for courage, hardy, ſtrong of limmes, and well could endure the trauels of warre, inſomuch that ſome deeme the ſurname *Ironſide*, giuen him onely vpon that occaſion. With him fell the glory of the Engliſh, and the aged body of their ſore bruiſed Monarchy ſeemed to bee buried with him in the ſame Sepulchre. The feature of *Edmund.*

His Wife.

(20) *Algith*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Sigeferth*, the ſonne of *Engrin* a *Daniſh* Nobleman of *Northumberland*; which *Sigeferth*, with his brother *Morcar*, was murthered at *Oxford* by the treaſon of the neuer-faithfull *Edrick*: & this Lady being of great beauty, and noble parentage after the death of her husband, and the ſeiſure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred*, cõmitted in charge to the Monaſtery of *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* ſeeing her, grew in great loue, and there married her againſt the liking of his father, *in Anno* 1015. *Algith.*

His Iſſue.

(21) *Edward* the eldeſt ſon of King *Edmund*, and Queen *Algith* his wife, was ſurnamed the *Outlaw*, becauſe he liued out of *England* in *Hungary* as a baniſhed man, through the raigne of *Canut*, and of his ſonnes the *Danes*. But when his vncle King *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, had obtained the Engliſh crown, *Edward* the outlaw.

his wife.

his daughters.

he was by him recalled, and moſt honourably in his Court enterained, till laſtly, hee was taken away by death in the City of *London*, the yeere of Chriſt, 1057. He married *Agatha* ſiſter to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperour *Henrie* the ſecond; by whom hee had *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparant by *Edward Confeſſor*, his great Vncle; which title notwithſtanding, proceeded no further, for that hee was depriued thereof by *Harold* his Protector.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after ſhall be ſaid, were *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, the younger of which became a vaied Nunne at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, where ſhee in that deuotion ſpent her life, and was there interred.

Margaret the elder, and afterward ſole heire vnto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonly called *Canmore*: from which princely bed in a lineall deſcent, our high and mighty Monarch, King IAMES the firſt, doth in his moſt roiall perſon vnite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *Engliſh*, *Normans*, and *Scotiſh* imperiall Crownes in one.

(22) *Edmund*, the ſecond and yongeſt ſonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Algith* his wife, after his fathers deceaſe being a Child, was with his brothe *Edward*, ſent by *Canute* to *Olaue* King of *Swedon* his halfe brother, to the intent, that he by murther ſhould make them both away: but this King taking pitty on the innocent Childrens eſtate, ſent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungarie*, to the intent to haue them ſaued, where they were receiued with great fauour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Weſtminſter* reporteth, that this Prince married the daughter of the ſame King; and other Writers of theſe times, that he died in the ſame Country without any iſſue of his body.

(23). Theſe two ſonnes of the *Ironſide* thus poſted away, and the crowne already ſet vpon the *Danes* head, had not the meanes of themſelues to diſplace it, nor the Engliſh, hearts to aſsiſt them to their right: ſo that they rather ſecured themſelues from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was vnrecouerable; and left the *Danes* quietly to poſſeſſe the land, which ſo long they had moleſted with their ſturdy Armes.

Edmund.

Mat. Weſtm.

The End of the Seuenth Booke.

THE

THE ORIGINALL OF THE DANES, THEIR MANNERS, RELIGION, AND INVASIONS OF ENGLAND, THE *RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HERE, VN-*TILL THE CROWNE REVERTED AGAINE TO THE SAXONS; WORNE BY KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, AND AFTER HIM *BY HAROLD THE LAST KING OF THEIR RACE.*

Chapter I.

THe Spirite of God in his ſacred writings, to ſhew his all-commanding power ouer Kingdomes and Nations, compareth the tranſmigrations of people from country to country, vnto the tranſfuſion of wine from veſſel to veſſell: and thoſe that are at reſt with ſinne, to the ſetling vpon their lees, as *Moab* did, againſt whom hee curſed that hand that was negligent in his worke of reuenge, and the ſword that was not ſheathed in their bloud. Euen ſo the ſinnes of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and their dregs as it were ſuncke vnto the bottome, they were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne veſſels, and their bottles broken that had vented their red & bloody wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gaue them the cuppe of his wrath, whoſe dregs hee had formerly (by their own hands) wrung out vpon other nations.

(2) For theſe *Saxons* that had enlarged their kingdomes by the bloud of the *Britaines*, and built their neſts high vpon the Cedars of others, (as the Prophet ſpeaketh) committed an euill couetouſneſſe vnto their owne habitations, and were ſtricken by the ſame meaſure that they had meaſured vnto others. When as the *Danes* often attempting the lands inuaſion; and the ſubuerſion of the *Engliſh* eſtate, made way with their ſwords through all the Prouinces in the realme; and laſtly aduanced the crowne vpon their owne helmets; which whiles it ſo ſtood, was worne with great honour, eſpecially of *Canutus* the firſt and their greateſt.

(3) As touching this Nations originall, and firſt place of reſiding, ſeeing themſelues know nothing at all, we cannot determine, but ſuppoſing them with *Franciſcus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the ancient *Germans*, and knowing them by the teſtimonies of al others, to inhabite in the ſame Country among them, we need not to doubt, but that their conditions and cuſtomes were much alike. Of the former, what we haue obſerued, is already ſet downe, where we ſpake of our *Saxons*; & now of theſe later, what is ſuppoſed for truth ſhall be produced.

(4) Theſe *Danes* ſo often mentioned by our hiſtorians, for the great afflicters of the Engliſh ſtate and peace, were a people deſcended from the *Scythians*, as *Andrew Velley* a learned *Daniſh* Writer reporteth: but *Dudo* of *S. Quintin* (an ancient Author) will haue them to come from *Scandia*, an Iland ſituated north-ward, not farre from the continent of *Denmarke*: which his opinion ſeemeth vnto ſome to be ſtrengthned by *Ptolemie* the *Alexandrian*, who in his Geography placeth the people *Dauciones* (the ſuppoſed Anceſtors of thoſe *Danes*) in this Iland *Scandia*, at ſuch time as himſelfe wrote, which was in the raigne of *Hadrian* the Emperour, and about the yeere of Chriſts natiuity 133. But whereſoeuer the roote had beginning, the branches did farre ſpread themſelues into the vpper *Germany*, and parts of *Norway*, and *Sweyden*, whoſe faire fruit more particularly filled that promontory, which tongue-like lieth into the Ocean on the north, being anciently called of the learned, *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus*, where, (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the *vttermoſt end of Nature, and of the world*; a ſtrange conceit indeed; and yet more ſtrange was their opinion, who were perſwaded that the ſound and noiſe of the Sunne was there heard at his dailie riſing and ſetting in thoſe ſeas. But from more warrantable witneſſes it is reported, that this was the very place which the *Iutes* and *Angles* abandoned, when they remoued their Colonies for *Britaine*.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* laid firſt the foundation of their Kingdome; which, from the word *Mare*, ſignifying not a limit, but a region, was named *Den-marc*. But touching the former part of that compounded name, the truth and original occaſion is not ſo ſoone found out: for the ſearching eye of truth hath long ſince ſeene into the receiued fable of *Danus* their firſt King, and Giant-like ſonne of *Humblus*; though

And. Velleius.

Dudo. S. Quint.

Ptol. Geograp. where ſome read *Dauciones.*

Tacit. Deſc. Germ.

Andrew Vel'ey.

Verſtegan. Ant. cap 6.

though *Verſtegan* of late holds it more certaine in the ſearch of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at randome to ſeeke them elſe-where: as theſe *Danes* (ſaith he) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute*; which truely for truth I hold much alike, and will herein make doubt as many more of riper iudgement before me haue done.

(6) For *Goropius Becanus* deduceth the name *Dane* from *Da-hen*, ſignifying a Henne, or rather (as ſome will) a fighting Cocke; *Iunius*, from *Den*, ſignifying Firre-trees, which doe there abound. *Andrew Velley* from a people in *Scythia* named *Daha*, of whom *Ioſephus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Saca*.

Ioſephus Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.

Ethelward our Engliſh hiſtorian will haue them named from the faire City *Dovia*. And *Ionas Iacobus Venuſinus*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquites, out of *Pomponius Mela*, findeth the names of certaine *Bays*, opening into thoſe parts, which now the *Danes* inhabite, to haue beene ancientlie written CDAN and CDANONVM; which Orthographie and Pronuntiation to the Latines was both harſh and hard, and therefore they added a vowell, and wrote it CODANVM and CODANONIA, whereof (it may be thought) theſe people giuen much to piracies, were knowne and called by that name, as breaking out of thoſe *Codanian* ſeas. Some others from *Ptolomie* haue thought, that from his *Dauciones* placed in *Scandia*, and corruptly ſo written for *Danciones*; the name of theſe *Danes* hath beene deriued; whereto the neereneſſe of the place induceth much.

Ionas Iacob.

Cambd. Brit.

(7) For Nations Originals may well bee compared vnto a ſpring, whoſe current ſurcharged with continuall ſupply of more, firſt filleth the neere Chanels; which done, they paſſe further, and at length are (oftentimes) diuided into many and great "ſtreames: and euen ſo theſe *Danes*, (ſaith *Dudo* "of S. *Quintins*) after they had in heat, and laſciui-"ous luſt ingendred an innumerable offſpring, ſwar-"med out of *Scandia* like bees out of their hiues, & "that both on diuers occaſions, and in very barba-"rous manner; for growne to ripeneſſe of yeeres, & "falling at ſtrife with their Fathers and Grand-ſires, "yea, and moſt commonly, among themſelues for "lands and liuely-hood, neceſsity compelled them "to disburden the land thus ouerflowed, for the bet-"ter maintenance of the reſidue, and to baniſh by "lot (after their ancient cuſtome) a multitude of their "youth, that might conquere by their ſwords, in "forraine Realmes, places to liue in.

Dudo.

Theſe then thruſt out of their owne, fell vpon other lands with no leſſe danger then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, or rather, as the breaking in of a tempeſtuous ſea vpon the neighbouring grounds, ſore diſtreſſing their neighbour nations, & among them *England* not the leaſt, as ſhalbe ſaid.

(8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the raigne of *Iuſtinian* the Emperour, about the yeere of mans ſaluation, 570, but then rouing vpon the coaſts of *England*, & *France*; in exerciſing Piracies, were noted by writers by the name *Wiccingi*, for that *Wiccinga* in the *Saxon* tongue, as *Alfricus* witneſſeth doth ſignifie a Pirate; they were alſo called *Pagani*, for that they were not Chriſtians; but by the *Engliſh Deniſcan*, and alſo *Heathon-mon*, as being *Ethnicks*.

Cambd. Britan.

(9) The manner of their *Religion*, or rather ſuperſtition and Idolatry, was much like vnto the other *Germans* and *Saxons*, whoſe principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was *Thur*, vnto whom the fourth day of the weeke for his ſeruice was aſſigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thurſday*; who in his robes was ſet vpon a ſumptuous bed, the Canopie whereof was beſpangled with ſtarres of gold; vnto him they performed their chiefe deuotions, and aſcribed all their fortunes in their affaires; as the foreſaid *Dudo* doth more particularly relate. *They* (ſaith he) *ſacrificed vnto Thur, whom they worſhipped in old time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many ſheepe, oxen, or other cattle, but offered vnto him mens bloud, thinking that to be the moſt pretious oblation of all others; whom, when the Prieſt by caſting of lots had deſtinated to death, they were all at once deadlie ſmitten vpon the head with oxeyokes; and euery one thus choſen by lot, hauing at one ſtroke his braines daſhed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was ſought out the Fibra, or veine of the heart on the left ſide, whence drawing the bloud, as their cuſtome was, and therewith beſmearing the heads of their deereſt friends, forthwith they hoiſe ſailes, thinking their Gods well pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, and fore-deeming happie ſucceſſe to their intended voiage.*

The Religion of the Danes.

Verſtegan.

Dudo.

(10) *Ditmarus* the Biſhop (ſomewhat ancienter then *Dudo*) recordeth another deteſtable ſuperſtition vſed by the *Danes* to purchaſe the fauour of their Gods. *Becauſe* (ſaith he) *I haue heard wonderfull reports of the ancient ſacrifices which the Danes and Normans vſed, I will not let them paſſe vntouched. In thoſe parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome, called* Lederum, *in a Prouince named* Selon, *where euery ninth yeare, in the moneth of Ianuary, after the time in which we celebrate the Nativity of our Lord, they all aſſemble together, and there they kill and ſacrifice vnto their Gods ninety and nine men, and as many horſes, with dogs, and alſo cocks, in ſtead of hawkes, aſſuring themſelues that hereby their Gods are fully pleaſed and pacified.* And thus much may ſerue for a taſt and view of their cuſtoms, names and originals.

Cambd. Brit.

THE

THE DANES FIRST ATTEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

THough many were the Piracies of the *Danes* on the coasts of *France* and this our Island in former times; yet their arriuall heere, which gaue first breath to their ensuing conquests, was not till the wane of the *Saxon* Monarchie, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation scuen hundred eighty seuen, in the raigne of *Brightrik* King of the *West-Saxons*: in whose dominions, after some proffer at *Portland*, they first came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Deuon-shire*; beeing sent then with three Ships onely, to espie the wealth of this Countrie, the forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Hauens, and aduantage of arriuall for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieuetenant and Prefect for that place, vnderstanding of their landing, went himselfe to demand the reason thereof; and attempting to lay hands on some to carrie them to the Kings presence, hee was there slaine; which they tooke as a fortunate presage of the victories wherewith they afterward ouerranne this Kingdome; though for the present the inhabitants enraged with the losse of their Chiefe, addressing them in great numbers to reuenge, forced some to lose their liues by the sword, the rest to saue them by flight to their ships.

(2) Notwithstanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of *King Egbert*; whose raigne (as elsewhere we haue touched) they disquieted with three seuerall inuasions; the first in the North, , the second in *Wales*, the last in *Kent*; in all which, the King though with many losses, and hazards of his owne person, yet with great resolutions persisted, till hee had disburdened his land of so dangerous guests. But those *Flesh-flies* hauing once tasted the sweet, though often beaten off, would not long bee kept away, but could easily take, or make occasions of fresh attempts; insomuch that after their first footing they continued here their cruelties, rapine and spoile the space of two hundred and eighteene yeeres, neuer intermitting, till they had got the garland vpon their owne heads. The way whereunto was made vpon this ensuing occasion.

(3) *Osbright* a *Northumbrian* Viceroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his disport in Hunting, came to the house of a Noble man, named *Beorn-Bocador*, whose Lady of passing feature (in his absence) gaue him honourable entertainement, and intreated both himselfe and traine, to repose themselues there a while, after their wearisome delights. The *Vice-roy* already ensnared with her beauty, accepted her courteous offer, not so much to taste her meates, as to surfeite his eyes with her rare beauty, and lasciuiously to dote in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, as though some weighty matters were to be handled, he commaunded an auoidance from the Presence, and taking the Lady into a withdrawing Chamber, vnder pretence of secret conference, greatly tending to the aduancement of her Lord & selfe, most vnnobly, being not able to preuaile by smooth perswasions, did by force violate her constant chastity. Which dishonour thus receiued, and her minde distracted like to *Thamars*, at her husbands returne, all ashamed to behold his face whose bed had so beene wronged, with flouds of teares shee thus set open the sluces of her passions. 2.Sam.13.19.

" (4) Had thy fortunes accorded to thine owne
" desert, or thy choice proceeded as by vow was ob-
" liged, then had no staine of blemish touched thine
" honour, nor cause of suspition once approched thy
" thought: or had my selfe beene my selfe, these
" blushing cheekes had not inuited thy sharpe pier-
" cing eye to looke into my guilty and defiled breast,
" which now thou maist see dissurnished of honour,
" and the closet of pure chastity broken vp; onely
" the heart and soule is cleane, yet feares the taine-
" ture of this polluted caske, and would haue passage
" (by thy reuenging hand) from this loathsome pri-
" son and filthy truncke. I must confesse our sexe
" is weake, and accompanied with many faults, yet
" none excusable, how small soeuer; much lesse the
" greatest, which shame doth follow, and inward
" guilt continually attendeth; yours, is created
" more inuiolable and firme, both against allure-
" ments and enforcements: by whose constancy as
" our flexible weakenes is guarded, so our true ho-
" nours by your iust Armes should bee protected. *O*
" *Beorn, Beorn*, (for husband I dare not call thee) re-
" uenge therefore my wrongs, that am now made
" thy shame and scandale of my sexe, vpon that mon-
" ster, nay Diuell, *Osbright*, (O that very name cor-
" corrupts my breath, and I want words to deplore
" my griefe) who hath no law but his lust, nor
" measure of his actions but his power, nor priui-
" ledge for his loathsome life, but his greatnesse,
" whiles we with a selfe-feare, and seruile flatterie
" maske our basenesse with crouching obedience, &
" beare the wrongs of his most vile adulteries. Thou
" yet art free from such deiected and degenerate
" thoughts, nor hast thou smoothed him in his wick-
" ed and euer-working vices: be stil thy self then, and
" truly Noble as thou art. It may be for his place thou
" owest him respect; but what? therewith the losse of
" honour? thine affection, but not thy bed; thy Loue
" but not thy beloued, yet hast thou lost at once all
" these, and he thy only bereauer: thou wast my stay
whilest I stayed by thee; and now beeing downe, re-

"uenge my fall: the inſtinct of nature doth pitty our "weakneſſe, the law of Nations doth maintaine our "honour, and the ſword of Knighthood is ſworne by "to be vnſheathed for our iuſt defence; much more "the linke of wedlocke claimes it, which hath lockt "two hearts in one; but alas, that ward is broken, "and I am thy ſhame, who might haue beene thine "honour. Reuenge thy ſelfe therefore both on him "and mee, elſe ſhall this hand let out the Ghoſt that "ſhall ſtill attend thee with acclamations, till thou re-"uenge my ſtained bloud.

(5) *Beorn* vnwonted thus to bee welcommed, much amazed at his wiues maladies, with gentle words drew from her the particulars of her inward griefe, who reuealed (as well as ſhame, and teares, and ſobs, would ſuffer) the manner of the deed, ſtil vrging reuenge for the wrong. *Beorn* touched thus to the quicke, to pacifie his diſtreſſed wife, did not a little diſſemble his wrath, and excuſing the fact, with the power of a Prince that might command, and her owne weakneſſe vnable to reſiſt the ſtrength of a man: Commended much her loue and conſtancy; and alleadging his wrongs to bee equall with hers, if not greater, in regard of their ſexe, willed her to ſet her ſtring to his tune till fitte opportunity would ſerue to ſtrike: but ſhee diſtaſting that ſweet conſort, wreſted her paſſiō into ſo high a ſtrain, that nothing couldbe heard but reuenge & bloud.

(6) *Beorn* thus inſtigated by the continuall cries of his wife, whoſe rape already of it ſelfe had giuen ſufficient cauſe of wrath: firſt conſulting with his neereſt friends, was offered their aſsiſtance againſt that wicked and libidinous Prince, and then repairing to his Court, in preſence of them all, made knowne his vnſufferable wrongs, and with vtter defiance departed, threatning his death.

This Nobleman in his youth had been brought vp in *Denmarke*, and is reported to haue been allied into the *Daniſh* roiall bloud. Hee therefore accounted this nation the ſureſt vnto himſelfe, and the fitteſt in will and power to enter his quarrell: ſo comming to *Goderick* King of that Country, made his caſe knowne, inſtantly deſiring his aide againſt the villanie of *Osbright*.

Godericke glad to haue ſome quarrell to enter *Britaine*, leuied an Armie with all ſpeed, and preparation made for all things neceſſarie, ſendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba* two brethren to command in chiefe, ouer an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which two hee thought at this time the fitteſt for the attempt, not onely for their well approued reſolution and valour, but alſo for that hee knew them to bee, on particular motiues (which vſually more affect then doth a common cauſe) implacably enraged againſt the *Engliſh*, on an occaſion vnfortunately happning, but moſt lamentably purſued: which it will not bee amiſſe here to annexe.

Flores hiſtoriarum

* That is Leather-briche.

(7) A certaine *Daniſh* Nobleman of the roiall lineage named * *Lothbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* & *Hubba*, being vpon the ſhore, his Hawke in flying, the game fell into the Sea, which to recouer, hee entred a little Schiffe or Cock-boat, nothing foreſeeing the danger that immediately did enſue: for a ſodaine tempeſt ariſing, carried the boat into the deepe, and droue him vpon the coaſt of *Norffolke*, where hee came to land at the Port called *Rodham*, and was no ſooner ſeene, but hee was taken for a ſpie; and preſently ſent to *Edmund*, King then of that prouince, who in his anſweres ſufficiently cleared that ſuſpition, when alſo declaring his birth & miſfortune, he was honourably entertained in the Court of the *Eaſt-Angles*: whom the King much eſteemed for his other good parts; but for his dexterity and expertneſſe in hawking, held him in a ſpeciall regard; inſomuch that the Kings Falconer named *Bericke*, conceiued both ſuch ſecret enuie and deadly hatred thereat, that hauiug him alone in a wood, he cowardly murthered him, & hid his dead body in a Buſh.

(8) *Lothbroke* in the Kings preſence and Court was ſoone miſt and diligent inquiſition made could not bee found vntill his Spaniell, which would not forſake his dead Maſters corps, came fawninglie vnto the King, as ſeeming to begge reuenge on ſo bloody an Act, which he did more then once, & at length being obſerued, and followed by the trace, the dead body was found; and *Bericke* conuicted for the murther, his iudgement was to bee put into *Lothbrokes* boat, and that without either tackle or Oare, as he therein arriued, and ſo left to the ſeas mercy to be ſaued by deſtiny, or ſwallowed vp by iuſt deſert.

Murther will

But behold the euent; the Boat returned to the ſame place, and vpon the ſame coaſt arriued from whence it had beene driuen, euen in *Denmarke*, where *Bericke* being known, and hands laid on hm, to free himſelfe from the puniſhment of his butcherly fact, he added treaſon to murther, laying it to the charge of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In reuenge whereof, and likewiſe in *Godericks* quarrell, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, ſons to the murthered Prince, being now made Generals of the Army of the *Danes*, firſt arriuing at *Holderneſſe*, burnt vp the Country, and without mercy maſſacred all before them, ſparing neither ſexe, nor calling, nor age; and ſurprizing *Yorke*, which *Osbright* had taken for his refuge, there ſlew that luſtfull Prince with all his forces, and poſſeſſed that City; and afterwards burſting into *Norfolke*, ſent this meſſage vnto King *Edmund*. *That* Inguar *the moſt victorious Prince, dread both by ſea and land, hauing ſubdued diuers Countries vnto his ſubiection, and now arriued in thoſe parts where hee meant to winter, charged* Edmund *to diuide with him his riches, and to become his vaſſaile and ſeruant*.

The King aſtonied at this ſtrange and vnexpected Ambaſſage, conſulted with his Councell, where one of his Biſhops (then his Secretary, and a principall man) vſed perſwaſions to him to yeeld, for preuenting greater miſchiefe; who notwithſtanding returned this anſwere: *Goe tell your Lord, that* Edmund *the Chriſtian King, for the loue of this temporall life, will not ſubiect himſelfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.* Whereupon *Inguar* and *Hubba*, with the furious troupes of their *Danes*, purſued the King to *Thetford*; and (as *Fabian* ſaith) to *Framingham*, others to *Halesdon*; where he pittying the terrible ſlaughter of his people, yeelded himſelfe to their perſecutions; and for that hee would not deny Chriſt, and his Chriſtian faith, was bound to a tree or Stake, and with their arrowes ſo ſhot to death: whoſe body was afterward there buried, and thereupon tooke the name of *S. Edmunds-bury*; as wee haue formerly touched in his raigne, Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Rob. Fabian. c. 169. Polycr. lib. 5. c. Abbas Flor. cenſa.

(10) Whether theſe were the very true cauſes, or ſome other, which drew theſe *Danes* hither, moſt certaine it is and too lamentable experience ſhewed, that hither they came (by Writers account) about the yeere of Chriſt eight hundred, and in the daies of King *Brightrick*. Neither want there Authors who aſcribe certain predictions to haue forerunne the yeere 800. made vnfortunate by their firſt attempts; fore-ſhewed ſeuen yeeres before, by ſhowers of bloud falling from heauen, and bloudy Croſſes markt therewith vpon the garments of men, reported by the learned *Alcuinus*, who was inſtructor to *Charles* the *Great*, and borne in the county of *Yorke*, where this wonder happened: which himſelfe ſaw & teſtified vnto *Ethelbert* King of that Prouince, as *Malmsbury* hath written, and was thought by *Houeden*, *Higden*, *Fabian* and others, to haue beene ſent for ſignes before their bloudy aſſaults, which beganne at the day-ſpring of the *Saxons* Monarchy, when it promiſed a moſt faire aſcent to their heires ſucceeding, but mounted to the higheſt, againe declined as the ſetting Sunne, and fell vnder the cloudes of their owne ruines, ſo carried by the iuſt reuenging hand of God: for thoſe *Saxons* hauing by bloud and warre vnſeated the *Britaines*

Alcuinus.

Wil. Malmſb. Roger Houed. Ran. Higden. Rob. Fabian.

tunes of their land and right, by bloud and warre, were by these *Pagan-Danes* so vncessantly molested, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any state sure, long to hold that, which they enioyed, nor their liues secured from a daily expectation of their sauage swords.

(11) Whose many inuasions and cruell proceedings against this land and nation, are already shewed in the raignes of these *Saxon* Kings, who then felt their heauy strokes in warre, hauing nothing almost memorable otherwise, to enlarge their fames and stories with, besides these their valours in resisting so mighty and almost vnrepugnable an enemie. Therefore omitting to repeat such things as in their successions are handled, we will fall neerer the time of the wished harueſt of their full Conquests: some what remembring the Reader here, of those bloudie affaires, which the *English* at seuerall times felt and endured.

(12) Such was the murther of holy *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*, with *Danish* arrowes martyred to death as hee stoode bound vnto a stake, euer-calling on the name of Iesus: Of *Ella* and *Osbright* Gouernours of *Northumberland* by them slaine, and that Prouince for a long time after by them enioied, and made subiect to their furies: Of *Burdred* King of *Mercia*, by them expulsed, who with his Queene *Ethelswith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leauing it to the possession of these *Pagan* intruders, and to seeke their securities in forreine Countries, where at *Rome* in *Italy* hee died, and at *Padua* his wife, as hath beene said: Of *Ethelred* King of the *West-Saxons*, that in one yeeres continuance fought nine bloudie battles against them, in the last whereof at *Merton* hee receiued his deaths wound, and this Kingdome an vncurable blow: Of *Elfred* that most famous and learned King of the *West-Saxons* also, driuen by them to such distresse, that hee was forced to leaue his Princely Court, and to remaine secret in a poore Cow-heards house vnknowne and disguised, in the Isle of *Ethelingsey* in the County of *Sommerset*; and thence to aduenture himselfe among the *Danish* host, as a base Minstrell and Contemptible make-sport; till hee had perfectly learned their secrets, and after with his sword through the thickest of those Enemies, made a way to his owne most glorious Monarchie.

Henry Hunt. hist. Angl. lib. 15. Rand. Hig.

(13) To speake nothing of the desolations left in euerie Prouince, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all leauell with the ground, as prints of their foote-steppes where they had troden: Their cruell and mercilesse dealings towards holy and religious persons, with the ruination of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is most lamentable to bee rehearsed or remembred: and among many others, the faire & beautifull Monasteries of *Braaney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Coldingham*, were made subiect to their desolations: In the last whereof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chast *Nunnes*, to auoid their sauage and filthie pollutions, cutte off their owne noses and vpper-lippes, least the baite of their beauties should prooue the bane of their honours & honestie.

John Stow. Flores hist.

The most greeuous tribute and exactions laied vpon the poore Inhabitants in generall, and great sums of money, paied in such afflicted & vnseasonable times, imposed by the name of *Dane-gilt*, did from ten thousand, arise to forty thousand pounds, yeerely gathered for them in *England*. Their sturdy behauiour and Lord-like carriage against the *English*, in all places where euer they soiourned, was with such subiection of the poore Owners, that they abused both wife, daughter, and maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Dane*, till lastly they were Lords indeede of the Land, and swaied the Scepter at their owne pleasures; which how it was attained vnto, wee haue before declared, and how it was worne and continued, wee are now presently to speake.

Some say forty eight thousand, Langues saith fifty.

CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH KING RAIGNING INENGLAND AND THE THIRTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER III.

An.D.1017. THe ſailes of the *Danes* thus ouer-filled with the gales of their ſwelling fortunes, and themſelues arriued at the Port of their long ſought ſoueraignety, caſt anker as it were at the hauen of their wiſhed deſire, and prepared themſelues to a ſetled reſt: for *Canutus* poſſeſt of halfe the Kingdome by compoſition with *Edmund*, now after his death ſeazed vpon the whole; and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with iuſtice, and concord, he called a Counſell of the *Engliſh* Nobility at *London*; wherein was propounded, whether, in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne, had beene reſerued, for King *Edmunds* brethren or ſonnes. The *Engliſh* that had paid a very deere rate for their ouerbold reſiſtance before, not daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, abſolutely anſwered, No; and hauing learned to appeaſe Princes with flattery, offered their ſwords againſt any ſuch claimes, and tooke themſelues the Oath of alleagiance vnto *Canutus*; who beeing a very wiſe and politike Prince, thought neuer the better of them for ſuch their doings; whoſe truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could neuer (hee well knew) ſtand firme for him or his forreine poſteritie.

Polychr. li. 6. c. 18.

Feare makes flatterers.

(2) But being thus cleered of all other oppoſites, hee prepared with great roialty for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Lyuingus* ſurnamed *Elſtane*, Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, in the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus 1017. beeing the ſecond King of *Denmarke* of that Name, the firſt of *England*, and the thirty fourth Monarch of this Land. His firſt deſignes for the eſtabliſhment of the Crowne to himſelfe and *Daniſh* iſſue, was a care to preuent others neere vnto the claime, and therefore, taking counſell with *Edrike*, baniſhed *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardleſſe deportment, was commonly called, the *King of Churles*, ſon of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithſtanding, hee was guilefully recalled, and treacherouſly murthered by his owne men, whoſe bodie they buried at *Tauiſtocke* in *Deuon-ſhire*.

Canutus takes policies to ſtrengthen his Crowne.

(3) One cloud thus ouer-blowne, two others appeared, far more dangerous in *Canutus* ſight; namely *Edward* and *Edmund* the ſonnes of the *Iron-ſide*, whom albeit their yongue yeeres might haue freed from ſuſpition of conſpiracies, and their gentle diſpoſitions from enuying his glory, yet the bright raies of a *Diadem* ſo dazeled his ielous eie, that euer he ſaw (to his owne ſeeming) the reflection thereof ſhine from their faces: but aſhamed (ſaith *Higden*) to lay hand on them himſelfe, ſent them to his halfe brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we haue ſaid. In the doubtfull times betweene *Edmund* and *Canute*, when the ſcale of warre was held of either hands alike, Queene *Emma* had ſent *Edward*, and *Alfred* (her ſonnes by King *Ethelred*) vnto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (wee ſee) the Land was emptied of the *Engliſh* bloud Roiall, and the Crowne left for the *Dane* without competition.

Rooke 7. ſect. 20.

Wil. Malm. Henry Hunt. Caxton. Fabian.

(4) Who now ſeeking to hold faſt the Scepter thus graſped, ſought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the eſpouſing of his ſiſter, faire *Emma*; a ſuite ſounding but harſhely in the eares of the *Engliſh*, yea and moſt of all vnto her ſelfe, as deeming the linke of loue verie ſlender, that might bee broken by the ſame hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithſtanding,

Canutus marries Queene *Emma*

withstanding, after good deliberation, knowing him childlesse of any lawfull successor, vpon couenants agreed, that the issue of her body by him, should inherite the English Crowne: the suit was granted; hoping also, if that failed betwixt them, to establish her other sonnes by King *Ethelred*.

This prouident respect so pleased the subiects, that it both drew the hearts of the *English* vnto *Canutus*, and their loue vnto *Emma* in a surpassing measure, as the booke penned to her praise, and written in that age, intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, sufficiently doth shew.

(5) Neither was her louing care limitted onlie to her sonnes, but further extended towards the Common-wealth, being much pestred then with his *Danes*, that lay lazie and idle as drones in the hiue: who at her instigations were sent into *Denmarke*; & lest they should through discontents make any stirres either here or there, had a largesse (to buy their contentment) of foure score and two thousand pounds.

(6) *Canutus* his next care for the maintenance of his owne safety, and the continuance of his new got Empire, was the establishment of good lawes (which if duly executed, are the very sinewes and strongest guards of all States) to be administred and practised both on the *English* and *Dane* alike: wherefore calling a *Parliament* of his Peeres vnto *Oxford*, there established many wholsom Acts both for the Clergy and Laitie to obserue; some of which were diuulged by the praise-worthy care of a studious Antiquarie, and a few as touching Religion, as a relish of the rest, we thinke it not amisse to giue the Reader a tast of.

(7) And first, for the celebration of Gods most diuine seruice it was ordained, that all decent ceremonies tending to the encrease of reuerence and deuotion, should be vsed, as need required.

That vpon the Lords Sabbath, publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Conuenticles, Huntings, & all secular actions should not bee exercised, vnlesse some weighty and vrgent necessity required it.

That euery Christian should thrice in the yeere addresse himselfe to the receiuing of the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Minister of the Altar killed a man, or else committed any notorious crime, hee should be depriued both from his order and dignity.

That the married woman conuicted for adultery should haue her nose and eares cut off.

That a widow marying within the space of twelue moneths after her husbands decease should lose her iointer.

(8) These & many other were made, wherby sinne was much restrained, and this realme peaceably and iustly gouerned. As likewise sundry other Countries were by his godly and roiall care; as in especiall is recorded of a yong Gentleman of the *Danish* roiall bloud, named *Odin*, whom King *Canute* brought ouer with him into *England*, to be here trained vp in learning, where he profited so well, as also by his trauaile through *France* (whereby hee much encreased both his knowledge and experience) that he attained the surname of *Sapient*, and the *Philosopher*, and therefore was called *Odin-char*, for the deere esteeme wherein all men held him. This man by his preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia*, and *Sweuland*, conuerted great multitudes to the faith of Christ.

(9) But in *Denmarke* things proceeded not so wel; for in the absence of *Canutus*, and yeer of Christs humanity 1019. the *Vandals* sore annoied his subiects: hee therefore, in the third of his raigne, with a great host of the *English* passed ouer the seas, and bad his enemies battaile, which, as *Mathew* of *Westminster* writeth, went sore against him the first day; and preparing againe for the next, Earle *Goodwine*, who was Generall of the *English*, attempted a great enterprize: for in the dead of the night, hee with his souldiers set vpon the Campe of the *Vandals*, and with a great slaughter of their souldiers, made the two Princes, *Vlfus* and *Anlaue* to flie the field.

Canute ignorant of this acted enterprise, had notice in the morning that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man found: wherfore following the tract, euen to the enemies campe; by streames of bloud, and dead bodies of the *Vandals*; hee saw the great ouerthrow that the *English* had giuen them, for which he euer after held them in great estimation. *Henry Hunting. Polydor. Fabian.*

(10) *Albertus Krantius*, the *Danish* historian, reporteth that *Olanus* King of *Sweyden*, hauing assisted *Canute* against *Edmund* the *Ironside*, and seeing himselfe to be neglected in the composition betwixt them, moued such stirres in *Denmarke*, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the prowesse of his *English* hee repulsed *Olanus*, who lastly was slaine by his owne subiects. *Alb. Krantius.*

(11) *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Mathew* of *Westminster* record, that in the yeere 1032. he vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, with prosperous successe against *Malcolme* the King thereof, with two other Princes called *Melbeath* and *Ieohmare*. But being at length ouerburdened as it were with his own greatnesse, and surfeited with glory, which sometimes he had so greedily desired (as euen the greatest earthly delights haue their fulnes) hee resolued on a more placable course of life, and to affect a higher and heauenly glory, which hath neuer satiety or end. And therefore his deuotion being great vnto Godward, on a zealous intent, (such a zeale as *S. Paul* commended in the deuout Israelites) hee tooke a iourney to *Rome*, to visite the sepulchres of *S. Peter* and *Paul* in the fifteenth yeere of his raign; & thence sent his letters to his *English* Bishops and Nobility, beginning thus. An. D. 1028. *Wil. Malmsbury. Mat. Westminster* Rom. 10. 2.

(12) *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmarke*, *Norway* and *Sweyden*, to *Ailnothus* Metropolitan, &c. Wherein hauing first set downe the reason of his pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was especially to honour *S. Peter*, *as hee had beene taught by Wisemen*, that *S. Peter* had receiued from Christ the great power of binding and loosing, and was also the *Key-bearer* of heauen-gates, for which cause (lest *S. Peter* should not open the same vnto him when hee should come thither) he held it most behouefull for him to procure his Patronage more then all the rest of Saints; then making relation of his honourable entertainement with the Emperour, Pope, and other forreine Princes, sheweth what complaint hee had made against the excesiue exactions and huge summes of money extorted by the Pope from the *English Arch-Bishops*, at such time as they receiued their *Palles* from *Rome*; for redresse whereof, and of other abuses, the *Pope* in a solemn assembly of foure *Arch-Bishops*, twenty *Bishops*, and an innumerable multitude of *Princes* and *Nobles* obliged himselfe: And thence proceedeth in vowing the whole remainder of his life and reigne, to the onely seruice of God, and due administration of *Iustice* to his people; to which end, hee first giues command to his Counsellours, that thence forward they dare not, for whatsoeuer respect, to giue way or conniuence to any the least iniustice in his Kingdom; and next to his Officers of Iustice, that as they tender his roiall fauour and their own liues, they swerue not from Equity in execution of their places, in respect of any man whosoeuer, no not, for the enriching of the Kings owne Cophers, because (saith hee) *I hold it not needefull, that treasure should bee heaped together for mee, by any vniust exactions:* and so concludeth with a strict charge to all his *Bishops* and *Iustices*, vpon their allegiance both to God and himselfe, to take order in his absence, that Gods *Church*, and his *Ministers*, bee not defrauded of their *Tithes* and rights, whereof he vowes at his returne to take a most seuere account. *Wil. Malmsb.*

Canutus complaineth of the Popes extortions in *England*.

His godly resolution touching his own actions.

Touching his Counsellours.

Touching his Iudges and Iustiaries.

Touching his Treasure.

Touching Gods Church.

(13) By this his great care of his owne saluation, and his peoples tranquillity, we may see the zeale of those darke daies, to haue beene accompanied with

the workes of true pietie; whose carnall applications of the spirituall texts, may well condemne these cleerer times, and daies of more brightnes, wherein wee know, that this *Key-keeper of heauen*, is no other but the verie *Christ*, who hath the *Key of Dauid, which openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth.* And that this Kings zeale might bee further seene, by his magnificke workes, he beganne to manifest it euen at *Rome*, where giuing many large gifts vnto *S. Peters* Church, hee also made free the *Saxons* Schoole from all tributes.

Apocal.3.7.

His Munificence

(14) In *Essex* hee built the Church of *Ashdon*, where hee had the victory against King *Edmund*. In *Norfolke* the *Abbey* of *S. Benets*, which *Saint* he greatly reuerenced; and in *Suffolke* with an especiall deuotion built and endowed the Monastery of *S. Edmund*, which Saint he most dreadly feared: for it is reported, that the seeming-ghost of *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which cause, as also to expiate the sinnes of his father, who had done great dammage to his possession, hee inuerged the same with a deepe ditch, and offered vp his Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. Most rich and roiall Iewels hee gaue the Church of *Winchester*, wherof one, is recorded to bee a *Crosse*, worth asmuch as the whole reuenew of *England* amounted to in one yeare: vnto *Couentry* hee gaue the Arme of S. *Augustine* the great Doctor; which he bought at *Papia* in his returne from *Rome*, and for which hee paid an hundred talents of siluer, and one of gold.

His magnificent buildings, &c.

Iossel. de Brakeland.

S. Augustines arme at a high rate.

(15) The magnificent greatnes of this glorious King, so ouerflowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and *Cæsar*, and to be possessed with power, more then humane: to conuict these his fawning ouerprizers, being then at *Southampton*, he commanded (saith *Henry* of *Huntington*) that his chaire should be set on the shore, when the sea beganne to flow, and then in the presence of his many attendants; spake "thus to that Element. Thou art part of my do-"minion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, nei-"ther was there euer any that durst disobey my com-"maund, or breaking it, escaped vnpunished; I "charge thee therfore presume not into my land, nei-"ther wet thou these robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth only one Lord) giuing no heed to his threates, kept on the vsuall course of tide, first wetting his skirts; and after his thighes; when suddainely rising to giue way for the still approching waues, he thus spake in the hearing of all: Let the worlds inhabitants know, that vaine and weake is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but he that keepes both heauen, earth and sea in obedience, and bindeth them in the euerlasting law of subiection. After which time he would neuer suffer the Crowne to bee set vpon his head, but presently crowned therewith, the picture of our Sauiour on the Crosse at *Winchester*: vnto such strong illusions were those godly Princes lead, by the guides that euer made gaine of their deuotions.

Canutus his flatterers.

Henry Hunt.

Mat.8.26.27. Exod.14.21.

His humility.

(16) From the example of this *Canutus* (saith *Peter Pictauiensis* Chancellor of *Paris*) arose the custom to hang vp the Armor of worthy men in Churches, as offerings consecrated vnto Him, in whose battails they had purchased renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countries seruice attained to an honourable death. And surely, howsoeuer this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine-glory, for which some haue not stucke to say, that he made his iourney to *Rome*, rather to shew his pompe and riches, then for any humble deuotion or religious intent, yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of piety enacted, hee may iustly bee cleared of that imputation; as also by the testimony of *Simon* Monk of *Durham*, who reporteth his humility to be such, that with his owne hands he did helpe to remoue the body of *S. Aelphegus* at the translation of it from *London* vnto *Canterbury*, whom the *Danes* (notwithstanding his Archiepiscopall & sacred calling) before had martyred at *Greenwich*: and by the testimony of *Guido*, *Polydore*, *Lanquet*, and others, he was a Prince of such temperance and iustice, that no other in this West of the World was so highly renowned, or might bee compared vnto him in heroicall vertues, or true humility.

Peter Pictau.

John Caster.

Simon Dun.

(17) *Saxo Grammaticus*, & *Albertus Krantius* the Writers of the *Danish* histories, deduce *Canutus* by a lineall succession through the line of their Kings in this manner: Hee was (say they) the sonne of King *Swaine* (surnamed *Tingskeg*) by *Sigred* his wife, the widow of *Erick*, by whom she had *Olafe Scotconning* King of *Sweyden*: vnto which *Sweyne* she bare also *Ostrid* a daughter, the mother of *Thira*, the mother of King *Sweyne* the yonger. The elder *Sweyne* was the sonne of *King Harold*, surnamed *Blaatand*, by *Gonhild* his Queene, who bare him also *Iring* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. The father of *Harold* was King *Gormond*, whose Queene was *Thira* the daughter of King *Ethelred*, the twenty third Monarch of *England*, who bare vnto him the said *Harold*, and another *Canute* both most valiant Princes; which two Gallants inuading this land, were (for their braue resolutions) by their Grandfather proclaimed heires apparant to all his dominions: the credite of which relations I leaue to my forenamed Authors; but *Canute* (the elder brother) died very soone after, being deadly wounded in the siege of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; where perceiuing death at hand, hee gaue strict charge to his attendants, to keepe the same verie secret till the City were taken, that so neither his owne Army should bee daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the losse of the Generall. *Gurmo*, his aged Father, (to digresse but in a word) so incredibly loued him, that hee had vowed to kill with his owne hands any person whosoeuer that should tell him the newes of his sonnes death: which when *Thira* his mother now heard of, shee vsed this policie to make it known to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning apparrell for him, and all other things fitting for funerall exequies, laying aside all Regall robes, and ceremonies of princely state, without intimating any cause of this sad solemnity; which the old King no sooner perceiued, but he lamentably cried out, woe is me, I know my sonne is dead; and with excessiue griefe he presently died. But to returne from that *Canutus*, to close vp the raigne of this our *Monarch* in hand.

Polydor. lib. Anglic. 7. Lanquet.

Saxo Gramm. Icon. Albert. Crantius.

Aimoinus. Bromton.

Holinsh. inuas. of Ireland.

(18) In whom the *Danish* glories hauing ascended to the highest, beganne now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after hee had in great glory raigned aboue nineteen yeeres, deceased at *Shaftesbury* in the county of *Dorset* the twelfth of *November*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old *Monastery* at *winchester*, which being after new built, his bones with many other English Saxon Kings were taken vp, and are preserued in guilt coffers fixed vpon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wiues.

(19) *Algiue*, by most writers, a concubine to King *Canutus*, was the daughter of a *Mercian* Duke named *Elfhelme*, who is said to haue beene Earle of *Northampton*; and her Mothers name was *Vlfrune*, Inheritrix of the Towne *Hampton* in *Stafford-shire*, from her called *Vlfrun-Hampton*, now *Woller-hampton*: This Lady *Alfgiue* to make *Canutus* more firme to her loue, her selfe being barren, is reported to haue fained Child-birth and to haue laid in her bed the sonne of a Priest, whom *Canute* tooke to be his owne, and named him *Swaine*; him afterwards hee created King of *Norway*, which lately hee had conquered from *Olaffe* called the *Martyr*. The like policie, saith *Higden* and others,

Albert. Cranius.

others, ſhee vſed in bringing forth *Harold* her ſecond ſonne, who was (ſay they) the ſonne of a Sowter; notwithſtanding I thinke the condition of the mother, who liued in diſdaine, and died in diſgrace, rather cauſed this report to be blazed, then any ſuch baſenes of birth in the ſonnes.

(20) *Emma*, the ſecond wife of King *Canute*, was the widow of King *Ethelred* the *Vnready*; and from the time of her firſt marriage was called in *England*, *Elfgiue*, after the name of moſt of the former Queens, which had ſucceeded *Saint Elfgiue*. Shee was married vnto him in the moneth of Iuly, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand and ſeuenteene, being the firſt yeere of his raigne: whoſe wife ſhee was eighteene yeeres, and ſuruiuing, kept ſtill at *Winchester*, vnto which Church ſhee gaue nine Manours, according to the number of thoſe firy Plow-ſhares that ſhee was forced to goe vpon, for her purgation, in the raigne of *Edward* her ſonne, as ſhall bee ſaid. This Church ſhee adorned with many goodly veſtures, and verie rich Iewelles: and deceaſing in this City the ſixt of March, the yeere of Grace one thouſand fiftie and two and ninth of her ſonne King *Edwards* raigne, was buried in the Church of *S. Swithine* neere vnto *Canutus* her husband.

His Iſſue.

(21) *Sweyn*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Canute* by Lady *Alfgiue*, was borne before his father was King of *England*, and before his fathers death, was conſtituted King of *Norway*, lately conquered from King *Olafe* the Martyr; where hee beganne his Raigne, in the yeere of mans ſaluation one thouſand thirty and fiue, being the eighteenth of his fathers Raigne in *England*; and after he had with diſlikes ruled that Realme, the ſpace of fiue yeeres, hee was reiected of the *Norwegians* his ſubiects, and deceaſing without heire of his body, left the Kingdome to the natiue heire, *Magnus*, the ſonne of *Olaffe*, who had beene wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed by *Canute*.

(22) *Harold*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Canute* and of Lady *Alfgiue*, was alſo born before his father obtained the *Engliſh* Crown, & for his exceeding ſwiftnes was ſurnamed *Hare-foote*: He remained with his father in *England*, after he had diſpoſed of *Denmark* to *Hardi-canute*, and *Norway* to *Sweyne*, his brethren, expecting ſomething in reuerſion. But perceiuing at his fathers death, that *England* was alſo appointed to his brother *Hardi-canute*, hee tooke the aduantage of his abſence, and aſſumed the Soueraignety of this Kingdome to himſelfe.

(23) *Hardi-Canute*, the third ſonne of King *Canute*, and his firſt by Queene *Emma* his wife, was borne about the beginning of his fathers Raigne, and towards the end of the ſame, was conſtituted King of the *Danes*, and deſigned to ſucceede him after his death in the Kingdome of *England*: But beeing abſent then in *Denmark*, was diſappointed by his brother *Harold*, who ſucceeded his father, after whoſe death he alſo ſucceeded him.

(24) *Gunhilda*, the daughter of King *Canute*, and of *Emma* his Queene, was the firſt wife of *Henrie* the Third, *Romane* Emperour, ſonne of the Emperour *Conrad*, the ſecond of that name ſurnamed *Salike*: ſhee was a Lady of a ſurpaſsing beauty, which either mooued her husbands mind vnto ielouſie, or the ouer-lauiſh report thereof to breede ſurmize of incontinencie; for accuſed ſhee was of adulterie, and to defend her cauſe by combat, none could be found, till laſtly her Page, brought with her from *England*, ſeeing no other would aduenture for her innocencie, entred the liſt, himſelfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant beeing a Giant-like man; yet in fight at one blow, cutting the ſinewes of his enemies legge, with another he feld him to the ground, where preſently with his ſword, hee tooke his head from the ſhoulders, and ſo redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard vſage, the Empreſſe *Gunhilda* forſooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could bee brought againe vnto the ſame, but tooke the holy vaile of a Nunne in the Town of *Burges* in *Flanders*; where ſhe ſpent the reſt of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of *S. Donatian*, being the principall of that town, where her Monument remaineth beſides the north dore of the ſame Church vnto this day.

Wil. Malmſb. de geſt. rerum. Angl. cap. 12.

Ran. Higden. in Polycr. lib. 6. ca. 21.

Henry Hunt. lib. 6. Marian Scot. Rob. Fabian.

(25) Another Lady of the like ſanctity, is reported to be the daughter of King *Canut*, and the ſecond wife of *Godeſcalke* Prince of the *Vandals*; by whom he had *Henry* King of that Nation. They both are ſaid to haue ſuffered Martyrdome for the faith of Chriſt; he firſt at the City of *Lenzim*, and ſhe after at *Michelenburg*, being moſt cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady vpon ſundry ſtrong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which moued *Andrew Velley*, a *Daniſh* Writer in our time, to be therin of a diuers opinion from *Adam* of *Bremē*, and *Helmoldus* who liued fiue hundred yeeres before him.

HAROLD, THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING INENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE FIFT MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.

Chapter IIII.

An.D.1036.

Mat. Weſtminſter.

Wil. Malmſ.

ANVTVS being dead, & *Hardicanute* his ſonne by Queene *Emma* then in *Denmarke*; *Harold* his elder (but baſe brother) foreſlowed not the opportunity offered; for ſeeing himſelfe in his fathers life time neglected, and by will at his death, *England* with that of *Denmarke* heaped vpon *Hardicanut*: as quicke in apprehenſion, as hee was of footmanſhippe (whereof aroſe the ſurname *Hare-foot*,) made ſtrong his ſide by the *Londoners*, and *Danes*, *Mercians*, & *Northumbrians* very many, yea and ſome great Perſonages amongſt them, affecting his claime: but *Goodwin* of *Kent* who had the Queene and her treaſure in keeping, ſtood in his way, pretending himſelf *Guardian* of her Children, & the will of *Canutus*, who appointed his ſonne by her to ſucceede.

Peter de Ickan.

Henry Hunt.

(2) The oppoſition grew ſtrong, and the factions ripened, euen ready to ſeede, onely the lingering of *Hardicanute* gaue leaue vnto *Harold* to better his ſide by daily ſupplies, and the feares of ciuill ſedition moued the Nobility to argue with wordes and not weapons, the title depending betwixt theſe two brethren. At *Oxford* they met, where the preſence of the one, downe-peized the abſence of the other, ſo that their voices went onely with *Harold*, and preſently proclaimed and conſecrated him King.

Floriacenſis.

(3) He beganne his raigne the yeere of Chriſts humanity, 1036. and was very ſolemnly crowned at *Oxford* by *Elnothus* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, though for a time, hee was very vnwilling to performe that ſeruice; for it is reported, that hee hauing the regall ſcepter and Crowne in his cuſtody, with an oath refuſed to conſecrate any other for King, ſo long as the Queenes children were liuing; *For* (ſaid he) *Canutus committed them to my truſt and aſſurance, and to them will I giue my faith and allegiance. This Scepter and Crowne therefore I here lay downe vpon this Altar; neither doe I denie, nor deliuer them to you; but I require by the Apoſtolike authority, all Biſhops, that none of them preſume to take the ſame away, neither therewith that they conſecrate you for King: as for your ſelfe if you dare, you may vſurpe that which I haue committed to God on this his Table.*

Notwithſtanding that great thunderclappe was allaied with the ſhowres of golden promiſes, of his iuſt and religious Gouernment intended, though preſent experience manifeſted the contrary.

Encom. Emma.

(4) For ſaith the auncient Writer of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*: *Harold no ſooner was eſtabliſhed King, but that he ſought means how to rid Queen Emma out of the way, and that ſecretly, for openly hee durſt not attempt any thing againſt her: Shee in ſilence kept her ſelfe quiet, looking for the iſſue of his deſignes. But Harold malitiouſly purpoſing, tooke counſell how hee might traine into his Haye the ſonnes of Queene Emma, that ſo all occaſion of dangers againſt him might at once for all bee cut off: many proiects propounded, this laſtly tooke effect; that a letter ſhould be counterfeited in Queen Emma's name, vnto her ſonnes Edward and Alfred, to inſtigate them to attempt the crowne vſurped by Harold, againſt their right*, the tenure whereof we haue thought good here to inſert.

(5) *Emma*, Queene onely in name, to *Edward* "and *Alfred* her ſonnes, ſendeth motherly gree-
"tings. Whileſt ſeuerally wee bewaile the death
"of our Soueraigne, my Lord and your Father, and
"your ſelues (deare ſonnes) ſtill more and more diſ-
"poſſeſſed from the Kingdome, your lawfull inhe-
"ritance; I greatly maruaile what you determine to do,

"doe, ſith you know, that the delay of attempts "giues the vſurper more leaſure to lay his foun- "dation, and more ſafely to ſet thereon his in- "tended buildings; for inceſſantly hee poſteth "from towne to towne, and from City to Ci- "ty, to make the Lords and Rulers thereof his, "either by threates, prayers, or preſent rewards. "But this in priuate they ſignifie, that they had ra- "ther one of you their Natiues ſhould raigne ouer "them, then this vſurper & *Daniſh* ſtranger. Wher- "fore my deſire is, that either of you ſecretly, and "with all ſpeed come vnto mee, whereby wee "may aduiſe together what is to be done in this ſo "great an enterpriſe: then whoſe good ſucceſſe, I "deſire nothing more. Faile not therefore to ſend "word by this my meſſenger, how you meane to "proceed: and ſo fare yee well, my deereſt bowels, & "very inwards of my heart.

(6) Theſe letters thus carried and cunningly deliuered, were digeſted as ſauouring of no falſhood; and by the bringers, others returned, that *Alfred* ſhould come ſhortly ouer to attend his mothers deſignes: theſe, brought vnto *Harold*, the coaſtes were fore-laid, and longing expectation attended the prey. *Alfred* as forward to ſet on his voyage, made *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* his; and ſome few *Bullogners* increaſing his Fleet, hee tooke the ſeas for *England:* where comming to ſhore, Earle *Goodwin* met him, and binding his aſſurance with his corporall oath, became his liege-man, and guide to Queene *Emma*; but being wrought firme for *Harold*, trecherouſly led theſe ſtrangers a contrary way, and at *Guilford* lodged them in ſeuerall companies, making knowne to the King what he had done: who forthwith apprehended them euen in their beds, and in the morning as chained priſoners, committing them to ſlaughter, contrary to the wonted manner of military decimation, did ſpare and exempt onely euery tenth man for ſeruice or ſale: Prince *Alfred* himſelfe was ſent priſoner to the Iſle of *Ely*, where hauing his eyes inhumanely put out, liued not long after in torment and griefe. *Rend. Higden, in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 21.*

(7) Some adde vnto the former, an other, much more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and faſtned to a ſtake, his body pricked with ſharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till all his entrails were extracted, in which moſt ſauage torture hee ended his innocent life. *Wil. Cathel.*

(8) *Harold* thus freed from one, the other hee thought would no further attempt; and therefore the more boldly ſet himſelfe againſt their mother Queene *Emma*, whoſe goods he confiſcated, and baniſhed her out of the Realme: who thus diſtreſſed, was honourably receiued, and for three yeeres ſpace maintained by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*. *Henry Hunting.*

(9) The *Dane* then ſeeing his hazards thus preuented, ſought ſo to ſecure himſelfe, and with ſixeteene ſhippes of the *Daniſh* Fleete kept the ſeas, which continued euer in a readineſſe, and waffed from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *Engliſh* with great paimẽts, to their no little grudge & repining; wherby he loſt the loue of his ſubiects before it had well taken root in their hearts.

10) Neither yet held hee on long in theſe diſroiall courſes, for that his ſpeedy death did cut off the infamy of a longer life; and is ſaid to haue died at *Oxford* in the moneth of *Aprill*, the yeer of Chriſt Ieſus, 1040, after hee had raigned foure yeeres & ſome moneths: whoſe body was at firſt interred at *Weſtminſter*, hauing beene neither in warres ſo hardy, nor in gouernment ſo proſperous, as his Father *Canut* before him had beene, nor left behind him eyther wife or children, to ſuruiue his perſon, or reuiue his name. *Malmſb. Hen Hunting. Stow.*

Hardi-Canut.

HARDICANVTE, THE THIRD DANISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch

CHAPTER V.

An.D. 1040.

Simon Dunel.

Mat. Westminster.

THE States of the land, aswell *English* as *Danes*, that had stood for *Harold*, both in obtaining and keeping the Crowne, now seeing him fallen, thought it best to make way for their peace, before *Hardicanut* by his sword should purchase their subiection; therefore with all hast they sent into *Denmarke*, with proffers of the scepter, and their forward allegiance only vnto him. Those parts beyond seas, were not then so subiectiue, as to build his hopes there vpon any sure ground; for the *Norwegians* had thrust out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus* the son of *Olaffe* for their King; so that small assurance could he perceiue of any quiet common-weale among them: and therefore fore-slowing not the offer, immediately imbarked his men of warre, and with so fauourable a wind tooke seas, that he arriued vpon the coast of *Kent*, the sixt day after hee had set saile out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conueied to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands* King.

(2) Hee beganne his Raigne in the yeere of Grace one thousand and forty, and was crowned in *London* by *Elnothus* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*, beeing the thirty sixt Monarch of the *English-men*: his raigne was spent in doing nothing, vnlesse you will say, in doing euill hee did something.

(3) For no sooner had he a power to command, but he forthwith commanded the body of his halfe-brother the deceased King, to bee digged vp, and with spitefull disgrace to bee throwne into *Thamisis*, where it remained vntill a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of *S. Clement* without Temple-Barre, commonly called *Saint Clement-Danes*, for that (saith *Stow*) it was the burying place of the *Danes*: this crueltie shewed, was pretended for the hard vsage of Queene *Emma* his mother, though partly spiced with reuenge for his vsurpation of the Crowne against him.

John Stow in Survey of L

(4) Yet is worthily to bee commended, for the reuerent regard hee bare to his *Mother*, and louing affection to his Brother; for no sooner was hee risen out of the throne of his Coronation, but that hee sent honorable Embassage vnto Earle *Baldwine*, with many thankes to him, for her princely vsage, and for her to returne into *England* to her former estate, and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward* comming ouer to visite them both, was most honourably receiued, retained, and dismissed; and these are the vertues regardable in this King.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more persons; for a great Epicure hee was, and giuen much vnto Cuppes, whereby he trained the body to belly cheere, and sense to bee subiect to sloth and drunkennesse; foure times euery day were his tables spred, and plenteously with all Cates furnished, euer commanding that his courtiers, guests, and seruants, should rather leaue, for superfluity, then call, for lack: which howsoeuer it was in him accounted for Roiall bounty, yet it caused in the people (who vse to praise the Soueraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous loosenesse, and the Common-weale to lie sicke of consumptions, bred by such excesse of those grosse humours in her body.

Henry Hunt. Will. Malmsb. de rer. Ang. Rand. Higden. Polyer. l. 6. c.

(6) This wrought in him a careless neglect of gouernment in State, so that the whole managing thereof was committed to his mother Queene *Emma*, a woman extreamely couetous, and to *Goodwin*, the rich and politicke Earle of *Kent*; who seeing the present state carried wholy away with present pleasures

Will. Malm.

ſures, thought that a fitte ſubiect for him to worke vpon; for the King not married (vnleſſe it were to his lewd will) and *Edward* likely to ſucceede, of an ouer ſoft temperature; hee thought theſe both might proue aduantageous to his ambition, and therfore bethought him, how the crowne might bee worne by him or his.

(7) Therefore, to ſeparate the hearts of the ſubiects from the Prince (then which, there can bee no greater a wound vnto both,) hee cauſed the King to impoſe heauy tributes vpon the *Engliſh*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleete, appointing euerie common Souldier and Mariner, to receiue eight markes in money, & euery officer and Maſter twelue; which amounted to the ſumme of thirty two thouſand, one hundred forty ſeuen pounds: for the payment whereof, there was ſo great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurſtane* and *Feader* were ſlaine by the Citizens of *Worceſter*; which cauſed their City to be burnt, and part of the country ſpoiled by the Kings commaund, and their Biſhop *Alfred* expulſed the See, till with money hee had purchaſed his peace. This Biſhops hands (as was ſaid) were deepe in the murther of Prince *Alfred*, the Kings half brother, whom we ſpake of; yea, and *Goodwin* himſelfe was put to his purgation by oath, for the clearing of his ſuſpitions in that treacherous and brutiſh fact: which oath was the lighter vrged, and the eaſier receiued for his rich and bounteous gifts, immediately before preſented to the King, and that was a ſhippe, whoſe ſterne was of gold, with foureſcore ſouldiers therein placed, all vniformely and richlie ſuited. On their heads they al wore guilt Burgenets, and on their bodies a triple guilt habergion, a ſword with guilt hilts girded to their waſtes, a battaile-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left ſhoulders, a target with guilt boſſes borne in their left hands, a dart in the right, their armes bound about with two bracelets of gold, containing ſixeteene ounces in weight.

(8) *Aimundus Bremenſis* writing the Stories of thoſe times; ſheweth, that the three ſonnes of *Canute* were poſſeſſed of the three Kingdomes, *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, though the father by Will, had diſpoſed of the firſt otherwiſe; which moued *Hardi-Canute* much to maligne the roialtie of *Harold*, whoſe Crowne by birth and couenant belonged to him; and therfore with great preparation, intending to recouer his right, hee entred the Sea, and came into *Flanders*, where hauing notice of the vſurpers death, his rage was ſtaied, and he peaceably came in, and receiued the Crowne.

(9) And that *Swein* (called the *Younger*) King of *Denmarke*, to aſsiſt his vncle *Hardi-Canute* againſt *Harold* the vſurper of *England's* Crowne, with a great Armie prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempeſt driuen vpon the coaſts of *Hadeloe*, where his Armie doing ſome hurt, was ſet vpon and diſcomfited by the ſouldiers of the Arch-biſhoppe: himſelfe amongſt them beeing taken priſoner, and brought into the preſence of the Arch-biſhop, was by him moſt honourably receiued, and conueied vnto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and with gifts and other complements, after a few daies, ſuffered him to depart; who likewiſe hearing of the death of King *Harold*, returned backe to his owne Countrey, where ſhortly after he was much moleſted by *Magnus* the ſonne of *Olaf*, then raigning King ouer the *Norwegians*.

(10) *Hardi-Canute* in *England*, hearing of thoſe ſtirres, thought it his part to aid his Nephew King *Sweyn*, againſt the inuaſions of *Magnus*: and therefore hee ſent one *Sueno* his kinſman, with an Armie of the *Engliſh*, to reeſtabliſh King *Sweyn* in his Throne. Theſe entred *Norway*, and the Field againſt the *Norwegians*, but by them were ſo ouerlaied, that hee left *Magnus* the vanquiſher, and returned againe for *England*; but before hee could arriue the Shore, King *Hardi-Canute* was dead, with whom dyed the iſſue of that warre; whoſe death was ſuddaine; and after this manner. Idem. M. S. Ad. 111.

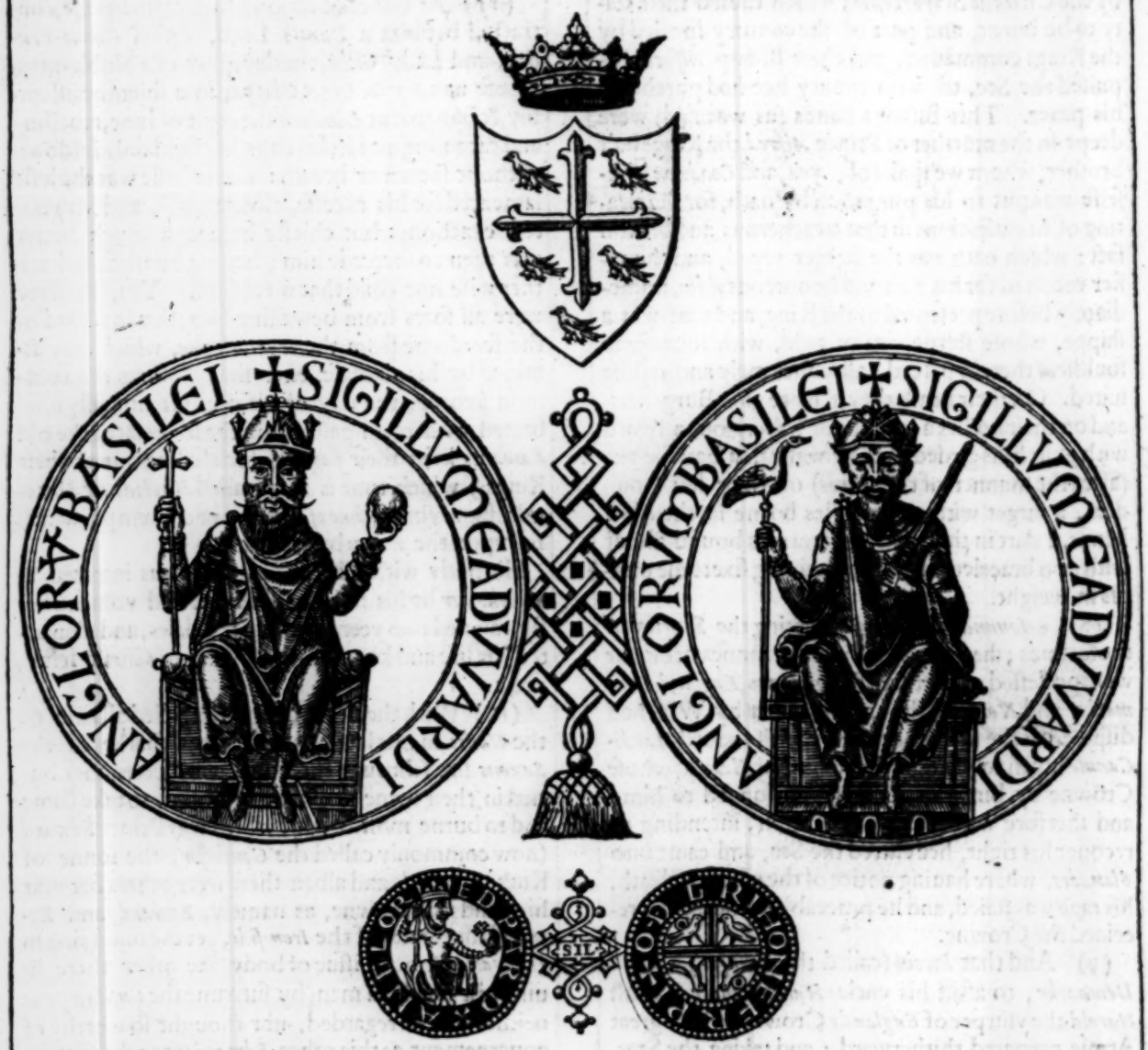
(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwixt a *Daniſh* Lord, called *Canut-Prudan*, and Lady *Githa*, the daughter of a Noble-man, whoſe name was *Oſgot Clappa*; in a ſolemne aſſembly, & banquet at *Lambeth* the eight of Iune, reuelling and carouſing amidſt his cups, hee ſuddainly fel down without ſpeech or breath: whoſe loſſe was the leſſe lamented for his exceſſe, riotouſneſſe, and vnwonted exactions: but chiefly becauſe a much better was then to ſucceede him; hauing himſelfe had neither wife nor child that is read off. Yea, ſo farre were all ſorts from bewailing him, that in regard of the freedome from the *Daniſh* yoke, which they attained by his deceaſe, euer ſince among the common people; the day of his death is annually celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreetes (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*; for chaſing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Hocktide* or *Huckstide*, ſignifying *a time of ſcorning* or contempt, which fell vpon the *Danes* by his death. Simon Dun. Matth. W. ſ. Lambert Peramb. in Sandwich.

His body with all due obſequies was interred at *Winchester* by his fathers, after hee had voluptuouſly raigned two yeeres lacking ten daies, and departed his life and kingdome the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King died all rule of the *Danes* in this land, and the ſacred ſparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their ſucceſsions) buried in their owne aſhes, beganne now to take flame and to burne moſt bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the *Confeſſor*) the ſonne of King *Ethelred*; and albeit there were others betwixt him and the crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund* the ſonnes of the *Iron-ſide*, yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without iſſue of body, the other there liuing as a baniſhed man (by ſurname the *Out-law*) was neither ſo well regarded, nor thought ſo worthy of gouernement, as this other *Edward* was, whom therfore they ſent for, and with ſo great applauſe and acclamations proclaimed, that the preſent ioy ſeemed to prognoſticate a perpetuall happineſſe to the *Engliſh*, who had beene moſt miſerably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the ſpace of two hundred forty two yeeres; though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne. See booke 7. cap. 44. ſect. 9.

DARD

EDVVARD THE CONFESSOR,
SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE THIRTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, VERTVES, AND MARRIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An. D. 1042. Henry Hunting.

EDward, the Third of that Name before the Conqueſt, halfe-brother to the deceaſed *Hardi-Canute*, and ſonne to King *Ethelred* by Queene *Emma* his wife, was by the prouident care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable ſucceſſe of Warre, doubtfully depended betwixt *Edmund* the *Engliſh*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*) ſent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to bee ſecured from all domeſticall ſtirres: and now, before the dead corps could be enterred, with a generall conſent of the Nobles was elected their King.

Polydor.

Rand. Higden.

(2) I know well that in the legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with ſafetie of truth may be either beleeued, or deliuered; as that he was choſen King by conſent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the ſame time hauing many other ſonnes aliue; as alſo when the deſtroying *Danes* had extinguiſhed by their warres almoſt the whole *Royall* iſſue of the *Engliſh*, the holy Monke *Brightwold*, of *Glaſtenbury* deploring their loſſe, and the Lands miſerable eſtate, had in viſion this *Edward*, then an Exile, preſented vnto him by the Apoſtle *S. Peter* himſelfe, who then annointing him King in his ſight, telling him that his Raigne ſhould be peaceable, and twenty three yeeres for continuance; *Brightwold* yet vnſatisfied who ſhould next ſucceed, demanded the reſolution, and was anſwered by *Peter*, that the *Kingdome of England was Gods owne Kingdome*; for whoſe ſucceſſors himſelfe would prouide. With ſuch vaine predictions our otherwiſe true Stories are ouer-charged; which moued *Cominæus* the worthy *French* Hiſtorian, to tax the *Engliſh* with ouer much credulitie that way.

Legend. Aut. in vit. S. Edward.

Wil. Malmsbury. Henry Hunt. lib. Polycr. lib. 6.

Philip Cominæus.

(3) But

(3) But moſt true it is, that the *Engliſh* Nobilitie diſclaiming all *Daniſh* ſubiection, preſently vpon the death of King *Harold*, enacted, That none of their bloud ſhould any more raigne ouer them: putting this their decree in execution by caſiering all *Danes* from the Caſtles, Forts, and Garriſon Townes throughout all the Land, whence ſome euen of their Bloud Royall were forced to depart. Then ſending ſecuritie into *Normandy*, with proffer of the Crowne vnto Prince *Edward*, had his conſent, and aſsiſtance of Duke *William* his coſen germane.

(4) This *Edward* (as elſewhere hath been ſaid) was borne at *Iſlip* neere vnto *Oxford*, and tenderly educated by Queene *Emma* his Mother; and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*; where, by his ſweet conuerſation hee gained the loue of all, and as much himſelfe affected thoſe ſtrangers, which was ſome blemiſh of policie in the face of his gouernment, when he had got the Diadem, as being of diſpoſition ouer-ſoft, and euer too pliant (an imperfection in a Soueraigne) to take the impreſſe of any ſtampe. In which mould, the aſpiring *Goodwin* Earle of *Kent*, doth caſt the fabrick of his owne deſignes; who had made away *Alfred*, his younger, but of a more reſolute ſpirit, that ſo the baſis of his owne piller (whoſe top in time he hoped to crowne) might be ſet, if not vpon, yet with the neereſt to the Throne.

(5) Hee therefore, the formoſt both in will and power, vſed both to eſtabliſh Prince *Edward* in his right, being ſeconded by *Leofrick* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Lyuingus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and indeed with the generall aſsiſtance of all the *Engliſh*; who now were ſo iealous of all forraine powers, that they forbad an ouergreat traine of *Normans*, (though comming for his aid) to attend their new-choſen King.

(6) His Coronation was at *Wincheſter*, with great concourſe of people, and the celebration performed by *Edſine*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, vpon the very day of Chriſt his reſurrection, (being alſo a new-riſing day to the *Engliſh* Nation) the yeere of grace 1042. himſelfe being aged then towards forty, and was in number the thirty ſeuenth Monarch of *England*, where he raigned with ſuch Iuſtice & Pietȳ, that he obtained the venerable name of *Saint*, and vnto poſterities is diſtinguiſhed from the other *Edwards*, by the adiunct *Confeſſor*.

(7) In the entrance of his gouernement, to witnes his loue to his people, hee ſought euery way the furtherance of their wealth, and afterwards remitted the moſt heauy Tribute of forty thouſand pounds yearly gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had bin impoſed by his Father, and payed for forty years continuance, out of the lands of all, except only the *Clergie*, becauſe, (ſay our ancient lawes,) *the Kings repoſed more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armies.* Then, from the diuers *Lawes* of the *Mercians*, *Weſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latin, (that all men of anie learning might know wheron to rely) to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the ſquire by which he would haue euery right to be meaſured; being (in a ſort) the fountaine of thoſe, which at this day we terme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading & proceſſe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conqueſt.

(8) The raigne of this King by moſt writers records, was more ſpent in peace & works of true piety, thē in warres, and bloud, though ſome diſſenſions happened both domeſticall, and forreine: for about the yeare one thouſand forty fiue, and third of his Raign, a royal Nauy was rigged in Sandwich hauen, againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who then intended to inuade *England*, and indeed had ſo done, if the wars of *Sweyn* king of *Denmark* had not diuerted his purpoſe.

(9) This *Sweyn* was the ſonne of Duke *Wolfe* by *Oſtryd* his *Ducheſſe*, ſiſter to *Hardi-Canut*, who as I find written in the manuſcript of *Aimundus Bremenſis*, being in poſſeſsion of two kingdomes, prepared his Nauy for the conqueſt of *England* alſo. But, (ſaith hee) *King Edward gouerning that Kingdome with great Iuſtice and Loue, choſe rather his peace with proffers of Tribute; and promiſes that after his death the Crowne ſhould be his, yea though himſelfe ſhould haue children*: howbeit this ſeemeth not to ſound for truth; For *Sweyn* ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto *Edward* to craue ayde againſt *Magnus* (his grieuous and mortall Enemy,) could obtain none; and *Harold Harfager*, the ſucceſſor of *Magnus*, and enemy to *Sweyn*, preſently thereupon ſent vnto *Edward* for a league of amity, which was ratified firmely betwixt them.

(10) Neither may wee thinke that euer hee meant his Crowne that way; for that beſides the decree enacted againſt all Daniſh claims, his deſire to eſtabliſh it in the Engliſh bloud is moſt manifeſt, by ſending for *Edward* his Nephew, the ſonne of *Edmund Ironſide*, remaining in *Hungary*, and that ſo long out of *England* that hee was called the *Outlawe*; who comming ouer, brought with him his wife *Agatha*, and children, *Edgar* a ſonne, and *Margaret* and *Chriſtian* his daughters; him *Edward* meant to haue made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene preuented by haſty death, whereupon the King deſigned young *Edgar*, his ſonne, the heire apparent, and gaue him the ſurname of *Adeling*, a name of great honor appropriated to the Princes of the blood, and men capable of the Crowne.

(11) Beſides theſe former attempts, certaine *Daniſh Pirates* entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-Coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and in *Flaunders* made Marchandize of their prey. The *Iriſh* likewiſe with thirty ſixe ſhippes entred *Seuern*, and with the aſsiſtance of *Griffith* king of *South-Wales* burnt or ſlew all that they found; againſt whom *Alfred* Biſhop of *worceſter* went and fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, that many of his Souldiers were ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight; which made the *Welſhmen* far more bold, and *Rese*, the brother of *Griffith*, make many incurſions to fetch preyes out of *England*, till at length he was ſlaine at *Bulenden*, and his head preſented to king *Edward* at *Glouceſter*.

(12) His domeſticall moleſtations, were chiefly by Earle *Goodwin* and his ſonnes; and thoſe firſt ſpringing vpon this following occaſion. *Euſtace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda*, ſiſter by the fathers ſide to King *Edward*, came into *England* to viſite him then lying at *Glouceſter*, and returning homeward, at *Canterbury* his Herbinger dealing roughlie with a Burgeſſe for lodgings, cauſed his owne death; which when his Lord heard of, thirſting for reuenge, he ſlew eighteene Citizens in the heat of his furie: the *Canterburians* in as great a rage gotte them to armour, and ſlew twenty of his retinew, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoile; whoſe greeuous complaint comming to the King, he commanded *Goodwin* to ſee execution done vpon the offenders. Earle *Goodwin* not haſtie to follow his commiſsion, aduiſed the King to examine the cauſe before he maſſacred his true ſubiects at the inſtigation of Strangers; whereat King *Edward* was highly offended, and *Goodwin* thereby gained great loue of the Commons. This occaſioned *Robert Gemeticenſis* a *Norman*, firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and after Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſpred the Curtaine of diſfauour betwixt *Goodwin* and the King, vrging his refuſall as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be ſuffered; whereupon *Edward* called an aſſembly of Eſtates, appointing a day of meeting at *Glouceſter*.

(13) The Commons (whoſe common guiſe is, deadly to hate all ſtrangers, though many times well deſeruing) now ſeeing Earle *Goodwin* in danger for their good, were eaſily drawne to aſsiſt him and his cauſe, and in warlike manner garded his perſon, at *Beuerſtane* not farre from the King. The Eſtates aſſembled, and *Goodwin* ſent for, he refuſed to come, pretending ſeruice againſt the *Welſh*, then ready to make inroades, and that his preſence was more need-

Matth. Weſt.

King *Edward* deſigneth the Crowne to an *Engliſh-man*.

In the ſixt yere of his raine. *Henry Hunt.*

An. D. 1053. *Mat. Weſtminſter.* *Chron. of Wales.*

Wil. Malmsbury.

Rand. Hig.

Malmſb.

full there, then at Court; albeit the *Welsh-men* cleared themselues by sending their Ambassadors vnto the King. The suspitions increasing, great preparation on both sides was made; to assist the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Chester*, *Siward* the stoute Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Rodulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his sister *Godas* sonne, by her first husband *Walter de Maigne*.

Rand. Higden. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

(14) To *Goodwin* repaired his people of *Southerie* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his sonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Sommerset*, *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, and *Berk-shires*; vnto whom, *Harold* his other sonne, ioined those of *Essex*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon-shires*, so that his host was exceedingly great, and his mind thereby so inflated, that from *Langton*, where hee lay, hee sent a bold and Traiterous demand to the King, to haue Earle *Eustace* of *Bulloigne* with all his *French* and *Normans* (that kept then in the Castle of *Douer*) to bee deliuered vnto him, and his sonnes: which beeing (as good reason was) refused, the Battle was prepared, and brought to the verie point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quarrell were assembled the greatest Peeres, and Lords of the Land, the Kings loue swaying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers possessing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to prooue dangerous; the matter both with great foresight and prouidence was referred vnto Parliament, to bee holden at *London* with all conuenient haste, whereunto pledges were both giuen and receiued on either parts.

(15) King *Edward* strongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Goodwin* with his sonnes in warlike manner came into *Southwarke* to his owne house. But his Army wauering, and (as bad causes & consciences make men doe) suspecting the worst, by little and little shrunke away from him; which knowne to the King, he presently pronounced sentence of banishment vnto *Goodwin* and his fiue sonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Goodwin* therefore with great riches and his three sonnes, *Swaine*, *Tostie*, and *Girth*, sailed into *Flanders*, and *Harold* with his brother *Leofwine*, from *Bristow* passed into *Ireland*; who were no sooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gaue the Earldome of *Harold* vnto *Algar*, the son of *Leofrick*, Earle of *Chester*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Countesses request freed the Citie *Couentrie* of their importable tribute imposed, as we haue elsewhere said.

Booke 1. chap. 27.

(16) In the second yeere of *Goodwins* banishment, both himselfe and those his sonnes with him, hauing gotten ships conuenient for warre, in manner of Pirats came vpon the coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*, doing much harme, and returning with spoiles: the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* from *Scotland*, vpon the westerne coasts of *Sommerset* and *Deuonshires*, who thence coasting about the point of *Cornwall*, ioined their Fleet with their Fathers, in the *Ile of Wight*.

Henry Hunt.

Simon Dunel.

(17) Against them King *Edward* prepared, & himselfe, though aged, with a Nauie of sixtie ships well furnished for warre, meant to haue made an end of that businesse, by the destruction of his aduersaries: but the Nauies ready to ioine battell, God tooke the cause into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge so ouer-spread the seas, that one Fleet could not thereby see another; in which, *Goodwin* and his complices by contrary windes were driuen to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* still in iealousie of *Goodwins* returne, rigged forth forty tall ships to secure the seas, which kept not so strong a watch, but that *Goodwin* got by them, solliciting the people of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* vnto his aid, and entring *Thamesis*, did the like vnto them in *London*, who accepted of his arriuage, though King *Edward* lay there: so that without disturbance his Nauie fell vp with the tide, through the south Arch of the Bridge, & a mighty army to his aid mustered vpō the same side of the riuer.

(18) The Nobilitie then seeing side against side, and all of them meere *English*, ready to hazard their bloud in the quarrels of strangers, wrought so with *Edward* and *Goodwin*, that they came vnto peace, and pledges were againe deliuered for the performance, whereof *Wilmot* the sonne of Earle *Goodwin*, and *Hacun* the sonne of *Swaine* his eldest, were sent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*; so great a trust he euer reposed in strangers. This *Swaine*, vpon a remorse of conscience for the bloud he had spilt, and especially for the slaughter of *Beorne* his cosen & interceſſor, who sued to the King for his peace, vndertooke a pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and in his returne died in *Licia*, whether through an extremity of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that spoiled all they met, it is vncertaine.

Wil. Malmsb. Ran. Higden. Mat. Westmin. Simon Dun.

(19) *Goodwin* now restored, and in great credit with the King, cast the eye of disdaine vpon the Arch-Bishop *Robert* (as commonly fauorits emulate each others,) and himselfe being a man eloquent and politicke, so possessed the King both against him and his *Normans*, that he requited his owne banishment, with al theirs out of *England*, some few excepted, that were fauoured by the English: and now promising himselfe much honour and authority; was suddainly cut off by the stroake of death, surprizing him as hee sate at Table with the King vpon Monday in the Easter weeke, but died not till the Thursday following, which happened at *Winchester*, where hee was buried.

(20) Besides these former forraine and ciuil molestations, other calamities happened to the land; for in the yeare of Grace 1047. and moneth of Ianuary, there fell so great a Snow, which couered the ground vnto the middle of *March*, that Cattle & Fowles perished abundantly: and on the first day of that Month the yere following, a strange and terrible *Earth-quake* happened, which seemed to rent the ground asunder, and withall such *Lightnings*, as burnt vp the Corne, growing in the fields, wherby an excesiue *Dearth* followed: so that his raigne was neither so peaceable nor prosperous, as *Brightwold* the Monke dreamed it should be. But as all these were scourges sent from God vpon the Land for sin, so both Prince, Pastors, and people, had all seuerally their part thereof, as being iointly the causers of the same.

Ran. Higden.

(21) For the King, in case of these Strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to bee lost: and himselfe refraining the bed of his vertuous wife committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apostle, and caused her his Queene, either to commit or be accused to haue committed adultery. The Clergie likewise altogether vnlearned, wanton, and vicious: for the Prelats neglecting the offices of Episcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and and to feed the flocke of Christ, liued themselues idle, and couetous, addicted wholly to the pomp of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches & soules committed to their charge: and if any told them (saith *Higden*) that their liues ought to be holy, & their conuersation without Couetousnes, according to the sacred prescript, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would scoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores; Times haue mutations, So must mens fashions*: and thus, (saith he,) they plained the roughnes of their doings with smoothnes of their answers. Briefly, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that as *Gernasius Dorobornensis* recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickednes, *as to bee ignorant of sinfull crimes, was then held to be a great crime it selfe.* And by the testimony of *Malmesbury*, the sinnes of those times euidently foreshewed a generall destruction: *for the Englishmen* (saith hee) *transformed themselues into the strange manners of the French, and that not onely in speech and behauiour, but in their deeds, and Charters: their vse was then to goe fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid knee; their heads shorne, and their beards shauen all but the vpper lippe, which grew with long mustaches; continually wearing massie bracelets of gold about*

1. Cor. 7. 5.

Holinsh. Rand. Higden Polycr. lib. 6. c.

Gernasius of C tarbury.

Wil. Malmsb.

bout their armes, carrying markes vpon their skinne pounced in of ſundry Colours; and the Clergie contenting themſelues with triuiall literature, could ſcarcely hacke and hew out the words of the Sacrament. Theſe then were *Englands* dolorous times both of blindneſſe & lewdneſſe, drawing downe Gods wrath for their deſtruction.

(22) But howſoeuer this King is reported to bee louing and facile towards ſtrangers, (which in it ſelfe is a princely vertue if it be opportunely and warily vſed:) yet to his owne *Mother*, and *Wife*, vnnaturally ouer rigorous, impriſoning and bereauing them both all Prince-like honour. Againſt Queene *Emma*, his Mother, were inſtigators *Robert* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Earle *Goodwin* of *Kent*, the two greateſt fauorites of the King. The cauſes obiected were, her marriage with *Canut* the Capitall enemy of *England*; her regardleſneſſe of ſuccouring himſelf and his brother in their exiles, whom (as was alleaged) ſhee contriued to haue made away; and that vnder colour of priuate deuotions, ſhe had vſed the company of *Alwine* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ouer familiarly, to her great diſhonour and the Kings diſgrace: for theſe and the like, hee tooke away all her Iewels, and other ſubſtance, and committed her to ſafe cuſtody in the Abbey of *Werwell*.

(23) Indeed *Malmsbury* doth tax her to haue been inſatiably couetous, and that ſhee was more tenderly affectionate to her *Daniſh*, then *Engliſh* children, whereby her loue was meaſured to their fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinencie, ſhe waſhed it off with as ſharpe a triall as any that is recorded for truth, by vndergoing that ouer-hard law *Ordalium*, when in preſence of the King her Son, & many of his Peeres, ſhe paſſed ouer betweene nine plough-ſhares glowing red hot, bare-footed & blind-folded, without any hurt; vſing this ſpeech to her leaders, as not knowing ſhee was paſt all danger, *O Lord when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation*: but hauing her eyes vncouered and ſeeing her ſelfe cleerely eſcaped, fell vpon her knees, and with teares gaue thanks to her Deliuerer, whereby ſhe recouered, both the loue and her former eſtate of the King, with the good eſteeme and applauſe of the people: in memory whereof ſhee gaue nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-ſhares) to the Minſter of *Wincheſter*, (wherin ſhe had that triall,) and adorned the ſame with many rich ornaments; as likewiſe the King repenting the wrong he did her, beſtowed on the ſame place the Iland (ſo then it was) called *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeuen miles in compaſſe: for ſo the chance, in thoſe daies, was ſet, that whoſoeuer loſt, the monks did winne.

(24) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne Wife, howſoeuer ſome haue cloaked that *Fraud* (ſo the Apoſtle tearmes it) vnder the faire robe of Chaſtity. For hee marrying *Editha*, a Lady incomparable both for beauty and vertue, in whoſe breſt (ſaith *Malmesburie*) *there was a Schoole of all Liberall Sciences*, refuſed her Bed: but whether it were for his debility, or hatred to *Goodwin* her father, or loue of Virginity, I determine not; but am fully perſwaded, that the accuſation of Adultery wherewith *Robert* the Arch-biſhop did charge her, was more vpon enuy to her father, then truth of ſo foule a fact in her, whoſe vertues were ſo many, and ſo memorable, by report of Authors, that were eie-witneſſes themſelues; for *Ingulphus* that had oftentimes conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

There was giuen (ſaith hee) *vnto King Edward for his Queene and Wife, the daughter of Goodwin, a moſt beautifull Damoſell, Egitha by name, excellent well learned; in her demeanure, and whole courſe of life a Virgine moſt chaſt, humble, and vnfeinedly holy, no way ſauouring of her Fathers, or Brethrens barbarouſneſſe, but mild, modeſt, faithfull, and innocent, nor euer hurtfull to any; inſomuch, that this verſe was applied to her:*

Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.
From prickled ſtalke, as ſweeteſt Roſe:
So Egith faire, from Godwin growes.

All theſe notwithſtanding, the King expulſed her his Court and Bed, and that with no little diſgrace; for taking all her goods from her, euen to the vttermoſt farthing, committed her priſoner to the Monaſterie of *Wilton*, attended onely with one maid, where ſhee, for a whole yeeres ſpace almoſt, in teares and praiers expected the day of her releaſe and comfort: All which vnprincelie, and vn-Spouſlike vſage, as the King pretended, and ſaid, was, *becauſe ſhee onely ſhould not liue in comfort, when as her Parents and Brethren were baniſhed the Realme:* an vniuſt ſentence ſurely, and vnbefitting a *Saint*, thus to puniſh the ſinnes of the fathers vpon their children, contrary to the preſcript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth againſt ſuch iniuſtice, and regulateth it with this iuſt verdict, *That ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die*: and for her pure and vnuiolated chaſtity, himſelfe on his death-bed ſpake, ſaying, *that openly ſhe was his wife, but in ſecret imbracings as his owne ſiſter.*

Wil. Malmib.

Ezek. 18.4.

Edwardi vita.

(25) Yet behold the blindneſſe, and partiality of thoſe times, wherein for this his only refuſall of nuptiall duties, the penciles of thoſe that ſhould haue ſhewed his true face to poſterities, haue ſo enbelliſhed the portraiture and lineaments, that vnto the beholder he ſeemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and foreſayings anſwerable to moſt of the Prophets. Which here to inſert in ſo worthy a ſubiect and holy Kings life, were both to fill vp with a needleſſe ſurcharge, whole leaues of Times waſte abuſes, and to breed a ſuſpicion of thoſe other things in him, which we know for ſound truth; as was his gift from God, through his holy inuocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the diſeaſe called *Struma*, now the *Kings Euill*, which vnto this day in his ſucceſſors, hath been experienced vpon many ſuch healings, by the touch of thoſe gracious hands who haue held the Scepter, as Gods Vicegerents of this moſt bleſſed and happy Kingdome. That he had the ſpirit of Prophecie, many haue thought, as alſo the notice of his owne death, ſome conſtantly affirme; by a Ring ſent him from *Ieruſalem*, the ſame that hee long time before had giuen to a pilgrime: but theſe with his other miraculous cures, his ſight of the *Danes* deſtruction, and the *Seuen Sleepers* in the *Mount Cellion* beſides *Epheſus*, with infinite others, I leaue to his Legend-writers, and *Aluredus Riualenſis* to relate, who haue written his many miracles with no ſparing pen. Moſt true it is that of a little Monaſtery dedicated to *S. Peter* in the weſt of *London* by the riuer of *Thames*, he made a moſt beautifull and faire Church, where he likewiſe prouided for his owne Sepulcher; and another dedicated to *S. Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abbey: this of *Weſtminſter* he endowed with very rich reuenewes, and confirmed their Charters vnder his Broad Seale, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who vſed that large and ſtately impreſsion in their Royall Charters and Patents: the very true form wherof, according to the rude ſculpture of thoſe elder times, we haue portraited in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewiſe to doe in the reſt ſucceeding; whereof this vſe at leaſt, (if no other) may bee made, that by benefit of thoſe patterns, men may know from what Princes they firſt receiued the Charters of their ancient poſſeſsions, and Pattents of their honours, which the Princes ſtile (many beeing of one name) cannot ſufficiently make knowne.

Edwardi legend. eiuſdem vita M.S.

Saint Peter himſelfe came down from heauen to the firſt dedication of that place, if the foreſaid *M.S.* er not, *T. Clifford.*

The ſaid Church of *Weſtminſter* he built for the diſcharge of his vowed pilgrimage to *Ieruſalem*, & that in ſuch ſumptuous maner, that it was in thoſe daies the Patern to all other ſtatelie buildings. He founded alſo the Colledge of *S. Mary Oterie* in the county of *Deuon*, and gaue vnto it the Village of *Otereg*, and remoued the Biſhoppes See from *Cridmgton* to *Exceſter*, as a place of farre more dignity; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led *Leofricke* from the high Altar, and inſtalled him the firſt Biſhop of that See: Finally, when he had reigned the ſpace of twentie yeeres, ſix moneths, and twenty ſeuen daies; hee died the fourth of Ianuary, the yeere of had

Simon Dun.

King *Edward* the founder of *S. Mary Otery* Colledge. *Stow* 124.

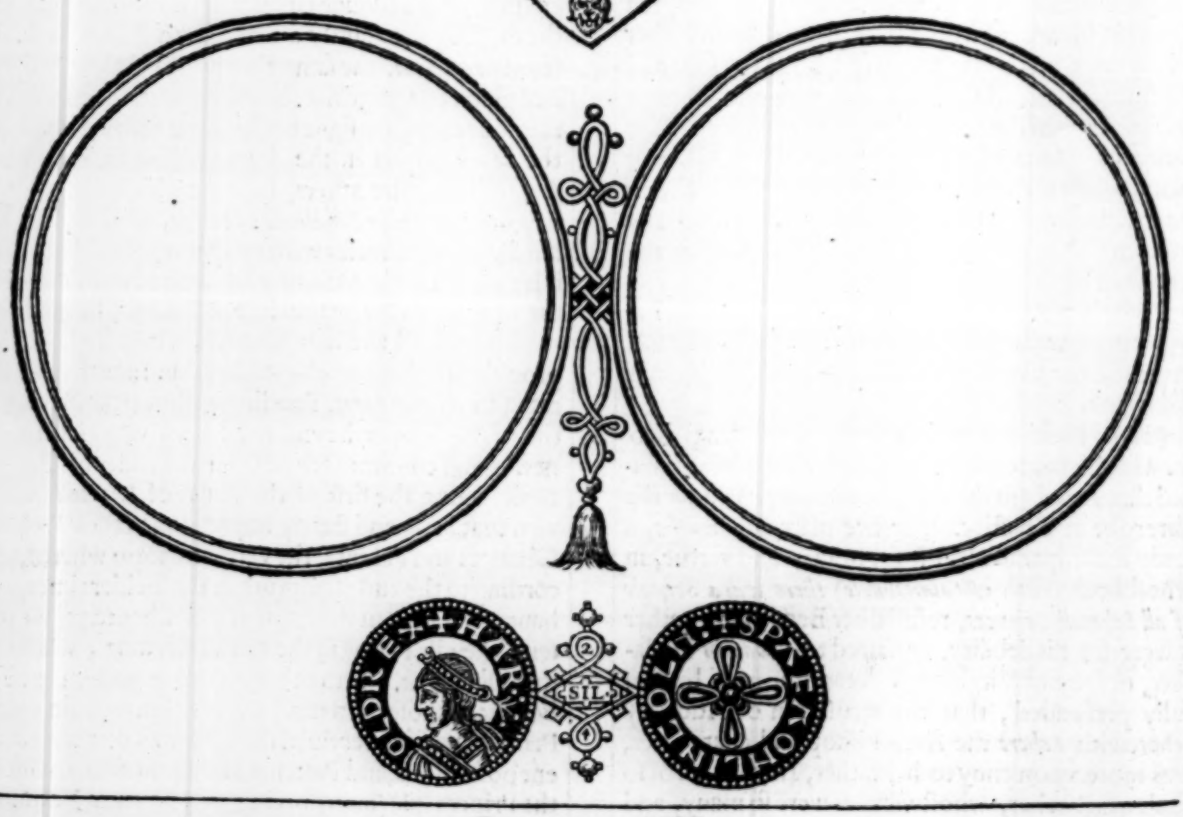
Christ Iesus one thousand sixtie six, and was with great lamentations and solemnitie buried in his Church at *Westminster*, the morrow after the feast of the *Epiphanie*.

Hee was of person well proportioned, of countenance sober, and of complexion faire; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to suggestions) louing to his subiects, and ouer-louing vnto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integritie of life, notwithstanding which, had it not beene vailed vnder the faire-shew of Chastitie, he had not so easily been canonized for a Saint; wherein yet the seeming wisest taxed his wisdome, whilest vnder a goodly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginity, hee cast off all care of hauing issue, and exposed the kingdom for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours.

His wife.

Editha, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Goodwin*, Duke of the *West-Saxons*, and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the sister of *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*; she was married vnto him the yeere of Christs humanity, 1045. and tourth of his raigne. She was his wife eighteene yeeres; and suruiuing him liued a widow eight more, and in the eight yeere of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, died in *December*, the yeere of Christs birth, 1074, and was buried by her husband in *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOODWINE, AND THIRTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VII.

THe people sorrowing for the death of their King, and the States-men perplexed for choice of a new, *Edgar Athelings* title was worthy of more vnpartiall respect then it found: for him they held too young for gouernment: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *English*: and withall, the prophecies of *Edward* touching the alienation of the Crowne, the Interest of the *Danes*, and the claim that Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinity,) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions; but nothing concluded for setling the State; no man either assuming or profering the Monarchiall diademe, because none had the power, or right to adorne therewith his owne head. In this Calme conference a sudden gale arose, which blew all the sailes spred for that winde into one Port. And that was *Harold* sonne to Earle *Goodwine*, a man (duly prizing his

Allureus Rivallensis.

Mat. West. Polydor.

his many worthy parts) not vnmeet for a kingdom, who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome, and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdom, in patience, clemency, & affability bare himselfe most approuedly towards the vertuous, but with a Lions courage, and fierce countenance chastised the disordered, and indeede became another *Maccabeus* vnto the distressed Land. Whose kingly state before wee touch, it shall not bee amisse to lengthen his short raigne with his Acts and Life, as hee was a Subiect, both with, and against his Lord and Predecessor.

(2) That hee tooke part with his Father against *Eustace* of *Bulloigne*, and King *Edwards* hasty commission, wee haue shewed; himselfe then enioying the Earledom of *Oxford*, and so affected by those of *Essex*, *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, *Cambridge* & *Huntington-shires*, that they sided in his cause against the King; But these designes failing, (as commonly it is seene all attempts of Subiects against their Soueraignes doe) hee learned by banishment, what was the losse of true honour, and by forbearance of battle (when halfe the Kingdome stood for him,) his dutie obliged vnto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into fauour with the King, carried himselfe answerably vnto both.

(3) Some iealousy conceiued, *Edward* without any cause, banished *Algar* the son of *Leofrike* Earle of *Chester*, who with the helpe of the *Irish* and *Welchmen*, vnder the conduct of *Gruffith ap Llewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the English, putting *Rodulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of fiue hundred men, spoiled the City, burnt the Minster and became Masters of mis-rule in those parts. Against these was *Harold* sent, and with such manhood pursued his flying enemies, that passing through *North-Wales*, vpon the *Snow-downes* he pitched his Field: The Earle, and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his presence, fled thence vnto *South-Wales*, and again tooke into *Hereford*; whereof *Harold* hauing intelligence hasted thitherward (leauing sufficient in the *Snow-downes* to mate the *Welsh*), and recouering the City, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the sauing of more bloud (and not vngratefull to *Algar*, who without grudge had resigned to him his Earldome, and whole Reuenewes at his returne from exile) a peace was concluded, and at Harolds request, Earle *Algar* and Prince *Gruffith* were pardoned.

(4) But *Algar* being again accused, & again aided by his old associate *Gruffith*, recouered his Earledome by force, whereat King *Edward* was highly displeased, but most against *Gruffith*, who euer was ready to assist any against him: whereupon *Harold* the second time appointed Generall, with a great host entred *North-Wales*, without sight of enemy, where he only burnt downe the stately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, & so returned to the King. But long the *Welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleased of the harms to him done. Wherefore making his forces verie strong he again molested the English.

(5) To restraine whom once more was *Harold* set foorth, who with such terrour burst into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in secret stole from his Campe, leauing his Souldiers (if they would) to fight for themselues, whereupon his whole army yeelded themselues to *Harolds* mercy, and hauing Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and sent it to *Harold*, giuing him pledges for assurance of peace, and the paiment of the ancient tribute which for a time had beene reteined: yet euer after hee carried so heauy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *Iohn* of *Salisburie* in his Policraticon writeth, he ordained a law, that what *Welsh-man* soeuer, should with weapon passe ouer *Offaes* ditch, should haue his right hand cutte off by the Kings officer.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawne to his Mannor of *Bosehame* vpon the riuage of the sea in the confines of *Sussex*, there for his recreation, one day hee tooke into a Fishers boate with small attendants, neither those very skilfull Mariners, when no sooner were they lanched into the deepe, but a contrary wind came about, and droue the boat vpon the coast of *Ponthieu* in *France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and presented to *Guido* their Earle, who a while retained him his prisoner, in hope of gaine by his ransom, but Duke *William* requiring it, he was conueied into *Normandy*, where he cunningly perswaded the Duke, that his secret comming out of *England*, was purposely to enter a league of amity with him. The Duke then hauing present wars with the *Britaines* in *France*, tooke this his new friend and guest with him for his companion at Armes; whose ready policies followed with forward practise, wan him great estimation with the Duke; whereupon betwixt them a couenant was made for the reseruation of the *English* Crowne to the *Norman*, if it chanced King *Edward* to die without *children*; and the same ratified by *Harolds* corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fift daughter, then a child and *Harold* a widower; which afterwards fell to his owne destruction, and the lands subuersion, as shall bee said.

(7) His last imploiment by holy King *Edward*, was against the tumultuous *Northumbrians* which had expulsed *Tosto* their Earle, and *Harolds* owne brother, where a peace was concluded without shedding blood, but with condition that *Tosto* should lose his Earledom: whereupō in great displeasure, he with his wife & children fled into *Flanders*, and euer after hated the person, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The originall of these two brethrens quarrels beganne at *Windsor*, where in the presence of the King they fell from words vnto blowes, and that in such manner, as if rescue had not come, *Tosto* had died; for which disgrace, hee secretly hied him into the Marches of *Wales*, and neere the City *Hereford* at *Portaflyth*, where *Harold* had a house, then in preparing to entertaine the King, he slew all his brothers seruants, and them cutting peecemeale into gobbets, salted some of their limmes, and cast the rest into vessels of the meath and wines, sending his brother word, that hee had furnished him with poudred meats against the Kings comming thither; which barbarous act caused deseruedly his name to be odious vnto his *Northumbrians*, and was lastly repayed with his owne death.

(8) Now albeit some Heralds make *Harold* by birth but a Gentleman of one, and the first descent, which, were it so, should no whit blemish him who was more truely enobled with princely vertues; yet therein also it may seeme hee is mis-esteemed, seeing his Father was *Goodwin* a Duke by degree, the son of *Wolnoth*, and he the sonne of *Egelmar*, who was the sonne of *Egelricke*, surnamed *Leofwine*, and brother of *Edrick* Duke of *Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Ethelred* of *England*, of whom wee haue spoken.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wolfe*, and sister to *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*, by *Estrich* his wife, who was sister to *Canute* the great King of *England*; and himselfe the second sonne of her borne; whose elder brother was *Sweyne*, that died on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ierusalem*, and his yonger were *Tosto*, *Wilnod*, *Grith*, and *Leofrick*.

(9) A former wife Earle *Goodwin* had, whose name was *Thira*, the sister of *Canute*, a woman sold vnto wickednesse for making marchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; shee solde them there at deare rates, to satisfie her owne vnsatiate auarice, and the lusts of the lasciuious *Danes*, till a iust reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, wherewith shee was slaine, to the great terrour of the beholders. One sonne by her Earle *Goodwin* had, who when hee was past childs age, riding vpon a horse (the gift of his Grandfather the King,) proudly giuing him the reines

Mathew Paris, in W.I. Hen. Hunting.

Rand. Higd.

Genetiensis.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Mat. Westminst.

Marian. Scotus. Mat. Westminster.

M. Thomas Millet in Harold.

wil. Malmsb.

Rand. Higden, in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 25.

reine and ſpurre, was violently borne into the riuer *Thameſis*, and ſo ſodainely drowned. Thus much being premiſed of *Harold* before hee was King; his raigne, life and death, wee will now addreſſe to declare.

Alur. Riual.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his ſucceſſor, *Harold* the ſecond day after, being the day of his buriall, made himſelfe King, none of the Nobility diſliking what hee had done; for courteous hee was of ſpeech and behauiour, and in martiall proweſſe the onely man, as *Wales* well witneſſed, more then once; friended by affinity with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Edgitha* the daughter of *Algar* (ſiſter of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late wife to *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* Prince of *Wales*) hee expected to bee both ſided and aſſiſted, if his cauſe came either to triall or voice.

Ran. Higden. Polycr. lib. 6. ca. 29

(11) And the time hee well ſaw fitted his entrance; for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (moſt dread by the *Engliſh*) was entangled with the *Sweden* wars; and *William* the *Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip* the *French* King; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungarie*, and himſelfe a ſtranger, ouer young for rule: all which concurrentes made *Harold* without deliberation, or order from the ſtate, to ſet the Crowne on his owne head, regardleſſe of all ceremony and ſolemne celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, hee too too much offended the Clergy.

Matth. Weſt.

(12) The day of his Coronation was vpon Friday, the fifth of *Ianuary*, being the feaſt of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Saluation 1066: none either greatly applauding, or diſapprouing his preſumption, except onely for the omiſſion of manner and forme; to redeeme which, and to re-gaine the good will of all; no ſooner attained hee the ſeate roiall, but he remitted or diminiſhed the grieuous cuſtomes and tributes which his predeceſſors had raiſed, a courſe euer powerfull to winne the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men hee was verie munificent and carefull of their aduancements; and to grow more deepely into their venerable eſteeme, hee repaired their Monaſteries; but moſt eſpecially that at *Waltham* in *Eſſex*, which hee moſt ſumptuouſly new built, and richly endowed, giuing it the name of *Holy Croſſe*; vpon occaſion that ſuch a Croſſe found farre weſtward, was brought thither by miracle, *vt tradunt*: and therefore hee choſe out this place to powre forth his ſupplications, before hee marched to meete Duke *William* in the field. Moreouer, to ſatisfie ſuch Nobles as affected young *Edgars* iuſter title, he created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in ſpeciall fauour: in briefe, vnto the poore, his hand was euer open, vnto the oppreſſed he miniſtred iuſtice, and vnto all men was affable, and meeke: and all to hold that vpright which on his head he had ſet with an vn-euen hand: and depriued him of, vnto whom hee was Protector.

Simon Dun. Holinſh.

Camb. Brit.

(13) Three ſeuerall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* diſpoſe of the Crowne: the firſt was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the ſecond was to young *Edgar*, vnto whom hee was great vncle; and the laſt vnto this *Harold* himſelfe: for ſo ſaith *Edmerus*, and alſo *Marianus*, who liued at the very ſame time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was ſacred and crowned by *Aldredus* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; ſo that hereby hee is freed by ſome from the imputation of intruſion and wrong.

Alfred Beuerley. Speculum Hiſtor. Rich. Circeſt. Flores Hiſtor.

Edmerus. Marianus. Polycr. li. 6. ca. 28.

(14) His State thus ſtanding, and his ſubiects contentment dayly increaſing, preſently it was ſomwhat perplexed by an Ambaſſage ſent from the *Norman*, putting him in mind of his couenant, and oath, aſwell for the cuſtody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the ſolemnazion of the mariage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himſelfe now ſurely ſeated in the hearts of his Subiects, and therefore alſo ſure in his Kingdome, anſwered the Ambaſſadors, *That he held their Maſters demaund vniuſt, for that an oath extorted in time of extremity, cannot bind the maker in conſcience to performe it, for that were to ioyne one ſinne with another; and that this oath was taken for feare of death or impriſonment, the Duke himſelfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare; could I* (ſaid he) *then a ſubiect, without the allowance of the King, and the whole State, giue away the Crownes ſucceſſion to the preiudice of both? ſurely a Kingdome is of a better account then to bee ſo determined in priuate onely betwixt two.* With which kind of anſweres he ſent the meſſengers away.

Subiects

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *England* ſure to be his, and had deuoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, ſtormed to ſee himſelfe thus fruſtrated on the ſudden, and in ſtead of a Crown to haue ſcornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this ſleight anſwere, returned his Ambaſſadors againe vnto *Harold*, by whom hee laid his claime more at large; as that *King Edward in the Court of* France *had faithfully promiſed the ſucceſſion vnto him, and againe afterwards ratified the ſame to him at his being in* England, *and that not done without conſent of the State, but confirmed by* Stigandus *Archbiſhoppe of* Canterbury, *the Earles* Goodwin *and* Syward, *yea and by* Harold *himſelfe, and ſo firmely aſſured that his Brother and Nephew were deliuered for pledges, and to that end ſent vnto him into* Normandy: *that hee had no way beene conſtrained, hee appealed to* Harolds *owne conſcience, who beſides his voluntary offer to ſweare, contracted himſelfe to* Adeliza *his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) vpon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.*

Rand. Higden. Polyc. lib. 6. ca.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as fit for a crowne as any others, meant nothing leſſe then to lay it downe vpon parley; and therefore told them flatly, that *howſoeuer* Edward *and he had tampered for the Kingdome, yet* Edward *himſelfe comming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promiſe was of no validity; for how could hee giue that whereof he was not intereſſed, nor in the Danes time was euer like to be? And tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that our kingdome is now brought to a ſetled eſtate, and with ſuch loue and liking of the Engliſh, as that they will neuer admit any more a ſtranger to rule ouer them. And as touching the contract with his yonger daughter, hee well ſeeth, that God hath taken away that occaſion of alienating the Crowne; and ſurely his Law hath likewiſe prouided remedy againſt ſuch raſh vows; whoſe precepts I mean to follow: and therefore* (ſaid he) *will your Duke to weigh my eſtate with his own, both his and mine now in quiet, & ſufficient for two, and either of them, employment enough for one mans Gouernment, and therefore both of them too much to bee well gouerned by one, ſeeing that God himſelfe had ſet a ſea betwixt them.* With theſe and the like ſpeeches hee ſhifted of the Dukes Ambaſſadors; without all princely entertainements, or courteous regard.

Gemeticenſis.

(18) The meſſengers returned, and *Harolds* anſweres declared, *William* lion-like enraged, caſteth his thoughts about plotting reuenge, and making ſome oddes euen that might impeach his deſignes, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewiſe not ſleeping his buſineſſe, made ready his Fleete, muſtered his ſouldiers, and planted his Garriſons along the Sea-coaſt. But in theſe his proceedings, behold a great and fearefull Comete appeared (ſeldom a ſigne to Princes of fortunate ſucceſſe) vpon the twenty fourth of *Aprill*, and laſted onely ſeuen dayes, which drew the minds of the *Engliſh*, into great ſuſpenſe, now ready to enter into a double warre.

Bishop of

Roger Houd. Simon Dun. Durham. Gualter Bua

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claymed *England* by gift; ſo *Harfager* the *Dane* did by ſucceſſion; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the heartes of the inhabitantes: and yet behold, a third terrour vnexpected, contrary to nature

ture, and moſt mens opinions, ſuddainely aroſe, for *Toſto* the cruell Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expulſed by his people, and proſcribed by King *Edward*, fled into *France*, where by the inſtigations of *William*, whoſe wiues ſiſter hee had married (both of them the daughters of *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*,) he got for his reuenge a Fleet furniſhed with men at Armes, and thus prepared; his firſt fury was ſhewed in ſpoiling the *Ile of Wight*; then coaſting the ſhore, ſhrewdly endammaged *Kent*, whence hoiſing ſaile, fell foule vpon *Lincolnſhire*; where *Morcar* and *Edwine* Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorkeſhire*, aided with the Kings Nauie, droue him from thence, though with ſome loſſe of their men.

(20) *Toſto* for more ſuccour fled into *Scotland*; where of King *Malcolme* he had but cold comfort, himſelfe being buſied with ciuill broiles; but howſoeuer his expectation there failed, yet his purpoſes were continued with the aſſiſtance of *Harold Harfager* (that is, the *Faire-lockes*) King of *Denmarke*, who with three hundred ſhippes had entred the riuer *Tyne* for *Englands* inuaſion, after his conqueſt of the Iles of *Orknes*. *Toſto* therefore ioining his Fleet to theſe *Danes*, in warlike brauerie, both of them enter the mouth of *Humber*, and drawing vp the riuer *Ouſe*, at *Richhall* landed their men, making ſpoile of the Country whereſoeuer they came. To meet with theſe, the foreſaid Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, in a tumultuous haſt raiſed their powers, but were ſo ouerlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were ſlaine, and mare drowned, in paſsing ouer that riuer.

(21) The enemy grown proud by this late victory, haſted towards *Yorke*, the chiefe Citie of the North; where planting his ſiege, it was preſently yeelded vp, and hoſtages deliuered vpon both parts for the performance of couenants. The *Danes* thus proſpering, had moſt ſtrongly encamped themſelues; for backed they were with the German Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the riuer *Humber*, wherein alſo their Fleete rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the riuer *Derwent*; ſo that it ſeemed impoſsible to raiſe this ſiege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coaſts cleere from all danger, the Equinoctiall at hand, and Nauigation now paſt, the victuals in his Fleet ſpent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*, that Duke *William* meant not his voiage that yeere, was about to diſband his Army. When this ſudden newes from the North pierced his eare, no need it was then to bid him make haſte thither, the caſe ſtanding ſo neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, poſted to *Yorke*, and from thence marched againſt the *Norwegians*, who lay ſecured with ſuch aduantage, as wee haue ſaid. Notwithſtanding *Harold* couragiouſly ordered his battell, and aſſaied to paſſe the Bridge called *Stamford*, built ouer *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time againſt his whole hoſt, and with his Ax ſlew forty of his men, till laſtly this *Dane* was ſlaine with a dart.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *Engliſh* reduced into their rankes, *Harold* moſt boldly ſet vpon his enemies euen in their Campe; where the battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till laſtly the *Norwegians* diſarraied and ſcattered, were ſlaine outright; and among them the two Chieftanes, *Harfager* and *Toſto*, with may others of worth and account, loſt their liues. *Olaue* the ſonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkeney*, who kept their Fleet & Seas, whileſt his Father and followers fought vpon land, were brought to King *Harold*, and to haue their liues ſpared, abiured the Land, and thenceforth to attempt no hoſtilitie againſt the Engliſh peace; and with twenty ſmall veſſels to cary away their ſlaine and hurt, were ſuffered to depart, bringing heauy newes into *Denmarke* of the loſſe of their King, and ouerthrow of his Army.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell vnto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold and ſiluer, beſides the great Armado of *Toſto* and *Harfager*; whereby his mind was ſoone ſet aloft, and he began to grow both proud, and odious vnto his Army, the rather, for that he diuided not the ſpoiles vnto them that had deſerued it; a wrong that the common Souldier doth continually murmure at, and commonly endure.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harolds* fortunes, *William* the *Norman* had the more leaſure to ſtrengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about *Englands* inuaſions, found them euer reſolute and cheerefull that way; the difficultie onely reſted, how to prouide money enough, the very ſinewes whereby the vaſt body of an Army muſt be knit, & ſtrengthned: for a ſubſidy being propounded vnto the aſſembly of the *Norman States*, it was anſwered, that a former warre againſt the *French* had empoueriſhed much of their wealth, that if new wars were now raiſed, & therein their ſubſtance ſpent to gain other parts, it would be thereby ſo waſted, as that hardly it would be ſufficient to defend their own; that they thought it more ſafety to hold what he had, then hazard of their own to inuade the territories of others; & that this war intended, iuſt though it were, yet ſeemed not neceſſary, but exceeding dangerous; beſides (ſaid they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military ſeruices in forrein parts, & therefore ſuch paiments could not bee aſſeſſed vpon them. And although *William Fitz-Oſberne*, a man in high fauour with the Duke, and as gratious among the people, endeauoured by all meanes to effect it, yea, and (to draw on others by his example) proffered to ſet out forty tall Ships vpon his owne Charges towards this warre; yet would it not bee: Therefore Duke *William* bethought him on another way. *Cambd. Brit.*

(26) The wealthieſt men among all his People he ſent for, and ſeuerally one by one conferred with, ſhewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherin preferment lay euē to the meaneſt amongſt them, only money was the want, which they might ſpare; neither ſhould that be giuen, nor lent without a plentiful increaſe: with ſuch fair words he drew them ſo on, that they ſtroue who ſhould giue moſt, and by this policy hee gathered ſuch a maſſe of money, as was ſufficient to defray the warre. Then went hee to his neighbour Princes, namely to the Earles of *Anion*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*, and *Bulloigne*, promiſing them faire poſſeſsions in *England*; yea and vnto *Philip* the *French* King, in caſe he would aide him, hee voluntarily offered to become his vaſſall and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty vnder him. But it beeing thought nothing good for the State of *France*, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not ſo pliable to the *French* King as was wiſhed, ſhould bee bettered in his eſtate by the addition of ſo mighty a Kingdome (the power of Neighbour Potentates being euer ſuſpected of Princes) ſo farre was the King from yeelding any helpe, that he ſecretly maligned, & openly diſſwaded this his attempt of inuading *England*. This *French* iealouſy, the *Norman* ſoone perceiued, which made him to caſt about yet another way.

(27) For making his claime knowne vnto *Alexander* the ſecond, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done vnto *Robert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a text that might not bee reade without a gloſſe,) he was ſo fauoured of his Holineſſe (whoſe See was euer glad to intereſt it ſelf in diſpoſing of Crowns, that he both allowed well of his enterprize, and ſent him a conſecrated *Banner*, (Saint *Peter* himſelfe had none ſuch in his Boate) to bee borne in the Ship, wherein himſelfe in that expedition ſhould take ſaile for *England*; and accurſed al them that ſhold oppoſe themſelues againſt him: for euen then the Popes had began to vſurpe authority ouer Princes, & with their leaden blades, to hacke into the iron ſwords of Emperours. *Henry Hunt.* *Fox, Acts and Monuments.*

(28) Thus furniſhed on all ſides, he aſſembled his forces, and with a mighty Nauy came to the Towne of

of *Saint Valeries*; which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Some*: where a long time he lay wind bound to his great diſcontentment, and with many vowes importunating the fauour of that locall Saint, heaped daily a number of gifts and oblations vpon his Altar; till laſtly his deſire was obtayned, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his *Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen*, & *Britaignes*, waighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of wind arriued at *Peuenſey in Suſſex*, vpon the twenty eight day of *September*, where Landing his men, to cut off all occaſion or hope of returne, he fired his owne fleete, and vpon the Shoare erected a Fortreſſe to bee if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

Rand. Higden.

(29) At his arriuage from Sea, as our Hiſtorians report, his foot chaunced to ſlippe, ſo that not able to recouer himſelfe, he fell into the mud, and all to bemired his hands; which accident was preſently conſtrued for a lucky preſage: for *now* (ſaid a Captaine) *O Duke, thou haſt taken poſſeſsion, and holdeſt that land in thy hand, whereof ſhortly thou ſhalt become King*: As *Cæſar* is ſaid to haue done, when hee entred into *Africa*, who from ſhip-board at his landing fell into the ſands, and merily ſaid, *I doe now take poſſeſsion of thee, O Africa.*

Rand. Higden in Polychr. li. 6. c. 29.

Suetonius in vita Cæſar.

(30) From *Peuenſey* Duke *William* departed towards *Haſting*, where raiſing another fortification, diuulged to all the cauſes of his comming, as pretending to reuenge both the death of his *Normans*, ſlain by the treachery of *Goodwin* & *Harold*, and the wrongs and baniſhment of *Robert Gemeticus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, pretenſes very ſlender, and enforced out of ſeaſon: but ſurely had not a third ſate neerer his heart, the two former would haue paſſed without the ſpleene of reuenge; namely, the donation of King *Edward* deceaſed, whereon he built his claime to the *Engliſh* Crowne. And there alſo by his Edict, he ſtraitely charged his ſouldiers not in hoſtile manner, to wrong any of their perſons, who ſhortly were to become his Subiects.

(31) *Harold* in the North hearing of theſe news, haſted with his Armie (whoſe Armour yet reaked with the bloud of the *Norwegians*) towards the ſouth and with ſuch power as poſſible hee could make, entreth *London*, where immediately a meſſenger frō Duke *William* was preſented vnto him, demaunding no leſſe then the Kingdome, and *Harolds* vaſſalage; vrging the ſame with ſuch inſtant boldneſſe, that *Harolds* furious indignation could hardly forbeare, againſt the law of Armes, to lay violent hands vpon the Ambaſſador; ſo great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to ſhew both, with very great boldneſſe, he diſpatcheth his Ambaſſadors to *William*, and by way of irefull checkes menaceth him, vnleſſe forthwith hee departed backe into *Normandy*: when preſently muſtering his men at *London*, hee found them much leſſened by his battaile againſt the *Norwegians*; notwithſtanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the loue of their natiue Country inflamed, did ingage themſelues for the field, againſt his common and dangerous enemy. He therfore with an vndaunted courage, led forth his Armie into *Suſſex* (againſt the importunate ſuite of his mother, who ſought by all meanes to ſtay him) where on a large and faire plaine, ſcarſe ſeuen miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his battailes, and ſent forth his Eſpials to deſcry his power.

Wil. Malmſb.

(32) Theſe comming into danger, were caught by the *Normans*, and preſented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to bee led from Tent to Tent, to be feaſted, and diſmiſſed, without any harme or diſhonour done. Theſe returning to *Harold* told what they had ſeene, commending the Duke in his Martiall Prouiſions, and his clemency to themward, only ſaid they, his Souldiers ſeem to be Prieſts, for their faces were all ſhauen, whereas the vſe of the Engliſh was then to reſerue onely the vpper lippe vncut, retaining or renewing the old manner of the ancient Britaines ſo deſcribed by *Cæſar*: but King *Harold*, who had bin in that country, wel knowing their errour, replied that they were men of great valour & ſtout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which ſpeech, *Girth*, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exploits, tooke occaſion to aduiſe the King from being preſent at the danger of the Field: for (ſaid he)

Mat. Weſtmin. Rand. Higden.

" it ſtands not with the rule of policy, to hazard all
" in the triall of one battell, nor to depend vpon the
" euent of war, which euer is doubtful, victory being
" as oftē gotten by fortune, as valor; mature deliberatiō doth oftē produce the ſafeſt iſſues, & a prouidēt
" delay is held to be the greateſt furtherer of martial
" proiects; neither will any thing ſtrike greater terror
" into the *Normans*, then thou to be leuying, & enrolling a new Army, whereby they may euer expect,
" and feare ſucceeding Battails. Againe (ſaid he) thou
" beſt knoweſt what oath thine owne mouth hath
" made vnto *William*; if lawfull, and willingly, then
" withdraw thy ſelfe from field, leſt for that thy
" ſinne the whole Hoſt periſh; for there can bee no
" power againſt God. I am free from ſuch guilt, and
" therefore may the bolder fight, and either defeate
" this dangerous enemy, or more cheerefully dye in
" the defence of my countrey; & if thou wilt commit
" the fortune of *Battaile* into my Gouernance, aſſure
" thy ſelfe I will perform to thee the part of a louing
" Brother, and to my Countrimen of a valiant Captaine.

(33) This wiſe aduice notwithſtanding, deſtiny ſo driuing him, he gaine-ſtood, imputing it a part of diſhonour, and not befitting a Souldiour, (as he alwaies had beene,) to leaue the field Coward-like, when greateſt glory was to be wonne, or in caſe of fortunate ſucceſſe, to be depriued of a part, and therefore reprooued his brother for making this motion, and with diſdainefull ſpeeches, vnderualued and embaſed the worth of the *Normans*.

(34) Duke *William* now entred the field, & both the hoſts ſtanding ready for fight, the *Norman*, to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, vpon a pious affection ſent a *Monke* as a Mediator for peace, with offers to *Harold* of theſe conditions, either wholy to reſigne the Kingdome vnto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soueraigne: or elſe in ſingle combat to trie the quarrel with him, in ſight of the Armies; or laſtly, to ſtand to the arbitrement of the Pope, touching the poſſeſsion and wearing of the *Engliſh* Crowne. But *Harold*, as one whom the heauens would depreſſe, accepting neither domeſticke counſell, nor the *Normans* offers, referred the deciding of the matter vnto the Tribunall of God, and anſwered, that it ſhould bee tried the next day with more ſwordes then one.

(35) That next day was the 14. of *October*, which vpon a credulous errour, hee held euer to bee fortunate, becauſe it was the day of his Natiuity, and with hopefull aſſurance, deſired greatly the approch of the ſame: His ſouldiers likewiſe as men whoſe heads were to bee crowned with the Laurels of victory, gaue themſelues to licentious reuels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noiſes, ſpent the night; whereas contrariwiſe, the *Normans*, more wiſely, and ſeriouſly weighing the buſineſſe in hand, beſtowed the time in prayers and vowes, for the ſafety of their Armie, and victorious ſucceſſe: neither had the morning ſooner ſpread it ſelfe but their battell was ordered, and prepared for fight.

(36) *Harold* alſo with the like forwardnes, marſhalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentiſh men* (who by an ancient cuſtome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heauy axes, or halberts. The *Middleſex-men* & the *Londoners* were in that ſquadron, whereof himſelfe with his brother had the leading.

Tho. Wils.

37 His enemies *Vauward* was led by *Roger* of *Mountgomery*, and *William Fitz-Oſberne*, the ſame conſiſting of Horſemen out of *Anion*, *Perch*, and little *Brittaine*.

Their

Their Maine-Battaile consisted of *Poictouins* and *Germans*, *Geffrey Martell*, and a *Germane* Pensioner commanding them: In the *Rere-guard* was the Duke himselfe with the whole manhood of *Normans*, and the flower of his Nobility & Gentry; all which battalliõs were intermingled with companies of Archers.

(38) The *Normans* without any confused, or disorderly shout, sounded the battaile, and aduanced forward, discharging a fierce volley of arrowes like a tempestuous haile, a kind of fight both strange, and terrible vnto the *English*, who supposed their enemy had beene already euen in the middest amongst them; when presently a furious charge was giuen to the Va-ward of the *English*, who resolutely had determined to couer the place with their bodies rather then to giue one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themselues close together, whereby they valiantly, and with the slaughter of many, put backe the enemy: which was so farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more whetted to re-enforce themselues vpon them: when with an horrible noise, the battailes of both sides gaue the stroke; and now come foote to foot, and man to man, coped together in a most cruell fight. The *English* standing thicke, and close, as if they had beene stucke one to another, abode the brunt, and charge of the *Normans*, and with such welcomes, that after many a bloudy wound receiued, they were at point to recoile, had not Duke *William*, whose crown lay now at stake, both brauely performed the part of a Leader, and with his presence, and authority restrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* horsemen brake into the troupes of the *English*, and sore distressed the Souldiers on foot, yet notwithstanding they still held out, and kept their array vnbroken: for *Harold* (no lesse carefull to keepe, then the other to gaine a diadem,) as a most valiant Captaine bare himself worthily euery where. The Duke well perceiuing that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could bee got, betooke himselfe to a stratageme, and commaunded his men to sound the retreat, but kept them still in such order of array, that they gaue backe in as good discipline as they came on.

(39) The *English* supposing the *Normans* to haue fled, and themselues the masters of the field, began in eager pursuit carelesly to vntwist, and display their rancks; when on the sodaine, the *Normans* hauing their wished opportunity, and winding about, charged the enemy a fresh; who now being scatteringly disranked, and out of all order, were slaine down on all sides, not able to recouer their battaile: many thus borne downe, and slaine, none by flight sought to escape the field, but rather to maintaine their honour in Armes, cast themselues into a round, choosing there to die in the cause of their Country, then cowardly to forsake the Standard of their King: and therefore with bold resolutions encouraging one an other, they turne head and resist a long time: but showers of arrowes like a stormy tempest falling thicke among them, one, most fatall, and vnlucky for the *English*, wounded *Harold* into the braines through the left eye; so that falling from his horse to the ground, was vnder his owne standard slaine.

(40) And yet *Giraldus Cambrensis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the issue of this Battaile somwhat otherwise, affirming, that *Harold* with losse of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the City of Westchester, and there long after led a holie life, and made a godly end, as an Anchoret in the Cell of Saint *Iames*, fast by the church of *S. Iohn*. With *Harold* died his Brethren *Gyth*, and *Leofwin*, with most of the English Nobility, besides the slaughter of sixty seuen thousand, nine hundred seuenty foure of their Souldiers: *Bremensis* saith an hundred Thousand.

(41) Duke *William* in this Battail had three horses slain vnder him; God (saith *Marianus*) so defending his person, that though multitude of darts were thrown against him, yet not a drop of his blood was spilt by the Enemy, and this Battaile wonne with the losse onely of sixe thousand, and thirteene of his men. Whose wodden bowes (as *Iohn Rouse* is of opinion) gained the *Normans* that great victory; for the Arrowes shot leuell, or directly forward, wounded the English that stood in the front, and vpright; the other shot on high, galled at the fal, those that were more remote, and the backs of such as stooped to shunne the danger. *Ia. Rosi.*

(42) This battle was fought in *Sussex* 7. miles from *Hastings*, vpon *Saturday* the fourteenth of *October*, and yere of Grace 1066. Wherin the dolefull destruction of the English fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans* euen in the shutting of the day did arise; when perished the Royall blood of the *Saxons*, whose Kings first had made this Kingdome into *Seuen*, and afterward of them so glorious a *Monarchy*, that it was not inferiour to any in Europe, and her Monarchs so renowned for princely magnanimity, as that many of them were ranked with the best in the world; But now the all-ordering hand of God (vnto whose becke not onely this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but euen the Heauens themselues, and all the powers thereof must bow) either for the sinnes of the English which were many, and great, or to graffe one more fair and lõger-continuing bud vpon this dried, and decayed stock, brought that forrein offspring into this his nursery of *Britaine*, whose branches, as the vine, haue spread both fruitfull and farre; and whose rootes are *fastned as the trees of Libanon*: the Kings thereof, euen from the loines of this *Great Conquerour*, holding on a royall succession for the space of these fiue hundred forty fiue yeares, their issues topped with the highest Cedars of the world, & their branches spread thorowout al Christendom; which wee pray may still proceede and continue, whilest the Sun and Moone haue their being. *Matth. Paris.* *Hose. 14. 6.*

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke *william* wholly ascribed vnto God, and by way of a solemne supplication or procession gaue him the thanks; and pitching for that night his Pauiliõ among the bodies of the dead, the next day returned to *Hastings*, there to consult vpon his great, and most prosperously begun enterprise, giuing first commandement for the buriall of his slaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, the vnfortunate Queenes Brethren, by night escaping the battel, came vnto *London*, where with the rest of the Peeres, they began to lay the foundation of some fresh hopes, posting thence their messengers to raise a new supply, & to comfort the *English* (who through all the Land were stricken into a fearfull astonishment with this vnexpected newes) from a despairing feare, shewing the chance of warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines sufficient to try another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, there present, and President of the Assembly, stoutly, and prudently gaue his counsell forthwith to consecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King; to whom consented likewise both the Sea-Captaines, and the Londoners. But the Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Cheshire*, *Edwin* & *Morcar* (whom this fearfull state of their country could not dissuade from disloyaltie and ambition) plotting secretly to get the Crowne to themselues, hindered that wise and noble designe. In which while, the sorrowfull Queene their sister was conueied to *West-chester*, where, without state or title of a Queene, she led a solitary and quiet life.

(45) The Mother of the slaine King did not so well moderate her womanly passions, as to receiue either comfort, or counsell of her friends: the dead body of her sonne she greatly desired, and to that end sent to the *Conqueror* two sage Brethren of his Abbey at *Waltham*, who had accompanied him in his vnfortunate expedition. Their names (as I finde them recorded in an old Manuscript) were *Osegod* and *Ailrie*, whose message to the *Conqueror* not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there set downe in the tenor as followeth. In the Library of the learned Knight, *Sir Roberts Cotton.*

" (46) *Noble Duke, and ere long to be a moſt great and* " *mightie King; we thy moſt humble ſeruants, deſtitute* " *of all comfort, (as wee would we were alſo of life) are* " *come to thee as ſent from our brethren, whom this dead* " *King hath placed in the Monaſterie of* Waltham, *to at-* " *tend the iſſue of this late dreadfull battell, (wherein God* " *fauouring thy quarrell, he is now taken away, and dead,* " *which was our greateſt Comforter, and by whoſe only* " *bountifull goodneſſe, wee were releeued and maintai-* " *ned, whom hee had placed to ſerue God in that Church.* " *Wherfore we moſt humbly requeſt thee (now our dread* " *Lord) by that gracious fauour which the Lord of Lords* " *hath ſhewed vnto thee, and for the releife of all their* " *ſoules, who in this quarrell haue ended their daies, that* " *it may bee lawfull for vs by thy good leaue, ſafely to take* " *and carry away with vs the dead body of the King, the* " *Founder and builder of our Church and Monaſterie: as* " *alſo the bodies of ſuch others, as who, for the reuerence* " *of him, and for his ſake, deſired alſo to be buried with vs,* " *that the ſtate of our Church, by their helpe ſtrengthened,* " *may bee the ſtronger, and indure the firmer.* With whoſe ſo humble a requeſt, and abundant teares, the victorious and worthy Duke moued, anſwered.

" (47) *Your King* (ſaid he) *vnmindfull of his faith,* " *although hee haue for the preſent endured the worthy pu-* " *niſhment of his fault, yet hath he not therefore deſerued* " *to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to lie vnburied:* " *were it but that he died a King, howſoeuer hee came by* " *the Kingdome, my purpoſe is for the reuerence of him, and* " *for the health of them, who hauing left their wiues and* " *poſſeſſions, haue here in my quarrell loſt their liues, to* " *build here a Church and a Monaſtery, with an hundred* " *Monks in it to pray for them for euer; and in the ſame* " *Church to bury your King aboue the reſt, with all ho-* " *nour vnto ſo great a Prince, and for his ſake to endow* " *the ſame with great reuenewes.*

(48) With which his courteous ſpeech and promiſes, the two religious Fathers comforted, and encouraged, againe replied.

" (49) *Not ſo, noble Duke, but grant this thy ſeruants* " *moſt humble requeſt, that we may, for God, by thy leaue,* " *receiue the dead body of our Founder, and to bury it in* " *the place which himſelfe in his life time appointed; that* " *we cheered with the preſence of his body, may thereof* " *take comfort, and that his Tombe may be vnto our Suc-* " *ceſſors, a perpetuall Monument of his remembrance.*

(50) The *Duke*, as he was of diſpoſition gracious, and inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their deſires: whereupon they drew out ſtore of gold to preſent him in way of gratulation; which he not only vtterly refuſed, but alſo offered them plenty to ſupply whatſoeuer ſhould be needfull for the pompe of his funerall, as alſo for their coſts in trauell to and fro; giuing ſtrait commandement that none of his Souldiers ſhould preſume to moleſt them in this their buſineſſe, or in their returne. Then went they in haſte to the quarry of the dead, but by no meanes could finde the body of the King, for that the countenances of all men greatly alter by death; but being maimed and imbrued with bloud, they are not knowne to be the men they were. As for his other regall Ornaments, which might haue ſhewed him for their King, his dead corps was deſpoiled of them, either through the greedy deſire of prey, (as the manner of the Field is) or to be the firſt bringer of ſuch happy newes, in hope of a Princely reward; vpon which purpoſe many times the body is both mangled and diſmembred: and ſo was this King after his death by a baſe Souldire, gaſht and hackt into the legge, whom Duke *William* rewarded for ſo vnſouldier like a deed, caſhiering him for euer out of his wages and wars. So that *Harold* lying ſtript, wounded, bemangled, and goared in his bloud, could not be found or known, till they ſent for a woman named *Editha*, (for her paſſing beauty ſurnamed *Swan-ſhals*, that is, *Swanſ-necke*, whom he entertained in ſecret loue before he was King, who by ſome ſecret marks of his body to her well knowne, found him out; and then put into a coffine, was by diuers of the *Norman* Nobility honourably brought vnto the place, afterward called *Battle-bridge*, where it was met by the Nobles of *England*, and ſo conueied to *Waltham*, was there ſolemnly, and with great lamentation of his mother, roially interred, with this rude Epitaph, well beſeeming the time, though not the perſon.

Heu cadis hoſte fero, Rex à Duce Rege futuro,
Par paris in gladio, milite & valido.
Firmini iuſti lux eſt tibi, luce Calixti;
Pronior hinc ſuperas, hinc ſuperatus eras.
Ergo tibi requiem depoſcat vtrumque perennem:
Sicque precetur eum, quod colit omne Deum.

A fierce foe thee ſlew; thou'a King, he King in view;
Both peeres, both peereleſſe, both feard, and both fearles;
That ſad day was mixt, by Firmin and Calixt,
Th'one helpthee to vanquiſh, t'other made thee liquiſh;
Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem ſay;
So let good men all, to God for thee call.

(51) This Kings raigne was not ſo ful of dayes as of great troubles: being but the ſpace of nine months and nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period of the Saxons Empire in *Britaine*, after they had continued from their firſt erected kingdome by *Hengiſt* in *Kent*, the ſpace of ſixe hundred and tenne yeeres, without any reuerſement or interruption ſauing the ſmall Inter-Raignes of theſe three *Daniſh* Kings, of whom we haue ſpoken. And although *Aimund* of *Breme*, in the fauour of his *Danes*, ſharply taxeth this *Harold* as being an impious man, and for that by vſurpation he aſpired to the Crowne, yet doth *Ealred* the Abbot of *Riuauxe*, (the Legender of S. *Edwards* life) much commend him for his courteous *affability, gentle deportment, and Iuſtice*, and for his *warlike proweſſe* none matchable vnto him; *and was reputed* (ſaith hee) *verily a man paſsing well furniſhed with all vertues befitting a Soueraigne commander, and borne euen to repaire the decaied ſtate of England*; had he not, in the haughtineſſe and opinion of his own valour and prudence, ſo much addicted himſelfe to his owne reſolutions, and too much neglected the wiſe deliberations of his beſt friends and counſellers.

Sigebertus Wil. Gemeticen. Gualt. Cant. Li. Wallingf.

Aimund. Bremens. cap. 169.

Alured Riuall. in vita.

His Wiues.

(52) The firſt wife of *Harold*, whom he had maried and buried before he was King, I find not named by any of our writers; but that he had ſuch a one, appeareth, where it is recorded that hee was a *Widower*, what time he contracted the Conquerors daughter; and that alſo he had children of ſuch age, that they made warres againſt King *William* in the ſecond of his Raigne; which it is probable, he had not by *Editha*, his *Swannes neck*, but were legitimat, and by this lawfull, though nameleſſe Mother.

(53) *Algith*, the ſecond wife to King *Harold*, was the widow of *Gruffith ap Lhewelyn* King of *Northwales*, the ſiſter of *Edwine* and *Morcar* Earles of *Yorkeſhire*, and *Cheſter*, and daughter of *Algar* ſonne of *Leofrick*, ſon of *Leofwine*, all Earles of *Cheſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Lincolne*: She was married vnto him beeing then but Duke, in the laſt yeare of *Edward* Confeſſors raigne, and of Grace 1065. neither did ſhee long enioy him, or her Queenly title, after his aſpiring to the Crowne; for being reſident in London when hee was ſlaine, from thence ſhee was conueyed by her brethren to *Weſtcheſter*, where ſhe remained in meane eſtate, and in good quiet (which vſually moſt attends the meaneſt) without any princely ſhew or name, during the reſt of her life, which laſted a great part of the Conquerors raigne.

His Iſſue.

(54) *Goodwine* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Harold*, being growne to ſome ripeneſſe of yeares in the life of his Father, after his death and ouerthrow by the *Conquerour*

querour, tooke his brother with him, and fled ouer into *Ireland*: from whence he returned, and landed in Sommerſetſhire; ſlew *Ednoth* (a Baron ſometime of his Fathers) that encountred him, and taking great preyes in *Deuon-ſhire* and *Cornewall*, departed till the next yeare. When comming againe, hee fought with *Beorn* an Earle of *Cornwall*, and after retired into *Ireland*, and thence went into *Denmarke* to King *Swayn* his Coſen-German, where he ſpent the reſt of his life.

(55) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne to King *Harold*, went with his Brother into *Ireland*, returned with him into *England*, and was at the ſlaughter and ouerthrow of *Ednoth*, and his power in *Sommerſetſhire*; at the ſpoiles committed in *Cornwall* and *Deuenſhire*; at the conflict with the *Corniſh* Earle *Beorn*; paſſed and repaſſed with him in all his voiages, inuaſions and warres, by ſea and by land, in *England* and *Ireland*; and at the laſt departed with him from *Ireland* to *Denmarke*; tooke part with him of all pleaſure and calamity whatſoeuer, and attending and depending wholly vpon him, liued and died with him in that Country.

(56) *Magnus* the third ſon of King *Harold*, went with his brothers into *Ireland*; and returned with them the firſt time into *England*, and is neuer after that mentioned amongſt them, nor elſewhere, vnleſſe, (as ſome doe coniecture)) he be that *Magnus* who ſeeing the mutability of humane affairs, became an Anchoret, whoſe Epitaph pointing to his *Daniſh* originall, the learned *Clarenciaux* diſcouered in a little deſolate Church at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, where in the gaping chinks of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and ouerworne Character, certaine old imperfect verſes were found, which hee ſuppoſeth ſhould bee thus read;

Clauditur hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progeniei.
Deponens Magnum, prudentior induit agnum:
Prapete pro vita, fit paruulus Anachorita.
Here lies a Knight of Daniſh regall race,
*He * Magnus hight; great name note of great place:*
*But Magnus left, an * Agnus mild he prou'd,*
From world bereft, an Anchorite below'd.

* Great.
* A Lamb.

(57) *Wolfe* the fourth ſonne of King *Harold*, ſeemeth to bee borne of Queene *Algith* his ſecond wife, for that hee was neuer mentioned among his other brethren, and hauing better friends by his mothers ſide, was left in *England*, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he ſpoken of, during all the raign of the Conquerour, and therefore at his entrance may probably be thought to haue beene but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his priſoners with Earle *Morcar* (his vncle, if Queen *Algith* were his mother) and was by King *William Rufus* releaſed, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) *Gunhild* a daughter of King *Harold* is mentioned by *Iohn Capgraue* (the Writer of the *Engliſh* Saints) in the life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, reporting her to haue beene a Nunne in a Monaſtery of *England*; who, among the many miracles done by the ſaid *Wolſtan*, (which hee numbreth by tale, according to the ſuperſtitious manner of the time wherein he liued) declareth, how he reſtored this Lady to her perfect eye-ſight, whereof by a dangerous infirmity, ſhe was almoſt wholly, and in moſt mens opinions, vncurably depriued.

Iohn Capgraue.

(58) Another daughter of King *Harold* not named by any Story-writer of our own nation, is mentioned by *Saxo Grãmaticus* in his *Daniſh* hiſtory, to haue come into *Denmarke*, with her two brethren; to haue been very honorably intertained by King *Swaine* the yonger, her kinſman: and afterwards to haue been as honorably placed in marriage with *Gereſlef*, called in Latine *Iariſlaues*, and of the *Danes Waldemar*, King of the *Ruſſians*: and by him to haue had a daughter, that was the mother of *Waldemar*, the firſt of that name King of *Denmarke*, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many ages after ſucceeded.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11.

The end of the eighth Booke.

The

A CATALOGVE OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHES FROM WILLIAM THE CONQVEROVR, VNTO KING JAMES, NOVV SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHOSE ACTS ARE ENTREATED OF IN THIS ENSVING HISTORIE.

KINGS.	BEGINNINGS.	RAIGNE.	DEATH.	BVRIALL.
	Yeeres Months Daies	*yeers months daies*	*Yeeres Months Daies*	
WILLIAM *I.*	1066. *Oct.* 14. *Sat.*	20 10 26	1087 *Sept.* 9 *Thurſ.*	*Cane.*
WILLIAM *II.*	1087. *Sept.* 9. *Thurſ.*	12 10 22	1100 *Aug.* 1 *Wedn.*	*Wincheſter.*
HENRY *I.*	1100. *Aug.* 1. *Wednſ.*	35 3 1	1135 *Decem.* 2 *Mon*	*Reading.*
STEPHEN.	1135 *Dec.* 2 *Monday*	18 9 17	1154 *Octob.* 25 *Mon*	*Feuerſham.*
HENRY *II.*	1154 *Oct.* 25. *Mon.*	34 8 12	1189 *Iuly* 6 *Thur*	*Fonteuerard.*
RICHARD *I.*	1189 *Iuly* 6 *Thurſd.*	9 8 00	1199 *Aprill* 6 *Tueſ.*	*Fonteuerard.*
IOHN.	1199 *Apr.* 6 *Tueſd.*	17 7 13	1216 *Octob.* 19 *Wedn.*	*Worceſter.*
HENRY *III.*	1216 *Oct.* 19. *Wedn.*	56 0 27	1272 *Nou.* 16 *wedn.*	*Weſtminſter.*
EDWARD *I.*	1272 *Nou.* 16. *Wedn.*	34 7 21	1307 *Iuly* 7 *Frida.*	*Weſtminſter.*
EDWARD *II.*	1307 *Iuly* 7 *Friday*	19 6 15	1326 *depo. Ian.* 22. *Sa.*	*Gloceſter.*
EDWARD *III.*	1326 *Ian.* 25 *Satur.*	50 4 27	1377 *Iune* 21 *Sund.*	*Weſtminſter.*
RICHARD *II.*	1377 *Iune* 21 *Sunday*	22 2 7	1399 *dep. Sep.* 29. *mn.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *IIII.*	1399 *Sept.* 29 *Mond.*	13 5 21	1412 *March* 20 *Sund.*	*Feuerſham.*
HENRY *V.*	1412 *Mar.* 20 *Sund.*	9 4 11	1422 *Aug.* 31 *Mun.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *VI.*	1422 *Aug.* 31. *Mon.*	38 6 4	1460 *depoſed. Mar.* 4	*Windſore.*
EDWARD *IIII.*	1460 *Mar.* 4.	22 1 5	1483 *Aprill* 9	*Windſore.*
EDWARD *V.*	1483 *April* 9	00 1 12	1483 *murthered.*	*Tower of Lond.*
RICHARD *III.*	1483 *Iune* 22.	2 1 0	1485 *ſlain Au.* 29 *Mo.*	*Leiceſter.*
HENRY *VII.*	1485 *Aug.* 22 *Mon.*	23 7 0	1509 *Aprill* 22 *Sund.*	*Weſtminſter.*
HENRY *VIII.*	1509 *April* 22 *Sund.*	37 9 5	1546 *Ian.* 28 *Thur.*	*Windſore.*
EDWAD *VI.*	1546 *Ian.* 28. *Thurſ.*	6 5 9	1553 *Iuly* 6 *Thur.*	*Weſtminſter.*
MARY.	1553 *Iuly* 6 *Thurſd.*	5 4 11	1558 *Noue.* 17 *Thur.*	*Weſtminſter.*
ELIZABETH.	1558 *Nou.* 17. *Thur.*	44 4 6	1602 *March* 24 *Thur.*	*Weſtminſter.*
IAMES.	1602 *Mar.* 24. *Thur.*	*NOS, TE FLORENTE, BEATI.*		

The

THE SVCCESSION OF ENGLANDS MONARCHES FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE NORMANS VNDER WILLIAM THE CONQVEROR: VNTILL THE REGALL RIGHT OF THE WHOLE ILAND WERE BY GODS PROVIDENCE VNITED VNDER ONE IMPERIALL DIADEME, IN THE PERSON OF OVR PRESENT SOVERAIGNE KING IAMES, SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE: THEIR SEVERALL ACTS, ISSVES, RAIGNES, ARMES, SEALES, AND COINES.

CHAPTER I.

WHat hath beene ſpoken touching the Originals, Lawes, and Cuſtomes of the *Saxons*, and *Danes*, the ancient Conquerours and poſſeſſors of this our Iland, may in like ſort bee ſaid of the *Normans* (being a brāch from the ſame roote) of whom wee are now to write, ſauing only that the name is not ſo ancient, and therfore their Manners may bee thought more ciuill. Through the miſty-darke times of which Stories, together with that of the *Romans*, and of our *Britaines*, (wherein no brighter Sun did ſhine vnto vs) by the aſsiſtance of the *all-ſeeing power which bringeth light out of darknes*, I am laſtly approched to theſe times of more light, and vnto affaires of more certaine truth: whoſe Current to my ſeeming is made now Nauigable, by the many writers that haue emptied their full channels into this Sea: wherein, though in reſpect of my owne defects, and that ſo many Maſter-Pilotes haue ſailed before me, it may ſeeme but preſumption for me to direct another courſe, with a purpoſe to better what they haue ſo well performed: yet to make a complete Hiſtory from the firſt to the laſt: giue me leaue to continue, as I haue begunne.

(2) Theſe *Normans* then, being anciently a mixt Nation with the warlike *Norwegians*, *Swedens*, & *Danes*, tooke their Name of that Northern Climate from whence they came firſt, which was that Coaſt of *Germany*, anciently called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, and *Nor-way*, for that it tendeth in reſpect of ſituation ſo farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adjacent, the *Saxons*, *Iutes*, *Angles*, and lately the *Danes*, made their incurſions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therfore as the wombe of cōception, by the diſpoſe of the Omnipotent, after it had produced thoſe Nations which formerly made Cōqueſts of *Britane*, now againe brought forth (as it were) her laſt-borne *Beniamin*, who *deuouring the pray in the morning, hath diuided the ſpoile in the Euening*, and hitherto continued their glorious fame atchieued; which I pray, may extend to the laſt period of Times being: For theſe *Normans* firſt by force got footing in *France* with the Dominion, and Stile of a *Duke*, and next the Diadem of this faire *Empire*, the laſt and moſt famous Monarches of the ſame.

(4) Theſe, formerly practizing Piracies vpon the Coaſts of *Belgia*, *Frizia*, *England*, *Ireland*, and *France*, proceeded in their hardy courſes euen to the *Mediterranean Sea*: inſomuch that *Charles* the Great ſeeing their roauing tall Ships, and conſidering the bold attempts they vndertkooke, with a deepe ſigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to haue ſaid: *Heauie am I at the very heart, that in my owne life time, theſe Pirates dare to come vpon my Coaſts, whereby I foreſee what miſchiefe they will worke vpon my Poſteritie.* Which indeede proued ſo great, that in their publike Proceſſions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, Good Lord deliuer vs.* This feare, and praier notwithſtanding, they draue the *French* to ſuch extremitie, that King *Charles the Bald* was forced to giue vnto *Haſting* a *Norman*, Arch-pirate, the Earledome of *Charters*, for to aſſwage his furie exerciſed vpon his People; and againe, King *Charles the Groſſe*, granted vnto *Godfrey* the *Normane* part of *Neuſtria*, with his Daughter in mariage: Yet all this ſufficed not, but that the *Normans* by force of Armes ſeated themſelues neere vnto the mouth of *Sein*, taking all for their owne that lay compriſed betwixt that Riuer and the Riuer *Loyre*: which Countrey afterwards tooke the name of *Nor-manny* frō theſe Northern Gueſts, at what time King *Charles the Simple*, confirmed it vnto *Rollo* their Captaine.

Camb. Brit.

Camb. Brit. de Normans.

(5) This *Rollo*, as ſay the Daniſh Hiſtorians, was the ſon of *Guion*, a great Lord in *Denmark*, who with his brother *Gourin* were appointed to depart the Country (according to the Daniſh cuſtomes) to ſeeke their aduentures abroad, and leaue more roome for the reſt at home; but theſe refuſing the order made warre vpon the King, in which, both *Guion* the Father and *Gourin* the ſonne, were ſlaine, and *Rollo* forced to fly for ſafeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to ſeeke *Fortunes Court*, and not a few miſdoers, or out-lawedmen: whoſe *Acts* in *England* regiſtred by *Albertus Krantius*, ſeeing they vary from our owne hiſtorians in circumſtances of times, and names, I haue choſen in this place to inſert, leauing the credit therof to him the Reporter.

Rollo. Albert Krant.

(6) *Rollo*, a Nobleman of *Denmarke*, (ſaith he) and too powerfull in his Kings eye, was forced with a Nauy to aduenture his Fortunes into forreine parts, whoſe firſt arriuage, as he ſaith, was in *England*, where many of the Daniſh nobility had formerly tried their valours, and ſome of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that kingdom. *Indeed*, (ſaith he) *England from the beginning was not*

Polyer. lib. 6. ca. 1.

* gouerned

gouerned by one King, as now it is, for the Angle-Saxons had their prouince, and the Mercians theirs, both gouerned by Prouinciall Deputies, *but the Northumbrians had a* King; *as the Scots and Picts also, in the same Iland; had kept their own limits vnder the like Gouernment. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their cheefest abiding, and in this Prouince Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre vpon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Nauy lying vpon the Seas: and proceeding forward into the Continent, tooke great booties both of men, cattle, and other spoiles, lading their ships as they lay at Anchor: the Inhabitants of the Country making head against him, had still the worst.*

(7) *Rollo* yet doubtful and in suspence what to doe, desired indeed to returne to his Country, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way: next hee affected to try his Fortunes in *France*, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the People being exasperated against him, for the harms he had done them: but chiefely the *Diademe* of *England* ran most in his minde, though hee knew the hazard was great, to match his small Forces with an host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, *it chanced* him (saith my Author) *to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe hee seemed to sit in the Kingdome of France, vpon a high hil, bending his head forward to a Riuer which issued from the top of a mountaine, at the foote whereof beneath him, hee saw many kindes of Birds, which washed their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their yong.*

Rollo his dream.

Alb. Krantzius.

(8) *Rollo* awaking from his pleasing dream, imparted the same vnto his consorts, desiring their iudgements for interpretation; which no way satisfying him, hee called a *Christian* of his *English* Captiues, a man industrious, and of great Capacity, and of whose deep vnderstanding he had a great opinion: this captiue then boldened, (and willing in likelihood, to diuert *Rollo* from infesting England) told him, that his dreame was significant and good, and did prognosticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receiue a quiet possession, and a land of great renown in the Continent of *France*, and that himselfe should be cleansed in the Lauer of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy sins of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

The dreame expounded by an English Christian Captiue.

(9) This interpretation pleased *Rollo* well, and he easily beleeued that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therfore prouiding all things for *France*, he set his countenance only that way; yet because he had alredy performed great matters in *England*, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so fair a land, intended to sound the King by an Ambassage, that so, if he might find him inclinable to a league, he might haue a refuge against future chaunces; if not, then was he resolute to go forward with his iourney: therfore making choice of certaine actiue persons, sent them to the English king *Alstan*, a Prince of a speciall religion and holines of life: these hauing audience, vttered their message as followeth.

Rollo sendeth to sound King Alstan.

(10) *Wee being men distressed, and driuen from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed vs, who incouraged vs to seeke and winne a land by Conquest, supplying vs with strength, and giuing vs great hope of victory: which thing when wee resolued to take in hand, a Tempest of weather draue vs (O King) into these English Ports, where staying a fit season to put againe forth, the Winter withheld vs, and our wants made vs to seeke further into the Land: whereupon our men, euermore brought vp to the warre, beeing euill intreated of those inhabitants, were moued by such iniuries to prouide for their owne defence; wherein some small skirmishes haue passed betwixt them. Our Prince therefore and Generall* Rollo *doth humbly require peace of thee, and to be permitted to soiourne in thy Land for a time, and to relieue his company with things necessary, wee paying sufficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, hee shall rest content and pacified, vntill the next spring, at which time he meanes to take his intended voyage.*

(11) *Alstenus*, not ignorant of the Danish cruelty, and with how great Armies they might oppresse the *English* shoares, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further curtesie, saying withall, *I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not thinke much to repaire to our mansions, for he shall find none amongst vs but his most louing friends.* When this was signified to *Rollo*, choosing out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisedom, with them he very ioyfully meeteth the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiueth greater: Then sitting downe to talke and commune:

Rollo commeth to Alstans Court.

(12) *I am* (saith King *Alstenus*) *right gladde, most worthy Duke Rollo, to see you in this my Court. The renowne of your Nation hath beene related to mee, a Martiall kind of People yee are, and in fight vnconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowesse, are not vnnoted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne vnto vs: It is right pleasing vnto vs to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole kingdome is before you, choose out a seate for your selfe, and your people where soeuer you best like, for wee will haue an euerlasting league between vs.*

Will. Gemtic. l. 2. cap. 6. Alstans bounty to Rollo.

(13) *Rollo*, glad of so faire promises, replied: *Most worthy and renowmed King, I highly esteem of your bountifull and most liberall proffers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I doe thinke my selfe most bounden & deuoted to your worthines; and if destinie euer answer to our desires, we will not be vnthankfull for this your so great benignity. To seate our selues in your kingdome, though indeede we are very willing, and your Royall proffers do much more incite vs, yet Fate doth not permit it. I haue determined (and will certainly performe,) to goe into France. For your gifts bestowed on me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to haue a perpetuall League with you, that the like Fortune may betide vs both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. This I both offer, and accept of. This League God grant may to vs both proue happy and fortunate.*

(14) With such like interchanges the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, comming forth of their lodgings, most louingly embraced each other, when each gaue & receiued presents best suting with their estates and occasions. Neither doth *Krantzius* stay his penne there, but proceedeth to particular affaires betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne writers.

(15) As how the English rose in Armes against *Alstenus* their King, taking oportunity of the time, for that *Rollo* (whom they knew to bee ioined in a most strait confederacy with their Soueraigne) beeing then imployed in the warres of *France*, could not come or send to his aide: *Alstenus* therefore oppressed with a tumultuous kingdome, remembred *Rollo* his faithful friend, and sending Ambassadors declared vnto him what distresse he was in; who not vnmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his French wars, and prepared for *England* with all his Forces; where entring the Iland, he easily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ransacking their Cities, curbing their wildenes, and so reducing them at last to an orderly subiection. For which his great loue, care, & pains, the King not vnthankful, resolued to requite him with the halfe of his kingdom, appointing the Cities and limiting the bounds, which each of them should rule and gouerne as their owne possessions.

Alstans faith to his friend.

(16) *Rollo* in the meane time, as carefull of the peaces continuance, as regardlesse of so great remunerations, taketh pledges of the Rebels for securing their loialtie to the King, and peaceable bearing towards himselfe; vpon accomplishment whereof, repairing to *Alstenus* he thus bespake him.

(17) *Seeing (King Alstenus) you haue so highly rewarded me, both with princely entertainment, and bountifull*

tifull presents, I can doe no leſſe, then willingly beſtow vpon you theſe my paines for your ſafetie: it is no more then your deſerts doe challenge, neither will I accept, or ſeeme ſo vncourteous as to expect, for my paines, any part of your dominion. Your ſelfe now may well gouerne it; for France calles for my preſence: keepe therefore thoſe your Pledges, brought to you by your Subiects, and there is no doubt but you ſhall hence-forward gouerne your Kingdome in a ſetled and contentfull quietneſſe.

(18) The King could not containe thoſe his eies, which now beheld in a ſtranger ſo ſtrange and vnexempled kindnes, from reſoluing into teares; giuing him both hearty thanks, and rich gifts, ſeeing hee could not faſten on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that *Rollo* deſired was this, that he would giue licence to ſuch voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into *France*: whereto *Alſten*, ready in all things to gratifie his deſire, gladly condeſcended, and furniſhed him with attendants.

(19) But leauing *Krantius* the *Dane*, as likewiſe *Gemeticenſis* the *Norman*, to fauour their Country, & theſe their reports, to the beſt liking of the iudicious; moſt certaine it is, that the *French* King *Charles*, commonly called the *Simple*, gaue the Duchie of *Normandy* with his daughter *Gilla* (whoſe mother was *Æguina*, the daughter of *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*) vnto *Rollo* the *Dane*, as is recorded in an old manuſcript belonging to the Monaſtery of *Angiers*. And when *Rollo* was baptized, *Charles* receiuing him for his God-ſonne at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome receiued, and inioined therein to kiſſe the Kings foot, which hee did, but with ſome diſgrace to King *Charles*, and bound it with an oath that hee did not receiue it vpon courteſie.

(20) This *Rollo* by his ſecond wife *Popee*, (for *Gilla* died childleſſe) daughter to the Earle of *Beſsin* and *Baileulx*, had a ſonne named *william*, ſurnamed *Longeſpee*, and a daughter called *Girlota*, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Guyan*.

(21) *William Long-eſpee* (ſo called of the *Long Sword* he vſually wore) the ſecond *Daniſh* Duke of *Normandy*, took vnto wife *Sporta* the daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Sentlis*, by whom hee had onely *Richard* his ſonne: this *william* receiuing baptiſme, receiued therewith a new name, and was thenceforth called *Robert*, who hauing gouerned his Dukedome with great moderation the ſpace of twenty yeeres, was guilefully murthered by the working of *Lewes* King of *France*, to the great griefe of his people, who ſo far followed the reuenge, that they intercepted *Lewes* in the Citie *Rothomage*, and deteined him their priſoner, till he agreed to theſe Articles: That young *Richard* ſhould ſucceed his ſlaine Father in the foreſaid Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the *King* & *Duke* ſhould conferre together, the *Duke* ſhould bee girt with his Sword, and the *King* diſabled either of Sword or knife: to which *Lewes* yeelded vpon his corporall oth.

(22) *Richard* thus eſtabliſhed, gouerned his Dukedome the ſpace of fifty two yeeres. Hee was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called *Richard the Hardy*. His firſt wife was * *Agnes*, daughter to *Hugh le Grand*, Earle of *Paris*, Lord Abbat of *Germans*, and Father to *Hugh Capet* of *France*; but ſhe dying iſſueleſſe, he ſecondly married *Gunnor*, a Gentlewoman of the *Daniſh* bloud, (whom he had kept his Concubine before) by whom he had three ſonnes and three daughters: the firſt was *Richard* that ſucceeded in his dominions; the ſecond was *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Roan*; and the third was called *Maliger*: his daughters were *Hawiſa*, the wife of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and mother to *Alane* and * *Guye* his ſonnes. *Maud* eſpouſed * *Euldes* Earle of *Chartiers* and *Blais*: and *Emma* called the *Flower of Normandy*, was Queene of *England*, both by the *Engliſh* King *Ethelred*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, to both which ſhee was married.

(23) *Richard* the ſecond, ſurnamed the *Good*, was the fourth Duke of *Normandy*, and ruled the ſame for twenty foure yeeres: In whoſe time the *Normans* began to be great, and gracious in *England*, the marriage of his Siſter making their way: his firſt wife was *Iudith* the Siſter of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaigne*, by whom he had iſſue, *Richard*, the firſt Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* the ſixt, *William* a Monke, and *Nicholas* Abbot of *S. Andrewes*: his daughters by her were, *Alice*, that died yong, and another of the ſame name maried to *Reinold*, Earle of *Burgoine*, and *Eleanor* eſpouſed to *Baldwin* the fourth Earle of *Flanders*; who bare vnto him *Baldwin* the fifth, father of *Maud* that was Queene of *England*, and wife to the *Conqueror*.

(24) The ſecond wife to Duke *Richard* the ſecond, was *Eſtrike*, Siſter to *Canute* King of *England*, from whom he purchaſed a Diuorce, without any iſſue begotten on her body; and then taking for his thrid wife a faire Gentlewoman named *Paula*, had iſſue by her *William* Earle of *Arques*, and *Maurger* Archbiſhop of *Roane*.

(25) *Richard* the third of that name, and fifth *Duke* of *Normandy*, in the ſecond yeere of his Dukedome died an vntimely death, not without ſuſpition of Poyſon, miniſtred by *Robert* his younger brother, who preſently was inueſted in the *Dutchie*, for that he left no iſſue of his body to ſucceed.

(26) This *Robert* (*Duke Richards Brother*) was a man of a magnanimous ſpirit, and of ſuch bounteous liberality as is vncredible. Hee comming to the City *Phaleſia* in *Normandy*, chanced to ſee a moſt goodly and beautifull damoſell, dancing among others of her familiar conſorts; her name was *Arlet*, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skinner, ſaith *Higden*) whoſe pleaſing feature and comely grace ſo pleaſed the Duke, that taking her to his bed, he begot on her, *William* his onely ſonne, (who proued the onely man of the *Normans* blood) and after vpon a remorſe of conſcience, vndertooke a pilgrimage vnto *Ieruſalem*, from whence hee neuer againe returned. *Arlet* in *Roberts* life time was married to *Herlaine* a *Norman* Gentleman, but of meane ſubſtance; to whom ſhe bare *Odo* Biſhop of *Baion*, by his halfe-brother *William* created Earle of Kent; and *Robert* created Earle of *Mortaigne*, a man of a dull and groſſe wit; & a daughter named *Emma*, wife to *Richard* count of *Auranches*, (a Prouince in *Normandy*,) the mother of *Hugh Lupus* Earle Palatine of *Cheſter*. And thus farre breefly I haue thought good to proſecute the Line of the *Normans*, for the better illuſtration of our *Engliſh* Stories.

(27) Duke *Robert* intending his pious pilgrimage vnto the holy land, aſſembled all his Nobility vnto the City *Fiſcan*, where he cauſed them to ſweare fealty vnto his ſonne *William*, being then but ſeuen yeares old, committing him to the Gouernance of one *Gilbert*, an Earle of much integrity and prudence, and the defence of that Gouernment vnto *Henry* the *French* King, and ſo in the eight yeare of his Dukedome, ſet on his voyage for *Ieruſalem*; who entring *Iurye*, and not able to trauaile, was born in a litter vpon the *Saracens* ſhoulders, and neere vnto the Citie, meeting a returning Pilgrime, deſired him to report in his Country what he there ſaw, which is, (ſaid hee) that I am carried to Heauen vpon the Diuels backe: but ſo farre was he borne that he neuer returned, being preuented by death: which the *Norman Peeres* hearing, made vſe thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young *William* their Pupill and Soueraigne, and grown into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle *Gilbert* the Protector was ſlaine, by *Randulphus* the young Dukes Coſen-Germane.

(28) The beginner of theſe ſtirres was another of his kinſmen, euen *Guy* of *Burgoine*, the ſonne of Duke *Richards* daughter, brought vp with *William* in his youth, and euer in his moſt eſpecial eſteeme; who, vpon a vaine hope to aſpire to an *Earldome*, got the aide of the Vicounts, *Nigell*, and *Randulph*, but tooke ſuch a fall

fourth Duke of Normandy.

Rast. Higden calleth him Richard the child.

Richard 3. the fifth Duke of Normandy.

Robert 1. the ſixt Duke of Normandy.

Ran. Higden. in Polycr. lib. 6. c. 18.

Wil. Tarlyn of Roan.

Wil. Malmsb. li. 3. ca. 1.

Rand. Higden in Polyc. lib 6. cap. 19

Wil. Malmsb. lib. 3.

a fall before he could aſcend the higheſt ſtep, that in loſing his footing he loſt therewith his head.

(29) Strife alſo aroſe betwixt yong *William*, and his Vnckle *william* the baſe-borne Earle of *Archis*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this Wolfe by the eare, fearing ſome hazzard to himſelfe, if he ſhould now let him go, thought it beſt to aid the *Earle* in his cauſe, and therefore ſent him ſupplie vnder the leading of ſome men of note; but *William* ſo begir this Caſtle with ſtrait ſiege, that hee cauſed the Earle by famiſhment to yleed vp his Fort, and droue the *French* with diſgrace out of the field: where, with ſuch ſucceſſe he ſtill proſpered, that *Henry* now, to ſecure his own Confines, ſent *Odo* his brother for Prefect, into thoſe Parts, that lay betwixt the Riuers *Reyn* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William* as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, ſent againſt *Odo*, *Robert Count Aucenſis*, *Hugh Gornacenſis*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Chirſpine*, all of them ſtout Souldiers, which ſo brauely bare themſelues, that *Odo* was the firſt man that made away, and the reſtof the *French* ſaued themſelues by flight.

(31) *William* that had ſworne a league with King *Henry*, and in his Minority had euer found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that loue and deſerts had obliged him vnto; and therefore by this Stratagem hee ſought to diſlodge the *French*. In the ſilence of Night when in the Kings Campe all were at reſt, he cauſed to be cried aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his diſcomfiture, with no leſſe terrour then it was; which rang ſo ſhrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought beſt to be gone: leauing *William* the abſolute Lord of *Normandie*.

(32) Which he valiantly defended, and vprightly gouerned all the daies of King *Henry*: whoſe death preſently cauſed an alteration of State; for he leauing *Baldwine* ſurnamed the *Gentle*, and fifth Earle of *Flaunders*, Tutor to his yong Sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt thoſe two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one ſide ſo working his Pupill, and on the other the *Normane*, (who was his ſonne in law) that a moſt firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept vnuiolated ſo long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leaue him in proſperitie and peace, and proceed in our intendment, as he did in his Conqueſt here in *England*.

The

WILLIAM SVRNAMED THE CONQVEROVR, THE THIRTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: AND FIRST OF THE NORMANS: HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 39

CHAPTER II.

BAttle Field wonne with the losse of little lesse then sixty eight thousand men, and *Harold* in Souldier-like exequies borne vnto *Waltham* in *Essex*, & there honourably enterred, as we haue said: *William the Conqueror*, (for so now may wee stile him) returned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoile of the Country, ouer *Thamesis* towards *London*.

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar*, the Brethren of the Queen, were in working the *English*, that one of them should be King, or rather, saith *Simon* of *Durham*, to crowne *Edgar Etheling*, the rightfull heire, in such esteeme with the People, that he was commonly called *Englands Darling*; vnto whose side most of the Nobles adhered, with the Citizens of *London*, and the Nauall forces; to which part also ioined *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*, though presently he fel off and stuckt to the stronger; for the Prelates, though secretly affecting the right claime, yet terrified with the flashing thunderbolts of the Papall curse, durst not goe forward with their purpose (so powerfull was the Pope, euen then to defeat the rightfull heires of kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lords, whereupon all their designements were suddainely quashed.

(3) For *William* hauing wasted through *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, came vnto *Wallingford*, and crossing there the *Thamesis*, passed through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* and *Hertford*, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with the Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, yea and *Edgar* himself, yeelded their allegiance vnto the Duke: This curse so preuailing,

A.D.1066

The Pope powerfull to depose Princes.

Wil. Malms.

Wil. Gemmit.

farre engaged *William* to the Pope.

Trees cut downe to hinder *Williams* passage.

(4) *William* intending for *London*, being on his way, found the passage stopt vp with multitudes of great trees, which by the policy of *Frethericke* Abbot of S. *Albanes*, (a man descended from the *Saxons* noble bloud, as likewise from *Canutus* the *Dane*) to secure his Monasterie from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: whereat the Duke both wondring and fretting, sent for the Abbot, vnder his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut; *Frethericke* answered very stoutly, *I haue done* (said he) *the duety both of my birth and profession; and if others of my ranke had performed the like (as they well might and ought) it had not beene in thy power to haue pierced the land thus farre.*

Iohn Stow.

(5) *William* hearing the bold answere of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exulcerate the *Englisb* spirits, gaue way to the present necessity, and withall hastned (as good policy required) his coronation, which at Westminster was solemnized vpon Monday, being the day of *Christs Natiuity*, and yeere of saluation, 1066. where he receiued the crowne at the hands of *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*; causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance vnto him; and himselfe likewise at the altar of *S. Peters*, tooke a solemne oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good lawes, and to see iustice vprightly administred, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his counsell, such men as he knew to bee of great wisedome and experience: next, applying his thoughts for the security of his new gotten Empire; fortified such places as lay open to danger, bestowed strong Garrisons vpon the coasts, & ships to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to inuasion.

King *Williams* Coronation.

William fortifieth against inuasions.

Polydor.

(6) And the better to assure the south of the land, (best seruing his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Douer*, the *locke and key of the Kingdome*, as *Mathew Paris* terms it; that so hee might commaund the seas from his enemies arriuage, and ouer-awe the *Kentish* a most strong and populous Prouince. When *Stigand* therfore Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egleſine* the Politicke Abbot of Saint *Augustines* (being the chiefest Lords and Gouernours of *Kent*) vnderstoode of his approch, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Prouince, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wronges of the Church; all which now were too apparantly seene: the *Englisb* till then, (they sayd,) were borne free, and the name of bond-men not heard of among them; but now seruitude only attend vs, if wee yeeld (sayd they) to the insolency of this griping enemy: These two Prelates therefore, after the example of the vndaunted *Machabees*, offered themselues to die in the defence of their Country; whose forwardnesse drew the people vnto the like resolution, which by their aduertisements were assigned to meet at a day, the place was *Swanscombe*, two miles west from *Graues end.*

Math. Paris.

Iohn Stow.

Archbishop *Stigands* perswasion of the *Kentish.*

(7) Where accordingly conuening, and keeping secret in the woods, they waited the comming of the Conquerour, all iointly agreeing, for that no way lay open saue onely a front, to carry in their hands great branches of trees, wherewith they might both keepe themselues from discouery, and (if need were) impeach the passage of the *Normans*: which deuice tooke so strange an effect, that it daunted the Duke euen with the sight at his approch; who being, as he thought, free from the enemy, was now suddainly beset on all sides with woods, whereof seeing some before him to moue, he knew not but that all the other vast woods were of like nature, neither had hee leasure to auoide the danger. The *Kentish* inclosing his Army about, displaied their banners, cast downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; so that hee which euen now had the Realme to his seeming in his fist, stood in despaire of his owne life; of which his sodaine amazement, the reuerend Prelates *Stigand* and *Egleſine* taking notice, & also aduantage, presented themselues before him, and in the behalfe of the *Kentish* thus spake.

Thom. Sprot.

The *Kentish* policie against King *William.*

" (8) *Most noble Duke, behold here the Commons*
" *of* Kent *are come forth to meete and receiue you as their*
" *Soueraigne, requiring your Peace, their own free con-*
" *dition of estate, and their ancient lawes formerly vsed:*
" *if these be denied, they are here presently to abide the*
" *verdite of battaile, fully resolued rather to die, then to*
" *depart with their lawes, or to liue seruile in bondage;*
" *which name and nature is, and euer shall be strange vn-*
" *to vs, and not to be endured.*

The Conquerour driuen into this strait, and loath to hazard all on so nice a point, their demaunds being not vnreasonable, more wisely then willinglie granted their desires; and pledges on both parts giuen for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earledome; and Castle of *Douer* to their new King *William.*

(9) All things established for *Englands* securitie, and subiection now to the *Normans*; hee ordained his halfe brother by the surer side, *Odo* Bishop of of *Bayeux*, (whom he created Earle of *Kent*) and his cosen *William-Fitz-Osburne* (by him made Earle of *Hereford*) to bee Gouernours in his absence ouer the Realme; and in the *Lent* following sailed into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelity, besides other Nobles, especially such as he feared to be too potent; amongst whom, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* surnamed *Etheling*, *Frethe-rik* Abbot of *S. Albans*, *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, *Walteof* the sonne of the warlike *Siward* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Rainulph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Gospatricke* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greatest note; yet was hee no sooner gone, but that *Edrick* surnamed *Syl-uaticus* (sonne to *Alfrick*, the brother of *Edrick Streona*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*,) a man of great spirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welshmen*, tooke vp armes and denied subiection to the *Normans*, so that by either partie (as in ciuill discords it euer falleth out) great spoiles were made in many places; but most of all in *Herefordshire*, where *Robert Fitz-Scroope* left to man the Castle, did much hurt vpon the Tenants of *Edricke*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his aide *Blethyn* and *Ry-walhon* Kings of *Wales*, wasted all to the mouth of *Wye.*

(10) These stirres in *England* called *william* out of *Normandy*, and were so distastful to his great, but ill digesting stomacke, that hee began to hold the reine straiter, and harder to curbe the head-strong *Englisb*, giuing the possessions of their Nobles vnto his *Normans*, and laying vnwonted taxes & heauie subsidies vpon the Commons, then which nothing bred him more hatred, in so much, that many of them, to enioy a barren liberty, forsooke their fruit-full inheritance, and with their Wiues & Children, as outlawes, liued in the Woods, preferring that naked name of freedome, before a sufficient maintenance possest vnder the thraldome & tyranny of their Conquerors: but in short time, to sustaine their wants, (easily conceiued, but hardly indured) they so fell to spoyle and robbe, that the high waies lay vntrod from towne to towne, yea and priuate houses euery where so guarded with bowes, billes, polaxes, swords and clubs, as if they had been not harbours of peace, but fortresses of warre; when praies were made at the shutting in, and opening of their dores, as in times of open hostilitie. On the other side, such as preferred vassalage with some hope of tollerable (yea, or vntollerable) vsage, they to curry fauour with the *Normans*, seeming to forget who they were, became as strangers themselues, and did shaue their beards, round their haire, and in arment, behauiour, and diet, a ltogether vnfashioned

ned themſelues to imitate them: it being a ſhame in thoſe daies, euen amongſt *Engliſhmen*, to bee an *Engliſhman*.

(11) Vnto theſe Malecontents, and voluntarie *Out-lawes*, ioined *Morcar* and *Edwine*, the ſtout Earles of *Cheſter* and *Yorkeſhire*, ſetting vp again for their Captaine *Edgar Etheling* (which if in due time at firſt they had done, might haue proued ſucceſſefull) who with their complices right valiantly for a time reſiſted the *Normans*, and in their proceedings put many of them to the ſword. King *William* as carefull and ſedulous to preuent further miſchiefe, collecting his forces, and not without danger of his life, diſſolued their power, ſo that euery man ſought how to ſaue himſelfe by eſcape: among whom *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Weltherſus* and *Merther*, with ſome of the Biſhops and Clergie went into *Scotland*. *Marleſwin*, and *Goſpatrick*, Noblemen of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar Atheling*, with his mother *Agatha*, and his ſiſters *Chriſtian* and *Margaret*, tooke the ſeas for *Hungarie*; but by contrary winds were driuen into *Scotland*, where they were moſt courteouſly entertained by *Malcolme* (ſurnamed *Cammor*) King of that Country, who ſo affected the perſon and qualities of Lady *Margaret*, that hee entred with her a Nuptiall contract, and the rather in reſpect of her poſſibility and neereneſſe to the *Engliſh* crowne; whoſe marriage was ſolemnized about the feaſt of *Eaſter*, in the ſecond of King *Williams* raigne, whereby *Scotland* became a ſanctuary to the *Engliſh*, which daily fledde thither from the preſſures of the *Normans*.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiuing the occaſion of new ſtirres, ſent vnto King *Malcolme* for the deliuerie of *Edgar* his enemie; which if he refuſed, hee threatened to denounce open warre againſt *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his owne honour, then King *VVilliams* threats, returned this anſwere, That he held it an vniuſt thing, yea and (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his enemy, that came vnto his Court for protection, as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life; whoſe innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his greateſt aduerſarie, could not touch with the leaſt ſuſpect: alleadging further (beſides the reſpect of ordinary humanity, in this caſe euer religiouſly to be obſerued) the ſtraight bands of their neere alliance, which required him to tender the afflicted eſtate of his moſt louing wiues, moſt loued brother, comming vnder his Canopie, as it were for defence.

(13) *William* thus fruſtrate of all hope from king *Malcolme*, and daily perplexed at the flight of the *Engliſh* vnto his kingdome, feared a reuolt & dangerous rebellion; to preuent which, hee cauſed foure ſtrong caſtles to bee built, one at *Haſting*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, & the fourth at *Yorke*, wherein he beſtowed ſtrong Gariſons: and diſarming the *Engliſh* of armour, commaunded euery houſe-holder to put out both fire and candle at eight of the clocke at night; at which houre, in euery City, Towne and Village, he cauſed a bell to be rung, of the *French* then called *Couerfew* (that is, *Couer-fire*) partly yet in practiſe, and in name verie neer, commonly called *Curfue*: to preuent nightly tumults that might happily be done.

(14) All this his circumſpection notwithſtanding, could not preuent the troubles that preſently aroſe; for *Goodwin* and *Edmund*, the ſonnes of the late King *Harold*, comming with ſome forces out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Sommerſetſhire*, fought with *Adnothus*, (ſometime maſter of their fathers horſe, but now a *Normaniſt*) whom they ſlew with many others, and taking great booties both in *Cornwall* and *Deuonſhire*, departed againe for *Ireland*.

Exceſter likewiſe, ſeeking to ſhake off the fetters of the *Normans* bondage, as alſo *Northumberland*, to recouer their former liberties, tooke Armes: againſt whom, King *William* in all haſt poſſible, ſent *Robert Cumin*, and went himſelfe ſtrongly prepared againſt *Exceſter*, which he moſt ſtraitly beleaguered; at which time the Citizens thought it not enough to ſhutte their gates againſt him, but contemptuouſly taunted and flouted him, vntill a great peece of the wall falling downe by the eſpeciall hand of God, (as the Hiſtorians of that age report) they immediately ſet open their gates, and ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy. The chiefe inſtigator to their diſloialty was *Githa* the mother of King *Harold*, and ſiſter to *Swain* King of *Denmarke*, with others ſiding againſt the *Normans*; who now ſeeing the yeelding vp of that Citie, ſhifted themſelues out of danger, and got ouer vnto *Flanders*.

Camb. Damon.

Exceſter yeelded to King William

(15) But fortune to *Cumin* was not ſo fauourable in the North, nor himſelfe ſo circumſpect as valiant; for lying ſecurely, as hee thought in the City *Durham*, hee was on the ſodaine ſurpriſed in the night by *Edgar Atheling* and his followers, where *Robert* and ſeuen hundred of his *Normans* were ſlain, one onely eſcaping, who brought the bloody news thereof to King *William*, which hapned in the third of his raigne, the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, and yeere of Chriſt, 1068. The depth of Winter notwithſtanding, he poſted into the north; whoſe only terror danted all further attempts, ſo that taking ſome of the Authors of this rebellion, he cut off their hands and ſome of their heads, conceiuing hereupon more hatred againſt the *Engliſh*, and in that ſpleene of diſpleaſure returned to *London*.

An.D.1068

The Normans ſlaine in the north.

Polyd.

(16) Whiles theſe inſurrections were on foot in *England*, the fugitiue *Engliſh* in *Denmarke* ſo far preuailed with King *Swaine*, that they procured his aid to recouer their rights, and the rather, as they alleadged, for that the Crowne of *England* was his, deſcending from thoſe that had before made conqueſt thereof: hee therefore ſent a puiſſant Nauie of three hundred ſaile well fraught with ſouldiers, vnder the conduct of *Osburne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Canute* his ſonnes,: who arriuing in *Humber*, landed their men for *Yorke*, and waſted the Country all the way as they went; vnto whom ſhortly ioined *Edgar* and his aſſociates out of *Scotland*, ſo that their Army was exceedingly ſtrong. Whoſe approch ſo terrified the *Yorkers*, that for very griefe thereof their Archbiſhop *Aldred*, (who was wholly become the *Normans* fauourite) died, and the *Norman* Garriſons that there kept, leſt the enemy ſhould haue any ſhelter or ſuccour, ſet their ſuburbs on fire; the flame whereof carried with an ouer-high wind, ſoone conſumed a great part of the City it ſelfe, and therein, the faire Cathedrall Church of *S. Peters*, with a famous Library thereto adioining.

An.D.1069

Matth. Paris, Mat. Weſtm. lib. 2.

The Danes with *Engliſh* fugitiues inuade *England*.

Lib. Abor. M.S.

Yorke ſet on fire by her owne ſouldiers.

(17) The Citizens, and Souldiers thus beſet with ſodaine flames, thinking to ſecure their liues frõ the fire, did enhazard them on the fury of the ſword; for comming vnawares vpon theſe hardy and well appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a diſordered fight, wherein though for a time they behaued themſelues moſt valiantly, yet being ouerlaid, were diſcomfited with the ſlaughter of three thouſand of their men. The *Danes*, ſwelling with this proſperous ſucceſſe tooke into *Northumberland*, bringing all to their obeiſance where they came; and the two yong gallants were therby ſo fleſhed, & incouraged, that they intended to haue marched to *London*, had not the extremity of winter (enemy to all warlike enterpriſes) hindred them; yea and *William* as willingly would haue beene doing, if the ſame cauſe had not kept him backe: but when the time of the yeare was fit for warre, hee gathered a great hoſt, whereof the *Engliſh* were chiefe, this being his policy, to vſe their weapons each againſt others, wherby their ſtrengths might bee leſſened, that ſo whoſoeuer loſt, his *Normans* might winne: theſe ioining battaile with the enemy, fought it out manfully; and laſtly, making a breach into a wing of the *Daniſh*

The Danes victors ouer the *Engliſh*.

William policy to weaken the *Engliſh*.

Wil. Malmſb.

Daniſh army therewith ſo daunted the reſt, that all of them gaue backe and fled; *Harold* and *Canute* to their ſhips, & *Edgar Atheling* by ſwift horſe into *Scotland*. Earle *Waltheof*, who with his owne hands had ſlaine many a *Norman* that day, was reconciled to King *William*, now left conquerour of the field; whoſe wrath was ſo kindled againſt theſe *Northerne* diſturbers, that he waſted all the faire Country betwixt *Yorke* and *Durham*, leauing al deſolate for threeſcore miles ſpace, which nine yeares after lay vntilled & without any inhabitant; when grew ſo great a famine, that theſe *Northerns* were forced to eate the fleſh of men.

The North miſerably waſted.

An.D.1070 *Polyd.*

(18) The Conquerour after theſe troubles bare more hatred vnto the *Engliſh*, whoſe inconſtancie (ſo he accounted their vnquenched deſire of liberty) he daily dreaded, eſpecially the Nobles, and men of power; whereupon hee beganne to deale yet more roughly for light cauſes, thruſting out ſome of them into exile, and depriuing more of their lands and goods, ſeizing moſt part of euery mans reuenews into his owne poſſeſsion, as gained by a lawful conqueſt, cauſing them to redeeme them againe at his hands, and yet retained a propriety thereof vnto himſelfe, by receiuing an annuall rent, and other prouiſions and ſeruices, whereof if they failed, their lands were vtterly excheated to the crown; neither ſpared hee the Corporations of Cities, Townes, Monaſteries, or Epiſcopall Sees; but tooke from them their ancient liberties and priuiledges, whoſe redemptions ſet at what rate it pleaſed himſelfe, ſoon weakened their eſtates, which was the onely thing hee aimed at, and therefore often blamed *Canutus* for his ouermuch gentlenes extended towards thoſe, whom he had conquered, whoſe ſteps therein hee ment not to tread.

The *Engliſh* hated and baniſhed

Math. Paris.

(19) He charged the Clergy with armour, horſe and money, for the maintenance of his wars, wherin the Biſhops and Abbots were taxed at very great ſummes, which hee cauſed to bee regiſtred and laid vp in his treaſury: ſo that hee did not onely bereaue their Abbies and Monaſteries of all their gold and ſiluer, but, by the report of *Roger Windouer*, laid hands vpon their Chalices and rich ſhrines, and for their further vndoing eſtabliſhed by decree, that no *Engliſh* Scholler ſhould come to promotion. In which reſpect alſo, whereas *King Alfred had, for the maintenance of many learned Diuines, (which might inſtruct his people in the Faith, in their owne vulgar tong) founded a goodly Colledge in Oxford, to be maintained wholly at the Kings charges, which was accordingly performed, and totally continued in all his ſucceſſors raigns: King* William, *deſiring vtterly to deſtroy the Engliſh tongue, and preaching therein; decreed, that the ſaid annuall expence, ſhould neuer after bee allowed out of the Kings Exchequer*, to the great impairing both of learning and religion. To further all which proceedings, his holy Father Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, ſet in a foote, ſending two Cardinals, and a Biſhop from the See Apoſtolike, who in a Councell degraded *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Egelwine* Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, beſides diuers other Biſhops and Abbots of the *Engliſh* nation; depriued for no euident cauſe, but onlie to giue place to the *Normans* in fauour of the King.

Roger Wind.

Wil. Malmſb.

Ex Archiu. Colleg. Vniuerſit. Oxon. Tur. Apol. 2.

Wil. Thorne.

Marianus.

Gerua. Doraber.

(20) The ancient lawes of the land he abrogated for the moſt part, ordaining new, nothing ſo equall nor ſo eaſie to bee kept; which his lawes although they neerly concerned the *Engliſh* & therefore ought of them to haue beene familiarly knowne, were notwithſtanding written in the harſh *Norman* tongue, which they vnderſtood not; ſo that many perſons, partly by the iniquitie of the law it ſelfe, partly by ignorance in miſconſtruction, & often alſo by the ſleightes of Pleaders and Iudges, who might pretend for law what they liſt, were wrongfully condemned, in forfeiture of goods, lands, yea and alſo of life, and generally ſo intangled with their vnknowne interpretation, and tortured with their delaies, turmoiles and trauerſes, that they rather choſe to giue ouer their ſuites, then to follow them with their endleſſe vexations.

M. Mils in Will. Conq.

Hard lawes impoſed vpon the *Engliſh*.

He cauſed likewiſe his Broad ſeale, wherewith he confirmed his Deeds and Charters, to be inſcribed on the one ſide, to acknowledge him for the *Normans Patron*, and on the other, for the *Engliſh King*, as in the ſculpture thereof, at the entrance of his hiſtory is ſeene, which beareth this ſenſe;

King William his Seale.

This Signe doth VVilliam, Normans Patron ſhow:
By this the Engliſh him their King doe know.

(21) Theſe ſnares of his lawes accounted the fetters of the Natiues, were by the Nobility ſought to be caſt off: for *Edwin* and *Morcar*, (the two ſtout Earles ſo often mentioned) fainedly reconciled to the King not long before, combining with *Fretherike*, the bold and rich Abbot of S. *Albanes*, ſet vp *Edgar Atheling* their Generall once againe, and fell into a new conſpiracy: *William* Lion-like ſtorming at the looſe, and regardleſſe allegiance of theſe vnſufferable ſubiects, daily with freſh attempts ſo diſturbing his peace, with a mighty power haſtened againſt them, and armed aſwell with the ſpirituall ſword of *Lanfranck*, (then aduanced to bee Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) as with maile of Iron, or coats of ſteele, laied all barren whereſoeuer hee came: his oppoſites for their parts knowing his purpoſe, as deſperately maintained what they had begunne, and fully were reſolued to make the ſword their Iudge.

An.D.1071 *Wil. Maleſ.*

The *Engliſh* rise againſt *William*.

(22) The King by his Spials hearing the encreaſe of their power, and knowing to his reſtleſſe trouble, the vnwilling ſubiection of the *Engliſh*, entred conſultation with his Archbiſhop; who as *Rehoboams* Sages, gaue him counſell ſomewhat to beare with their abuſes, rather then to hazard the ruine of all in fight; and ſo farre preuailed in this his aduice, that an aſſembly was appointed to meet at *Berkhamſted* in the County of *Hertford*, where the King entring parley with the *Engliſh* Nobility, ſo far did wind himſelfe into their good opinions, (being a very politike, and faire-ſpoken Prince) that they all forthwith laid down their weapons.

1. King. 12.6.

(23) And hee for his part fearing to loſe the crown with ſhame, which he had gotten by the effuſion of ſo much bloud, gaue his oath vpon the holy Euangeliſts, and the reliques of Saint *Albane* the Martyr, (the ſame being miniſtred vnto him by Abbot *Fretherik*) ſwearing to obſerue, and inuiolably to keep the ancient laws of this land; & moſt eſpecially thoſe compiled by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, though (as the euent ſoone ſhewed) hee little ment to doe as hee pretended.

King William ſworn vnto King Edwards lawes.

(24) Peace thus eſtabliſhed, among other conferences beſeeming ſuch eſtates, it chaunced King *William* to demand the reaſon how it came to paſſe, that his fortune ſhould bee in one daies battaile to ſubdue the *Engliſh*, which the *Danes* before him could not doe in many; to which queſtion whilſt each ſtood looking on others, expecting what to anſwere, the ſtout Abbot *Fretherick* ſtept forth and ſaid:

Lib S. Alban. S. in vita Fretherici.

(25) *The reaſon thereof may eaſily bee giuen, if the occaſion bee well weighed; for wontedly the land was defended by dint of ſwords, vntill that their warlike wearers vpon their godly deuotions, laid them from their ſides vpon the Altars of Oriſons, which through ouerlong reſt are growne very ruſtie, and their edges too dull now for the field: for, (ſaid hee) the maintenance of martiall men, with a great part of this lands reuenewes, are daily conuerted to pious imploiments, to maintaine and defend theſe holy votaries, whoſe praiers pierce more deeper then the ſword: and therefore thou art obliged ô King, to maintaine their peace, that haue beene the cauſe of thy ſo eaſie purchaſe.*

A good ſpeech ill taken.

(26) But *William* before the words were well out of his mouth replied and ſaid, *Is the Clergy ſorich and ſo ſtrengthned that the land thereby lieth weakened of her men.*

men at Armes, and to keepe onely the religious in safetie shall the Laitie lie exposed to the invasions of the Danes, and other forreine Enemies? surely out of your owne mouthes I will iudge you, and for redresse will first begin with thee: whereupon hee tooke from the Abbey of *Saint Albanes* all the lands and reuenewes that lay betwixt *Barnet* and *London-Stone*. Abbot *Fretherick*, whose ouerbold answers had now offended the King, without delay called a chapter of his brethren, shewing them their approaching dangers, and to auoid the present storme, went himselfe to *Ely*, where hee desisted not from his wonted machinations against the Conquerour.

(26) This conference ended, and the Kings oath receiued, the *English* Armies disband themselues, as dreaming they had now good Fortune by the foot and hoping the greatest stormes of their dangers were past; which presently proued but a Vaine surmise: for King *William* hauing compounded with the *Danes* that lay all this last Winter in *Northumberland*, and paid them a great summe for their departure, beganne extreamely to hate the rebels, and with full resolution of their destruction, suddainely set vpon them apart, which he durst not attempt, when they were vnited, so that slaying many, imprisoning others, and prosecuting all of them with fire & sword, wel was he that could be first gone.

(27) *Edgar Etheling* got again into *Scotland*, and *Edwin* Earle of *Yorkeshire* following with the like intent, was slaine in the way by his owne souldiers; *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham*, *Morcar* Earle of *Chester*, *Siward* surnamed *Bran*, and *Hereward* (a verie valiant Knight) got into the Ile of *Ely*, relying wholly on the aduantage of the place.

This *Hereward* had receiued a hallowed sword, and benediction of his vnckle the Abbot of *Peterborow*, and had most valiantly defended his owne inheritance against the *Normans*, and with no lesse courage withstood the Conquerour, being made captaine of those now assembled.

(28) But the King left delay should giue them aduantage, and harbor more of such his vnbrideled subiects, with a great power hasted thitherward, & stopping vp the East passage from all flight, or relieue, drew a causy on the west through the deepe Fennes, euen two miles of length, where likewise he then built the Castle of *Wisbech*: against which, they in the Ile raised another of timber and turffes, and called it according to the name of their Captaine, *Hereward*: at which place, many assaultes & bickerings being made, but yet no entrance gotten, *Morcar* by boat escaped out of the Ile, and in *Scotland* obtained by price, what these distressed could not by praier; so that *Malcolme* the King, in rescue & reuenge of them, inuaded *Cumberland*, and forraged all *Theisdale*: *Hereward* also went out of the Ile, and got a gallant crew of choise and youthfull souldiers, which stood most stoutly for the defence of their liberties.

(29) In the meane while, the Monkes, oppressed with miseries, sued for mercy vnto the King, & *Thurstan* the Abbot repairing to *Warwick*, where *William* then lay, offered him entrance vnto the Ile, if hee would restore to their Abbey the ancient possessions: the King then reioicing, to obtaine that by wit, which *Canutus* could not do by maine strength, accorded to the request, and in great hast, but no little difficulty, got into the Ile, where slaying a thousand of the Common sort, hee vsed great cruelty against the better, imprisoning many, and dismembring others, some of their hands, some of their eies and some of their feete. *Egelwine* Bishop of *Durham* hee imprisoned, first at *Abington*, then at *Westminster*, whose diet was either so sparing, or stomack so great in forbearance, or both (for both are reported) that ere long he died of hunger.

(30) Howsoeuer the Monkes of *Ely* kept their promise with *William* for betraying of the Ile; he contrariwise brake his for their preseruation and peace; for by no means their praiers would enter his eares, till the sound of seuen hundred markes had opened the way; to collect which, they were forced to sell both the iewels and ornaments of their Church; which being brought to his receiuers, there wanted (whether by error or deceit) a groat in weight, (for in those daies greater summes passed by weight, not by tale,) whereof when the King vnderstood, hee in greate (but captious) rage, denied them all composition for peace, whereupon with much suite he was entreated to accept of a thousand Markes more, to raise which, they disfurnished their Monastery euen of things of necessary vse.

A small peace of money wanting made more to be paide.

(31) But the *English Fugitiues*, who had gotten the *Scots* to stick to them, were not yet pacified, but entring into *Cumberland*, they wasted the Country before them vnto the Territories of *Saint Cuthbert*, & city of *Durham*; to meet whom, King *William* sent *Gospatrick*, who lately reconciled to his fauour, and created Earle of *Northumberland*, shewed the like measure of cruelty vpon the *Scotish* Abetters, as they had done against the *English*. The Conqueror therefore not a little moued against King *Malcolme*, for that his Country was a receptacle of his Rebellious Subiects, and himselfe now the cheife Leader of the Male-contents into his Kingdome, hasted into *Scotland* with a desire and purpose, to haue done much more then hee was able to accomplish: for entring *Galloway*, hee more wearied his Souldiers in passing the Marish grounds and mountaines, then with encounter or pursuite of the Enemy, so that hee was forced to giue ouer his enterprize, and then drew his forces towards *Lothiam*, where King *Malcolme* and his *English* laie, being fully resolued, there to end by battaile, either his troubles, or his life.

The English enter into Scotland but with small successe.

Polydor.

(32) But *Malcolme* wisely considering the euent of warre and that the occasion thereof was not for his own subiects, but for a sort of forraine fugitiues, beganne to thinke, that the wrongs therein done to another hee could hardly brooke himselfe, and sent therefore to *William* proffers of peace; whereunto lastly the *English* King inclined and hostages deliuered vpon further Conferences, what time (as I take it) vpon Stane-more, not far from an homely hostilerie called the *Spittle*, a Stone-Crosse (on the one side of whose shaft stood the picture, and armes of the King of *England*, and on the other the Image & armes of the King and Kingdome of Scotland, vpon that occasion called the Roi-crosse) was erected, to shew the Limits of either kingdome; some ruines of which Metre-marke are yet appearing; for King *William*, granting *Cumberland* vnto *Malcolme*, to hold the same from him, conditionally that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing preiudiciall to the Crowne of *England*, (for which King *Malcolme* did him homage, saith *Hector Boetius* the *Scotish* writer) and the *English* being reconciled to his fauour, after hee had built the Castle of *Durham*, returned as cleared from all Northren troubles.

Matth. Paris.

Henry Hunt. Gemeticensis.

A stone Crosse erected for a Meere-marke to both the Kingdomes.

Hector Boetius. *That is, Kings-Crosse.

Cambden Brit.

Hector Boet. lib. 12. Cap. 10.

(33) But his *Norman* Dukedome, stirred somwhat vnto rebellion, called King *William* into those parts, where, by the prowesse of the *English*, hee soone brought all things to peace, and returned for *England*, better conceiting of that Nation, especially of *Edgar Etheling*, whom he courteously receiued and honorably maintained in his Court, allowing him a pound waight of Siluer euery day to spend; a rare example of a victorious Conquerour shewed vpon a man so vnconstant, (who twice had broken his oath of fidelity) and dangerous to be so neere vnto his person, being, as he was, a Competitor of his Crowne.

An. D. 1074

Wil. Malms. Matth. Paris.

The bounty of King *William* towards *Edgar Etheling*.

(34) Whiles the King was in Normandy, *Ralph de Ware* Earle of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, tooke to wife *Emma* the daughter of *William Fitz-Osberne*, and sister to *Roger* Earle of Hereford cosen to King *William*, and that without his consent; by whose affinity he conceiued no small pride, and euen on the wedding day, when wine had well intoxicated the braine, with a long circumstance perswaded his Guests vnto a Re-

Iul. Stew.

bellion; vnto whom yeelded *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, his Brides brother, and *Waltheof* Earle of *North-hampton*, with many other *Barons*, *Abbats* and *Bishops*: But the next morning, when Earle *Waltheof* had consulted with his Pillow and awaked his wits to perceiue the danger whereunto he was drawne, repaired straightwaies to Archbishop *Lanfranke*, who was left Gouernour of the Land in King *Williams* absence, reuealing vnto him their Conference and Treasons intended, by whose aduice he went ouer into *Normandie*, and there with submissiue repentance, shewed the King what these Lords and himselfe had intended.

A conspiracy intended and reuealed.

(35) The Earles therefore of *Norfolke* and *Hereford*, whose state now lay open to chaunce, as desperate men tooke themselues to Arms, & sought how to vnite their two powers into one. This sudden sound of warre soone rouled the Subiects, so that *Wolstane* Bishop of *VVorcester*, and *Egelwine* Abbat of *Euesham* hauing called to their aide *Walter Lacie*, and *Vrse* the Sheriffe of *Worcester*, so manfully withstood Earle *Roger* that he with his Army could not passe ouer Seuerne to joine with his brother *Norfolke*: And he againe was so sore laide at, by *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, (who had assembled a mighty Army both of *English* and *Normans*) that they constrained him first to *Norwich*, where, in the Castle he bestowed his Countesse, and thence fled himselfe into *Little Britaine*, whither shortly shee followed.

Mat. Westm. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

Iohn Pike.

An. D. 1075

(36) *William* now returned from *Normandy* and some reliques of Rebellion remaining in the West, he hasted thitherward, where, with small adoe hee got Earle *Roger* into his hands, and condemned him to perpetuall prison; the *Welsh* his Aiders (of whom also were many at the said Marriage) he vsed with great seuerity; for of some he put out the eies, of others he cut off the hands, hanged some vpon gibbets, and he that scaped best, went into banishment; neither Earle *Waltheof*, notwithstanding hee reuealed the conspiracie, escaped vnpunished; for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (he hauing formerly restored the Earledome vnto him) he caused his head to be chopt off at *Winchester*, (although he had before promised his pardon and life) his great possessions being his greatest Enemies; for he is reported to haue been Earle of *Northampton*, *Northumberland* and *Huntington*, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the *Normans* his followers; and the desire of a new Marriage, moued *Iudith* his wife not a little to set forward aud hasten his death.

William returning vseth seuerity against the English.

Wil. Malmsb.

Henry Hunt.

A kinde-hearted Wife.

An. D. 1076

(37) These beginnings against the *Welsh*, King *William* prosecuted farther, entering into *Wales* with a strong Armie, as purposing a finall end of those Domesticall warres, hauing so repleniished *England* with his *Normans*, that hee now promised himselfe security and happinesse of State: To him therefore the Princes of *Walles* vnable to resist, performed their Homages at Saint *Dauids*, and with their Hostages he returned as a victorious Conquerour.

Mat. Paris. Matth. West.

The Princes of Wales doe homage to William

But the Seas of these troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at some leasure to thinke on future succesSe, all on the sudden a cloud arose in the *North*, which hastily came on and threatned a storme.

(38) For *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, whose title (to his seeming) stood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, whereof his sonne *Canute* and Earle *Hacon* were Generals; for his brother *Osborne* he had banished *Denmarke*, that basely tooke money to depart *England* some few yeeres before, notwithstanding his claime he made still, though, for money, still stopped by his *Danes*: For so saith their owne writer *Adam Bremensis*, that *continuall contention was betwixt Swaine and the bastard, although* (saith he) *our Bishops by bribes would haue perswaded peace betwixt the two Kings*: Yea and *Malmesbury*, our writer, affirmeth, that *William* gaue bribes to Earle *Hacon* to begone; though *Paris* and *Polydor* report, that when these *Danes* heard that their fauourites heere were vanquished they turned their Sailes for *Flanders*, and durst not fight with King *William*.

Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. Simon Dun.

Will. Malms. Math. Paris. Polydor.

(39) But now a lesse suspected, but much more vnnaturall warre arose; for *Robert*, his eldest sonne, (set on by *Philip* King of *France*, who did greatly dread this so hastie grouth of the Conquerour) claimed *Normandy* by gift of his father, promised to him immediatly after his ConqueSt of *England*; a Noble Gentleman surely, but of an ambitious and hasty nature, prodigally spending and maintainiug his followers aboue the compasse of his priuate estate; him *Philip*, & his own ill-nurtured Ambition, thrust forward, & Q. *Maud* his mother supplied vnder hād, out of her own Coffers, and King *Williams* Reuennewes, so that with banners displaied hee entred *Normandy* in hostile maner, and there by force seised vpon diuers places to his owne vse, and so without respect of dutifull patience gained by force the free-gift of his father.

(40) King *William* hearing of his sonne *Roberts* proceedings, was not (as great cause there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerfull Army hasted to *Normandy*: where neere vnto the Castle of *Gerbory*, at a place called *Archenbraye*, he ioined battle with his sonne; where the fight was sore and dangerous on both sides, the Generals being such men as they were: but in the heat of the foot battels that fought it out resolutely, *Robert* commanded a power of horse to breake in vpon the Rereward of his enemies, and himselfe valiantly following, chanced to light against his owne Father, and with his lance thrust him through the Arme, bearing him off his horse to the ground. King *William* thus wounded & falne, called for helpe to be remounted, storming to see his bloud spilt in his owne land, and against his owne sonne, which neuer had beene in battailes of other countries, nor drawne by the weapons of forraine enemies, and in great rage threatned the reuenge: *Robert* that knew his Father by his voice, hastily alighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly desiring his pardon for this vnknown fact, and forgiuenes of his ouer-hastie attempt; then mounting him vpon his owne horse, brought him in safetie out of the presse; who hauing escaped so great a danger, and seeing himselfe for the present too weake to withstand the enemie, left the honour of the field vnto *Robert*, with the losse of many his souldiers, slaine there both in the battaile and chase, besides a great number that were hurt & wounded; among whom, *William Rufus* his second sonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filiall regard to his parents, and therefore more deseruedly and tenderly beloued then *Robert*; for which dishonour now done to his Father, and disloialty for his vnnaturall armes, hee bitterly cursed him, and execrated the time wherein he begate him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his most vndaunted courage at that time, issuing and ending in such dutiful and tender care of his fathers safety, hee presently forgaue his former offences, and euer after had him in better respect.

(41) These stirres thus qualified, and King *William* returned, he went forward with his former determination; for setling a further assurance to himselfe and succesSors of the *English* crowne; to which end, first on the east side of *London* (the mother City of the land) he laid the foundation of a stately & strongly fenced Castle, or Magazine of warlike munitions, intrenched with a large and deepe ditch, now called the Tower of *London*; the surueyor of which worke, was *Gundulphus* Bishop of *Rochester*; about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours raigne, so much is lessened the antiquity of that Citadell, & credite of such, as would haue it founded by *Iulius Caesar*; vnlesse (perhaps) we would thinke that King *William* did onely adde some new fort to the former; being built (saith *Fitz-Stephen*) with morter tempered with the bloud of beasts.

(42) Then to enrich his owne coffers (for hee is taxed by *Malmesbury* to be exceeding couetous) he laid

laid great subsidies vpon the land: and that the same might amount to his great benefite (though with the greatest grieuance of the people) hee caused an exact suruey to be taken of the whole kingdome, yea and of euery particular part and commodity thereof; so that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or wast, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and possessors, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as also of all Cities, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, Monasteries, and Religious houses; causing also all the people in *England* to bee numbred, their names to bee taken, with notice, what euery one might dispend by yeere; their substance, money & bondmen recorded: how many yokes of oxen, and plough-lands were in the Realme, and what seruices they owed, who held of him in Fee; all which was certified vpon the oathes of Commissioners. This done, he exacted sixe shillings to be paid him for euery hide of land; which amounted to an huge masse of money. The Booke thus made of euerie seuerall suruey, was commonly called the rowle of *Winchester*, (as being there at first kept) but for the generality, and ineuitable censure thereof, is by Authors named *Liber Iudiciarius*, by the *English*, *Domesday booke*, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster*: of which collection *Robert*, a Poet at *Gloucester* in ancient time, and ryme wrote thus:

The King William, vor to wite the worth of his lond,
Let enqueri stretlich thoru all Engelond,
How moni Plou-lond, and hou moni Hiden also,
Were in euerich sire, and wat hij were wurth yereto:
And the rents of each toun, and of the waters echone,
The wurth, and of woods eke; that there ne liued none,
But that he wist wat hii were wurth of all Engelond,
And wite all clene, that wurth thereof ich vnderstond,
And let it write clene inou, and that scrit dude iwis;
In the Tresorie at Westminster, there it yut is,
So that vre Kings suth, when hii ransome toke,
Yrede wat sole might yiue, hii fond there in yor boke.

(43) This exaction was gathered with such extremity, & paid with such impouerishing of the *English*, that they greeuously groned vnder their miserable estate, whereby more hatred grew dailie to the King, and his Normans; whose loue againe to themward was so little, that hee sought by all means to bring the *English* name, and Nation to ruine: for it is noted by *Castor*, and *Rouse*, *that no English man was permitted to beare any office of Credit, or Countenance in this Conquerours daies*, and accounted it was a great shame to bee called an *Englishman*, or to marry into their blood.

(44) These greeuances seeming vnsufferable, the *English* incited *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* once more to enter King *Williams* confines, wasting all before him vnto the Riuer *Tyne*; against whom the *Conquerour* sent *Robert* his sonne, surnamed *Courtoise*, who marching with a mighty Army, made shew of doing much more then he did; this onely being memorable, that neere to the mouth of *Tyne* he laid the foundation of a Castle, whereof the towne of *New-Castle* did afterward take both her beginning, and Name; though long before that time there was a place called *Monk-Chester*, because (as it should seeme) it had been either the habitation, or possession of some Religious Order.

(45) Neither was *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, so quailed by his former expeditions, but that he had a minde once more to graspe at the *English* Crowne, preparing a mighty *Armado* that way, as was constantly reported and beleeued; King *William* therfore receiued a great power of French Souldiers with others, which he had lately brought with him from *Normandy*, to disburden himselfe of whose Charges, he appointed them to bee maintained at the costs of the *English*, both for their wages, and other prouisions, which was an other great burden vnto the *English*, though it long lasted not; for that the *Danish* King better aduising himselfe, gaue ouer the enterprise, and thereupon these Souldiers were discharged.

Mat. West. The English charged with the maintenance of fortaine Souldiers.

(46) Another griefe and offence he ministred against both God and man, for the fruitfull Countrey lying South from *Sarisbury* vnto the Sea, hee dispeopled, pulling downe Townes, and Villages, with 36. Mother-churches, from mans vse, & Gods diuine seruice; & for 30. miles, laid open the country, some say out of policie, to haue safe ariuage from *Normandy* in time of need: others say, for beasts, & for his own game in hunting, or to vse the words of *Gualter Mapes*, who liued immediatly after, *to dedicate the same vnto wild Beasts and Dogs-game*; which place called anciently *Ytene*, was euer since named the *New Forrest*: imposing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all such as offended in hunting his Game: in so much that he was then called the *Father of wild Beasts*, more fauouring them then the People his Subiects. But Gods iust iudgement not long after followed this so vnreasonable, and cruel act: for in this Forest, *Richard* his second sonne being goared by a Deare, (others say, blasted with a pestilent Ayre) was vntimely slaine: And *Rufus* his other sonne mistaken for a Deare was by chaunce shot thorow with an Arrow, by *Walter Tyrell*. *Henry* likewise his Grand-child by *Robert Curtoise*, whilest he hotly pursued the chase, was strucken by a bough into the Iawes, and as *Absolon* left hanging vntill he died.

Cambd. in Hantshire.

Gualter Mapes.

King William the father of wild Beasts.

Iudgements of God on King Williams issue in New-Forest *Cambden.*

Thus, no doubt, God punished his sinnes (euen on his children, and childrens children) who had both taken away the places, and vse of his seruice, and also disherited multitudes of Christian people to their extreme pouerty, for his vnsaciat and superfluous pleasure: so that (as some then thought) the Earth it selfe also seemed to cry Reuenge, when as vpon the sixt of *Aprill*, and fifteenth of King *Williams* Raigne, a most fearefull Earthquake, with a warring noise, did shake the ground.

Matth. Paris.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to haue hapned vpon his people, as burning feuers strangely consuming the people: Murrens deuouring infinit numbers of Cattle; abundance of raine, and concourse of water-flouds beyond credit, whereby the hilles were so softned to the very foundations, that some of them fell, and ouerwhelmed the villages which were in their way: most of the principall Cities of *England* much endamaged by fire, and *London* especially, where the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* (as much as was combustible) was consumed to ashes; and if that may also be noted (which caused not the least wonder) tame, and domesticke fowles, as hennes, geese, peacockes, and the like fled into the forrests, and woods, and became very wild, in imitation of men, degenerating then into sauages: for in those times euen the Churchmen (and therefore lesse maruaile of others) became vnlike themselues: *Walter* Bishop of *Durham*, bought of King *William* the Earledome of *Northumberland*, maintained murtherers, and was murthered himselfe. *Odo*, another Bishop, and Earle also, to reuenge his death, made *Northumberland* desolate, beheading and dismembring the poorer sort, and at great ransomes fining the rich, and Pope *Gregory* for his part plaid *Rex* in this land, sending hither his Buls with damning curses against the married Clergie: commanding that none should heare their Masses: which how it was disgested, either by God, or man; let vs heare *Paris* an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) speake his mind.

Calamities falling on the Land.

All things degenerate

Roger Wendouer, Marianus,

Pope Gregories Buls against married Priests.

Matth. Paris. in Guil. Conq.

"Pope

Inhibiting of married Priests a new deuice, and inconsiderate.

" (48) Pope *Gregory* in a generall Synode excluded "the married Priests from execution of their holie "offices, and forbad the Lay-men to heare their "Masses; a president new, and proceeding (as it "seemed to many) out of inconsiderate iudgement, "contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers: which "haue written, that the Sacraments of the church "by the inuisible operation of the holy Ghost, haue "their due effect, whether they are dispensed by "men good or bad, &c. By which fact so grieuous "a scandall is arisen, that holy Church was neuer "rent with a greater schisme in the time of any he-"resie whatsoeuer; whiles some stand for the right, "and others striue against it. Moreouer, whereas "few obserue this chastitie enioined (for that "though some for gaine, or vaine-glory, doe hypo-"critically pretend it; yet many doe heape vp in-"continency with periury, and manifold adulteries) "by this occasion the Lay-men shake off all due re-"spect to sacred orders and ecclesiasticall gouerne-"ment; they prophane the holy mysteries, they "baptize Infants, annointing them with the sordid "humor of their ears in stead of holy oile, they burn "the tithes due to the Priests; our Lords body con-"secrated by a married priest, they tread vnder their "feet, and often doe wilfully cast forth the bloud of "our Lord vpon the ground.

Popish Continency hypocritically.

(49) This *Gregory* (before called *Hildebrand*) sate in *Peters chaire* with such pranks of impietie, that his gouernment was odious to the *Romans*, who wished an end of his raigne and life, so that certaine Southsaiers imploied in that busines gaue forth, that after *Gregory*, *Odo* should be Pope. *Odo*, our said Earle, the Conquerours brother, fed with ful hope that hee was the man, sendeth to *Rome* to buy him a Pallace, adorning it with stately and ouer-lauish trimmings; Salutes the Senators with great gifts & complements, stuffeth bagges with money, and letters to such as might doe much in the election, and prouides honourable personages to attend him to *Rome*. Among the which for chiefe, was *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, with many great men and Knights of the land: for the *Normans* variable, and desirous to see forraine Countries, were contented to forsake their faire lands in the west climate, to accompany this proud Prelate ouer the riuer *Poo*.

Odo King williams brother, affecteth the Papacy.

This iolly traine was set forward into the Isle of *Wight*, and there in great pompe ready to set saile into *Normandy*, when on the sodain King *William* vnlooked for, was euen among them, and in his great Hall in presence of his Nobles thus spake:

" (50) Excellent Peeres, I beseech you hearken "to my words, and giue me your counsell: at my sai-"ling into *Normandy*, I commended *England* to "the gouernment of *Odo* my brother Bishop. In "*Normandy* many forraine foes haue risen vp a-"gainst me, yea and inward friends I may say, haue "inuaded me: for *Robert* my sonne, and other "yonglings whom I haue brought vp, and giuen "Armes, haue rebelled; vnto whom my false "Clients, and other bordering enemies haue giuen "their assistance: but they haue not prospered, "God (whose seruant I am) euer defending mee: "neither haue they gotten any thing of mine, be-"sides iron in their wounds: They of *Anion* pre-"pared against me, whom with the onely feare of "warre I haue pacified. These businesses you know "haue drawn me into *Normandy*, where I haue staied "long and imploied my painfull endeuours on pub-"like behoofes. But in the meane time, my brother "hath greatly oppressed *England*, spoiling the Chur-"ches of Lands and Rents, hath made them naked "of Ornaments giuen by our Predecessors, and hath "seduced my Knightes, with purpose to traine "them ouer the Alpes, who ought to defend the "Land against the inuasions of the *Danes*, *Irish*, and "other Enemies ouer strong for me; but my greatest "dolour is for the Church of God, which he hath af-"flicted, and vnto which the Christian Kings that "raigned before me, haue giuen many gifts, and with "their loues honored, for which now (as we beleeue) "they rest, reioicing with a happy retribution in a "pleasant State: *Ethelbert*, *Edward*, *Saint Oswald*, *Al-"thulph*, *Ælfred*, *Edward the Elder*, *Edgar*, and my co-"sen and most deere Lord *Edward*, haue giuen Riches "to the Church, the spouse of God: But my Brother "to whom I committed the whole Kingdome, vio-"lently plucketh away their goods, cruelly grindeth "the poore, and with a vaine hope stealeth away my "Knights from me, and by oppression hath exaspe-"rated the whole Land with vniust taxations; con-"sider thereof, most Noble Lords, and giue mee (I "pray you) your aduice, what is heerein to bee done.

His Oppressi

King william condemneth his brothers Ambitions.

His sacrileges.

(51) At which pause when all stood mute, as fearing to giue their opinions in so weighty a point, concerning so great a Person, the King thus continued his speech.

" Hurtfull rashnesse is euer vnsufferable, and must "at length be represt. This man hath oftentimes "banded himselfe against his owne father, and vp-"on a stomacke, blowne vp with pride and folly, hath "fallen off to the King of *France*: therefore left with "ouermuch lenity, we buy too late a repentance, he "shall remaine Prisoner, yet not as a *Bishop*, whose "name I both honour and reuerence, but as an Earle, "subiect to the Lawes and Censure of his King.

His Treche

His imprisonment.

Which accordingly was done; vpon seizure of whose estate, this Prelate was found so well lined in purse, that the heapes of yellow mettall did moue admiration to the beholders, and many of his bags were taken vp out of the bottome of Riuers, where they were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

His Auarice

(52) Soone after, some displeasure hauing arisen betwixt King *William*, and *Philip* King of *France*, hee hauing first generally caused to be taken the Oath of *English* Alleageance to himselfe and successors, with a mighty masse of money (fitted for some great attempts) departed to *Normandy*; where falling sicke, and keeping his Bed more then his wont, the *French* King hearing that his disease was in his belly, gaue him this frumpe; *Our Cosen William* (said he) *is laid now in Child-bed: Oh what a number of Candels must I offer at his going to Church? surely I thinke a hundred thousand will not suffice.*

Wil. Malmsb. Matth. Par.

Some write William was Physicke to downe his fat belly, Higden.

King *William* hearing thereof, is said to make this answere; *Well, our cosen of France I trust shall be at no such cost; but after this my child-birth, at my going to Church* (swearing by the resurrection and brightnes of God) *I will* (said he) *find him one thousand candles, and light them my selfe.* And accordingly towards *August* following, when both the trees, fruites, corn, and ground, was most flourishing, hee entred *France* with a mighty Army, spoiling all the west parts thereof before him; and lastly, set the City *Meux* or *Mauntz* on fire, wherein he consumed the faire Church of our Lady, in the wals whereof was enclosed an *Anchoret*, who might, but would not escape, holding it a breach of his religious vow to forsake his Cell in that distresse. The King busied in these attempts cheered his men to feede the fire, and came himselfe so neere the flames, that with the heat of his harnesse, he got a sicknesse, and the same encreased by the leape of his horse, that burst the inward rimme of his belly, and cost him his life.

William Malm. King Willi Oath.

Stow saith Anchorite.

(53) At which time feeling death to approach, he deferred not to addresse his last *will*, wherein hee commanded all his *Treasure* to bee distributed to *Churches*, *Gods Ministers*, and the *Poore*, limiting to each their seuerall portion and quantity, which he caused to be ingrossed in writing by Notaries before him: Amongst which, he bequethed to the Church and Monkes of *Saint Stephens* at *Cane* in *Normandy*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Deuonshire*, another in *Essex*, much Lands in *Barke-shire*, some in *Norfolke*, a Mansion house in *Woodstreet* of *London*, with many Aduowsions of Churches; yea, which is to be wondred at, hee gaue his *Crowne*, and Regall Or-

King William Will and Te ment.

Ex Libris (mensis Joh

Ornaments thereto belonging to the ſaid Church, being of his owne foundation; for the redemption whereof, King *Henry* his ſonne, gaue the Mannor of *Brideton* in *Dorſetſhire*, to preuent any danger that thereof might ariſe; and vnto the Churches by fire deſtroied in *Meuxe*, he gaue great ſummes of money to repaire them: and ſo preparing himſelfe for God, briefly ranne ouer the carriage of his former life; the ſumme whereof (as much as beſt fitteth this place) we will declare as he ſpake it to them that were preſent.

" (54) Being laden with many and grieuous ſins, " (*O Chriſt*) I now tremble, who am ready to bee " taken hence, and to be tried by the ſeuere, but iuſt " examinatiō of God. I that haue alwais bin brought " vp in warres, and am polluted with the effuſion " of bloud, am now vtterly ignorant what to doe; " for I cannot number my offences, they are ſo in- " finite, and haue been committed by me now theſe " ſixty foure yeeres: for which, without any delay " I muſt render an account to that moſt vpright " Iudge. From my tender infancy and age of eight " yeares, I haue hitherto ſuſtained the weight and " charge of Armes to defend my Dukedome, go- " uerned by me now almoſt fifty ſixe, both in pre- " uenting thoſe ſnares that haue beene laid for my " life, and in vanquiſhing thoſe conſpirers which " would haue vſurped my right: a ſtiffe nec- " ked people I may ſay, my arme hath ſtill ma- " naged; I meane the *Normans*, who with an hard " hand, if they bee curbed, are moſt valiant, and " in hazardous attempts inuincible: for, as they ex- " cell all men in ſtrength, ſo doe they contend to " ouercome all men by valour. But if the reine bee " once let looſe, and laid in their necks, they will " teare and conſume one another; for they are euer " ſeditious, and deſirous of new ſtirrings; experi- " ence whereof ſufficiently I haue had, not only of " my confederates and allies; but euen of mine own " kindred, denouncing me to bee a baſtard, degene- " rate and vnworthy of gouernment: againſt whom, " I haue beene forced to put on armour, before I " was by age ripe to weild it: all which I haue van- " quiſhed, and ſome of them captiuated, God ſo " preſeruing me, that they neuer had their deſires. " A roiall Diademe, which none of my predeceſſors " euer ware, I haue gotten, not by right of inheri- " tance, but by heauenly grace. What labours and " conflicts I haue ſuſtained againſt thoſe of *Exceſter*, " *Cheſter*, *Northumberlands*, *Scots*, *Gauls*, *Norwegi-* " *ans*, *Danes*, and others, who haue endeuoured " to take the crowne from me, is hard to declare; " in all which the lot of victory fell euer on my ſide: " which worldly triumphes, howſoeuer they may " pleaſe the ſenſe & outward man, yet they leaue an " inward horror, and fearefull care which pricketh " mee; when I conſider, that cruell raſhnes, was " as much followed, as was the iuſt proſecution of " the cauſe. Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech " you, O yee Prieſts and Miniſters of Chriſt, that " you in your praiers will commend mee to God, " that hee will mitigate my heauy ſinnes, vnder " whoſe burden I lie preſſed, and by his vnſpeake- " able mercy make me ſafe among his elect. Nine " Abbeis of Monkes, and one of Nunnes which my " Anceſters founded in *Normandy*, I haue enrich- " ed and augmented; and in the time of my gouern- " ment, ſeauenteene Monaſteries of Monkes, and " ſixe of holy Nunnes, haue beene founded by my " ſelf & my Nobility; whoſe Charters I haue freely " confirmed, and doe by princely authority con- " firme againſt all emulations and troubles; in them " God is ſerued, and for his ſake many poore peo- " ple releeued; with ſuch Camps both *England* and " *Normandy* is defended, and in theſe Forts let all " younglings learne to fight againſt the Diuell and " vices of the fleſh. Theſe were the ſtudies that I " followed from my firſt yeeres, and theſe I leaue " vnto my heires to be preſerued and kept. In this " then (my children) follow me, that here and for " euer you may be honoured before God and Men: " And chiefly, O you my very bowels, I warne " you to frequent & follow the company and coun- " ſell of good and wiſe men, and gouerne your " ſelues accordingly, ſo ſhall yee long and happi- " ly proſper. Doe iuſtice to all without partiall af- " fection; for it is a true wiſedom indeed that can " diſcerne betwixt good and euill, right and wrong. " Shunne wickedneſſe, relieue the poore, ſuccour " the weake, but ſuppreſſe the proud, and bridle the " troubleſome. Frequent the Church, honour the " religious, and without wearineſſe bee obedient " vnto the law of God. The Dukedome of *Nor-* " *mandy*, before I fought againſt *Harold* in the vale " *Senlac*, I granted vnto my ſonne *Robert*, for that he " is my firſt begotten, and hath already receiued ho- " mage of all the Barons almoſt of his Country: that " honour giuen cannot againe be vndone; but yet " without doubt, I know it will bee a miſerable regi- " on, which is ſubiect to the rule of his gouernment; " for he is a fooliſh proud knaue, and is to bee puni- " ſhed with cruell fortune. I conſtitute no Heire to " the Realme of *England*, but doe commend it to the " euerlaſting Creator whoſe I am; for I poſſeſſe not " that honour by any title of inheritance, but by the " inſtinct of God, the effuſion of bloud, and the per- " iurie of *Harold*; whoſe life bereaued, and his fa- " uourers vanquiſhed, I made it ſubiect to my do- " minion. The Natiues of the realme I hated, the " Nobles I diſhonoured, the vulgar I cruelly vexed, " and many vniuſtly I diſherited. In the Countie " of *Yorke*, and ſundry other places, an innumerable " ſort with hunger and ſword I ſlew: and thus " that beautifull Land and noble Nation I made de- " ſolate with the deaths of many thouſands, (woe " worth the griefe.) Theſe then my ſinnes being " ſo great, I dare not giue the offices of that " land to any other then to God, leſt after my death " they yet be made worſe by my occaſion. Yet *Wil-* " *liam* my ſonne, whoſe loue and obedience from his " youth I haue ſeen, I wiſh (if ſo be the will of God) " may flouriſh in the throne of that Kingdome, with " a long life and happy raigne.

His Counſell to his Children.

The diſpoſe of his States.

Of *Normandy*.

Of *England*.

(55) *Henry* his yongeſt ſonne, ſurnamed *Beau-* *clerke*, hearing himſelf vtterly neglected in his Fathers diſtribution, with teares ſaid to the King: *And what Father doe you giue me*? to whom hee anſwered, *fiue thouſand pounds of ſiluer out of my treaſurie I giue thee. But what ſhall I doe with treaſure*, ſaid *Henry*, *if I ſhal haue no dwelling place or habitation*? His Father replied, *Bee patient my ſonne, and comfort thy ſelfe in God, ſuffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: Robert ſhall haue Normandy, and William England: but thou in time ſhalt intirely haue all the honour that I haue gotten, and ſhalt excell thy Brethren in riches and power.*

King *William's* Legacie to his ſonne *Henry*.

After which ſpeeches, he preſently called his ſon *William*, to whom he deliuered a letter ſigned with his owne ſeale, written vnto *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and commaunded him therewith to haſt for *England*, leſt in that ſpatious Kingdom ſome ſuddaine troubles ſhould ariſe; and ſo with a kiſſe bleſſed him in Chriſt. His priſoners he commaunded to be ſet at liberty, affirming that he had done Earle *Morcar* much wrong, whom as hee then confeſſed, hee had impriſoned more for feare then for fault; onely his halfe brother *Odo* he would haue had to remaine a perpetuall priſoner, but that by the importunate interceſsion of friends hee was releaſed.

He wiketh into *England*.

(56) The period of this Great Conquerour now come neere to his laſt, when this Sunne ſo gloriouſly raiſed to the height of his courſe, muſt now of force ſet in the Weſt, the dying King (for Kings muſt die) hauing raiſed his weake body vpon the Pillowes, heard the ſound of the great Bell in the Metropolitane Church of Saint *Geruis* neere *Roan*, and demanding the cauſe, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great deuotion lifting his eies towards heauen, and ſpreading abroad his

King *William's* death.

With such doctrine was good deuotion abused contrary to the prescript of God *Isai. Chap.* 33.16.

hands, *I commend my selfe* (said he) *to that blessed Ladie*, Mary, *Mother of God, that shee by her holy praiers may reconcile me to her most deare Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ*; and with the words yeelded vp his Ghost, vpon Thursday the ninth of Septemper, the fifty sixth of his Dutchie, the twenty one of his Kingdome, the sixty foure of his age, and yeere of Chtist Iesus 1087.

Princes friends.

(57) Wherein; as we see the instability, both of Mans life, and Glory, (a point fitting for great Princes euer to thinke on;) so by the sequell wee shal perceiue, how ill-rooted and vngrounded the friendship is, which attends the greatnesse of Soueragnes, whose Fauourites chiefe or onely ends are their own Ambition and Gaine, the fewell whereof once beginning to decay, the fire of their seeming-deuotion will bee quickly cold. For no sooner had this late-glorious Princes Soule bidden farewell to his Body, but his dead Corps was presently abandoned by his followers of neereſt place, and best meanes, who posted homewards apace to defend their owne; and by the meaner and his inferiour seruants, he was dispoiled of Armour, Vessels, Apparell, and all Princely furniture, euen so farre from al wonted and due respect, as that they left his dead Body naked vpon the floore; like true Kites, praying whilest any thing was to be had.

His Corps forsaken of all sorts.

The qualities of Court-Kites.

The sudden fame of his death stroke such feare into the Commons harts as was admirable, euery man shifting for one, but all neglecting the funerall rites of their King, vntill that one *Harluins* a poore Countrey Knight, vndertooke the Cariage of his Corps vnto *Cane*, and at his owne cost, both by Sea and Land, vnto *Saint Stephens* Church, which this dead King had formerly founded.

His Hearse also abandoned of al.

At his entrance into *Cane*, the Couent of Monks came foorth to meet him, and to celebrate the buriall with all Ceremonies beseeming; but behold euen at that instant, a sudden chance of fire happened, which presently inuaded a great part of the Towne, that, as his Corps before, so now his Hearse was of all forsaken, whiles they addressed themselues to represse that furious Element: which done, and the Funerall Sermon ended, the Stone-Coffin set in the earth, in the Chancell betwixt the Chorale and the Altar, and the body ready to be laid therein, one *Ascelinus Fitz-Arthur*, a man of some Note, stood vp and forbade the buriall: *This very place* (said he) *was the floore of my Fathers house, which this dead Duke violently tooke from him, and heere vpon part of my inheritance founded this Church: This ground therfore I challenge, and in Gods behalfe forbid that the Boay of my dispoiler, be couered in my Earth, neither shall it be interred in the precinctes of my right.* Whereupon they were enforced to compound with him for a present sum of money then deliuered, and with consent of his sonne *Henry*, for a hundred pound weight of siluer after to be paid, and so the Exequies went forward; when, behold again the Corps laid into the Tombe, was with the largest, which being pressed, the belly (not bowelled) brake, & with an intollerable stench so annoied the by-standers, that neither Gummes, nor spices fuming from the Censures, could be any whit sensible to relieue them, insomuch that all with great amazement hastning away, they left the Monks to shuffle vp the buriall, and they were soone glad to get them to their cels.

His buriall place denied him.

Annoiance at his funerall.

Hence *Stowe* notes their report for fabulous, who wrot that his Body was found vncorrupt 500. yeeres after his death.

(58) This then was the life and death of this great Monarch, the Conquerour of Men, but not of Death, nor suruiuing Enuie; a bright example of the dimme glory of man, who in life had the possessions of Kingdomes and Dukedomes, men at Armes, riches and honour, and all things thereto adhering; but after his death, neither Ornaments, nor Attendants, nor place of buriall, till it were bought; all which, priuate men seldome want: so vaine is the pompe of this world, and so vncertaine the state of her darlings.

(59) He was for stature indifferent, of countenance sterne, his fore-head high, and haire verie thinne, fat and corpulent of body, with his bellie bearing out, so strong of ioints and armes, that few could bend his bow; of witte ready, and very politicke, in speech eloquent, resolute in attempts, in hazards valiant, a great souldier, and as great in successe; rough and couetous towards the *English*, in his taxes, lawes, and in giuing to his *Normans* their lands; whose Charters were of a farre other tenour, forme, & breuity, then those tedious and perplexed conueyances, since in vse, as by these few inserted may appeare.

His description for lineaments and qualities. *W. M. Malmsb.*

Read. Higden Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 4.

I William King, the third yere of my raigne,

Giue to thee Norman Hunter, tome that art both leese and Deere,

The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds vp and downe,

Vnder the Earth to Hell, aboue the Earth to Heauen,

From me and mine, to thee and to thine,

As good and as faire, as euer they mine were,

To witnesse that this is sooth, I bite the white waxe with my tooth,

Before Iugge, Maude, and Margery, and my yongest sonne Herry:

For a bow and a broad arrowe, when I come to hunt vpon yarrow.

Stow ex libr. Richmond. King *William* Charter to Hunter.

(60) At the suite of *william* Bishop of *London*, he granted the City (whose chiefe Magistrate was then called the Portreue) their first Charter written in the Saxon tongue, confirmed with greene waxe, whereas the Saxons before vsed onely to signe with guilt crosses, and such like markes: the Copy thereof is this:

Lambert. Perami.

" *William Cyng greit William Biscop. & Godfregef*
" *Portgerefan & ealle tha Burhwaren the on Lunden be-*
" *on, &c. William* King, greeteth *William* Bishop,
" and *Godfrey Portreue*, and all the Burgesses that in
" *London* be, *French* & *English*, friendly. And I doe
" you to wit, that I will, that you enioy all the law
" which you did in the daies of *Edward* King. And
" I will that each Child bee his Fathers inheri-
" tour after his Fathers daies. And I will not suffer
" that any man you any wrong offer. God you
" keepe.

Fragofus. Hollinf. Lamb. Perami.

(61) In the like Charter, granted to his Nephew *Alane* Earle of *Britaine* for lands in *Yorkeshire*, hee writeth himselfe *William* surnamed *Bastard*; and yet it seemeth, hee was offended at *Guy* of *Burgundy* for tearming him *Nothus*; perhaps, because that word signifieth such a one, whose Father is vnknown, whereas King *Williams* was not only known, but renowned also.

John Leland.

(62) Howsoeuer hee was sterne and hard to the *English*, yet to his *Normans* hee was facile and too indulgent, much deuoted to Religion, and frequenting the Church, both morning and euening; The Clergie that liued according to their rule and profession, hee both honoured and richly endowed; but to the licentious was very rough and hard handed: his vncle *Malgerius* Archbishop of * *Rotomage*, for his dissolute life hee disgraded: his brother *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, he imprisoned, and many of the *English* depriued, as we haue heard.

Wil. Malms.

Roant.

(63) Besides his many other stately buildings, both for fortification and deuotion, three Abbies of chiefe note he is said to haue raised, and endowed with large priuiledges and rich possessions. The first was at *Battle* in *Sussex*, where hee wonne the Diadem of *England*, in the valley of *Sangue-lac*, so called in *French*, for the streames of bloud therein spilt: but *william of Newberie* deceiued in the soile it selfe, which after raine sheweth to bee red; affirmeth

Battel-Abbey called of a battel there fought against Harold.

Will. Newbery.

firmeth, that after any ſmall ſhowre of raine, the earth ſweateth forth very freſh bloud, as by the euident ſight thereof (ſaith hee) doth as yet plainly declare, that the voice of ſo much Chriſtian bloud there ſhed, doth ſtill crie from the earth to the Lord.

(64) But moſt certaine it is, that in the very ſame place where King *Harolds* Standard was pitched, & vnder which himſelfe was ſlaine, there *William* the Conquerour laid that Foundation, dedicating it to the *Holy Trinity*, and to *Saint Martine, that there the Monks might pray for the ſoules of Harold and the reſt that were ſlaine in that place*: whoſe Priuiledges were ſo large, that they, and others of the like condition, were afterwards diſſolued by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of puniſhment being once taken away, deſperate boldnes, and a daring will to commit wickedneſſe, grew ſtill to a greater head: for it was enfranchiſed with many freedomes; and among others, to vſe the words of the Charter, were theſe: *If any Thiefe, Murtherer or Felon, for feare of death, flie and come to this Church, let him haue no harme, but let him be diſmiſſed, and ſent away free from all puniſhment. Be it lawfull alſo for the Abbot of the ſame Church to deliuer from the Gallowes any thiefe or robber whereſoeuer, if he chance to come by, where any ſuch execution is in hand.*

Mark. Paris in Will. Conq.

Chron. de Bello.

The Standard it ſelfe curiouſly wrought all of gold and pretious ſtones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* preſently vpon his victory, with great complements of curteſie, ſent to Pope *Alexander* the ſecond; as good reaſon it was, the Popes tranſcendent pleaſure and power, being the ſtrongeſt part of the Dukes title to the Crowne, and his curſing thunderbolts the beſt weapons whereby he attained to weare it.

(65) At *Selby* alſo in *Yorkeſhire*, where his yongeſt ſonne *Henry* was borne, he founded the Abbey of Saint *Germans*: at *Exceſter*, the Priorie of Saint *Nicholas*; and to the Church and Colledge of *Saint Martins le grand in London*, hee gaue both large priuiledges, and much land, extending from the corner of the City wall, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Criplegate*, vnto the common Sewer, receiuing the waters, running then from the *More*, and now *More-fields*.

Selby Abbay.

Exeter Priory.

Iohn Stow.

(66) At *Cane* in *Normandie*, he founded the *Monaſtery* of Sant *Stephen* the firſt Chriſtian Martyr, adorning it with moſt ſumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich reuenewes; where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnerie for the ſocietie of vailed Virgines, vnto the honour of the bleſſed virgine *Mary*. Thus much of his Acts, and now of his marriage and iſſue.

Saint Stephens in Caen.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of King *William*, was the daughter of *Baldwine* the fifth, ſurnamed the *Gentle*, Earle of *Flaunders*; her mother was *Alice*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the ſonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married vnto him when hee was a Duke, at the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, and in the ſecond yeare of his raigne ouer *England*, ſhe was crowned Queene vpon *Whit-ſunday*, the yeere of Grace, 1068. And although ſhe maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and out of her owne coffers paid the charges of warre againſt his Father, and her owne Husband; yet, becauſe it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for aduancing her ſonne, it was taken as a cauſe rather of diſpleaſure, then of hatred, by King *William*, as himſelfe would often auouch, holding it an inſufficient cauſe to diminiſh the loue, that was linked with the ſacred band of a matrimoniall knot. Shee departed this life the ſecond day of *Nouember*, the ſixteenth yeere of his raigne, and of Chriſts humanity, 1083. for whom he often lamented with teares, and moſt honourably entered her at *Cane* in *Normandy*, in the Church of S. *Maries*, within the Monaſterie of Nuns, which ſhe had there founded.

Will. Malmeſ.

King William's reconciliation of marriage agreement.

His Iſſue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *William*, and of Queene *Maude* his wife, was ſurnamed *Curtuoiſe*, ſignifying in the old *Norman-French*, Short-Bootes: he ſucceeded his father onely in the *Duchie* of *Normandy*, and that alſo he loſt afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battell of *Ednarchbray* (in that Dukedome) the yeere of our Lord 1106. where he was taken priſoner, and hauing his eies put out (an vnbrotherly puniſhment) was committed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeeres impriſonment, there deceaſed, the yeere before the death of his ſaid brother, *Anno* 1134. and was buried at *Gloceſter*, in the midſt of the Quier of *Saint Peters* Church; where remaineth a Tombe with his Carued Image at this day. Hee had two wiues; the firſt, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Maygne*, both married in their Child-hood, and ſhee died before they came to yeeres of conſent: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Geffrey*, and ſiſter to *William*, Earles of *Conuerſana* in *Italy*, and Neece of *Robert Guiſeard*, Duke of *Apulia*: By her he had two ſonnes *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was he that was ſlaine by miſchance, as he was hunting in the *New-Foreſt* in *Hampſhire*.

Robert.

A cruell reuenge of one brother on another.

Henry ſlaine in his Grādfathers New-foreſt.

William the Elder, ſurnamed in Latine *Miſer*, was Earle of *Flanders*, in right of Queene *Maude* his *Grand-mother*, ſucceeding *Charles* of *Denmarke* in that Earledome; he alſo had two wiues, the firſt *Sibyll*, (whoſe Mother, called alſo *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fowlke* Earle of *Anion*) after diuorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Alſac*, his Succeſſour; the ſecond was *Ioan*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Morien*, now called *Sauoy*, ſiſter of Queene *Alice* of *France*, wife of King *Lewis* the *Groſſe*: hee died ſixe yeeres before his father, of a wound receiued at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, the 27. of *Iuly*, in the 28. yeere of the Raigne of King *Henrie* his vncle, and of our Lord, 1128. hee was buried at *Saint Omers* in the Monaſtery of *Saint Bertin*, and left no iſſue behinde him.

(69) *Richard* the ſecond ſonne of King *William* and Queene *Maude*, was born in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne came into *England*, where, being then verie yong, as hee was hunting in the *New-Foreſt* of *Hampſhire*, he came to a violent & ſudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others ſay, by a peſtilent ayre,) and is noted to bee the firſt man that died in that place, the iuſtice of God puniſhing on him his Fathers diſpeopling of that Countrey: his body was thence conueied to *Wincheſter*, and there buried on the Southſide of the Quire of the *Cathedrall Church*, where there remaineth a monument of him with an inſcription entitling him a *Duke*, and ſome ſuppoſe of *Boloigne*.

Richard.

Richard ſlaine in his fathers New-Foreſt.

(70) *William*, the third Son of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the 21. yere of his Fathers Dukedom, ten yeeres before he was King, 1159. hee was ſurnamed of the *Red* colour of his haire, in French *Rows*, in Latine *Rufus*; he was brought vp vnder *Lanefranke* the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, of whom he receiued both inſtructions of knowledge, and the order of Knighthood; he ſerued vnder his Father at the battaile of *Gerberoth* in *Normandy*, 1079, wherein hee was wounded: and hee alwaies framed his actions ſo pleaſing to his Fathers humor, as that hee thought him much worthier then his elder brother to ſucceed in his Kingdome.

William Rufus, or, the Redde.

(71) *Henry*, the fourth, and yongeſt ſonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkeſhire*, the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of our Lord God, 1070. his childhood was trained vp in learning; at *Cambridge* ſaith *Caius*; but the ancient Annales of Saint *Auſtins* in

Henry Beu-clerke

Iohn Caius Cantabrig.

Annales S. Augustini Cantuar. MS.

in *Canterbury*, say, he was *Philosophiâ peregrè informatus, instructed beyond Sea in Philosophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberall Sciences, he was surnamed by the *French*, *Beauclerk*, that is, *the fine Scholler*. Vpon his return he was made Knight, being 16. yeers old, by his Father at *Westminster*, in *Whitsontide*, the nineteenth yeer of his Raign, *Anno* 1086. and thogh at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treasure, yet afterward he succeeded his Brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie* of *Normandy*.

Cecily.

(72) *Cecilie*, the Eldest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maude* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought vp in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, where in the ninth yeere of the Kings Raigne, and the yeere of our Lord 1075. shee was by her Father on *Ester day*, with great Solemnity offered vp in the Church of *Feschampe*, & vailed to bea Nunne in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnes of our *Lady* at *Cane*, to be *Abbesse* of their *Monasterie*, founded by her Mother, which she gouerned, and where she died, and was enterred.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Constance.

(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King *William*, and Queene *Maud*, was the first wife of *Allayne* Earle of little *Britaigne*, surnamed in the *Britisb*, *Fergent*; in *English*, *Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his seruice done at the conquest of *England*, his Father in law gaue him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castle, and whereof he made the Earledome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by an other wife; for she died very yong and without issue; and was buried in the Abbey of Saint *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earldome of *Richmond* erected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *William* & Queen *Maud*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* in *France*, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Thibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Blois*, and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortain* and *Boleine*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Cluny*, after Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbert*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke*: Shee suruiued Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her widowhood tooke vpon her the profession of Religion in the Priorie of Nunnes at *Marciguy* in *France*, where she ended her life.

Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke.*

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *William*, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *William* of *Warrein*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitors of the Earles that followed; and *Rainold* of *Warren*, her second sonne, who had also Issue. Shee died in Child-bed, three yeeres before her husband, at *Castlepker* in *Norfolke* the 27. of May, in the 20. yere of her fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of Saint *Pancrase* Church within the Priory, at the town of *Lews*, in the County of *Sussex*.

Gundrid.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *William*, and his Queen *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harald*, when he was in *Normandy*, being then a yong Widower. Notwithstanding, hee refusing her tooke an other wife, and vsurped the Kingdom of *England*, after the death of King *Edward*, whereby hee occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought reuenge: so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, shee euer after refused marriage, and led a single and solitarie life; though others vpon better warrant collect, that shee died yong, and before *William* her Father set forth for *England*; *Harald* himselfe pleading, that hee was free from all couenants and promises to Duke *William*, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

Ela.

Margaret.

(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and yongest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was in her childhood giuen in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was so renowned for the Conquest of the City *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Mores*, and for the slaughter of their fiue Kings, and was the founder of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the fiue Shields of the said fiue Kinges, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things hapned, and before shee came to yeeres of lawfull consent to the marriage.

VVILLIAM THE SECOND SVRNAMED RVFVS, THE FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarch 40

CHAPTER III.

WIlliam posting for *England*, & Archbishop *Lanfrank* his earnest soliciter by liberall gifts giuen, and promises made to abrogate the ouer hard lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of them that could doe most: and the more to notifie his intended mild gouernment, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his fauours towards the *English*, hee brought with him from *Normandy*, *Morcar*, the stout Earle of *Chester*, and *Wilnoth* the sonne of King *Harold*, both of them released out of prison, and then held in especiall fauour with him. But most of the States standing for *Robert Curtoise* his elder Brother (a man deemed of a more liberall disposition, and better temperature towards the Subiects) their titles had beene tried by swords, had not *Lanfrank* and *Wulstan*, both wise & reuerend Prelates, by their Counsels and Mediations staied their hands.

Lanfranke and *Wulstane* sway the Peeres for *Rufus*.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voices giuen for *William*, he was crowned their King at Westminster, vpon Sunday the twenty sixt day of *September*, and yeere of Saluation, 1087. by the hands of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; vnder whom he had beene educated euen from his Child-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Gouernment, had not the variable inclination of his owne mind carried his actions past the limits of any staied compasse.

William Gemit. Matth. Paris. His Coronation.

His disposition.

(3) *Robert* vpon discontents that *Normandy* was still detained, before his Fathers sickenesse, was gone into *Germany*, to solicite their assistance for his right to that *Duchie:* but hearing of his death, hasteth into the Prouince, and was there peaceably receiued,

An.D.1088 *Rand. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 5* *Robert* possessed of *Normandy*.

His disposition.

ued, and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding, seemed to him dishonourable; his yonger brother being inuested to a Kingdome, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause mouing, but his ouermuch gentlenes, being by nature composed nothing so rough, as was *Rufus*.

Odors emulation against *Lanfrank*.

Polyc. lib. 7. cap. 5.

(4) The like emulation incited *Odo*, Bishoppe of *Baieux* (his vncle) against *Lanfranck* the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of fauour with the Conquerour his halfe brother, whom hee taught the distinction of imprisoning *Odo*, as an Earle, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a iust reuenge: & albeit that *Rufus* brought him from *Normandy*, where he had beene captiuated, and restored him his honours & dignities in *England*; yet hee, vngratefull man, enuying that *Lanfranck* should goe before him, complotted the downefal aswell of the one, as of the other. And drawing into this conspiracy, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne* and *Hereford* his brother, with many other of the *English* Nobility, wrote his letters into *Normandy* vnto his Nephew, hastning him to repaire into *England*, and recouer his right, which by his meanes hee promised should soone bee effected.

He conspireth against the King.

Inuiteth *Robert* to try for the Crowne.

Duke *Roberts* hopes for *England*.

His wants.

(5) The busines thus wrought to Duke *Roberts* hand, and the *English* resorting daily into *Normandy*, assured his hopes of a happy successe, onely the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, hauing euer borne himselfe no lesse then his birth, nor euer had made his bagges his *summum bonum*. In these extremes, he well saw the lesse was to bee followed, and to set a Dukedom at stake to cast at a Kingdome, he thought it ods sufficient, though the chance were doubtfull: Therfore to his younger brother *Henry*, who had store of gold, and wanted land, hee morgaged the Countie of *Constantine*, a Prouince in *Normandy*, & then sent to *Odo*, that he should expect his landing on the West-coast of *England* by a day prefixed.

His supply by morgage of his Land.

Odo the ringleader for Duke *Robert*.

Rob. Mowbray and other his associates.

Wil. Malms. Simon Dun.

(6) The Bishop now growne bold vpon Duke *Roberts* great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying *Rochester*, beganne to molest the peace of *Kent*, sending to his complices abroad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, *Robert de Mowbrey* Earle of *Northumberland*, assisted by *Geffrey* Bishoppe of *Constance*, sacked *Bath*, and *Berkley*, with a great part of *Wilt-shire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Bristow* against King *William*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger Bygod*, in *Leicestershire*, *Hugh Grentemeisnil* did shrewdly wast those Countries: *Roger Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewsburie* with his *Welshmen*, assisted by *william* Bishop of *Durham* (the Kings domesticall Chaplain) *Barnard* of *Newmerch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* (all of them *Normans* or *French-men*) with fire and sword past through the Country of *Worcester*: and surely, the stirres were so great, and Duke *Robert* so fauoured, that by the iudgement of *Gemeticensis*, had he hasted his arriuage, or followed the occasion, the Crowne of *England* had easily been set vpon his head.

Briston fortified against King *William*.

Henry Hunt.

Duke *Robert* verie faire for the Kingdome.

Wil. Gemetic.

(7) All in an vprore, and *Rufus* thus turmoiled, he appointed his Nauie to scowre the seas, and to impeach his brothers arriuage: then gathering his forces, and knowing well how to please the vulgar, promiseth againe to abolish their ouer-hard lawes, & presently to put down all vniust Impostes and Taxations, whereby the People were soone drawne to stand in his defence; and among them *Roger Mountgomery* was reconciled to the King.

King *William* promiseth to mollifie his Laws.

He waxeth strong.

Thus now growne strong, & his enemies decreased, he led his Armie into *Kent* where the sedition first beganne, the Castles of *Tunbridge* and *Horne* he recouered, as likewise *Pemsey*, wherein his vncle *Odo* had strongly immured himselfe, whose lacke of victuall, by King *Williams* strait siege, allaied the pride of that great-hearted man; so that hee not onely surrendred the same, but promised the deliuerie of *Rochester* also strongly manned, with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne*, and a sort of other gallant Gentlemen, euen the flower of *Normandy* and *Flanders*.

Odo the ringleader for Duke *Robert*.

Simon Dun.

(8) *Odo* comming to *Rochester* for the deliuerie of the * Castle according to his promise, was by them surprised, and laid in strait prison, whether in displeasure, or vnder colour, and with consent of *Odo*, I will not say; but certaine it is, that the King tooke the matter so to heart, that he sent forth his Proclamation through *England*, commaunding that euery man should repaire to that siege, whosoeuer would not be reputed a *Niding*, a word of such disgrace, and so distastiue vnto the *English*, that multitudes seemed rather to flie, then runne to that seruice; whereupon the Castle was surrendred, and *Odo* banished into *Normandy*, lost all his liuings and honours in *England*.

An. D. 10[illegible]

* This Castle some say was built by *Odo*, but it appeareth to haue been built by *William* Conquerour. Domesday-book. *W. Il. Gemet.*

Nid a word of Reproch. *Camb. in Kent.*

Math. Paris. Odo leaues England.

(9) Whilest these things were in acting betwixt King *William* and his Barons, Duke *Robert* with his *Normans* was landed at *Southampton*, hauing passed some conflict with the Kings ships at the sea: whom *Rufus* so feared (if mine Author say true) that he sent Messengers vnto him in most submissiue manor, protesting that hee tooke not the crowne as his own by any right; but rather to supply the time in his absence: neither did hee account himselfe King, but as his substitute to hold the crown vnder him; yet seeing the matter had beene so farre passed, and the Emperiall Crowne set on his head; hee most humbly desired that it might so rest, proffering to pay him three thousand Markes by yeere, and to resigne it to him at his death: whereat Duke *Robert* shaking his head (belike he saw no other remedy) easily consented, and returned forthwith into *Normandy*.

Rufus pretended submission vnto his brother.

Polycr. lib.

(10) And, if we compare this with the Monke of *Saint Albans* report, wee may well beleeue, that *William* was forward enough in his offers, though euer as vnready in performance; for the *Barons* then being vp, and he not able to allay them, did that by his word, which he could not by his sword, protesting to them that he was willing to resigne the Kingdom, and would be content either with Money or Possessions, if those that were his Fathers Ouer-seers should think it meete; and for any Ordinances touching the affaires of the Common weale, he would referre it wholly to themselues, prouided alwaies his owne honour should not thereby be impeached. But when the Cloudes of these feares were altogether ouerblowne, no budde once appeared from these faire planted grafts.

Math. Paris. William Rufus, a cunning Time-seruer.

Faire words pease tooles, and often deceiue the wise.

(11) For *Lanfrank* deceased, and both King depriued of a politike director, and Common-welth of a principall Statist, he presently shewed the bent of his inclination, lauishly giuing where no deserts had engaged, and exacting extreame tributes, when no Necessity required; alwaies couetous, yet neuer thrifty, and still gathering, yet neuer enriching his Coffers: All Ecclesiasticall promotions then vacant he assumed into his owne hands, and kept the See of *Canterbury* without an Archbishop aboue foure yeeres, setting to sale the free-rights of the Church, and he that would giue most came soonest to preferment, wherby both the Lands and good esteeme of the Clergy was daily diminished.

Lanfranke [illegible]

King William [illegible] ill manager of Ecclesiastical promotions. *Gem, Dur.*

Pope *Vrban* not at leasure then to remedy Church wrongs.

These greeuances were complained of vnto Pope *Vrban*, but he ouer-busied to forward an expedition of Christian Princes for the winning of *Ierusalem*, had no leasure seriously to thinke vpon their estates, or else lesse minde to diuert Kings out of their owne byas, whose persons he meant to reserue for his own gain.

An. D. 1096

(12) The Storme thus cleered without any thunder; King *Rufus* set the eye of desire vpon Duke *Roberts* dominions, who lately had done the like with his; and suddenly burst into *Normandy*, as *Scipio* did into *Africke*, pretending reuenge of injuries done to his Kingdome; first therefore surprizing the Castles of *Saint Valery* and *Albemarle*, hee stored them with his owne Souldiers; then piercing forward did great spoile in the Countrie. *Robert* destitute of meanes and knowing his *Normans* euer vnfaithfull, sent to *Philip* the

Ypodigma Neustria.

King *William* [illegible] ters *Normandy*

the *French* King, desiring his assistance against this Brother-Enemy; who preparing towards *Normandy*, was stopped with such golden showres from King *William* that he could not passe, so that Duke *Robert* was constrained to make a peace with his brother, though for himselfe a very sorry one, as saith *Gemeticensis*; which, as *Paris* reporteth, was effected by twelue Princes vpon either part, and the conditions as followeth: that King *William* should retaine and enioy the County of *Ewe* with *Fescampe*, the Abbacie of *Mount Saint-Michael*, and all the Castles he had gotten in *Normandy*: for the Duke it was agreed, that his brother King *William* should aide and assist him, to recouer thoselands & territories beyond the seas, which had beene belonging to their Father; That all such *Normans* as had lost their liuings in *England*, in taking part with Duke *Robert*, should be restored: and lastly, whether of them should die first, the suruiuer should be his heire.

(13) Peace thus established, and both their powers vnited, they bent altogether against *Henry* their yongest brother, who fearing after-claps, had strongly fortified the Castle of *Mount Saint-Michael*, situated vpon the confines of *Normandie* and *Britaine*: him, whom they ought to haue prouided for, (saith *Gemeticensis*) they went about to expell, and all the Lent long laid siege against him.

It chanced one day as his men sallied out, & made a brauado in the face of their beleaguers; King *William* alone, more bold then wise, rode against them, thinking none so hardy as to encounter him single; but presently a Knight slew his horse vnder him, & his foot entangled in the stirrupe hee was ouerthrowne; his enemy therefore with drawn sword, was ready to haue slaine him, had hee not reuealed himselfe by his voice: the armed men with great reuerence then tooke him vp, and brought him another horse; when the King not staying for the stirrup, sprang into the saddle, and with an angry countenance demanded, who it was that ouerthrew him? the Knight as boldly answered, and shewed himselfe who he was; by *Lukes face*, quoth *William* (for that was his oath) thou shalt bee my Knight, and be enrolled in my Checke, with a Fee answerable to thy worth.

(14) During this seige, Prince *Henry* being sore distressed for water, and knowing Duke *Robert* to be of the milder temperature, sent him word of his want, desiring to haue that permitted, which God had made common, and giuen euen to brute beasts, aswell as to men; Duke *Robert* therefore commanded him to be supplied, whereat *William* was wroth, telling his Brother he wanted discretion, & policy in warre, which allowed all aduantages to surprise the Enemy: And dost thou (said *Robert*) esteeme more of water, which is euery where to be got, then of a Brother, hauing no more but him and me? In which dissension, Earle *Henry* got thence; and by policy tooke a very strong towne called *Danford*, where presently was a reconciliation made amongst these three brethren, who thereupon forthwith tooke the Seas together for *England*.

(15) About this time, in the yeere of Grace, 1091, and fourth of King *Rufus* his raigne, one *Eneon* the sonne of *Cadwor* Lord of *Dyuet*, mouing rebellion against *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of *Southwales*, drew to his side *Iestyn* Lord of *Glamorgan*, vpon promise to become his sonne in law by the marriage of his daughter: *Iestyn* notwithstanding, iudging their faction too weake, sent *Eneon* into *England*, where hee was well acquainted, to procure aide against *Rees*: who entring conference of his businesse with *Robert Fitz-hamon* a worthy Knight of the Kings Priuie-Chamber, wrought so far with him, being a man easily drawne to the exercise of warre, that for a Salarie hee vndertooke the seruice, and with twelue Knights, and a competent number of Souldiers went into *Wales*, where ioining with *Iestin*, in battle slew Prince *Rees ap Tewdor*, with *Conan* his sonne. *Robert Fitzhamon*, now minding to return, demanded his pay according to couenants; which *Iestine* in some part denied, alledging that *Eneon* had gone beyond his commission: whereupon such discord arose, that these friends fell out, and *Eneon* thus touched in his reputation, sided with the *English* against his owne Country-men; whereupon a battaile was fought, and *Iustin* with most of his *Welsh* slaine, so that *Robert* with his followers obtained a fruitfull possession in those parts, (which by their posteities are enioied euen to this day) whose names, as they are found written in a *British* record, were as followeth.

Rob. Fitz-hamon and his followers possessions in Wales.

	NAMES.	POSSESSION.
1	*William de Londres.*	*Ogmor.*
2	*Richard de Grana Villa.*	*Neth.*
3	*Pagan de Turberuile.*	*Coity.*
4	*Robert de S. Quintin.*	*Lhan Blethyan.*
5	*Richard de Syward.*	*Talauan.*
6	*Gilbert de Humfreuile.*	*Penmarke.*
7	*Roger de Beckrolles.*	*East Orchard.*
8	*Raynald de Sully.*	*Sully.*
9	*Peter de Soore.*	*Peterton.*
10	*Iohn Le Fleming.*	*Saint George.*
11	*Oliuer de Saint Iohn.*	*Fonmon.*
12	*William de Estirling.*	*Saint Donats.*

The Knights who attended Fitz hamon.

An. D. 1092

(16) As these things were commenced betwixt *England*, *Normandy*, and *Walles*, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* entred into the *English* Marches as farre as to *Chester in the Streete*, doing much harme; whose farther outrage to preuent, *William* incontinently hasted, sending by sea a great Nauie of Shippes, and by land his brother *Robert*, though with much losse of either: for his *Fleet* was torne by tempest, and his horsemen through hunger & cold perished in those barren parts: at length the Kings come to an Interuiew, where by the meanes of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for *William* restored vnto *Malcolme* twelue Villages, which he had held in *England* vnder his Father, and gaue him yeerly twelue Markes in gold: And King *Malcolme* for his part promised to keepe true peace with him, as hee had done with the Conquerour, whereunto hee gaue him his Oath, as saith *Mathew Paris*.

Gemet. Malcolme King of Scotland enters England with a power,

King William & Malcolme meete, & enter League.

Tpodigm. Neustria.

Mat. Paris.

(17) But as these two Kings of Enemies were made friends, so the two Brethren of reconciled friends became againe enemies: for Duke *Robert* well perceiuing, that King *VVilliam* meant nothing lesse then performance of couenants, (protracting time vpon some secret purposes, as his iealous head conceiued) in great displeasure returned into *Normandy*, taking with him *Edgar Atheling*, whom he held in an especiall account.

King William and Duke Robert at variance againe.

(18) King *VVilliam* then repairing those Castles which the *Scots* had destroied, new built in *Cumberland* the City *Carleil*, which two hundred yeares before had beene spoiled by the *Danes*; and hauing defenced it with walles, built there the *Castle*, *Churches*, and *Houses*, wherein hee placed a Colonie of Southerne Souldiers, with their wiues and children, granting large priuiledges to the place, which the City enioieth euen vnto this day.

Carleil reedified.

Peopled with a Southerne Colony.

Endowed with large Priuileges.

An. D. 1093

(19) And hauing setled his affaires thus in the North, returneth with triumph into the South, where immediately hee fell dangerously sicke, in the sixth yeere of his Raigne, at the Citie of *Gloucester*, whose sinnes beganne to sit so neere his heart, (not looking to continue to commit many more) that hee sore repented him of the same, making

King William falleth sicke and voweth amendment.

Matth Paris. Henry Hunt.

king many promiſes to amend his life, if God would be pleaſed to giue him longer life: the hard lawes againſt the *Engliſh*, he vowed to reforme, as alſo his owne vices, and to ſettle peace and good order in the Church, then farre out of frame, almoſt all the Monkes in *England*, liued rather like Conſuls, being Hunters, Hawkers, Dicers, & great Drinkers (ſaith *Higden*) little regarding the rules of their profeſsion. Thoſe Biſhopricks & Monaſteries that were vacant, and in his owne hand, hee forthwith, and (much againſt his wont) freely beſtowed: the Archbiſhopricke of *Canterbury* vpon *Anſelme* a learned *Norman* Abbot: the See of *Lincolne* hee gaue to *Robert Bluet* his Chancellour, a man of meane learning, and ſome other touches, but otherwiſe of many ſingular parts.

Polychron. lib. 7. ac p. 6.

Ger. Dorob.

Godwin in his Catalogue of Biſhops.

Hic humilis, diues: (res mira) potens, pius: victor, Compatiens: mitis, cum pateretur, erat.

Ypod. g. Neuſtri. King *William* regaineth his health, and loſeth his good purpoſes.

(20) But the danger paſt, and health recouered, hee beganne to bee more ſicke in mind, ſoon repenting him of his too-ſoone Repentance: for as in ſpending his owne wealth, hee was very prodigall, ſo was hee very diligent to enter into other mens eſtates, and to gaine from them what he could, and therefore tampereth with *Anſelme*, perſwading him, that the trouble of the Archbiſhops place was very burthenous, eſpecially for a man wholly brought vp within the walles of a Monaſtery, deuoted to contemplation, and vnexperienced in the mannage of great affaires of State. But all this Art could not induce him to let goe his hold-faſt of the Kings abſolutely paſſed promiſe, nor yet to ſatisfie his great deſire with mony, and therefore the King paid himſelfe out of his Lands. Likewiſe from *Roger* of *Lincolne* hee exacted fiue thouſand pounds; and the Commons hee fined for tranſgreſsion of his penall lawes; and in truth moleſted all for money: None were rich but Treaſurers and Collectors, none in fauour but vnconſcionable Lawyers, and none rewarded but Promoters: ſo that his ouer-haled ſubiects fled daily out of the Realme; againſt whom he publiſhed Proclamations, with an inhibition that none ſhould depart without his ſafe Conduct.

Godwin in the life of *Anſelme.*

Polychron. lib. 7. cap. 7.

Rand. Higd.

King *Malcolme* commeth to *Gloceſter.*

(21) Soone after this, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* came vnto *Glouceſter*, to conferre with King *William* touching the Peace of both the Realmes; but conceiuing a grudge, for that hee was not entertained according to the Maieſty of his eſtate, departed in diſpleaſure without ſpeech with the King; and immediately raiſing a power againſt *England*, deſtroied the Country vnto *Alnewicke* Caſtle.

Will. Gemet.

Departeth diſcontent.

William Malmeſ. Polydor.

Raiſeth a power.

Robert Mowbray then Earle of *Northumberland*, a moſt valiant Souldier, ſeeing his Countrey thus ouerrunne, made head againſt him, not ſtaying for directions from his King; and lying in Ambuſh for his returne, ſo ſore and ſuddenly diſtreſſed his forces, that both King *Malcolme* himſelfe and his ſon Prince *Edward* were there ſlaine.

William Gemet. Is ſlaine with his ſon the Prince. *Simon Dun.*

Earl Mowbraies greatneſſe ſuſpected by the King.

(22) Heereupon Earle *Mowbray* growing proud and greatly ſuſpected by King *William*, began to fortifie the Kings Caſtles, with Munition for Armes againſt the like inuaſion, and indeed againſt the Kings will; who ſent him word ſomewhat roughly, to deſiſt from his doings, and preſently to repaire to his Preſence; which whileſt hee lingered and neglected to doe, King *William* ſent his brother *Henry* to ſpoile *Northumberland*, and immediately followed after himſelfe, where without much adoe, he tooke the Earle, and committed him priſoner to *Windſor* Caſtle.

Math. Paris.

Is taken and impriſoned.

(23) Theſe ſtirres in the North are diuerſly reported: for *Iralſingham* in his *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ*, ſaith, that *Robert Moubray* and *William* of *Anco* with others, conſpired to depriue the King both of crown and life, and to haue ſet vp *Stephen de Albamarle* his Aunts ſonne: the iſſue of which treaſon was preuented by ſurprizing *Mowbray*, who died a Priſoner. *William* of *Anco* was puniſhed with loſſe both of his eyes and his virility; and *William Aluerie* (the Kings Godfather, Kinſman and Sewer) cruelly whipped, and all naked goared in bloud, though guiltles,

Ypodigm. Neuſtr.

Hector Boetius lib. 12. cap. 12.

was hanged. *Hector Boetius*, the Scotiſh, Hiſtorian relates ſomewhat otherwiſe of the death of King *Malcolme*; as that the *Engliſh* hauing gotten the Caſtle of *Anwike*, King *Malcolme* with a ſtrong ſiege enuironed it about; when, the *Engliſh* diſtreſſed, and ready to ſurrender, a certaine Knight amongſt them attempted a very deſperate enterprice, for mounted vpon a ſwift horſe, vnarmed, excepting onely a light Speare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the Caſtle, he rod directly to the *Scotiſh* Campe, and was with great applauſe brought vnto their King, where couching his ſtaffe, as though hee meant with ſubmiſsion to deliuer him the keyes, ſuddenly ranne him into the left eye, and through ſwiftnes of his horſe eſcaped, leauing the King there dead: for which act King *William* (ſaith he, though erroneouſly) changed the Knights name into *Perceeye*, whence that Noble Family is deſcended.

Malcolme ſlain vnder ſhew of ſubmiſsion.

The name of *Percyes* ancester the Percies of *Malcolmes*. *Vide Cambd. in Northum. Gemeticenſis.* (*Edgar Etheling* Sister) dieth in griefe of her husbands death; few ſuch Saint-like wiues. *Hector Boetius Math. Paris* The *Engliſh* Monarchs of *Wm.*

Gulielmus Gemeticenſis ſaith indeed, that it was reported that King *Malcolme* was ſlaine by a guile, declaring not the manner, but by the hands of *Morell*, Nephew to Earle *Mowbrey*, where likewiſe died Prince *Edward* his ſonne, and the greateſt part of his Armie: with which dolefull newes (ſaith *Hector*) his Queene *Margaret* (called the Saint) within three daies after died of griefe. But *Paris* hath ſet it downe, as is ſaid; and in the ſame yeer makes *William* the Conquerour of *Wales*; ſince which time the *Engliſh* Monarches haue beene accounted their chiefe Gouernors.

An. D. 1094. *Wil. Malmſ. Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.*

(24) Grudges now grown betwixt *King William* and Duke *Robert* his brother, each accuſing other of breach of oath and of Couenants; *William* from *Haſtings* ſet ſaile into *Normandy*, where ſome bickering fell betwixt the two Brethren, but by the mediating of certaine graue perſons, their quarrels were comprimiſed, and Princes choſen to be their Arbitrators; which hearing indifferently all allegations, adiudged *King Rufus* in the fault, who thereupon (as thinking nothing right, but what went with him) was ſo farre from following their award, that being offended with their cenſure, he preſently aſſaulted, and tooke the Caſtle of *Burren*; neither did *Robert* for his part ſleepe the whiles, but ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Argenton*, which was by former couenants giuen to *King William*, drawing likewiſe *Philip* the *French King* to his ſide, who with his Army entred *Normandy* for his aſsiſtance.

A breach againe betwixt the two Brethren, but made vp for a time.

(25) King *William* then waying into what danger hee had brought himſelfe, (all approuing Duke *Robert*, and diſallowing his Acts,) he ſought to doe that by money, which he could not by ſword. Therfore to thoſe ſouldiers, which in heat of his furie, he had commanded to bee ſent him into *Normandy*, (euen twenty thouſand, now in readineſſe, and at *Haſtings* ſtaying for a wind) he ſent a countermand, exacting of euery common ſouldier ten ſhillings in money for the releaſe, and ſo without further trouble to return to their homes; with which ſumme he ſo pacified the French King, that hee now left *Robert* to looke to himſelfe, who thus forſaken, was conſtrained to come to an vnreaſonable peace.

King *William* prouailes by money.

Math. Paris.

The French King leaues his ſiege for money.

(26) And the more willingly, for that the holy wars for *Ieruſalem*, deliberated of fiue yeares before, were now hotely purſued by Pope *Vrbane* the ſecond, (whome *Bibliander* blameth to be the cauſer of much Chriſtian blood-ſhed) onely to ſet vp that, which Chriſt by Propheſie had laid in deſolation. Among theſe Chriſtian valiant Captains Duke *Robert* would be one, but wanting money, (no newes at all to his coffers) hee ſent to his brother King *VVilliam* to bee ſupplied, and for the ſumme of ſixe thouſand, ſixe hundred, ſixty ſixe pound of ſiluer, (*Paulus Aemilius* ſaith, ſixe thouſand nine hundred thirty foure more) morgaged his Dutchy vnto him, giuing him the poſſeſsion thereof before his departure.

The warres for the Holy Land. *Theod. Biblia.*

Duke *Robert* going to *Ieruſalem* morgageth his Dukedome. *Henry Hunt. Will Thorn. Paul. Aemil.*

(27) To make vp which ſumme, hee did not only oppreſſe and fleece his poore ſubiects, but rather (to vſe the words of *Paris*) with importunate exactions did

Will. Gemet.

King *William* extreame exacting. *Math. Paris.*

did as it were flea off their skins; for the Churches and Monasteries, hauing sold away their Iewels and Chalices to satisfie his appetite, and answering they could make no more; the King replied, with some scorne; And haue you not, I beseech you, Coffins of Gold and Siluer for dead mens bones? Accounting the money laid out vpon this holy Expedition, to be better imploied then to garnish the reliques of the dead.

(28) The King thus finding his fortune in all things pliable to his wishes, and his heart therewith greatly puffed vp, his purpose was now at his returne from *Normandy*, to make a full conquest of *Wales*; therefore redoubling his forces hee drew into the Marches, where piching his Tents hee consulted with his Captaines what was best to bee done. The *Welshmen* finding themselues ouerweake, fled according to their accustomed manner, into the Woods and Mountaines, taking thereby such aduantage against their pursuers, that the King returned without any notable deed done; and with the like successe he vndertooke an other Expedition against them the yeere following.

(29) But bearing a minde still to subdue al *Wales*, he had first in his eie the Iland *Anglesey*, against which he sent *Hugh Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewesburie*, and *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Chester*, who there executed their Conquests with very great cruelties, cutting off the Noses, Hands, and Armes of their resisters, without regard of age, or sexe, nor sparing either places or persons, sacred or prophane. At which very time it chanced *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the sonne of *Olanus*, (the sonne of *Harold Harfager*) to haue made his Conquest of the *Iles* of *Orkeney*, and then wafting along the Seas, sought to come on Land in *Anglesey*, whom to impeach, these Earles made all their powers: where *Hugh Mountgomery* armed at all parts, but onely the sight of his Beuer, was shot into his right eye, whereof hee died eight daies after.

(30) The holy voyage now set forward, (vnto which Pope *Vrbane* was a chiefe instigator) thirty thousand Christians tooke the Signe of the Crosse, wearing it on their garments as the cognizance of their deuoted warfare: The chiefest Captaine of which Princely Army, was *Peter* a poore Hermit, who returning from *Ierusalem*, certified the Pope of the Christians great miserie vnder those mercilesse Infidels: but the good man more exercised in praiers (the weapons of Votaries) then expert to guide an Army, was soone entrapped among the *Bulgares*, and slaine with most of his souldiers. But yet the businesse still prosecuted, the number of all degrees and ages flocking to the seruice, is reported to haue amounted (a thing almost incredible) vnto seuen hundred thousand. In chiefe commaund of which huge Armie, were imploied many braue Princes of Christendome; as *Godfrey* the famous Duke of *Loraine*, with his brethren *Eustace* and *Baldwin*: *Bohemund* Duke of *Naples*, and his Nephew *Tancredus*: *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*; *Hugh le grand*, brother to *Philip* the *French King*; *Raymund*, Earle of *S. Egidius*; and besides many other great Princes, the foresaid *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, not the last in esteeme for his renowned seruice; as his memorable prowesse in that imploiment did afterwards make apparant vnto the world. All these meeting at *Constantinople* (where *Alexius* was *Emperour*) passed ouer *Hellespont*, and proceeded with better successe then the *Hermit* had done, subduing Cities and Countries before them, with the slaughter of an hundred thousand Infidels, and purchase of great spoiles: and lastly, tooke *Ierusalem* the holy City, in the thirty ninth day after the Siege thereof. But let vs from *Iewrie* returne into *England*.

(31) King *William* at rest whilst his Brother and the rest were in warres, thinking now both of fortifying and beautifying his Kingdome, caused new walles to be built about the Tower of *London*, and at *Westminster* (* where before was the ancient Palace of Saint *Edward* and his Ancestours) laid new foundations of a most large and Princely Palace; the Hall whereof, by the testimony of *Paris*, should haue extended (if he had liued to finish it) from the Riuer *Thames* euen vnto the common high way; as might appeare by the first groundworks, at the time wherin *Paris* wrote: but that stately Building, which now we cal the *Great Hall*, he finished as it now standeth, containing in length two hundred and seuenty foote, in breadth seuenty foure: yet (when some praised the largenesse thereof) hee found fault that it was not made bigger, accounting it scarse worthy the name of a Bed-Chamber, in respect of that which he intended to build.

* *Iagulfus*.

Matth. Paris, Stowe, Iuuaie.

Westminster Hall built.

The length and breadth thereof.

Rand. Higden.

And certes, of a right magnanimous disposition was this *Rufus*, as appeared at such time, when sitting at dinner, purposing forthwith to take his pleasure in hunting, a messenger brought him sudden newes of the Siege of *Mayne*, a City in *Normandy*: whereto when the King answered, *He would take aduice what to doe: But thy Subiects* (replied the party) *are in distresse, and cannot be delaied*; whereat the King swore his wonted Oath, that *if they could not, they should not, and that he would not turne his backe till he were with them*; and thereupon commanded to breake downe the wall that he might goe forth the next way to the Sea, leauing straight Commission for his Nobles to follow him with all celerity.

Mayne in *Normandy* besieged. *Henry Hunt.*

The Kings readinesse to releeue them.

Wil. Malms.

(32) But the winds being contrary, and thereby both the Sea and the King in a great rage; his Pilote misdoubting hazard of Shipwrake, desired him humbly to expect a while, till those boisterous Elements were calmer, and passage more safe. Wherunto he answered, as no whit daunted: *Hast thou euer heard that any * King hath beene drowned? therefore hoise vp the Sailes, I charge thee and be gone.* The City vpon this vnexpected speed of the King, was soone released, and *Helias*, Consull of *Cinomannia*, who did beleaguer it, being taken by a traine, was by King *William* iested at to his face, as a man neither of Martiall prowesse nor policie: at which indignity the Noble *Helias* disdainingly storming, with great boldnesse said vnto *Rufus*: *I am now thy Prisoner, not by thy prowesse, but by chance of warre, and my owne misfortune: but were I at liberty, thou shouldest well know, I am not the man thus to be laughed at.* The King well-liking the confidence of his spirit: *Well then* (laid hee) *I giue thee full liberty, goe thy waies, doe what in thee lieth; I am the man that euer will mate thee.*

* Yes King *Pharao* was drowned; if the Pilot durst haue so replied. *Wil. Gemetic.*

The courage of *Helias* a Prisoner

King *William* releaseth him.

(33) And surely, howsoeuer he might be blemished with many staines of bad Gouernment, yet for his valour and resolutions in wars he is greatly commended; and so much by some, that, if it were not against the faith of Christianity, it might be thought (saith *Malmesbury*) that the Soule of *Cæsar* had entred into the body of this *Rufus*, as that of *Euphorbus* is said to haue don into *Pythagoras*: yea, & those staines (we may well thinke) were no whit lessened by his story writers, who were dependants of the Romish See: for that he little fauoured their Holy Father, or any such as adhered vnto the See of *Rome*, against the Prerogatiue of his Crowne; as especially appeared in his Offence conceiued against *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for his too *Romish* humor. There was at that time a Schisme in the *Roman* Church, which Monster-like had then two heads on one Body, the Emperour (who claimed that as his right) placing one, and the *Roman* Clergy abetting another, *Vrbanus* by name, with whom consorted *Anselme*, against the Kings command.

His great valour.

Will Gemet. lib. 4.
His praises much impaired by partiall writers.

His opposition to the Romish Church.

Two Popes of *Rome*. *Mat. Paris.*

The King alleged, that no Archbishop or Bishop of the kingdome should (or ought) be subiect to the *Pope* or Court of *Rome*, with whom they had nought to doe: that he and his Realme had as large franchesies, euer since the receiuing of the Christistian faith, as the Emperour had in his Empire; and that therefore none ought in his Realme to bee receiued for *Pope*, whom himselfe and his State should not first

No English B. subiect to the Pope. *Radulph. Holinsh.*
The King of *England* hath as great priuiledges as the Emperour.

approue: that without his licence none ſhould goe or appeale to *Rome* in any cauſe: that *Anſelme* could not keepe his Allegeance to his Soueraigne, and alſo to the *Pope*. Vpon all which points the Prelates of *England*, excepting only *Gundulphus* B. of *Rocheſter*, aſſented to the King againſt *Anſelmus*, that he was guilty of High Treaſon, for attempting to depriue the Crowne of theſe prerogatiues.

Matth Paris alibi except alſo *Rannulphus Ceſtrenſis Epiſc.*

(34) And becauſe the King then vrged, that herein he did no more then his Father had done before him, it ſhal not be impertinent to obſerue heere, how that, as *Vrbanus* vſed *Anſelmus* for his inſtrument to draw the King to his becke; ſo Pope *Gregorie* before him vſed Archbiſhop *Lanfrancks* helpe for vndermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to ſubiect him and his State to the Papacie; which that it may appeare the better, I will here inſert the Conquerors owne Letter to the Pope.

Pope *Gregory* was iuſtly by all mens iudgemẽts (ſaith *Paris*) depoſed for Treaſon againſt the Emperour.

Amongſt *Lanfranks* Epiſtles, *M.S. vetuſt.* The Pope would haue *William* Conquerour to ſweare him allegeance.

To Gregory *the moſt Excellent Paſtor of Holy Church*, William *by the grace of God, King of* England *and Duke of* Normandy, *wiſheth health and friendſhip. Your Legat* Hubert (*Religious Father*) *came vnto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegeance to you, and your Succeſſors, and to take better order for the money wich my Predeceſſors were wont to ſend to the Church of* Rome. *The one I haue granted; of the other I haue not admitted. Fealtie to you, I neither would nor will make; for I neither promiſed you ſo much, neither finde I that euer my Anteceſſors did performe it to yours. The * money hath beene negligently gathered, my ſelfe almoſt theſe three yeeres being in* France; *but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is Collected is now ſent by the ſaid Legate: the reſt ſhall be ſent when it may conueniently, by the meſſengers of* Lanfrancke *our faithfull ſeruant. Pray for vs, and for the good eſtate of our Kingdome; for I haue loued your Predeceſſors; and my deſire is aboue all others ſincerely to loue you, and to heare you obediently.*

This money was the *Peter-pence* or *Romeſcot*, which *Edward* Confeſſor calleth *Eleemoſynas*, as giuen of Almes to the Church of Rome.

His Holineſſe was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his deſires in *England*. But *Lanfranck* cleared himſelfe of the blame, ſhewing him how diligently (but indeed traiterouſly) hee had beſtirred himſelfe, in counſelling the King to yeeld to ſweare obedience to the *Pope: Suaſi, ſed non perſuaſi* (ſaith he) *I haue ſo aduiſed him, but I could not perſuade him.*

Lanfranke counſelleth the King to ſubiect himſelf to the Pope. *Epiſt. Lanfran. M. S.*

(35) By which incredible pride and Popiſh incroachments, attempted by the meanes of theſe chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) ſaw it was high time for him to preuent farther miſchiefes to his State, by following his Fathers ſteps in timely repreſsing ſuch Papall intruſions: yea ſo farre was hee from yeelding his necke to that yoke, that hee auowed, that the *Popes*, though boaſting of *Peters* Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or looſing, whoſe godly ſteppes they wholly neglected, following onely after Lucre and wordly Honours: that alſo it was but impoſture to teach Interceſsion, and bootleſſe to vſe Inuocation to Saints, euen to Saint *Peter* himſelfe. And as for the reſt of the Romiſh Clergie, who then gaue themſelues ſtrangely to wordly and fleſhly pleaſures, wearing their guilt girdles and ſpurres, and trimming their buſhie Locks; their looſe liues the King much deteſted, and ſought to puniſh; which moſt incenſed their Choler: and theſe were the haires no doubt in thoſe Monkiſh writers Pennes that euer blotted his faire name, vnder their faſt-running, and vneuen hands. For ſo much may we gather from *Gemeticenſis* the Recorder of his life, who hauing reported many Acts of this Kings, ſeemeth laſtly to checke himſelfe for going ſo farre: where (he ſaith) *Theſe and many other like things wee could truely report of him, were it not we think it vnconuenient largely to relate his actions, becauſe he perſecuted verie many of Gods ſeruants, and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought by the moſt part of wiſemen, that he repented too late and vnprofitably.*

Will. Rufus prudently treads his fathers ſteps. *Eadmerus.* He denieth the Popes power, *Soluendi & Ligandi. Hollinſ.*

Againſt praying to Saints.

Rand. in Polychr. lib. 7 cap. 9.

Gemetic. l. 7. c. 8.

A very wiſe reaſon.

(36) And true it is, that ſome of them haue taxed him for great *Pride* and *Couetouſneſſe*, whereof yet ſome pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting; as, (though the inſtance bee ſomewhat familiar) when his Chamberlane bringing him a paire of new hoaſe, and he demanding the price, was anſwered that they coſt three ſhillings; *Away baſe fellow* (quoth he) *are thoſe beſeeming a King? bring mee of a Marke price:* his ſeruant went, but brought him an other paire of no greater coſt, yet tolde him (as great Mens reckonings vſually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleaſed, and diſburſed that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

(37) His Couetouſneſſe what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whoſe Abbat was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-uied and ouerbad the other, to ſucceed in the Abbacie; a third Monke very ſober, and poore in ſhew, accompanying them in their buſineſſe, ſtood by; whom the King asked what he would giue to be made Abbat? Nothing, ſaid the Monke; for I entred my profeſsion to be poore, and hitherto haue beene, little eſteeming the pompe or riches of the world. Then thou art the man (replied the King) and ſhalt be their Abbat, more worthy in thy pouertie, then they for their price; and ſo conferring on him that high honour, checked the others to their open infamy and reproach.

As the like he alſo did to *Hugh* a *Norman* Knight, and Souldier by profeſsion, who of a ſincere deuotion had entred the Monkiſh Order in the Monaſterie of *S. Auguſtines* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vido* the Abbat, was but a Probationer; when comming with others to the King for the election of another, was choſen himſelfe (though ſore againſt his will) without any requeſt or proffer; whoſe penitency and vnfained humility ſo moued the King, that in this his Election he burſt foorth into teares.

(38) Other faults I grant hee is charged with, wherein we haue not and cannot vtterly acquit him: as this beſides others, that his chiefeſt Conſorts were Effeminated perſons, Ruffians and the like, and himſelfe ſaid to haue delighted continually in Adulteries, and the Company of Concubines, *etiam coram Sole*, ſhameleſſe and in the ſight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate iſſue knowne; and yet onely, or eſpecially for his ſins, many ſtrange ſignes of Gods wrath are reported to haue happened in the time of his raigne.

(39) For in his ſecond yeere a terrible and moſt dreadful Earth-quake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Winſcombe*, rent the beames of the roofe, caſt downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legge, and withall ouerthrew the Image of our Lady ſtanding hard by, leauing ſuch a ſtench in the Church, that neither incenſe, holy-water, nor the ſinging of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, ſo great a tempeſt of winde happened, that in *London* it bare downe ſixe hundred Houſes, and blew off the roofe of *Bow-Church*, which with the Beames were borne into the Aire a great height; ſixe whereof being twenty ſeuen foot long, with their fall were driuen twenty three foote deepe into the ground, the ſtreets of the City lying then vnpaued.

In the ninth of his Raigne a blazing Starre appeared with two buſhes, and other Starres ſeemed to ſhoote darts each againſt others, to no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The laſt of his Raigne, the Sea breaking ouer his limited banks, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* ouerwhelmed the lands that ſometime were Earle *Goodwins*, which as yet are called *Goodwins Sands*, lying very dangerous for all Nauigators. But moſt fearefull was the Wel of blood, which for fifteene daies roſe vp out of the ground at *Finchamſted* neere *Abington* in *Barkeſhire*. His owne dreame, wherein it ſeemed the veines of his Armes to be broken, and abundauce of his blood ſtreaming on

Rob. of Glouc. Chron. S. Dunst.

An example of Will. Rufus his wonderfull Pride. Euery baſe knaue will not goe coſtlier.

His ſmarke. Polyd. Virg.

Polych. lib. 7. c. 9.

A princely choice. I would all Monaſteries might ſo be ſerued.

A preferment beſtowed vnlooked for.

Of King Williams incontinency.

Math. Paris. No iſſue illegitimate of his, knowne.

An. D. 108 Strange accidents of his raigne. Earthquake.

Lightning.

Winde.

Iohn Stow.

An. D. 109 Vncouth Starr.

Deluge.

Goodwin Sands. Hector Boetius.

A Well of blood.

Wil. Malmsb. Mat. Weſtm. Henry Hunt. Rand. Higd.

on the floore; as likewiſe that Monks, who in his ſleepe ſaw the Crucifixe to ſpurne the King to the ground: theſe with many like, were held as preſages of his death, which preſently followed. Of al which, or the moſt part, what better cenſure can wee giue, then that which King *William* himſelfe (when this laſt viſion was told him) did deliuer; ſaying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame (Monachiliter) as Monkes vſe to doe, onely for to gaine. Giue him an hundred ſhillings, leſt he ſhould thinke he had dreamed bootleſſe.*

(40) Whatſoeuer force thoſe preſages had, it is true, that vpon the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, as he was hunting in the new Forreſt, and in the place called *Chorengham*, all his Company being ſcattered from him, ſauing onely a *French* Knight, whoſe name was *Walter Tirrell*, the King with his arrow ſtrooke a Stag, which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to marke therefore the courſe that it tooke, he held vp his hand betwixt his eie and the Sunne, when vnawares alſo *Walter Tirrell* ſo ſhot, that his Arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtrooke the King in his breſt, who haſtily breaking off ſo much as ſtucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and died. Of which ſudden chance, his followers ſoone vnderſtanding, moſt of them made away, but thoſe few which remained, laid his body (baſely God wot, but as neceſsity ſuffered) into a Colliers Cart, which drawne with one ſilly leane Beaſt, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the ſpectacle of worldly glory, both pittifully goared, and filthily bemired, til afterward he was thence conuaied vnto *Wincheſter*, and buried vnder a plaine flat Marble ſtone in the Quire of *Saint Swithens*, the *Cathedrall Church* of the City, whoſe bones were ſince taken vp, and laid into a Coffer, with the bones of *Canutus*. Hee died after he had raigned twelue yeeres, eleuen moneths lacking eight daies, being the yeere of his age forty three, and of *Chriſt Ieſus*, 1100.

Yeeres of his age and Raigne.

Will. Malmeſ.

(41) He was of perſon indifferent, not of any great ſtature, yet very wel ſet, his belly (like his Fathers) ſomewhat bearing out: of complexion * ruddy, whereof he tooke his ſurname, and his haire ſomewhat yellow, his forehead flat and ſquare, and his Eies diuerſely coloured; a ſtammering tongue, eſpecially in his anger; gorgeous in apparell, and of no ſparing diet; very bountifull to Souldiers, often hard to Churchmen, burdenſome ſo his Subiects, an expert Souldier, that could wel both endure labour of the Body, and put off cares of the minde; in his affaires circumſpect, of his word ſtedfaſt, and in his warres no leſſe diligent, then fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *de Charitate*, the great New-Church of *Saint Sauiours* of *Barmondſey* in *Southwark*, which he built, with his Mannor of *Barmondſey* it ſelfe, and all the appurtenances, together with the Towne of *Charleton*: confirming all that had beene giuen them before. He alſo of an old Monaſtery in *Yorke* founded a new *Hoſpitall*, to the honour of *Saint Peter*, for the ſuſtentation of poore men and women: dying as we haue ſaid, without Wife or Iſſue, or without reſpit of time for diſpoſe of his Crowne, or other wordly affaires.

His deſcription of minde and body.

* *Bertius* thence ſurnames him *Rod-face*.

His works of deuotion.

Lib. Bermond.

Henry I.

HENRIE, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 41

CHAPTER IIII.

An.D. 1100
Wil. Malms.
Iohn Rowse.
Annales S. Aug.
Math. Paris.

HEnry, the yongeſt ſonne of the Conquerour and third King of his race, was born heere in *England*, and brought vp in learning euē frō his child-hood, whereby hee gained to himſelfe the high honour very rare in thoſe daies, eſpecially in Princes, to be, and to bee ſtiled the *Beauclerk*: whoſe portion of Treaſure was not a little, giuen him by his father, neither any whit ſpared by himſelfe to purchaſe friends at the death of his Brother, * *Henry* of *Newburgh* the right Noble, vertuous and learned Earle of *Warwicke*, euer making his way both with the Clergy and Nobles, who * refuſed to admit any King but with capitulation and couenants to their owne likings.

* This was the firſt Earle of *Warwicke* from the Conqueſt, ſo to continue onely *ad placitum*.
M. Tho. Miles.
Th. Rudborne.
* A politicke but traiterous courſe of capitulating.
Math. Paris.

(2) The ſteps then by which hee mounted the Throne of Maieſty, were the diſlikes of *Williams* ouer-hard curbing of his *Natiues*, as he euer called the *Engliſh*: the raſh and giddy head of his brother *Robert*; his abſence in *Syria*, for whoſe returne to ſtay was dangerous, and whoſe election for King of *Ieruſalem*, was likely to imploy his perſon there: his *Engliſh-birth*, hauing both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promiſes for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, impoſed by his Father and Brother; the reſtoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Liuings; remiſsion of Taxes exacted on the Subiects; and due puniſhments of ſuch perſons as were the chiefe Cauſers thereof, in which behalfe to ſatisfie the People hee committed *Ralphe* Biſhop of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promiſing by Oath to frame iuſt Lawes grounded on thoſe of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more deſired) did winde himſelfe ſo farre into the loues of all, that with a generall concurrence he was ſaluted King.

Henrie helps to the Crowne.
Will. Gemt.
Idem.
Roger Houed.
Henry Hunt.
Ralphe Biſhop of Durham impriſoned.
Math. Paris.

(3) He

(3) He began his raigne the ſecond of *Auguſt*, the ſacred rites of whoſe Coronation were celebrated at *Weſtminſter*, by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London* (in the abſence of *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) the fifth day of the ſame moneth, the yeere of *Chriſt* 1100. When *Henry* the fourth poſſeſſed the Imperiall Diadem, *Philip* the firſt ſwaied the Scepter of *France*, *Edgar* wore the Crowne of *Scotland*, and *Paſchall* the ſecond ſate in the See of *Rome*.

(4) His firſt buſineſſe was to put in execution what he had promiſed; and becauſe hee might be thought vnfit to guide a large kingdome, who cannot reforme thoſe who are euer at his elbow, began (as a good Prince ought) with his owne Court and Houſhold (as knowing that to be the paterne and warrant of others enormities) whence he caſhiered al Court-minions and nice or effeminate wantons, and enacting a decree againſt his Courtiers Rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, puniſhed their Thefts with * death, and Lechery with the *loſſe of their Eies, and other parts peccant.

Then he reſtored to the *Engliſh* the vſe of Lights, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the ſpace of thirty three yeeres, ordaining likewiſe many good Lawes, and common Liberties, exemplified at large in *Mathew Paris*, which ſummarily may be thus abridged.

1 *The Freedome of the Church from oppreſſions, or reſeruation of their Poſſeſſions vpon vacancies.*

2 *That the Heires of his Nobility ſhould poſſeſſe the Lands of their Fathers, without redemption from him, which fauour the Nobles likewiſe ſhould afford to their Tenants.*

3 *That the Gentry might giue in Mariage their Daughters and Kinſwomen without his licence, ſo it were not to his Enemy.*

4 *That the widow ſhould haue her Iointer, and not be compelled to marry againſt her owne liking.*

5 *That the Mother or next of kindred, ſhall be Guardian of the Lands of her Children.*

6 *That Coiners of falſe money ſhould bee * puniſhed; and likewiſe ordained a meaſure to the length of his * Arme to be a ſtandard for Commerce among his People.*

7 *Then did he forgiue all debts to the Crowne before his owne time, and murthers committed before the day of his Coronation: with ſome other like indulgences: But, to the greateſt content of the People, hee gaue power and ſtrength vnto King* Edwards *Lawes.*

(5) To theſe his Ordinances he ſet his Name and Seale, with the ſubſcription of ſundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in *England* to be tranſcribed and kept in the Monaſteteries of euery Prouince. Then did he recall *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* forced out of the Land by *Rufus*, and beſtowed all vacant Church-liuings vpon the worthieſt perſons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the *Engliſh*, he became a ſuter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, to haue his ſiſter to wife, which was *Maude* the daughter of Queen *Margaret*, Siſter to *Edgar Etheling* and Grandchild of *Edmund Ironſide*, whereby his iſſue might meerely be both of the *Engliſh* blood and of the ancient *Engliſh* Kings.

(5) Shee by report of ſome writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought vp in a houſe of Religion at *Wincheſter* (hauing entred the profeſsion of a Nun vnder her Aunte *Chriſtian*) whoſe ſanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and diuine, with her mother *Margarets*, are highly commended (ſaith *Gemeticenſis*) in a book written of their liues: Notwithſtanding others hold that ſhe vailed her ſelfe but for a ſhift, to put off ſome vnworthy matches, which her father *Malcolme* would haue impoſed her; and indeed this ſcruple was ſuch a Core in *Anſelm* his mouth that he would not pronounce the words of Contract vntil her ſelfe had cleared the doubt by her open confeſſion.

His Wife firſt a votary.

Gemetic. cap. 10.

Radmerus.

Rand. Higden. in Polychron. lib. 7. cap. 16.

(7) Duke *Robert*, who now had bin fiue yeres in the holy warres, and therin borne himſelfe with ſuch valour that he of all the Chriſtian Princes was thought the worthieſt to bee annointed King of *Ieruſalem*, had their voice and election ſtanding in the Temple before the Altar, vpon *Eaſter-Eue*: and that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooke light of it ſelfe, or from Heauen (if wee will be ſo light to beleeue it:) but he hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refuſed that, in hope to haue *England*; for which his neglect of Diuine appointment, it is ſaid God neuer after proſpered him: then returning from *Syria* into *Normandy* was there ioifully receiued, and aſſumed a-again his *Dukedome* (which he had engaged to his brother *William*) without repaiment of any mony: where hearing that *Henry* his yonger, was ſtept into his throne of *England*, laid proiects in his minde how to defeate him. And to further theſe his deſignes, *Ralphe* Biſhop of *Durham*, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of *London* & gat into *Normandy*, where he inſtigated Duke *Robert* againſt his brother of *England*; others alſo delighting in alterations, ſolicited *Robert* to make into *England*, with promiſe of their aſsiſtance to recouer the Crowne.

Matth. Paris. Duke *Roberts* noble ſeruice in the Holy warres.

Duke *Robert* elected King of *Hieruſalem.*

Ran. Higden. in Polychr. l. 7. c. 12. Matth. Paris.

He returnes into *Normandy.*

Will Gemet. cap. 12.

His attempts for *England.*

Matth. Paris. Roger. Houed.

(8) King *Henrie* for his part reſoluing to hold what he had got, neglected no meanes to keepe the Diadem as it was ſet, and therefore rigged forth his Nauie to ſecure the Seas, manned his fortreſſes, and with a great Army repaired towards the Coaſt, where neere vnto *Haſtings* he lodged his Campe, relying more vpon his owne ſtrength and valour of his People, then any iuſt title he had to the Kingdome.

Wil. Malmsb. Henry Hunt.

King *Henry* ſtrengtheneth himſelfe againſt Duke *Robert.*

(9) Duke *Robert* by this time had taken the Seas, and was vpon the Kings fleete before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the moſt of the *Engliſh* fell to the *Normans*, either by the perſwaſion of the Duke or in hatred of *Henry*, that then began to tyrannize ouer them as they did imagine: By which meanes the Duke, had ſafe landing at *Porteſmouth*, and did not a little reioice in this his fortunate beginnings; threatning his brother to be reuēged for his wrongs, & blaming the Nobility for ſuffering him thus to be abuſed, whilſt he for the common good of Chriſtendome, was imploied in the Holy-Lands warre. King *Henry*, as wiſe, as the other was valorous, wrought vnder hand for an agreement of peace; for hee very well ſaw, that the euent of warre hath commonly iſſue from the firſt ſucceſſe, and at one and the ſame time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; therefore certaine Noblemen on both ſides ſo trauiſed the buſineſſes, that the Brethren in ſhort time became friends, and a compoſition made to both their contents. The agreement was thus, that, becauſe *Henry* was borne after his fathers Conqueſt of this Land, and ſtood now the Crowned King with common conſent, hee ſhould during his life, enioy the ſame, paying Duke *Robert* in way of fealty three thouſand Markes by yeere: and the ſurniuour to be heire to his brother deceaſed, if hee died without a ſonne. In which it was alſo concluded, that all, either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, which had taken part with the King or Duke, ſhould be pardoned of all offences, and their Liuings againe reſtored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelue Princes vpon either parties took their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies preſently diſſolued.

An D. 1101
An. Reg. 2.

The *Engliſh* fall off to Duke *Robert.*

Matth. Paris: The Duke [illegible] death [illegible]. *Will. Gemet. cap. 12.*

K. *Henry* labours for a peace.

Henry Hunt. Agreement made betwixt the Brethren.

The couenant of Peace.

Will Thorne. Matth. Weſt. Guil. Dur.

Duke Robert entertained in King Henries court, Will. Gemet. Cap. 13.

(11) The *Norman* Duke princely entertained the ſpace of ſixe months in the Court of King *Henry*, ſhewed himſelf rather opē & credulous, then any way ſuſpitious, in al his carriages, & ſo with much liking, & loue to his brother, departed vnto his own Country. But the Sunne-ſhine of theſe faire daies, began forthwith to be ouercaſt, by the incitation of ſuch as endeuoured to ſow diſcord betwixt the two Brethren: and not onely thoſe in *Normandy*, which euer buzd iealouſies into Duke *Roberts* eares, but euē in *England* alſo, ſome fell in diſlike of King *Henry*, and affecting alteration, with the malignant eie of enuy beheld the glory of his beauteous Crowne.

Rob. Beliaſme against the King. An.D.1102.

(12) Amongſt whom, *Robert Beliaſme* Earle of *Shrewsbery*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Roger Mountgomery*, ſtrengthened the Towns and Caſtles of *Shrewsburie*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tichile*, and *Arundell*, with victualls, munition, and men, againſt the King; alluring likewiſe the fickle *Welſhmen* vnto his deſignes. *Henry* therefore in rage & haſt, marched thitherward with a great power; againſt *Arundell* Caſtle, hee raiſed another of wood: and tooke it; beſieged *Bridgenorth*, which preſentlie yeelded, and *Shrewsbury* ſent him their keyes and pledges of their obeiſance: when *Beliaſme* with his brother *Arnulfus*, and *Roger de Poytiers*, were conſtrained to abiure the Land for euer, and thereupon went into *Normandy*, where they ceaſed not to raiſe more ſparks from that brand which others before them had blowne.

Simon Dunel. An. Reg. 3.

Roger Houen.

Matth. Paris.

Henry Hunt.

(13) Neither were thoſe men buſier to raiſe ſtirs abroad, then was Archbiſhop *Anſelmus* to doe it at home; who being a man of a ſtiffe reſolution, in a Councell holden at *London*, drew on him the offence both of the King and Clergie: for therein, firſt, he excommunicated all married Prieſts, * *halfe the Clergie of England at that time, being either maried or the ſons of married Prieſts*; next he inhibited all lay men to heare their maſſes. But this thing (ſaith *Paris*) howſoeuer it ſeemed good to ſome, *yet vnto others very dangerous, leſt while they affected after a purity which was aboue their ſtrength, they might fal into impurity of a higher quality*. In this Councell alſo *Anſelme*, peremptory vpon the Popes aſsiſtance, depriued many great Prelates of their promotions, becauſe they had accepted their Inueſtures from the King which was done by receiuing of a Paſtorall ſtaffe and a ring, an ancient rite, teſtifying that their donation was from their Soueraigne, (as S. *Wulſtan* receiued his Staffe from S. *Edward*, and therefore profeſſed hee would reſigne it onely to him:) in which number were the Abbots of *Ely*, of *Ramſey*, of *Perſcors*, of *S. Edmunds*, of *Taueſtock*, *Peterborrow*, *Eurch*, *Bodiac*, *Middleton*, and *Stoke*: for which his bold parts, and for refuſing to conſecrate certain Biſhops, aduanced by the King, great contention fell betwixt him and the Archbiſhop, who taking himſelfe much wronged by the preſent ouerbearing power, appealed vnto his Holy Father, Pope *Paſchall*, and ſoone after went in perſon to *Rome* vnto him.

* Goodwin in vita Anſelmi. Eadmerus.

Matth. Paris

Contention about inueſtitures

Matth Paris in Will. Ruſo.

The Archbiſhop goes to *Rome*.

An.D. 1103 An.Reg.4. Will. Thorne. Polydor.

(14) Vnto whom likewiſe the King ſent his Ambaſſadors, namely *Herbert* Biſhop of *Norwiche*, with *Robert* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, both of them of his priuie Counſell, and *William Warenaſt* his procurator a Clergy man, of a very bold ſpirit and ſpeech, who in debating his Soueraigns cauſe before the Pope and cardinals, with threatning language and countenance auouched, that the King his Maſter *would not loſe his right in the Inueſtitures of the Church, for the loſſe of his Kingdome*: whereto the Pope, (no Crauant to bee dared on his owne dunghill) as ſtoutly anſwered; *If, as thou ſayeſt, the King will not loſe the donation of Churches, for the loſſe of his Kingdome; know thou for certaine (before God I ſpeake it) that I would not ſuffer him to enioy them without puniſhment, no not for the ſauing of my head*: notwithſtanding which braue words againſt the King, yet the degraded Abbots were reſtored throgh the Clemency of the Papall ſee, which is neuer wanting to any, as long as *the white and red*, (to vſe the very words of a Monke) *make interceſsion for them*. But

The King ſends Ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

The King wil not loole his inueſtures for his Kingdome. *Matth. Paris.*

The Pope will loſe his head rather then ſuffer kings to haue inueſtures.

Siluer and gold beſt mediators to the Pope. *Pariſienſis.*

from the Church to the State.

(15) *Robert Curtuiſe*, either to ſound his brothers deſignes, or to congratulate him in a brotherly loue, came into *England*; where hee was ſo roially entertained, that all ſuſpition was quenched, and himſelfe ſo well contented, that at the onely motion and requeſt of *Queene Maud*, he remitted the three thouſand Marks, couenanted to bee paid yeerely vnto him, though he were leſſe able to forbeare, then King *Henry* to giue. But when his wants told him of this his ouer lauiſh releaſement, he openly exclaimed againſt King *Henry*, that hee had craftily circumuented, and deceitfully cheated him; and now giuing open eare and credit to ſuch as ſought their diſunion, gaue his Brother all occaſions of enmity, who was ready enough of himſelfe, to make the leaſt very great. For beſides this preſent diſpleaſure conceiued againſt Duke *Robert*, he added others, and this eſpecially, that he had wilfully waſted the Inheritance which his father had left him, to wit the Dukedom of *Normandy*, hauing nothing now almoſt in that Dominion beſides the City of *Roane*, which he would haue parted with alſo, had not the Cittizens thereto denied their conſents.

(16) Neither was it the leaſt motiue to King *Henries* diſpleaſure, that his traiterous ſubiects were ſo willingly receiued by his brother; for beſides *Robert Beliaſme* and others, *William*, Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwall* in *England*, the ſonne of *Robert*, halfe brother to the Conquerour, becauſe the Earledome of *Kent* (which he made claime vnto, as heire to his vnkle *Odo*) was denied him, in a diſcontent got him into *Normandy*, where beſides his valiant aſſaults of the Kings Caſtles, and Souldiers, hee much endangered the poſſeſsions of *Richard* Earl of *Cheſter*, then a child and the Kings *Warde*: ſo that the flames of warre raiſed by theſe ſeditions, ſeemed to be blown from *England* vnto the parts beyond the Seas, and to fire the territories of the *Engliſh* there; neither is it eaſie to declare (ſaith *Houeden*) what miſery (the meane while) by exactions the land felt here at home.

(17) For the King incited into *Normandy* vpon theſe occaſions, by large diſtributions of money carried out of *England*, wonne the *Normane* Nobility to reuolt from their Lord, and tooke the Towne and Caſtle of *Cane* by compoſition, and burnt *Bayon* with the beautifull Church of Saint *Maries*, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yeelded themſelues vnto his Protection; by whoſe example the *Britaines* and thoſe of *Anion* did the like; ſo that their Caſtles and forts were filled with the Garriſons of King *Henry*, Duke *Robert* in no wiſe able to reſiſt; which done *Henry* with triumph returned into *England*.

(18) The *Curtuoiſe* by his *Normans* thus vncourteouſly dealt with, ſaw it was booteleſſe againſt ſo great a ſtreame to ſtriue, and therefore thought beſt to lay away weapons, and to become himſelfe a Mediatour for Peace. With which reſolution taking the ſeas, hee followed his brother vnto *Northampton*; where humbling himſelfe in a more deiectiue manner, then either his birth, or owne nature could well brooke, deſired the Kings peace, both in reſpect of their brotherly vnion, and the regard of his owne accuſtomed clemency; willing him to conſider, that warre was not only vnnaturall betwixt brethren, but that a reproch euer followes the chariot of the Victor, deſiring him not to triumph in his ouerthrow, who was now ready to render all that he had into his hands: but King *Henry* muttering to himſelfe, turned away from his brother without any anſwere.

(19) *For God* (ſaith *Paris*) *not pleaſed to giue the effect, though the* Beau-clearke *felt a remorſe in conſcience, for vſurping his Kingdome* (being indeed very learned, *and well vnderſtanding the duties both of equity and law*) *and thereupon beganne both to feare ſome violent inſurrection of the ſubiects, and alſo the reuenging wrath of God vpon him, for his trecherous and vniuſt dealings towards his elder brother, to whom vndoubtedly the*

Kingdome

Kingdome by all right did appertaine: yet stood hee rather in feare of men then God (whose favours he cunningly laboured to keepe) whom he meant to please another time by building of an Abbey for his satisfaction. Duke *Robert* then seeing and detesting the Kings swolne pride, posted backe vnto *Normandy* to gather his powers. *Henry* also held it good policy, not to giue passage vnto *Roberts* wrath, knowing him a Souldier, and well waying his desperate estate: and therefore calling his Lords vnto *London*, in an assembly tickled their eares with these delectable and smooth words.

"(20) My friends, and faithful Counsellors, and "natiue Countrimen, you know by true report "how my Brother *Robert* was elected, and by God "himselfe called to be the fortunate King of *Ierusa-* "*lem*, and how vnfortunately, or rather insolently, he "refused that sacred estate, whereby hee is now most "iustly reprobated of *God*: you also know by many "other experiments, his pride and arrogancy; for be- "ing a man of a warring humor, hee is not onely im- "patient of any peace, but also wilfully desireth to "trample vpon you as men of abiect and contemp- "tible disposition, vpbraiding you for idle droanes, "for belly-gods, and what not? But I your King, na- "turally inclined to bee both humble and peaceable, "take delight in nothing more then to do you good, "to maintaine your tranquillity and ancient liber- "ties, (as I haue often sworn vnto you,) and meeke- "ly and willingly to yeeld my selfe to your aduises, "whereby I may circumspectly gouerne you as a "clement Prince: and to that end euen now will "I confirme (if your wisedomes so thinke fit) your "ouer-worne and vndermined Charters, and will "roborate them most firmely with a new oath and "ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the "holy King *Edward* by Gods inspiring did esta- "blish, I doe here commaund to bee inuiolably "obserued, hereby to moue you to adhere stedfastly "vnto mee, in repulsing cheerefully, willingly, and "powerfully, the wrongs offered me, by my brother "shal I say? nay, by my most deadly enemy & yours, and of the whole *English* Nation: For if I bee guar- "ded with the valours and affections of *Englishmen*, "I shall scorne the threates of him and his *Nor-* "*mans*, as forceleese, and no whit to bee feared. And with these faire promises (which yet afterwards hee vtterly neglected) hee so wonne the hearts of them all, that they would die with him, or for him, against any hostility whatsoeuer.

(21) Duke *Robert* gone, and preparing for warre, *Henry* thus setled in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, hauing in his company the choice Nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, *Gaunt*, and *Britaine*, so that hee was exceedingly strong. With *Robert*, for men of chiefe account, were *Robert Beliasme*, Earle of *Shrewsburie*, and *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, in like displeasure with the King, and therefore armed with the like desperate boldnes.

(22) *Henry* with his Army had pierced into *Normandy*, euen as farre as * *Tenerchebray*, a Castle of the Earle of *Mortaigne*, vsing all meanes possible to surprise the same; for whose rescue, the Duke with these his Consorts, made all diligence to dissolue the siege, and after some few skirmishes ioined a bloody battaile, brauely fought on each part, where at the first onset, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went down; but by their multitude and manhood (especially through the * Kings example and encouragement) they soone preuailed; where Duke *Robert*, with Earle *William*, and sundry others of good note, manfully fighting in the very presse of their enemies, were taken prisoners; but * *Robert Beliasme* escaped by flight. And thus (as *Mathew Paris* obserued) Gods Iustice & Mercy tooke effect; his Iustice vpon *Robert*, for his refusall of *Ierusalems* title, and vnto *Henry* his fauour, according to the propheste of King *William* his Father. This battaile was fought, and *Normandy* wonne, vpon *Saturday*, being the Vigill of S. *Michael*, euen the same day forty yeares that *William* the Bastard set foot on *Englands* Shoare for his Conquest; God so disposing (saith *Malmsbury*) that *Normandy* should be subiected to *England* that very day, wherein *England* was subdued to *Normandy*.

Normandy conquered. *Will. Malmesb.*

(23) *Robert Curtuaise*, that now vnfortunate Prince, and *William Mortaigne*, that valiant, but headstrong Earle, were forthwith sent into *England* and imprisoned; the Earle in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe* Castle in *Wales*, after he had gouerned the Dutchy of *Normandy* nineteen yeeres; and was for esteeme in Chiualrie accounted among the best Captains that the world then afforded, had hee not beene (as commonly martiall spirits vse to be) too rash and vnstaied in his other enterprises; which headinesse did now draw vpon him a penance of twenty sixe yeeres continuance, in the afflicted state of a forlorne Captiue. And *Henry* now no longer as a brother, receiuing the keyes of *Normandy*, as a Conquerour returned into *England*.

Wil. Gem.

Roberts rashnesse ouerthrew him.

(24) But long it was not ere Duke *Robert*, weary of this vnwonted duresse, sought to escape; and hauing liberty to walke in the Kings Meadowes, Forrests, and Parkes, brake from his Keepers without any Assisters, or meanes for security; who being mist, was presently pursued, and taken in a quag-mire, wherein his Horse lay fast: whereupon the King hearing of this his attempt, considering that woods were no walles to restraine the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a state, commanded him not onely a greater restraint and harder durance; but also (a thing vnfit for a brother to suffer, but most vnworthy for *Beauclearke* to act) both his eyes to bee put out, causing his head to be held in a burning bason (to auoid the deformity of breaking the eye-bals) vntill the glassie tunicles had lost the office of retaining their light.

An. D. 1107

Mat. Westm.

An. Reg. 8.

Matth. Paris.

Duke *Roberts* eies put out. *Mat. Paris.*

(25) Hauing thus quieted all forraine oppositions, King *Henry* set his minde to preuent Domesticke; and therfore (about this time) those *Flemmings*, whose Lands the Seas had deuoured some few yeeres before, and place was granted them in *Cumberland*, first by King *Rufus*, and afterwards by *Henry*; were now by the King, vpon better aduisement, remoued into *Wales*, both to disburden his Inland of such guests, and that so they might bee a defence betwixt him and those euer-stirring people. Which proiect nothing deceiued his expectation; for by the testimony of *Giraldus*, *They were a Colony stout and strong, and continually endured the warres of the* Welsh; *a Nation most accustomed to seeke gaine by cloathing, by triffique also and Marchandize by Sea and Land, vndertaking any paines, or perils whatsoeuer. A people of very great power, and as time and place requireth, ready by turnes to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready also to goe into the field and fight it out*; *and that I may adde thus much more* (saith hee) *a Nation most loially deuoted to the Kings of* England, *and as faithfull to the Englishmen.*

An. D. 1108

Flemmings placed in *Wales*.

An. Reg. 9.

Giral. Camb.

The commendation of the *Flemmings*.

(26) By the which his policy, he attained that which his brother *Rufus* could not, who many a time had but small successe in those parts though otherwise, euer sped most fortunatly in all his aduentures of warres: But it is thought by some, that as the Mountanous cragginesse of the Country; and sharpnesse of the Aire, encouraged them in their rebellion; so the same impeached *Rufus* his successe.

The *Flemmings* great helps for restraining the *Welsh*.

King *Rufus* had little successe in *Wales*.

But King Henrie (saith *Malmesburie*) *who with many a warlike expedition went about to force the* Welshmen, *euer stirring vnto Rebellion, for to yeeld and to submit themselues; in the end resolued vpon this wholesome policies for to take down their pride, he brought thither all the Flemmings that dwelt in* England: *a great number of which Nation in those daies, in regard of his mothers kindred by her Fathers side, flocking hither, were closely shrouded in* England, *in so much as they for their multitude seemed burdensome vnto the Realme: Wherefore he sent them all together with their substance, their Wiues, and*

will. Malmes. lib. 5.

King Henry disburdens *England* of the *Flemmings*

and Children, vnto Rosse a Country in Wales, *as it were into a common auoidance, thereby both to purge his own kingdome, and also to quaile and represse the desperate boldnesse of his Enemies.*

The King violats his promise to the Peeres. *Math. Paru.*

(27) And now being free from all feare of subuerters, King *Henry, growing disdainefull* (saith *Paris*) *refused to fulfil what he had so oftē promised to his Nobles, heaping threats vpon threats; for God had bestowed on him three bounties, wisdome, victory, and riches, aboue any of his Predecessors: but for all these hee shewed himselfe to God most vnthankeful:* And of his Clergy (wee may say) too regardlesse, in suffering *Anselm*, newly reconciled, to lay heauy punishmēts vpon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their Lawfull wiues, whereof great contention followed, and grieuous sinnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

Anſel. ſtil molests maried Priests.

Eadmerus.

(28) Among these proceedings in *England*, *Philip* King of *France* deceased, and his sonne *Lewis* surnamed *Crassus* succeeded in his gouernement, which how he stood affected to *Henry* was doubted, and therefore to make sure worke, the King sailed into *Normandy*, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with prouisions befitting such suspected times; and so returning, he found attending his comming, the Ambassadors of *Henrie the fourth* Emperour, as suters from their Master to obtaine Lady *Maud* the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past fiue yeeres of age, which was willingly graunted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphes.

King *Philip* of *France* dieth, and *Lewis* succeedeth. *Polyder.*

King *Henrie* strengthens *Normandy.*

An.D. 1109

His daughter married to the Emperour. *An. Reg.* 10.

(29) About which time the death of Archbishop *Anselme* happening, gaue no small hope to the Clergy, as themselues conceited, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceiued: for the King seemed willing that the Ecclesiasticall Ordinance before made should bee more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the sight of men, carried themselues accordingly, *but if in secret they did worse* (saith *Eadmerus*) *let the charge light on their own heads, sith euery man shall beare his owne sinnes: for I know*, (saith hee) *that if Fornicators and Adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their owne Cosens, (I will not say, their own Sisters and Daughters) shal not surely escape his iudgement.*

Archbishop *Anselme* dieth.

An.D. 1110

An. Reg. 11.

Appearing Chastity did breed secret impurity.

Eadmerus.

An.D. 1111

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new affinity with the Emperour, and his glory raised to the high, began now to bee enuied, and his brother *Duke Roberts* extremities greatly to be pitied, both by some *English* and also *Normans*. For *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* both threatned the reuenge, and by corrupting the inhabitants wanne the City of *Constance*, from his obeisance. To stay whose irruptions King *Henry* passed into *Normandy*, where hee vsed great extremity, and put to death *Helia* Earle of *Cenomania*, who held that County against him; for which cause *Godfrey* Earle of *Gaunt* tooke such displeasure that hee entred into that Earledome, and marrying the said *Helia* his daughter, kept the County perforce against King *Henries* great power. But *Robert de Belsasme* that had escaped at Duke *Roberts* ouerthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to *Wigham* Castle, too gentle a punishment for so blood-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that he delighted himselfe onely in cruelty, an example whereof hee shewed vpon his owne sonne, who being but a childe and playing with him, the father for a pastime, put his thumbes in the boies eyes, and thrust out the balles thereof.

An. Reg. 12.

King *Henry* goes into *Normandy* against Rebels. *Math. Paris.*

Robert Belsasme an old Traitor taken.

A bloudy father and a cruell pastime.

(31) These warres somewhat asswaged, King *Henry* returned into *England*, where the people conceiued much grudge at his importable taxes, and the Clergy no lesse at his reseruation of Church liuings in their vacancies, vnder pretence of keeping them for the worthiest; but how vnworthily he oftentimes bestowed thē, may be gathered by that prety reproof of *Guymundus* his Chaplain, who grieuing to see vnworthymen (for the most part) aduanced to Bishoprickes and other dignities; when on the Rogation day he celebrated diuine seruice in the Kings Chappel, being to read that lesson out of Saint *Iames*, *it rained not on the earth* III. *yeares, and* VI. *moneths*, hee purposely read it, *it rained not, one, one, one, yeares, and fiue, one, monethes.* All men either laughing or wondring at his reading; the King checkt him for it, and askt him the reason; marry (quoth he) I see you bestow your preferments onely on such, as can read so: which secret touch the King well weighing, did both presently preferre him to the gouernment of Saint *Frideswides* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choices.

Cbro. Wallia.

An.D. 1112

An. Reg. 13.

(32) The King had not beene long in *England* after his returne from *Normandy*, before the *Welshmen* (then a restlesse people) were in Armes against such *English*, as had set footing in that Country, which were *Gilbert Strangbowe* Earle of *Strygil*, and others, whose lands in the south part *Owen ap Cadogan* sore molested and spoiled; the like did *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of *North-Wales* vpon *Hugh* Earle of *Chesters* County, and both of them denied King *Henry* either seruice or tribute. These Earles so incensed the King, touching these and other outrages of the *Welshmen*, that in a rage he vowed not to leaue one aliue in al North-*Wales*, nor in *Powys-land*; and straight repairing thitherward, diuided his Armie into 3. parts. The first was led by Earle *Gilbert* against *South-wales*; the second band by *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester* against *North-Wales*; and the King himselfe lead the third, vnder whose Standard was the chiefe strength of middle *England*. But the *Welsh* seeing themselues far vnable to withstand this present preparation, tooke into the Mountaines and Woods, (their surest holds) where being followed, with great difficulty, many of them were slaine, and the rest yeelded to King *Henry*; who now as a Conquerour in triumph returned to *London*.

(33) Whither immediately resorted vnto him, the Ambassadour of his sonne in law the Emperour, to haue his wife Lady *Maud* now marriage-able, to be sent vnto him; to which request the King most willingly condescended, and to furnish her forth accordingly, laid a *taxe vpon his Subiects, taking three shillings for euery Hide of land: whereupon shee was presently conducted by his greatest Peares into *Germany*, and at *Mentz* married to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, being there consecrated and crowned his Empresse.

(34) Shortly after King *Henry* tooke the Seas for *Normandy*, and there created his sonne *William* (about the age of twelue yeeres (*Houeden* saith but eight) Duke of that Country, causing the people to sweare him fealty, whereof grew a custome that thenceforth the Kings of *England* made euermore their eldest sonnes Dukes of *Normandy*; which done, he returned, and nothing recorded of his next yeres aduentures, but onely that the Sea gaue place to the Sands, and by low Ebbes restored some part of her treasures that long had laien hid and buried in her depth; the riuers likewise forgat their wonted swiftnes; and as it were seemed vnwilling to pay their ancient tribute into that deiected Element, and among them *Thamesis* not the least, whose waters so failed for two daies, that betwixt *London* Bridge and the Tower she became passable and scarse two foot deepe.

(35) King *Henry* free now from all forraine & domesticall trouble (onely *Gruffith ap Rees* somewhat vnquiet in *Wales*) gaue his thoughts to assure the Crowne into his line, and to ordaine lawes for the well gouerning of his people; for calling an assembly at *Salisbury*, caused the Estates both Spirituall and Temporall, to sweare fealty to himselfe, and to

to his ſonne *William*, the Hope of ſucceſsion: then reforming many abuſes, and ending certaine contentions both of his Nobles and Prelates, laid here the firſt foundation of our High Court of Parliament: for the *Engliſh* Kings in elder times, ordered the affaires of the Common-wealth, by their Edicts, by their officers, and by the Gouernours of euerie Country, and ſeldome had the ioint aduice of their people; ſauing onely at beginning of their gouernment, and in time of warre; whereas now the Subiect, beſt vnderſtanding his owne grieuances, hath both liberty in choice of their Knights and Burgeſſes, as alſo free voice to complaine thereof in that honourable aſſembly.

(36) At this time *Theobald* Earle of *Bleſſis*, Nephew vnto King *Henry*, vpon occaſion of diſpleaſure roſe vp in Armes againſt the *French* King, to whoſe aid King *Henry* ſent; whereat *Lewes* found himſelfe ſore agrieued, and drew to his ſide *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Foulke* Earle of *Anion*, who together tooke oath to diſpoſſeſſe *Henry* of *Normandy*, and to make *William* the ſonne of the *Curtoiſe* Duke thereof, to whom it belonged by right and deſcent; to which alſo many of the Nobles of *Normandy* conſented; pittying the wrong of the noble ſpirited Child, and the wretched captiuity of the blind, and ouer-borne Father.

(37) *Henry* as wiſely wrought againſt their deſignes, and leauying a great taxe vpon his Subiects, paſſeth therewith into *Normandy*, where vniting the aides of the foreſaid *Theobald*, as alſo of the Earle of *Britaine*, with his *Engliſh*, hee made a great ſhew in the field: at which time King *Lewes* with the Earles of *Flanders* and *Anion* being entred *Normandy*, and hearing of King *Henries* approch and power, ſtaid ſcarſly one night, but as mē without hart or courage returned, and left the Country for him: ſo that all things ſeemed well quieted for a yeare or two; nothing diſturbing King *Henries* peace, excepting only the expectance of the Popes Legate, whom hee prohibited to enter *England*, and the death of his Queene *Maud*, the very mirrour of piety, humility, and princely bounty.

(38) But coales of diſpleaſure kindled betwixt King *Henry* and *Lewes* of *France*, were not quite extinct, though they had laine for a while, as raked vp vnder cold aſhes. For the next yeere following, and twentieth of his raigne, *Lewes* came into *Normandy* as hote in rage to do ſomwhat, as before he departed thence calme and cold; where forthwith he began to moleſt the Country; which K. *Henry* for a while ſuffered, till his friends noted him of cowardize; to "whom he replied; *that he had learned of his Father, to "breake the foole hardines of the French, by patience, rather "then by force*: that they ſhould not wonder, if he "were loath to bee prodigall of their bloud, whom "he found ſo faſt friends vnto him: that he would "not gladly winne a Kingdome with their deathes, "whoſe liues hee ſtill found deuoted to all hazards "for his cauſe: that hee vſed this backwardneſſe, "onely to ſtay them, whom he ſaw ſo forward to te"ſtifie their zeale voluntarily, euen with their blood: "which to proceed from prouidence, and not from "daſtardlineſſe, they ſhould ſoone perceiue. This accordingly hee made good; and a pitched field was fought betwixt the Kings of *England* and *France*; whereof let vs heare the Monke *Paris* report. *The French King* (ſaith hee) *hauing ordered his Armie into two Battalions, in the former of them placed* William *the ſonne of Duke* Robert, *the brother of King* Henry; *the other*, Lewes *himſelfe led, conſiſting of his ſpeciall and chiefeſt Souldiers. King* Henry *alſo diſpoſed his forces into three Battailes, the firſt, conſiſting of his Peeres and men of* Normandy: *In the ſecond, himſelfe kept among his owne guard, and dailie attendants: and in the third, he marſhalled his ſonnes with the maine ſtrength of the Footemen. The Armies thus ordered, the troupes on both ſides gaue aſſault, whereof the firſt Battalion of the French brake through the rankes of the* Norman *Nobles, ouerthrowing their Horſe-men, and forcing them to ſcatter; in which violence they likewiſe brake into King* Henries *battaile, and put it much out of order: but he taking courage, and comforting his men beganne a moſt bloody and bold conflict: wherein himſelfe was twice ſtrooke vpon the head by* William Criſpin *County of* Eureux (*whom for his offences* Henry *had before baniſhed*) *whoſe ſword and ſtrokes were ſo ſure and ſo heauie, that albeit the Kings helmet was impenetrable, yet with ſine force was it beaten flat to his head, inſomuch that the bloud came forth in abundance: but* Henry *feeling himſelfe to bee wounded, gathered with his rage more ſtrength, and ſtroke the ſaid County in ſuch ſort, that at one blow he ouerthrew both him and his horſe, and tooke him priſoner; by which example his Souldiers were led to fight like Lyons, and the French to betake themſelues vnto flight.* In this battaile died many thouſands, and among them *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*: King *Henry* returning victorious, was receiued triumphantly into *Roan*.

(39) *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* hauing loſt *Baldwine* his martiall Companion, and ſeeing it was bootles to bandy againſt the *Beauclarke*, fell to an agreement with him, which was confirmed by giuing his daughter vnto his ſonne Prince *William* (now ſeauenteene yeerts old) whom *Henry* made inheritor of all his Kingdomes, whereupon both *France* and *Flanders* became his reconciled friends, and *William* did homage to King *Lewes* for his Dutchie of *Normandy*. Theſe things thus ordered King *Henrie* vpon the twentie fift of *Nouember*, looſed from land at * *Barfluit*, and proſperouſly arriued in *England*.

(40) Prince *William*, who now wanted but onely the name of a King, commanded another ſhippe to bee prepared for himſelfe, his Brethren and Siſters, with many other Nobles and Gallants Courtiers, both of *England* and *Normandy*, who plying the Mariners with pots and wine (therein being inſtruments of their owne calamity approaching) made them bragge to out-ſaile the Kings ſhip gone before; and in the night putting forth from land, with a mery gale made way ouer the dancing waues, as ſwift as an arrow: but (as if the Heauens would haue King *Henries* too great felicities allaid, and tempered with ſenſe of Courtly variety, in the middeſt of their iollity and ſinging, (alas they ſang their laſt, and little thought on death) for ſuddainely the ſhippe daſhed againſt a Rocke, not very farre from the Shoare, at which fearefull diſaſter, a hideous cry aroſe, all of them ſhifting (and yet through amazedneſſe not knowing how to ſhift) to ſaue themſelues from the danger: For God repaying the reward for ſinne, *ſuffered not thoſe* * *vnnaturall wantons* (for ſuch were many of them, ſaith *Paris*) *to haue Chriſtian Buriall, but were ſo ſwallowed vp of the Sea, when her waues were moſt calme.* Prince *William* got ſpeedily into the Cocke-boate, and might well haue eſcaped, had he not pitied his ſiſter the Counteſſe of *Perche*, crying vnto him for helpe; when turning the boat to her aid, ſo many ſtriued to get in (euery man in ſuch a caſe eſteeming his life as much as a Prince) that with their weight it preſently ſuncke, and of ſo princely a Traine no one eſcaped to relate that dolefull tragedie, ſaue onely a baſe fellow (a Butcher ſome ſay) who ſwamme all the night vpon the Maine-maſte, and got ſhoare in the morning with much danger of life.

(41) This was the moſt vnfortunate Shipwracke that euer hapned in our Seas, bringing an inconceiuable heauineſſe to the King, and whole State: for therein periſhed Prince *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the ioy of his Father, and hope of his Nation; *Richard* his baſe Brother, his Siſter *Maud* Counteſſe of *Perch*, *Richard* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his wife Lady *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Siſter *Adela*, *Otwell* the Earles Brother, the yong Dukes Gouernour, diuers of the Kings chiefe Officers, and moſt of the Princes, *Geffrey Riddle*, *Robert Manduit*, William

Henry Hun. The King dangerouſly aſſailed.

Ypodig. Neuſtri.

And as brauely acquits himſelfe.

Baldwine Earle of *Flanders* ſlaine.

An. D. 1120

Gem. Chr. Prince *William* marrieth the Duke of *Anious* daughter. *Roger. Houed.*

Prince *William* doth homage for *Normandy*.

* *Hareflett.*

Prince *William* puts to Sea.

A moſt lamentable ſhipwrake. *William Malmeſ.*

* *Sodomitica labe infecti fere omnes*, ſaith *Paris*.

Prince *William's* pitty to his ſiſter coſt him his life.

Malmſ. lib. 5. de Reg. Onely one of all his traine eſcapeth.

The chiefe of thoſe who there periſhed. *Matth. Paris. Iohn Stow. Rand. Higden.*

William Bigod, Geffrey Arch-deacon of Hereford, Walter de Crucie, and many other of prime note and esteeme, to the number of one hundred and sixty persons, none of their bodies being found, though great search was made for them.

An.D.1121 *Eadmerus.*

(42) King *Henry* thus at once depriued of all his lawfull Posterity (onely *Maude* the Empresse excepted) vpon the tenth of *April* and two and twentieth yeere of his Raigne, married his second wife *Adelicia*, a Lady of surpasing beauty; the daughter of *Geffrey* first Duke of *Louain*, in hope (though it proued otherwise) to haue repaired his late losses by issue of her; whose Coronation was appointed to be celebrated by *Roger* Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the infirmity of *Palsey* so troubling *Ralphe Archbishop of Canterbury*, that himselfe could not performe it; yet because *Roger* was not appointed by him, he forbad his imploiment; and the King wearing his Crowne, saith the Monke of *Chester*, this testy old man could hardly bee entreated by the Lords, to with-hold his hands from striking the same from the Kings head: of such Spirites then were those spirituall Prelates, and iealousie to loose their pompous preheminence of honour: but his high top was somewhat born down by the boisterous blasts of Pope *Calixt*, from whose holy hand *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (contrary to the Kings commaund, and his owne * Oath) hauing receiued consecration, and thereupon forbidden by the King to put foot againe within his Dominions, his holines commanded his New-Creature should be installed (* against all right and custom) without professing any subiection to the See of *Canterbury*; and threatned with his curse to interdite both Prouinces till that was performed. The cause of the Popes indignation against *Ralph* is supposed to bee, for that hee had receiued his * Inuestiture of the King, who contrary to the Canons of the late Romane * Synode, did still chailenge and practise that * Regall prerogatiue.

King *Henry* mareth againe. *Gemiticensis. Gerv. Dorob. Henry. Hunt. Mat. Paris.*

Rand. Higd. in Polyc. lib. 7. ca. 15.

A Cholericke Prelate.

Eadmerus. * *Mat. Paris ad An.* 1119.

Polyc. lib. 7. c. 15.

* *Paris An.* 1113. *Rome sub Vrbano. Anno* 1094. * *Paris* there cals it *Their ancient Custome* and *An.* 1 12. it had continued 200. yeres and vnder 60. Popes.

(43) Whether it were about this contention of Inuesting, or about a Fryer of the *Holy Sepulchre*, whom (as *Malmsb.* saith) the King had imprisoned, or about *Thurstans* hard vsage; certaine it is, that the Pope much desiring to haue priuate talke with the King, came to him into *Normandy*, and so at *Gisors* conferred (saith *Paris*) the *Great King and the high Priest*: but notwithstanding the Popes threates or intreates, *Thurstan* was kept in banishment full fiue yeares, and then for the Popes pleasure was restored. But at this meeting the King was so liberall of rich gifts to the Pope and his Cardinals, that therfore the *Pope* (saith a Monke) *held him a most wise and eloquent perswader, and his actions very iustifiable*: But it seemeth the Cardinals were neither so eloquent nor learned as they should be, for that (saith hee) *two youthes in the Kings Company, sonnes of the Earle of Mellent* (learned both, and therefore fitte to be with that learned King) *reasoning of some points with them, and disputing Scholler-like with Logicall Syllogismes, the Grãd Rabbies* (vsed to other exercises at *Rome*, then studying) *were quite grauelled*, and had nought to say, but that *more learning was in these Westerne parts, then they had thought*. But as these Church-stirres did not a little disquiet the King, so also did new *Welsh* tumults, raised by *Meredith ap Blethyn*, who with the three sonnes of *Cadogin, Eneon, Madoc*, and *Morgan*, sore troubled the Kings people and peace, by breaking into the Marches, and especially into *Cheshire*, where they burned two Castles. The King therefore making towards them, had sent his maine Armie to conduct the Carriages, whilst himselfe with a small Company tooke a neerer way through the Mountaines and Straites; which being forelaid by the Enemy, was with great courage set vpon, and through the aduantage of the Place, many of his men slaine, and more hurt, by the *Welsh* Archers, whose showers of Arrowes rained thicke vpon them from the higher ground: amongst which, one was so levelled at the King, that it strucke him on the breast, yet being surely armed, did him no hurt; but hee therewith all wonderfully dismaied, and by likelihoode fearing some treason amongst his owne, (for, then hee swore *by our Lords death*, his vsuall oath, that no *Welsh-man* shotte that Arrow, but one of his owne Prouincials) and considering that by these his ouer-rash proceedings his glory purchased in more famous parts, might againe bee lost in this wild and rude Country; came to a Parley & Peace; receiuing of the King a thousand head of Cattle, and leauing Kord *Fitzwarren* Lieutenant of the Marches, returned to *England*, where hee held three Parliaments in the same yeare, one at *Norwich*, another at *Northampton*, and the third at *London*.

Will. Malmes.

Goodwins Catalogue.

Math. Paris.

Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malmsb. Rand. Higden.

Chron. Wallie

New attempts in *Wales*

An Army conducted against them.

(44) The *Normans* still repining at the Captiuity of *Robert* their late Duke; and standing well affected vnto his Sonne, thought now the time fitting, (Prince *William* being dead) to raise the other *William* his Cosen Germane into his place: who, as the Monke of *Chester* affirmeth, married *Sybil* the other daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Aniou*, with whom hee receiued the Earledome of *Cenomannia*, vpon displeasure that King *Henry* withheld the formers dowry in *England*. The chiefe in this action was *Robert* Earle of *Mellent*, who was lately fallen off from the *King*: *Henry* therefore hasting into *Normandy*, besieged his Castle *Pont-Audomar*, and tooke it, and at that time built a large and high wall with many Bulwarkes about the Tower of *Roan*, repaired the Castles of *Caen, Arches, Gisors, Faleise, Argenton, Damfort, Vernon, Ambres*, and sundry others.

(45) In the meane time, Earle *Mellent* desirous to bee reuenged vpon the King, associated *Hugh* Earle of *Montfort* and others vnto his aide, who entring *Normandy* with fire and sword, did much harme as they went, thinking to bring all to their obeisance: against whose outrages, *William Tankeruile* the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lieutenant in those parts, addressed himselfe, and training them into danger of an Ambush, laid for that purpose, after long fight tooke them both prisoners, and presented them to his Master, whereby the warres ceased for a time in those parts.

(46) In this the Kings absence, but yet with his licence, *Iohannes Cremensis* the Popes holy Cardinal, came into *England*, sent by *Honorius* the Second, there to redresse the still continued sinne-seeming abuse of the Clergy, in retaining and vsing, according to Gods owne Ordinance, the Society of their wiues. This Pontificall Prelate was entertained by all the Bishops and Abbots with great and costly Presents, and afterward being solemnely set in a Councell at *London*, vpon the birth-day of the *Blessed Virgine*, made a soleme Oration in praise of Virginitie and Chastity, with a terrible inuectiue against the maried Priests: and to amplifie their sinnes the more, hee shewed what extreme impiety it was, to rise from the bed of vnlawfull lust, (for so was their chaste Marriage termed) and with polluted hands to touch the Sacrament of the body of Christ: but the same night following he * *hauing that very day consecrated that holy Sacrament*, was himself taken with a Whore, the matter being so apparant, that it could not bee hid, (neither ought it to be silenced, saith *Huntingdon*) to the great reproach of those most vnchaste boasters of Chastitie, as both *Paris* and *Higden* themselues doe confesse: and so hee returned to *Rome* with shame enough, but with little successe in that intended businesse; till some few yeers after * King *Henrie*, seeming very desirous to settle his pretensed continency in the Clergy; in a Councel held at *London*, obtained (through simplicity of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith *Paris*) that himselfe shold haue the execution of iustice and punishments of the Priests, that offended either in keeping of their wiues, or vsing of Concubines, (for likely those that liked not the one, loued the other,

as

as well as *Cremenſis*;) but euen then alſo, the Kings end being onely to get in ſummes of money, which hee had ſtill occaſions to vſe, euery man redeemed his liberty by his purſe, and matters rather proued worſe, then any whit reformed.

(47) Whileſt King *Henry* about his ſaid affaires lay in *Normandy*, newes was brought him that *Henry* the Emperour his ſonne in law was dead; whereupon hee preſently ſent for his Daughter the Empreſſe; and with her he returned into *England*, where calling a Parliament, in the preſence of himſelfe, and of *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, hee cauſed the Nobles, (and firſt before all other, *Stephen* his Siſters Sonne who firſt did violate it,) to ſweare fealty to her, as to his lawfull, and now onely heire, by whom they ſhould againe come to bee gouerned by the ancient *Engliſh* Roiall bloud, from which he ſhewed her to bee deſcended: which Oath was this, that they ſhould, as much as in them lay, after King *Henries* deceaſe, (if hee died without Heire-Male) eſtabliſh her Queene of the *Monarchy of Great Britaine*, now called *England*. *But whether they did or no* (ſaith *Gemeticenſis*) *belongs not to mee to tell*: but this our Story ſhall hereafter relate, and make knowne.

(48) *Giraldus* and *Higden*, and ſome ancient *Manuſcripts* affirme (but with very little probability or credite) that *Henry* the Emperour died not at this time (as was giuen forth;) but that rather vpon a * *remorſe of conſcience*, for impriſoning his owne naturall Father, *Henry* the third vnto death; and alſo his Spirituall Father the Pope with his Cardinals; repenting theſe outrages, hee laid aſide his Imperiall Roabe, and ſecretly fled into *England*, where at *Weſtcheſter* hee became an Hermite, changing his name vnto * *Godſcall*, where he ſo liued the ſpace of ten yeeres, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Werburga* the Virgine. Vpon which his ſuddaine flight and miſsing, the Empreſſe *Maud* * ſome ſay, was ſuſpected to bee guilty of his death, and for that cauſe was kept continually in the Queenes Chamber Indeed, that ſhe abode ſtill in *Chamber with the Queene*, *Paris* records; but hee giues a wiſer reaſon thereof, *for that her Father did loue her exceedingly, as being now his ſole Heire*; and where ſhould an Empreſſe rather liue then with a Queene? a Daughter, then with her Mother? a faire Lady, a Widow, and an Heire of ſo great a Kingdom, then where her Perſon might bee ſafeſt from danger, her mind from inueigling, and her carriage from ſuſpition? But as for that other idle coniecture, it is razed out, both by thoſe Writers, who record his Buriall, and Monument at *Spire*, (as * *Higden* himſelf ſignifieth) and alſo by the penne of *William Gemeticenſis*, who reporteth her *to be a woman generally well thought of, and approued among the greateſt Princes of the Empire, for her prudent and gratious behauiour towards the Emperour her husband; inſomuch that they became ſuiters vnto her, ſeeking by all meanes to attaine her to gouerne them, and to that end attended her to King* Henry *in* Normandy *to ſolicite the ſame; to whom in no wiſe hee would giue his conſent, meaning to make her his Succeſſor in the Kingdome:* Whereunto *Malmsbury* (who then liued) accordeth; ſaying, ſhee was very vnwilling to haue come out of thoſe parts of the Empire, where both her dowry and acquaintance lay, and that the Princes of thoſe Countries came more then once into *England*, to haue her for their Empreſſe, but that the King would not part with the Heire of his Crowne.

(49) But King *Henrie* afterwards deſirous to bee free from the variances of theſe forraine Princes, and hearing that *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* had giuen his Earledome, with the territories of *Gaunt* and *Turyn*, vnto his Sonne *Ieffrey Martell*, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, (himſelfe minding to abide at *Ieruſalem*, whereof he was King in right of his wife *Miliſſent*, the daughter of *Baldwine de Burge* lately deceaſed) thought him the fitteſt to be linked into his alliance, & therfore concluded a mariage betwixt the ſaid *Ieffrey*, and his onely lawfull daughter Lady *Maude* the Empreſſe, though partly againſt her liking, as both *Gemeticenſis* and *Geruaſius* of *Canterbury* doth declare; which was ſolemnized in *Normandy* the third of *Aprill* accordingly.

Gemeticenſis. Ger. Dor.

(50) That *William*, ſonne to the *Curtoiſe*, was formerly fauoured by Earle *Foulke*, wee haue ſhewed, but now he was further followed with increaſe of Fortune, and the *French* Kings aide, onely for a rub in King *Henries* way; for *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, being traiterouſly murdered by his owne People without any his iſſue to ſucceed him, *Lewis* of *France* (to make *William* faſter to him) ſet him in poſſeſsion as the next heire in blood vnto that Earledome: *William* being the ſonne of Duke *Robert*, and *Robert* the Eldeſt of Queene *Maude* (the wife of the Conquerour) and ſhe daughter to Earle *Baldwin* the fifth; whoſe iſſue Male now failing, the right was from her deriued vnto this her Grand-child *William*.

William (ſonne to Duke *Robert*) made Earle of *Flanders*.

Mat. Paris.

Williams title to *Flanders*.

(51) This Ground-worke vnto greatneſſe King *Henry* diſliked, leaſt by his Nephewes height, himſelfe might bee ouer topped, and his blind fathers wrongs the ſooner redreſſed: therefore hauing by his daughters marriage made *Anion* his, from *Normandy* he inuaded *France*, euen vnto *Heſpard*, where for eight daies he remained as ſecure as in his owne Kingdome, and partly by feare, partly by faire paiments, wrought *Lewis* to withdraw his aide from yong *William*: neither ſo ceaſed, but that hee inſtigated *William de Ypres* to diſturbe *Williams* ſtate, and did alſo draw a cerraine Duke named *Theodorick* out of *Germany* with a band of *Flemmings*, who entred *Flanders* in Hoſtile maner.

An.D. 1128

King *Henry* inuaded *France*.

Mat. Paris.

He vſeth meanes to diſturbe *Flanders*.

(52) With theſe laſt, Earle *William* (a Prince for his age of imcomparable proweſſe) ſoone met, and giuing them battell, with an inuincible courage brake through the enemies troopes, in ſuch ſort that they were diſcomfited, and the Earle had the day; whence in this heate of bloud, hee marched vnto *Angi*, a Caſtle of King *Henries*, which after a ſtrong ſiege, being vpon the ſurrender, by a ſmall wound which Earle *William* receiued in his hand, hee ſhortly died, but not without immortall fame, for magnanimity and valour.

Earle *Williams* great valour.

Matb. Paris.

He dies of a ſmal wound in his hand.

(53) Were it not reported by ſome Writers of note, I might here well paſſe ouer certaine preſaging dreames (as the Monkes interpreted them) which King *Henry* had, being ready now to goe into *Normandy*: for to his ſeeming he ſaw a ſort of ruſticke plough-men with their Inſtruments of husbandry; after them Souldiers with their weapons of Warre: and laſtly, the Biſhops with their Croſiers ſtaues, all of them angerly threatning, and attempting his death: wherewith hee was ſo perplexed, that leaping out of his bed, he called for helpe: but ſeeing it but a dreame, as a dreame he eſteemed it, and paſſed ouer into *Normandy*: where long hee ſtaied not, but that his Daughter *Maud* vpon ſome diſpleaſure departed from her husband, and came with her Father into *England*. Some write that *ſhe was the prouoker of certaine diſpleaſures betwixt her husband and Father, which ſo affected his mind with paſſions of wrath and griefe, that many thought it was a great haſtning of his end*; and indeede *Malmsburie* witneſſeth, that the King vpon his death-bed paſſionately mentioned the wrongs aud indignities wherewith her husband had diſquieted his mind. Howbeit ſoone after this her departure from him, by conſent of the States, who met at *Northampton*; ſhee was reconciled to her husband: ſent vnto him vpon his intreaty: and bare him a ſonne, whoſe name was *Henry*; for ioy whereof, King *Henry* aſſembled his Lords, and againe made his ſaid Daughter, and the lawfull Heires of her body his Succeſſors in his Dominions.

Gir. Dor.

Matb. Paris.

Hunſingdon. lib. 7. Will. Malmeſ. in Nouella Hiſtoria. Higden.

The Empreſſe departs from hir husband.

A.Do. 1131

Roger Houed.

Houeden. in Hen. 1. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. 7. Malmeſ. nouell. lib. 1.

The Empreſſe to her husband.

Hen. Huntingdon. lib. 7.

An.D. 1131.

Ger. Dor.

Matb. Paris.

(54) And then preparing againe for his laſt and fatall paſſage into *Normandy*, tooke ſhipping vpon the Nones of *Auguſt*, (the very day wherein he firſt receiued the Crowne,) when hapned ſo wonderfull

An.D. 1133

Will. Malmeſin nouell lib. 1.

full an Eclipſe of the Sunne, that *Malmsbury* the reporter ſaith, himſelfe then ſaw the ſtarres plainly in the Firmament about the Sunne, and that two daies after, ſo great and fearefull an Earthquake hapned, that the houſe wherein himſelfe ſate, was lifted vp with a double remoue; and others ſay, that out of riffes in the earth, burning flames aroſe, that could not be quenched, which diuers iudged to be fatall prodigies of the deathes of thoſe Princes that ſoone after enſued.

The Kings laſt voiage into *Normandy*, preſaged to be fatal.

Polythron. lib. 7. cap. 17.

An. D. 1134

(56) For *Robert* the *Curtoiſe*, after twenty ſixe yeers impriſonment and blindneſſe, through griefe conceiued at the putting on of a faire new roabe, (too little for the King, and therefore in kindneſſe ſent to Duke *Robert* to weare) grew weary of his life (as diſdaining to bee mocked with his brothers caſt cloathes,) and curſing the time of his vnfortunate Natiuity, refuſed thenceforth to take any ſuſtenance, and ſo pined himſelfe to death. His body was buried at *Glouceſter* in the Church of Saint *Peter*, and middle of the Quire, where to this day remaineth his Tombe, with a carued Image of his feature, as the monument of a moſt vnfortunate man.

Robert Curtoiſe dieth in priſon.

Math. Pariſ. Matth. Weſt.

King *Henry* dieth in *Normandy*.

57 And not long after K. *Henry* in *Normandy* comming ſcarſe very well from Hunting in the Forreſt of *Lyons*, and Towne of Saint *Denyt*, made his repaſt of a diſh of Lampreyes (which meat hee too wel loued, but could neuer well digeſt;) whereupon he fell more grieuouſly ſicke, and the ſame ſtill increaſing, after ſeuen daies ſickneſſe, vpon the firſt of *December*, the ſixty fiue of his age, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 1135. when hee had raigned King of *England*, thirty fiue yeeres, foure moneths, lacking foure daies, & Duke of *Normandy*, twenty nine yeers and foure monethes: he died in the ſaid towne of S. *Denys*, and from thence was conueied to *Roan*, where his Bowels, Eyes and Braines were taken out, and buried; the body alſo ſliced, and powdred with much ſalt, was wrapped in a Buls hide to auoide the ſtinch, beeing ſo intollerable, (a point fitting for ſuch great Princes to thinke on, & in their great glory and pleaſures to remember their fraile and humane condition,) that the Phyſitian who tooke out his braines was poiſoned therewith, and preſently died: wherupon ſome obſerued, that other Kings killed men in their life; but he alſo * after he was dead; thence was his Corps carried into *England*, and honourably buried vpon the day of Chriſts Natiuity, at *Reading* in *Barkeſhire*, in the Abbey that himſelfe had there founded, and endowed with large poſſeſsions.

An. D. 1135

Houeden. Wil. Malmſ. Math. Paris.

Will. Gemet. Math. Paris.

Polychr. l. 7, c. 17.

Math. Pariſ. Henry Hunt. l. 8.

Mat. Weſtminſt. Math. Paris. Simon Dun.

(58) After his death (ſaith *Huntington* and *Houeden*) men ſpake their mind as freely of him, as of any other dead man: ſome commending him for theſe three glorious felicities, * *Wiſedome*, *Victory*, and *wealth*: others condemning him for three eſpeciall vices, *Couetouſneſſe*, *Cruelty*, and *Lechery*; ſome inſtances of which wee haue touched in the relation of his life; the firſt three, in obtaining and keeping the Crowne: the laſt, in his moſt grieuous taxations, cruell handling and impriſoning his Brothers; and his incontinency of life ſhall preſently appeare, by his many illegitimate iſſues, the fruites of his wantonnes, and witneſſes of his ſhame: in that Princes who are to puniſh ſuch ſinnes in others, ought themſelues eſpecially to be free from them: for though their liuing fortunes ſtoppe mens tongues from vpbraiding: yet after their death the tongues of the vulgar, and pennes of the learned, will make the infamy of their vices to bee immortall.

Huntingdon. l. 8. Houeden. Rand. Hig. in Polychr. lib. 7 ca. 17.

* His eſpeciall preheminence.

* His eſpeciall vices.

Princes vices come to light after their deaths.

(59) He was for perſonage of a reaſonable ſtature, broad breaſted, well iointed, and full of fleſh: amiable of countenance, ſharpe and faire eyes, blacke of haire, and that ſomewhat careleſly hanging on his forehead; his mind was enriched with many vertues, a follower of Iuſtice, a louer of Religion, ſeuere againſt theeues, and all effeminate nicities; So that hee commanded mens long haire (which againſt God and Natures law was matchable at that time with womens) to be cut off: temperate of diet, and neuer drinking but for thirſt; valiant in battaile, yet very circumſpect, ſeeking rather to win by wiſe care, then by effuſion of bloud: and by the report of moſt Writers excelled all the Princes of the World in his time, in *Mercy*, *Wealth*, and *Bounty*, vnto *Monaſteries*: the land hee defended by Garriſons of Souldiers planted on the Confines of his neighbour Princes, building many Forts, Bulwarkes and Caſtles; beſides twenty fiue Townes and Cities: whatſoeuer was wiſely or vertuouſly performed in his Gouernement, is chiefly aſcribed to his yonger yeares inſtitution in true Learning and Philoſophy, which was * *the great furniſhment of him vnto the Science of Regality*; being often heard to ſay, that hee eſteemed *an vnlearned King but a crowned Aſſe*. In which regard (ſaith * *Roſſus*, *hee tooke chiefe pleaſure to reſide in his new Palace*, *which himſelfe built at Oxford*, *both for the delight he had in learned men*, *himſelfe being very learned*, *and for the vicinity of his new Parke at Woodſtocke*, which he had fraught with all kind of ſtrange beaſts, *wherein he much delighted*, *as Lyons*, *Leopards*, *Lynces*, *Camells*, *Porcupins*, *and the like*. His delight alſo in works of deuotion, ſhewes it ſelfe both in the erection and indowment of the Collegiate and * Epiſcopall Sees of *Carlile*, and * *Ely*, as alſo of the Abbayes of *Hide*, *Circeſter*, *Reading*, and the Priorie of *Dunſtable*: His Wife Queene *Maud* founded the Priorie of *Holy Trinity* within *Algate*, and the Hoſpital of Saint *Giles in the Fields*: ſo that by himſelfe, his Queene, and other deuoted perſons, twenty foure foundations to religious vſes (if not more) were erected in the raigne of this King.

Description of his perſon and qualities.

William Gemet. cap. 10. Math. Weſt.

1. Cor. 11. 14.

His Wiues.

(60) *Maude* the firſt Wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Malcolme the third*, ſurnamed * *Canmoir*, King of *Scotland*: her mother was S. *Margaret*, daughter to *Edward*, ſonne of *Edmund the Ironſide* King of *England*. She was married vnto him at *London* in the firſt yeare of his raigne, *Anno* 1100. by *Anſelme* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: hauing formerly vowed her ſelfe a Nunne, which ſome ſwore ſhe did not for loue of ſingle life, but to auoide ſome vnworthy matches, which her Father would haue impoſed on her. Her Coronation was at *Weſtminſter* by the ſame *Anſelme*, on Sunday the eleuenth of *Nouember* in the ſame yeare. She was his wife ſeuenteene yeeres and more, famous for her learning, loue to learning, charity to the poore, and all vertuous diſpoſitions; and deceaſed at *Weſtminſter* the firſt of *May*, in the eighteenth yeere of his raign, and yeere of our Saluation, 1118. where ſhee was buried in *S. Peters* Church, on the right ſide of King *Edward* the Confeſſor.

(61) *Adelicia*, or *Alice*, the ſecond wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Godfrey* the firſt Duke of *Louaine*, by the daughter of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and ſiſter to Duke *Godfrey*, and *Iocelin* of *Louain*. Shee was married vnto him the nine and twentieth of *Ianuary*, in the twentie one of his raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 1121. and was crowned the morrow after being Sunday. Shee was his wife fifteene yeeres, but euer childleſſe, and ſuruiuing him, was remarried to *William Daubeny* Earle of *Arundel*, and was mother of Earle *William* the ſecond, *Rayner*, *Godfrey*, and *Ioan*, married to *Iohn* Earle of *Augi*, &c.

His Iſſue.

(62) *William*, the ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queen *Maud* his firſt wife, was born the ſecõd of his Fathers Raigne, and of Chriſt, 1102. When he came to age of foureteene yeeres, the Nobility of *England* did him homage, and ſware their fealties vnto him at *Shrewsburie*. The third yeere after, hee married the

the daughter of *Foulk*, Earle of *Anion*; and the ſame yeere hee was made Duke of *Normandy*, doing his homage for the ſame to *Lewes* the *Groſſe*, King of *France*; and receiued the homage and oathes of the Nobility of that Country: but in his returne for *England*, hee was vnfortunately drowned neere vnto *Barbfleet* vpon the twenty ſixt of Nouember, the yeere of Grace 1120. and eighteenth of his owne age, without any iſſue, to the great griefe of his Father.

(63) *Maud* the daughter of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Maud* his firſt wife, was borne the fourth yeere of her Fathers raigne. She was the ſecond wife of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, eſpouſed at ſixe yeeres of age, and at eleuen with great ſolemnity was married and crowned his Empreſſe at *Mentz* in *Germany*, 6. *Ianuary*, *Anno* 1114. the ninth of her husbands, and foureteenth of her Fathers Raignes. Shee was his wife twelue yeeres, and ſuruiued him without any iſſue of him; & comming into *England* a widdowe, ſhe had fealty ſworne vnto her by the Nobility, and was remaried to *Geffrey Plantaginet* Earle of *Anion*, ſonne of *Foulke* King of *Ieruſalem*, vpon the third of *Aprill*, and yeere of Grace 1127. by whom ſhee had iſſue, *Henry*, the *Second*, King of *England*, *Geffery* Earle of *Nantes* in *Britanie*, and *William* who was called Earle of *Poyto*: ſhe was his wife twenty three yeeres, and ſuruiuing him alſo continued a widdowe the laſt ſeuenteene yeeres of her life, which ſhe ended in the City of *Roan* the tenth of *September*, 1167. the foureteenth of the raigne of King *Henry* her ſonne, and was buried in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*.

(64) *Richard* a ſecond ſonne to King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud*, by the teſtimony of *Geruaſius* the Monke of *Canterbury*, who maketh *Maud* their eldeſt Child, *William* the ſecond, and laſtly, *Richard*; and then (ſaith he) ſhe left bearing: but *Malmsbury* ſaith, ſhe had but two Children, one of each ſexe.

(65) *Eufem* alſo another daughter, and fourth Child (by *Hector Boetius* the *Scottiſh* Hiſtorian) is ſaid to be borne vnto the *Beauclearke* by Queene *Maud*; the credite of the two laſt, I leaue to the reporters, who onely thus name them without any further relation.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(66) *Robert*, the naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was Earle of *Glouceſter*, and married *Mabil* daughter and heire of *Robert Fitzhamon* Lord of *Glamorgan*, by whom hee had iſſue *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Bayon*, *Roger* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Maud* the wife of *Randolph Gernon*, the mother of *Hugh Keueliot* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Richard* his brother: Earle *William* married *Auis* daughter of *Robert Boſſu* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and had iſſue three daughters and heires of that Earledome, which by *Auis* the ſecond of them, in the end deſcended to *Clare* Earle of *Hertford*. This Earle *Robert* died the laſt of *October*, in the twelfth yeare of King *Stephen*, and was buried at *Briſtow* in the Church of S. *Iames*, which hee had founded, and his body laide in the midſt of the Quire; vnto him *William Malmsbury* dedicated his Booke called *Hiſtoria Nouella*.

(67) *Richard* another naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was as it ſeemeth by an ancient Regiſter of the *Monaſtery* at *Abington*, borne in the raigne of King *William Rufus*, of the widow of *Anskill*, a Nobleman of the Country adioining to the ſaid Monaſtery; and it ſeemeth hee is that *Richard* that was drowned in the *Norman* Seas neere *Barbfleet*, among the reſt of King *Henries* children.

(68) *Raynold* the naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of a daughter vnto Sir *Robert Corbet*, Lord of *Alceſter* in *Warwickeſhire*, by the gift of the King in fauour of her, who was after married to *Henry Fitz-herbert* his Chamberlaine. This *Raynold* was created Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Caſtle-comb*, with conſent of King *Stephen*, and had iſſue foure Daughters, of whom haue ſprung many faire branches.

(69) *Robert* another of that name, was borne of *Edith*, the ſiſter of *Iue*, ſonne and daughter of *Forne*, the ſonne of *Sigewolfe*, both of them great Barons in the North: which *Edith* afterwards King *Henry* gaue in marriage to *Robert Doilie*, Baron of *Hook-Norton* in *Oxfordſhire*; and with her gaue him the Mannor of *Eleydon*, in the County of *Buckingham*, by whom he had iſſue *Henry Doylie* Baron of *Hook-Norton*, who oftentimes mentioneth this *Robert* in his Charters, euer calling him *Robert* his brother the Kings ſonne. *Robert.*

(70) *Gilbert* another naturall ſonne of King *Henry* is named in the additions to the ſtory of *William Gemeticenſis* the *Norman* Monke, in the Chronicle of that country, written by *Iohn Taylor* being a Tranſlator of that worke out of Latine into French; and laſtly, in the Treaties betwixt *England* and *France*, written in the French tongue by *Iohn Tillet*, Secretarie to their late King *Henry* the ſecond, and yet in them, not any other mention is made, but only of his name. *Gilbert.*

(71) *William* alſo a narurall ſonne of *Henry* the King, had giuen vnto him the Towne of *Tracie* in *Normandy*; of which hee tooke his ſurname, and was called *William of Tracie*: But whether he were the Progenitor of the *Tracies*, ſometime Barons in *Deuonſhire*, or of them that now be of the ſame ſurname; or whether Sir *William Tracie*, one of the foure Knights, that ſlew *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, were any of his poſterity, is not certainely reported: nor any thing elſe of him, more then that hee died a little after his Father, which was in the yeere of Chriſt, 1135. *William.*

(72) *Henry* another naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Neſta*, daughter of *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of South-Wales, who was the Wife of Sir *Gerald Windſor*, and of *Stephen*, Conſtables of the Caſtles of *Pembrooke*, and *Abertiuie* in *Wales*, and Progenitors of the Families of the *Fitz-geralds*, and the *Fitz-Stephens* in *Ireland*; he was borne and breed, and liued, and married in *Wales*, hauing iſſue two ſonnes, namely, *Meiler* and *Robert*, of which *Meiler* the elder married the daughter of *Hugh Lacie*, Lord of *Methe* in *Ireland*; hee was at the conflict in the Ile of *Angleſey*, betweene *Magnus* the ſonne of *Harold*, *Harfager* King of *Norway*, and *Hugh* of *Mountgomery*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Shrewsbury*, wherein hee was ſlain, as ſome ſay, with the ſaid Earle, *Anno*, 1197. *Henry.*

(73) *Maude* the Naturall daughter of King *Henry* was Counteſſe of *Perche*, and the firſt wife of Earle *Rotroke* the firſt of that name, ſonne of *Arnolfe de-Heſding* the firſt Earle of that County: Shee had iſſue by him one onely daughter named *Magdalen* wife to *Garcy* the fourth King of *Nauarre* mother of King *Sanches*, ſurnamed the wiſe, from whom all the Kings of *Nauarre* are deſcended: Shee died vpon Friday the twenty ſixth of *Nouember*, in the twentith of her Fathers raign and yeere of Grace 1120. being drowned in the Sea with her brother Duke *William*. *Maud.*

(74) *Maude* another of that name and naturall daughter of King *Henrie*, was married to *Conan* the firſt of that name ſurnamed the Groſſe, Earle of little *Britaine* in *France*, ſonne of Earle *Alan* by *Ermengard* his ſecond wife; by *Alan* ſhee had iſſue *Howell*, pronounced illegitimate, and diſherited by his ſuppoſed father *Conſtance*, that died without iſſue, and *Bertha* the wife of *Eudes* Earle of *Porrohet*, mother of Earle *Conan* the yonger, who by *Margaret* ſiſter of *William* King of *Scots* had iſſue *Conſtance* married to *Geffrey* ſonne of King *Henry* the ſecond. *Maud.*

(75) *Iulian* likewiſe an other naturall daughter of King *Henry* was married to *Euſtace* the illegitimate ſonne of *William* Lord of *Breteuil* in *Normandy*, who was the ſonne and heire of *William Fitz-Osborne* and elder brother of *Roger*, both Earles of *Hereford* in *Iulian.*

in *England*, and this *Euſtace* had hee beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had been heire to the Earledomes of *Hereford* and *Iuerie*: notwithſtanding he had as ſmall a part in that inheritance of the Town of *Pacie* from which he tooke his ſurname, being commonly called *Euſtace* of *Pacy*, and had iſſue by this *Iulian* his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his ſonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuer of the Hiſtory of *william Gemeticenſis*, and by *Iohn Tillet* his follower, is reported by them to haue beene married to one *William Goet* a *Norman*; but in neither of theſe writers is any mention made of her name, or of his eſtate, iſſue or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henrie* is without name, recited by the ſaid Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the County of *Maygne*. Shee had iſſue by him, as *Roger* of *Houeden* writeth, *Richard Vicount Beaumont*, Father of Queen *Ermengard* the wife of King *William* of *Scotland*: and *Robert* the Abbot of *Mount-Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her ſonnes, named *Ralphe*, who (as he ſaith) was Biſhop of *Angiers*.

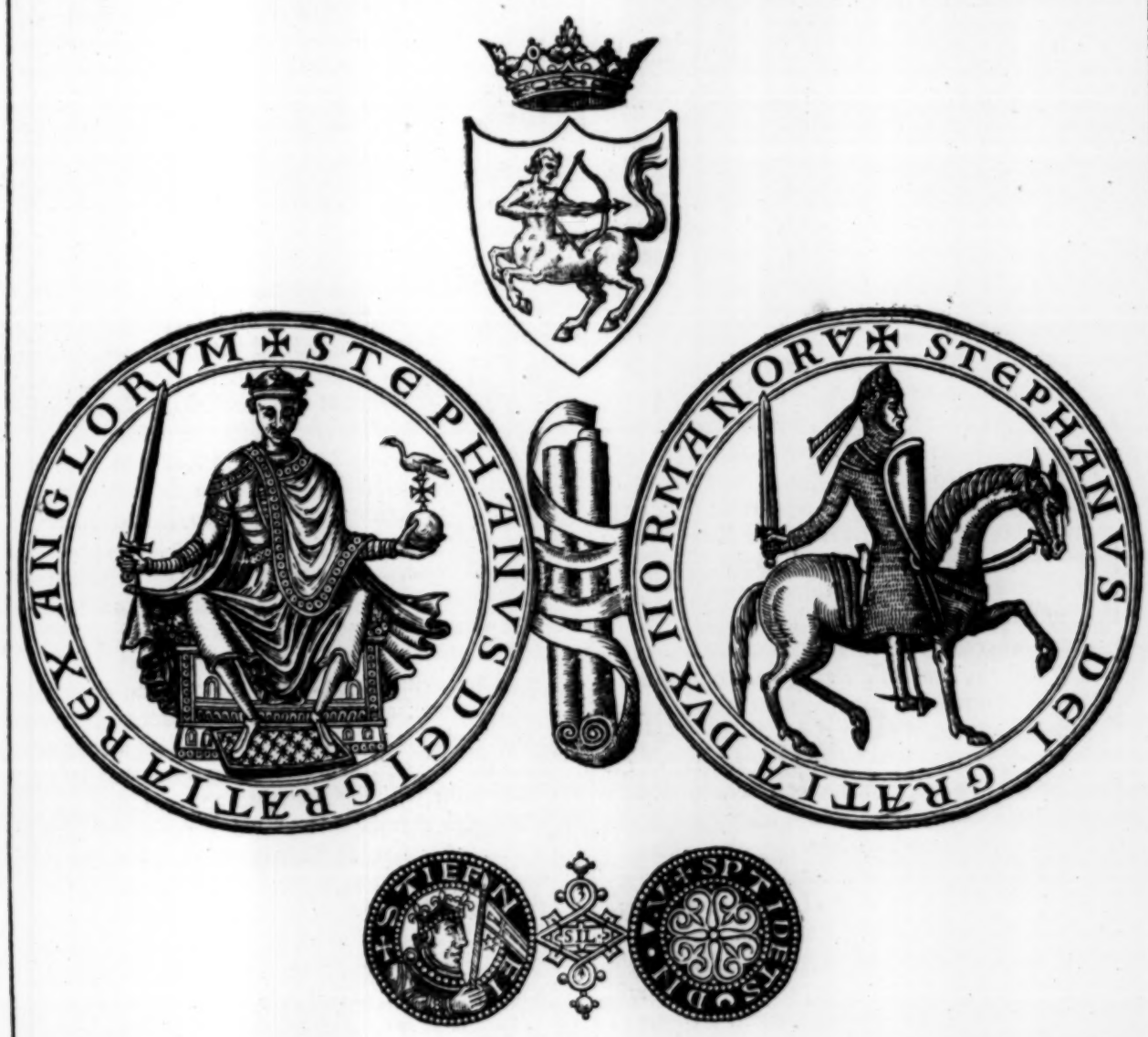
(78) Another naturall daughter alſo of King *Henry* is recited by the *Normane* and *French* writers before auouched, and reported by them to be married to *Mathew* of *Mountmorancy*, the ſonne of *Bouchard* of *Mountmarancy*, from whom perhaps deſcended the Houſe of *Mountmorancy*, who after came to be Earles and Dukes, being growne to be one of the greateſt houſes in *France*, next to the Princes of the bloud, for poſſeſsions, alliances, and honour.

(79) *Elizabeth* the laſt naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the former Authors, was vnmarried in the time of the one, and her husband vnknowne to the other; but both of them agree, that ſhe was borne of *Elizabeth* the ſiſter of *Walleran* Earle of *Meulan*, who was ſiſter alſo of *Robert Boſſue* Earle of *Leiceſter*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and mother of Earle *Richard Strangbow*, the Conquerour of *Ireland*. Elizabeth.

STEPHEN

STEPHEN THE TVVO AND FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 42



CHAPTER V.

THough the Empreſſe *Maud* had fealty ſworne vnto her in the life time of her Father: and againe both her ſelfe, and iſſue ordained to be his ſucceſſors in *Englands* Throne, as hath beene ſaid; yet ſo powerfull is *Ambition*, where the obiect is a *Diademe*, and ſo weake are all aſſurances which are built on the wauering *Multitude*, that King *Henries* prouidence, was ſoon defeated, and with his death al fealties reuerſed, and that by him onely who had * contended to bee the formoſt of the Laitie in taking that oath, euen *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Bolloine*; a man whoſe deſcent was very Noble, being the third ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* and *Champaigne*, who was the ſonne of Earle *Eudes*, and he of Earle *Theobald*, the ſonne of *Gerlon* the *Dane*, the companion of *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*; his mother was * *Adelicia* the third daughter of *William* the Conqueror by Queen *Maude* his wife: And himſelfe was aduanced to bee Earle of *Mortaigne* by King *Henry* his vncle, whoſe Crown he now endeauoured to vſurpe, being otherwiſe for his many princely parts, worthy to weild a Scepter, if his claime thereto had beene iuſt and warrantable.

(2) For as ſoone as Natures courſe had brought King *Henry*, where Princes and pooreſt Subiects are all equall; forthwith hee was working to diſpoſſeſſe his Iſſue, which onely now reſted in *Maud* and her Children; in which attempt it hapned fortunately for him (if any thing may bee counted fortunate, which is ioined with impietie) that his yonger Brother *Henry* was then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, & a very potent man in the State, who had induſtriouſly ſtirred himſelfe in making way to his entrance; and (vpon aſſurance of all liberties to the Church and Common-wealth) had drawne on alſo *William* Archbiſhop

* Some call her *Adela*, others *Alice*.

Wil. Gem.

Stephens brother his chiefe Agent.

Malmſb. Nouil. lib. 1. Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt. Archbiſhop of Canterbury *Stephens* abettor

D. 1135

Henries defeated of Crowne by death.

Malmſb. Nouil. Walſingham. Matth. Weſt. Stephen elected.

bishop of *Canterbury*, the very first man that had sworne vnto *Maude* the Empresse: by whose example many others were winded into the like periurie, * traiterously auowing, that it was basenesse for so many, and so great Peeers, to be subiect vnto a Woman. And to helpe forward those audacious beginnings, *Roger* Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, the late Kings Treasurer protested (*Malmsburie*, who reports it, himselfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Empresse; for that without consent of the Barons she had married out of the Realm; but that which wrought most, was the testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, * Seneschall vnto King *Henry* departed, who comming ouer with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, vpon some offence taken against his daughter *Maude*, disinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen* his nephew to be his successour. These colourable instigations so moued the * *too credulous* Archbishop and the Peeres, that they all swore fealty vnto him and became his Leigemen.

A traiterous position. *Rog. de Wendouer. Math Paris. Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 1. Idem.*

* Or high Steward *Mat. Parn. Tho. Wal. Ypodigma. Neustria.*

* *Idem.* Fealty sworne to *Stephen.*

(3) His first landing in *England*, (being at *Whitsand-bay*) by a tempest of thunder so wonderfull & terrible that the people thought verily the ende of all was at hand, did prognosticke the storms of troubles which his periurie brought with him; for euen then both *Douer* & *Canterbury* fortified themselues against him, though *London* gaue better leaue to his entrance, whose Person and presence drew euer the affections of the beholder, being in all parts complete with natures endowments, of personage passing comely, of disposition louing, cheerefull, and affable to the meanest, alwaies very liberall; but now especially, knowing his *Purse* the best *Lawyer* to plead for his *Title*; and in Martiall prowesse gaue place to none of that time wherein, though his whole raigne was continually spent, yet (by reason of King *Henries* great Treasure left) neuer burthened he the Commons with any exactions, a thing that euer gaineth the loue of the common sort: neither is he taxed with any other obseruable crime, saue onely his periurie against the Empresse *Dowager* and her sonne.

Will. Malmes. Nouell. lib. 1. *Mat. Westm.*

Stephens louely qualities. *Will. Malmes. Ibidem.*

(4) Hee entred his gouernement the yeare of Christ Iesus, 1135. the second day of *December*, and was crowned at *Westminster* the twenty sixt of the same Moneth, being Saint *Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who with the rest of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeeld to any conditions (for performance whereof his * Brother of *Winchester* did there engage himselfe for a pledge) they all tooke their oath of allegiãce conditionally, (traiterously, I might say) to obey him as their King, so long as he should preserue their Church Liberties, and the vigour of Discipline: And that the Lay-Barons made vse also of this policie, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, who sware to be true Liegeman to the King, as long as the King would preserue to him his dignities, and keepe all Couenants, wherupon the King promised for the present, that he would speedily reforme the ouer-hard lawes of his Predecessors, and mollifie the extreames thereof to their owne likings, vnder his Seale and Charter: and so thence hastening to meete the Corps of his deceased vncle, (which was now brought into *England*) he honoured that pompous funerall, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres, attendance at *Reading*; whence presently he went to *Oxford*, where he sealed his fore-promised Charter, of many indulgent fauours: * prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election onely; and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the same; whereby may be conceiued, that his Holinesse, either out of hatred to the Empresse, (whose husband * *Henry* was no friend to the Papacie) or for some other holy ends, had no small hand in aduancing *Stephens* periured and disloiall intrusion. The Tenour of the * Charter it selfe is; *That all Liberties, Customes, and Possessions graunted to the Church, should bee firme and inforce;*

Rand. Higden. Roger Houed.

Will. Malmes. lib. 1. nouel.

Allegeance sworne conditionally to the King. *Idem.*

King *Stephens* faire promises.

Huntingdon. lib. 8. Houeden.

Hen. Huntingdon * *Malmes. nouell. lib. 1.* Kings *Stephens* Charter.

*This *Henry* imprisoned the *Pope.*

*Dated *apud Oxenford.* 1136 *reg.* 1

that all Persons and Causes Ecclesiasticall should appertaine onely to Ecclesiasticall Iudicature: that none but Clergy men should euer intermeddle with the vacancies of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad vsages in the Land touching forrests, exactions, &c. should be vtterly extirpate; the ancient Lawes restored, &c. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King, onely to make their vses of him, so these immunities he granted, rather to bleare their Eies, then * with any purpose to manacle his own hands with such Parchment-Chaines.

(5) *This his entrance was very peaceable* (saith *Gerualius* of *Canterbury*) *but by little, and little ciuill discord increased*, to the lamentable destruction of men, and the land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, halfe-brother to the Empresse, whose wisedom and power King *Stephen* much feared, gaue a secret beginning, when amongst them that swore him fealty, hee concluded his (as we said) with this reseruation, that his owne authority should be nothing empaired, meaning no longer to respect him as his King, then the King should him as a Peere: and a generall sufferance, to erect Castles for strength throughout the land, was no security to his peaceable estate. Intended indeed to strengthen the Kingdome against *Maud* the Empresse; but proued the bane of all subiectiue obedience: which was politickly considered by *Henry Fitz-Empresse*, in the conclusion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thousand one hundred and fifteene Castles so raised, were againe razed and cast downe.

(6) The first man that professedly set himselfe opposite to *Stephens* vsurpation, was *Baldwin de Reduers*, who fortified the City and Castle of *Exceester* against him; the *Welshmen* also, bearing in minde the harms that K. *Henry* had done them, desired reuenge, and made many slaughters vpon the Kings people: Against these, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *English* and *Flemmings*, and after a strong and chargeable siege, by famine drew foorth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which hee disherited and expulsed the Land, vsing so great lenity towards all other offenders there, that it gaue great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the businesse prospered not so well, where at *Cardigan* a great battell was fought, with such slaughter and ouerbearing of the *English*, that the men by women were taken and led away Captiue, and so many drowned by the fall of a Brige ouer *Temd*, that a passage was made ouer the water with the dead Carcases therein heaped.

(7) Neither thus onely, but some of the *English* also distasting King *Stephen*, secretly instigated *Dauid* King of *Scotland*, to reuenge the wrongs done to the Empresse *Maud*, a seruice as they vrged it very gratefull vnto her, and euen pleasing to God and Man. He therefore consenting, inuaded the borders, and tooke from the *English* both *Carleile* and *Newcastle*, which he stuffed with Garrisons. Against these, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into those parts, where diuers accidents by diuers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere long peace was concluded, *Carleil* still enioied by King *Dauid*, and the Earledome of *Huntington* by Prince *Henry* his sonne; for which hee did homage at his fathers command, *Dauid* himselfe refusing so to doe (as *Hector Boetius* the Scotish writer affirmeth) for that he had *giuen his faith before vnto* Maud *the Empresse*.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he suddenly fell sicke of a *Lethargy*, yea & in such danger of life that the common report gaue foorth hee was dead, which stirred great troubles both in *England* and else where, for thereby his friends were stricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maude*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chiefest and first raisers fortified himselfe in the Castle of *Norwich*, and would not deliuer it vnto any saue onely to the King, yea and very vnwillingly also vnto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader* the

the ſonnes of *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of that Country, carried great ſpoiles from the *Engliſh*, as of other goods; ſo alſo of Horſe and Armour, and habiliments for warre; likewiſe in *Normandy*, Conſpiracies began to bud forth; for *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, who in right of his wife made claime vnto all, eaſily got the hearts and endeauours of many to adhere vnto the true heire; poſſeſsing himſelfe of certaine Caſtles; but entring further on the Demaines of one *Talevan*, a man of note (proſcribed for ſome offence or diſpleaſure by King *Stephen*) the *Normans* diſliking that, and ſome other his doings, ſent for *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys* (*Stephens* elder Brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their ſwords, and liues to defend him in it; who comming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earle of *Gloueſter*, (not vnwilling any way to weaken King *Stephen*) deliuered vnto him vpon compoſition, the County of *Faleſia*, himſelfe carrying no ſmall ſumme of money thence out of King *Henries* Treaſurie, and very throughly, (though ſecretly) watching all opportunities to aduance the title and deſignes of the Empreſſe.

(9) *Stephen* recouered, and hearing theſe ſtirres, prepared himſelfe firſt into *Normandy*, at whoſe approach, after ſome ſmall attempts, the people (diſtracted betwixt feare, and ſenſe of their ducty) yeelded themſelues vnto his power; ſurrendring their fenced Cities, and other ſtrong holds. This good ſucceſſe thus fortunately begunne, hee hoped further to proſecute, by meanes of a league, which hee lately had made with *Lewis* the ſeuenth King, of *France*: and hereupon created *Euſtace* his eldeſt ſon liuing, Duke of *Normandie*, commanding him to do his homage for the ſame to *Lewis*.

(10) Earle *Theobald* ſeeing himſelfe thus defeated of his hopes and purpoſes, ſtormed at the wrongs done by King *Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth, and *Bloyſes* Earledomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandie* and *England* alſo, now vſurped by *Stephen* his yonger: notwithſtanding (rage nought auailing without power) hee came to a compoſition, and remitted his Claime for two thouſand markes annually to be paid. *Geffrey* of *Anion* likewiſe, whoſe title by his Wife was better then them both, not able at the preſent (being ſo far ouer-matched by the Kings power, wealth, & confederats) to do what he would, yeelded to neceſsity, and for fiue thouſand markes yeerely to be paid, ſuffered *Stephen* quietly to enioy the Crowne.

(11) Hauing thus at once ſwept the two greateſt rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all cloudes of diſpleaſure, and oppoſition, were now ouer-blowne, when vnexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumults, the ſparkes of conſpiracie, kindled ſecretlie before in the hearts of factious *Peers*, now openly breaking foorth, vpon aduantage of his abſence in *Normandie*: therefore, hauing not altogether cõpoſed his buſines in thoſe parts, he took ſhip for *England* in the depth of the winter; and euen in the *Vigill* of Chriſts Natiuitie, beſieged, and after tooke the Caſtle of *Bedford*, that was manned againſt him in the behalfe of the *Scots*; about which time *Dauid* their King hauing entred *Northumberland* in the quarrell of Queene *Maude*, the ruder ſort of his Armie (as commonly the beſt gouerned is not emptie of ſuch) reuenged too tragically the wrongs of the Empreſſe, in ripping vp the wombes of women with child, and toſsing their infants vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſlaying the Prieſts at the Altar, and diſmembring the ſlaine bodies in moſt vnhumane maner.

(12) Againſt theſe, King *Stephen* made haſtilie forward, affirming it no policie, *to giue one houres reſt vnto the Enemie*: and threatning more then hee accompliſhed, entred *Scotland*; whence after ſome ſmall reuenge wrought, hee was haſtily recalled; ſo many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes againſt him, that hee was in a ſort beſette on euerie ſide. And what other could hee, a *Vſurper*, expect from them, but *Treaſon*, whom himſelfe had formerly taught to be *Traitors* to their rightfull Soueraigne? But yet (as no *Rebellion* was euer without pretence of *Reaſon* and *Iuſtice*) they alledged, that hee had * violated his *Oath* touching their Forreſts, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth, were but publike colours for priuate grudges, (as *Malmesburie*, who then liued, well vnfouldeth) which the Great-Ones conceiued againſt their King, becauſe he would not grant them ſuch Caſtles, Commands, and Lordſhips, as themſelues liked and expected of him, whom they thought to be ſo obliged vnto them, that he ought denie them nothing. The endleſſe and ſhameleſſe importunities of theſe men, ſometimes hee put off, alleadging thereby, the *impaire of his Crownes reuenewes*; ſometimes hee was faine to ſatisfie, *diſtruſting their falling from him*: whoſe loialtie notwithſtanding beeing built on ſo vn-noble grounds, was but *coloured*, and therefore could not long bee permanent. Neither was it. For *Robert* of *Gloceſter* (the Empreſſes halfe-brother, and now her chiefe Counſellor and Captaine) finding thoſe particular diſlikes apt to be wrought on, and made ſeruiceable for a common behoofe; whetted on with the touch of conſcience, and counſells of religious learned men, (who vrged him, with the *hazard both of his credit, and ſoule, for neglect of his firſt, and only-lawfull, Oath to the Empreſſe*) ſent threatning meſſages vnto King *Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance vnto Lady *Maud* his Soueraigne, againſt whom hee had ſhewed himſelfe a moſt perfidious man, and had impiouſlie drawne him with others to doe the like; and ſo denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemie to the State, and himſelfe vnto *Stephen*, made ſtrong his faction with the aſsiſtance of many Nobles; among whom, *Milo*, a chiefe man of warre, and High Conſtable to King *Stephen*, reuolted from him, and became a great help to their proceedings.

(13) Earle *Robert* (whom eftſoones the enraged King diſcharged of his honours and poſſeſsions in *England*) tooke into the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, and made good alſo his Caſtle of *Slede*; his complices likewiſe did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manned the Caſtle of *Hereford*, *William Louell* the Caſtle of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* the Caſtle of *Duneſtor*, *Robert de Nichol* the Caſtle of *Warram*, *Euſtace Fitz-Iohn* the Caſtle of * *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Caſtle of *Shrewſburie*, and *Walkelinus* the Caſtle of *Doure*. And thus thoſe forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, firſt offended the King, ſome few wherof as he recouered, he flatted to the ground, and wiſhed the other no higher walls; ſtill ſwearing *by Gods Birth* (his vſuall Oath) hee would not ſo ſlightlie bee vnſeated of his Crowne, and wondring what ſhould mooue them, who had ſo readilie aduanced him, ſo ſpeedily to vnſtate him. One freſh motiue to theſe Noble-mens diſcontents was the Kings * ſeizing on ſome great men and their lands, on bare ſuſpition of their loialtie; and on the other ſide, the extraordinarie fauour, which *Stephen* ſhewed to *William de Ypre*, and his *Flemings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themſelues and their Nation) whoſe counſells he generally followed, and chiefly relied vpon: In diſdaine whereof, they ſent word to the Empreſſe, that within fiue Monethes, ſhee ſhould haue the Realme at command, according to their Oaths made to her Father.

(14) Theſe turmoiles thus working in the bowels of the Kingdome, *Dauid* King of *Scotland* had better opportunitie to aſſaile the ſides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begunne, with a very great Armie entring *Northumberland*, made great ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*, and deſtruction of their Countrey: Againſt whom the Northren Lords prepared, at the command of *Thurſtan* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* (left by King *Stephen* Lieutenant in thoſe parts) who beeing by ſickenes kept from the Field, appointed

* *Huntingdon. l. 8.*

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2. pag. 104.

Idem. li. 2. pa. 102.

Idem.

Earle *Robert* ſends threats to King *Stephen.*

Idem.

Malmeſb. Nouel. lib. 1.

Geruaſ. Dorob. Wil. Malmsb.

Engliſh Peeres fortifie againſt the King.

Henry Hunt. lib. 8. Houeden.

* *De Maltona.*

King *Stephens* vſuall Oath. *Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 1.*

Malmesb. Nouel. libro ſecundo.

Ger. Dor.

An. D. 1139.

The King of *Scotland* his attempts againſt *Stephen.*

Simon Dun.

pointed *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham* his Generall; whoſe Inuectiue Oration before their ioyning of battaile, occaſioned vpon the foreſaid miſdeameanors of ſome vndiſciplined *Scotiſh*, is at large ſet down by *Houedon*, *Huntingdon*, *Wendouer* and others; in the cloſe whereof, he abſolueth from puniſhment of ſin, all ſuch of his ſide, as ſhould die in this battaile: which made the *Engliſh* more deſperate in fight, who ſo ſorely preſſed vpon their enemies, that they forſooke their King, he notwithſtanding valiantly perſiſting, til his deareſt friends erneſtly vrged him to auoid. But his ſon *Henry*, eſteeming more of glory thē life, ruſhed in amongſt his retiring ſouldiers, and with vndaunted courage, perſwading them to regard themſelus and his preſence, with threat of ſhamefull deaths to all ſuch as fled, he held them in for a time; till at length ouer-laid with the maine-battaile of the *Engliſh*, the magnanimous *Prince Henry*, likewiſe quitted the field, bitterly curſing the frowardneſſe of Fortune, and the miſchance that hapned that day.

Houeden. Wendouer. Hen. Hunting.

This field was fought in Auguſt An. 1138. neere the mouth of Humber. Mat. Paris.

The great valor of Prince Henry of Scotland.

Mat. Paris. Houeden. & alij. Polyd. Virgil.

(15) With like fortunate ſucceſſe, proceeded *Stephen* againſt his diſobedient Barons, and wanne from them the *Caſtles* of *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, *Webley*, *Briſtow*, *Dudley* and *Shrewsbury*, whereby hee weakned Earle *Robert* ſo much, that he was conſtrained to flie into *France*, and there inſtigated his ſiſter the Empreſſe to come into *England*.

Rand. Higden. Earle Robert leaues England.

(16) Theſe domeſticke oppoſites thus remoued out of his way, King *Stephen* re-addreſſed himſelfe for the North, to proſecute that which *Thurſtan* had Begunne: firſt therfore winning the Caſtle of *Leids*, he went into *Scotland*, where by the perſuaſion & proweſſe of *Mars* and *Vulcan* (ſaith *Paris*) a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and *Stephen* thence returning, brought Prince *Henry* (whom he created Earle of *Huntingdon*) with him into *England*, and at the ſiege of *Ludlow* Caſtle, the aduenturous Prince was almoſt ſurpriſed, where the beſieged with an Iron Grapple pluckt him from his horſe, and ſo had taken him, but that King *Stephen* himſelfe, with great valour and honour recouered him: who hauing wonne the Caſtle, went preſently to *Oxford*, whither newes was brought him that the Empreſſe was preparing for *England*.

A Peace betwixt the King of England and Scotland. Math. Paris. Henry Hunt.

Houeden, Henry. Hunt.

(17) To make all ſure as he went, *Stephen* thought it good to demoliſh, and race thoſe Caſtles lately built, (hauing had experience to what troubles they had brought him) and to preuent the building of new; and namely, that of the *Diuiſe*, now (as hee ſurmiſed) in fortifying againſt him: hee therefore ſent for *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury* (the Founder both of that Caſtle, as alſo thoſe other of *Sherborn* & *Malmſbury*) a man who in a bad cauſe had ſtood King *Stephen* in good ſtead, howſoeuer ſome enuying his greatnes, had incenſed the King againſt him, and other Prelates, as if they were fallen from his ſide. The Biſhop ſtanding peremptorily on his innocencie, yet miſtruſting the euent, craued the company of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and of *Nigell* Biſhop of *Ely*; ſo with a great and well appointed traine, repaired to *Oxford* vnto the Court, where *Stephen* had ſummoned a Grand-Councell of the States.

A.Do. 1140
King *Stephen* pluckes downe the Caſtles.

Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.

Henry Hun. Houeden.

A great Councel at Oxford.

(18) The King who expected of Church-men humility, ſeeing them now armed as men for the field, commanded his attendants to take armour likewiſe, and ſo entring communication of diuers matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Souldiers caſually meeting, fell at variance, where the Biſhops friends had the worſe, ſo that many of them were wounded, and the reſt forſaking their maſters ranne away. This great aſſembly thus diſturbed, the King required the Biſhops to ſatisfie his Court for theſe outrages of their ſeruants, *which ſatisfaction ſhould be, to deliuer the keyes of all their Caſtles to the King, as pledges of their fidelity*, which they refuſing, the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Lincolne* were laid hold of; but *Ely* eſcaped to the Caſtle of *Diuiſe*: *Alexander* was impriſoned, till hee had yeelded him his Caſtles of *New-warke*, and * *Slaford*; *Roger* the Caſtles of *Sherborne*, and the *Diuiſes* (accounted then one of the goodlieſt Caſtles of *Europe*) beſides forty thouſand Markes in ſiluer; (which loſſes the Biſhop did not long ſuruiue). The King imployed the money to purchaſe Lady *Conſtance*, ſiſter to *Lewis* King of *France*, to be wife vnto his ſonne *Euſtace*: all which was to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Empreſſe *Maud*, whoſe coming he continually feared, & now before his expectation ſhe was landed in *England*, at a fitte time for her deſignes, when all the great Prelates (who formerly were his chiefeſt friends) were highly incenſed againſt the King for ſuch oppreſsion of their Brethren.

Malmeſb. loco citato.

The Kings vſage of his Prelats.

Idem.

** Lasford. Paris.*

(19) The place of her arriuage was at the * port of *Arundell*, into which Caſtle ſhee was ioyfully receiued by *William de Albeny*, who had married Queen *Adeliza*, the late wife to King *Henry*, whoſe Dowrie it was; from hence Earle *Robert* diuerting his courſe onely with tenne horſe-men, and as many Archers, (for in all hee brought ouer but one hundred and forty with him for ſo great an exploit) paſſed throgh the Land vnto *Wallingford* and *Glouceſter*, ſoliciting his Complices for the aid of his ſiſter the Empreſſe.

* A man who then liued, holds him, in this bold attempt with ſo ſmall forces, no way inferiour to *Iulius Cæſar*, whom *Liuie* reports to haue begun his ciuill war, and to haue ſet himſelfe againſt the whole world, onelie with fiue Cohorts of Souldiers.

(20) King *Stephen* as then lay in ſiege of *Marleburgh* Caſtle, but hauing intelligence of this more dangerous an enemy, diſlodged thence, and with all expedition made towards *Arundell*; whereat the Empreſſe, wanting her Counſellor, was wonderfully perplext; yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe at need; inſomuch that by the report of *Geruaſius*, *leſt her dignity and right might any way be endammaged, ſhee tooke an oath, that none of theſe the Kings enemies by her aduice or conſent had entred the land, but with condition to carry themſelues orderly without impeachment of the honour and allegiance due to the King*; by which policy (to giue it no worſe name) ſhe ſo ſatisfied King *Stephen* (whom al do cenſure for too much credulity and facility towards his foes) that hee cauſed her to bee conuaied honourably vnto *Briſtow*, where ſhe remained the ſpace of two monethes, and then got thence vnto *Wallingford*.

(21) Earle *Robert* in the meane while diſperſed the newes of the Empreſſes approch, vnto whoſe aid ſo many gathered, that the ſame Monke reporteth, *no man was able to ſet downe their multitudes in context of hiſtorie, much leſſe by way of Computation: then beganne* (ſaith he) *both labour and dolour, which brought the whole Realme to a moſt grieuous diuiſion, and in a maner to an vtter ruine: for thoſe that fauoured the King, what euill ſoeuer could be wrought or imagined, they did againſt them, that tooke part with the Empreſſe: and contrariwiſe, Earle* Robert, *whoſe power daily encreaſed, tortured with cruelties all thoſe that ſtood for the King; and to augment a more miſchiefe, the Flemings left their owne Country, and came ouer by multitudes, like vnto a Company of hunger-ſtarued Wolues, ſeeking to bring the Lands felicity vnto nothing.*

(22) *Stephen*, whoſe head was now ful of troubles, delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but ſtraightwaies beſieged *Maud* and her brother in *Wallingford* Caſtle; notwithſtanding, wearied with long labour and profiting little, hee cauſed a Tower of wood to be there erected, which he ſtrongly fortified with mē and munition, and then remooued to the ſiege of *Malmesbury*. His brother alſo of *Wincheſter*, a ſtout and politicke Prelate indeede, beſtirred all his wilie wittes in *Stephens* behalfe; for inuiting certaine Noble-men to his Palace at *Wincheſter*, retained them priſoners, till hee had compelled them there, to reſigne their Caſtles to the King. In the meane while Earle *Robert* ſubdued and ſpoiled *Worceſter*: *Ralph Painell*, in the Empreſſes fauour, burned *Nottingham*; and *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, ioining in wiſhes with *Robert* (whoſe daughter hee maried) ſhewed himſelfe not

The Emp... power in... Geruaſius.

Flemings c... to King ... aide.

King Step... ſieges W... Caſtle. Gen. Do.

The Biſho... Wincheſter ... traps the ... Math. Par...

not vnwilling to annoy King *Stephen*, though he had receiued great honours at his hands. The Empreſſe her ſelfe, the better to ſecure her owne perſon, and to giue acceſſe vnto her fauourites, tooke into *Lincolne*, where ſhe meant to make her abode, ſtoring the City with all prouiſions neceſſarie.

(23) King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politick, made ſtraight-waies thitherward, and begirt the Citie with a ſtraite ſiege, where hee had ſurpriſed his greateſt Enemie, had ſhee not found meanes thence to eſcape: & ſo poſſeſsing himſelf of the City, ſetled it, & the whole Countrey in verie good quiet. Soone after whoſe departure, *Ranulph* Earle of *Cheſter*, with his Counteſſe, and Brother, comming to *Lincolne*, to keepe their Chriſtmas; the Citizenes knowing the Kings iealouſies, and *deſirous to turrie fauour with him*, ſent ſecret intelligence, that if he would ſurprize both thoſe Brethren, he had now the fitteſt aduantage: whereto the King giuing eare, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumuented, ſtood on their guard in the Caſtle, the Earle eſcaped foorth, and went to craue aid of the Empreſſe, for reſcue of his wife and brother whom hee left beſieged. Earle *Robert*, hearing the newes, and glad of ſo faire an opportunity, ioined with *Ranulph*, and they both gathered all their powers both of *welſh* and *Engliſh*, for the releefe of their friends in *Lincolne*: where, reſolutelie firſt wading through the Riuer, (which parted them from the Kings Armie, and was then deepe) vpon Candlemas day and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus one thouſand one hundred fortie one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings ſight ordered their Battaile: One Squadrone whereof, was lead by Earle *Ranulph*: the *Diſherited* were the Guiders of another; in the third was Earle *Robert* himſelfe; and the *Welſh-men* ſerued for the Wing. Their troopes thus marſhalled, *Ranulph* appointed in rich Armor, and full of braue reſolution, ſpake thus to his followers, in the preſence of *Robert* of *Gloceſter*.

(24) "I yeeld you vnfained thanks, (Inuincible "Captaine, and you, our companions in Armes) "which heere ſo reſolutelie witneſſe your loues vn- "to mee, vpon my ſole requeſt, euen to the hazard "of your owne liues. Sith then, I am the chiefe cauſe "of this your perill, it well befits me, that I my ſelfe "be formoſt in the hazard, and giue the firſt onſette "of battaile againſt this faithleſſe King; who made "vs a ſhew of truce, onelie to take aduantage for our "ruines; and therefore both mine owne courage, "and the Kings vniuſt dealing, giue mee cauſe to "hope, that I ſhall foorthwith breake aſunder the "ſtrongeſt array of his Armie, and make my way "through their midſt, by dint of this my ſword. It "ſhall be argument of your proweſſe, to follow me, "leading you the way, and to imitate mee, giuing "you example. My thoughts alreadie tell mee, that "euen now I am breaking through his Battles, "trampling on the neckes of his Chieftaines, and "piercing with this my ſword the very ſides of the "King himſelfe. His ſpeech though ſhort and headdie, as more fitting a Souldier then an Orator, yet well ſuited with the time, and was ſeconded with great applauſe of the Souldiers: Whereupon *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, ſtept foorth and ſaid.

(25) "It is not againſt right, moſt Noble Earle, "that the honor of this daies ſeruice, and firſt aſſault, "ſhould bee permitted vnto you, in regard of the "greatnes both of your deſcent, and your martiall "achieuement; but yet, if Deſcent bee ſtood on, "I my ſelfe am both the ſonne, and nephew, of a "Mightie King; if Valour, heere now are many of "choiſeſt worth, of whom none liuing can challenge "precedence for proweſſe. But other reaſon ought "now to ſway. For ſith the King, contrarie to his "Oath made to my Siſter, impiouſly vſurped the "Kingdome, he hath made a confuſion of all things, "both in cauſing the bloud of many thouſands to "bee ſpilt, and in making many Owners (as himſelfe was) of that which was not their owne, by de- "priuing other of their rightfull inheritance: Theſe "therefore thus diſherized, ought of right (in aſſu- "rance of helpe from their righteous Iudge and re- "uenger) giue firſt aſſault on their vnrighteous op- "preſſor; and God who iuſtly iudgeth his people, "will (doubtleſſe) looke downe from his heauenly "habitation, and will not leaue vs ſuccourleſſe, "whiles in a iuſt cauſe, wee impugne a moſt vniuſt "Intruder. But one thing, (moſt reſolued Cap- "taines and ſouldiers) I would haue you throughlie "to conſider, that through theſe Fennes (which "with ſo mucha doe you haue paſſed) there is no "way fit for eſcape: heere muſt wee either vanquiſh, "or leaue our liues, for hope of flight is none at all, "nor is there any other way, left vs now to goe, but "by our ſwords into the Citie: and (if I geſſe a- "right) euen this, that wee haue no meanes to flie, "will bee to vs the meanes (by diuine aſsiſtance) to "get the Victorie; becauſe they muſt needes truſt to "their Manhood, who ſee no hope to thriue by "their Cowardize. Indeed, the Citizenes of *Lin- "colne* keepe nigh to their houſes, and in the brunt of "the Battle, there will their mindes bee, and thither "will their heeles follow, whiles you victorioulie "ſhall keepe the field. And conſider farther with "mee, what kinde of Captaines they haue: Firſt *A- "laine* Duke of *Britaine*, he comes armed, not againſt "you, but God himſelfe, a furious perſon, ſpotted "with all filth of ſinne, in malice vnmatchable, who "thinks it his greateſt diſhonour, to ſee any man ex- "cell him in crueltie: with him commeth the trea- "cherous Earle *Robert Mellent*, the very craftes-ma- "ſter of fraud, in whoſe heart dwells impiety, guile "in his mouth, cowardize in his actions; high of "minde, vaineglorious in words, degenerous in per- "formance; laſt in the fight, firſt in the flight. Next, "comes *Hugh By-god*, his name neerelie ſounding his "periurie; who thought it not ſufficient to breake "his oath with the Empreſſe, but that hee muſt be "once againe forſworn (as all the world doth know) "that *Henry* at his death bequeathed the Crowne "vnto *Stephen*, to the preiudice of his owne daugh- "ter; a man (in a word) who accounts *Treacherie* "a *Vertue*, and *Periurie* a courtly quality. Among "theſe Gallants marcheth the Earle *Albemarle*, a man "of a ſingular conſtancy in euill; very ready to at- "tempt, & very loath to leaue any miſchiefe; whoſe "wife, through irkeſomnes of his vnſufferable filthy "qualities, is gone from him; & the Earle that keeps "her, hee commeth againſt vs too, a notorious a- "dulterer, and the *Non-pareill* of impurity, a true "Souldier of *Bacchus*, a ſtranger to *Mars*; to whom "the ſight of all bloud, except of the Grape, is ve- "rie fearefull. Then ſetteth forth *Simon* Earle of "*Hampton*, whoſe deeds conſiſt altogether in words, "and whoſe liberality onely in promiſes; for when "he hath ſaid, he hath done, and yee get no more. "Laſtly, you ſee here gathered a knot of Peeres, all "like to their Prince, accuſtomed to robberies, en- "riched with rapines; fatned with man-ſlaughters, "and all tainted with periurie. You therefore (No- "ble ſpirits) whom great *Henry* aduanced, and this "*Stephen* hath caſt downe, whom *Henry* made "wealthy, and *Stephen* hath empoueriſhed, be now "couragious, and vpon aſſured confidence of your "great valours, yea, of Gods iuſtice, ſeeke both your "iuſt *Reuẽge*, which God euen puts into your hands, "on theſe vngodly wretches; and immortall *Glorie*, „which ſhall hence-forward attend both your ſelues, „and your poſterity for euer. If you are all of this "mind, for executing this Iudgement of God now "vpon them, then vow your ſelues vnto God, and "this his ſeruice; and forbear, nay rather forſwear, "to ſhew your backs to your foes.

Alain Duke of *Britaine*.

Robert Mellent.

Hugh Bi-god.

Earle *Albemarle*.

Earle *Simon*.

At which words, all iointly lifting vp their hands, and acclamations vnto heauen, with a terrible ſhout abiured all thought of flight, and quickning vp their braue ſpirits, aduanced gallantly towards the enemy.

(27) King

King *Stephens* addreſſe to the Battle.

(26) King *Stephen*, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who alſo ordered his Armie into three ſeuerall Battalions: the greateſt part and beſt harnaſſed, whoſe horſes he had ſent away (perhaps alſo to depriue his men of all hope of flight) he appointed to remaine on foot with himſelf, and certain of his Nobles, all vnder one Banner. The horſemen hee diſpoſed into two ſeuerall wings, the one commaunded by *Alaine* Duke of *Britaine*, *Hugh Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Simon* Earle of *Hampton*, wit the two Earles of *Mellent* and *Warren*; and the other Wing was gouerned by *William de Ypres* the Fleming. Then the King, becauſe his voice was not very pleaſing or audible, commaunded *Baldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a man of great honour aud proweſſe, to vtter his mind vnto the Army, who ſtanding conueniently to be heard, ſpake vnto them as followeth.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dunel.

Henry Hunt. Roger Houeden.

"(27) All ſuch as addreſſe themſelues, and expoſe their liues, to the hazard of battaile, haue "three things aduiſedly to be thought on: The equitie of their cauſe; the Number of the Forces; "the ſufficiency of their men. The firſt, leſt they "endanger the ſtate of their Soules; the next, leſt "they be ouerlaied with multitude of their enemies; "and the laſt, leſt while they preſume vpon numbers, they find them but faint-hearted, to their "vtter ruine. But in all theſe, wee know our ſelues "to be ſufficiently furniſhed. The Iuſtice of our "cauſe is, for obſeruing the vow made before God "vnto our King, to withſtand them that haue falſified their faith, euen to the hazard of our liues. For "our Number, in Horſemē; tis not inferior to theirs; "in Footmen we farre exceede them: and for ſuffi"ciency, what words can equall the noble valour of "ſo many Earles, Lords, Captaines and Followers, "trained vp euer in the warres? But aboue all, the "incomparable proweſſe and preſence of our King, "will be in ſtead of thouſands to vs. Sith then "this our Lord, and the Lords Anointed (to whom "you vowed your faith) is in field here amongſt "you; now performe this your vow vnto God; "aſſured, that the more conſtant you proue in this "your Princes ſeruice, and faithfull againſt thoſe "faithles periured perſons, the more ſhall your re"ward bee at the hands of God, and of him. There"fore be both couragious, and confident; the rather,

Earle *Robert.*

"conſidering againſt whom you fight: euen againſt "*Robert* the *Baſe-borne* Generall, whoſe vtmoſt worth "is well knowne; for he can threaten much, and

Earle *Randulph.*

"performe as little: a Lions tongue, and a Hares "heart: his faire ſpeech is his credit, his foule actions are his ſhame. *Cheſters* Earle what is hee? a "man audacious, but without all iudgement; heady "to plot a treaſon, but ſtill wauering in the purſuit "of it: ready to runne into battaile, but vncircum"ſpect in any danger; aiming beyond his reach, and "conceiting things meerely impoſsible; and there"fore hath he few with him that know him, but "leads onely a rout of vagrant raſcals: ſo there is "nothing in him to bee feared; for whatſoeuer he "beginnes like a Man, he ends it like a Woman; vn"fortunate in all his vndertakings; in his encoun"ters ſtil either vanquiſhed, or if he chance (rarely

The *Welſh.*

"God wot) on a victorie, it is with farre greater loſ"ſes then the conquered. The *Welſhmen* he brin"geth, are fitter for our contempt then feare: their "raſhnes you may eaſily ſee, for it is naked and vn"armed, who wanting both military Art and Pra"ctiſe, runne headlong, like brutes vpon the Hunters "Iauelins. The reſt aſwell Nobles (if ſuch they "may bee tearmed) as common Souldiers, are but "ſtraglers and runnagates: of whom I would wiſh "their number greater; for the more they be, the "more ſucceſleſſe will bee their ſeruice. You "therefore (great Peeres and Worthies) it now be"houeth (and indeed it much behoueth you) to bee "very mindfull, both of your Valours, and Noble"neſſe: this day aduance your Prowes to the height, "and following the foreſteps of your famous An"ceſtors, leaue to your poſteritie both a noble pat"terne, and an euerlaſting renowne. Your dayly "ſucceſſe of victories, ſhould quicken your hearts "this day to atchieue brauely, and the continuall "miſcarrying of our enemies, will quicken their "heeles to flie as ſpeedily: and (I dare ſay) they al"ready repent of their comming hither, and are by "this time caſting how to be gone, if the nature of "the place would giue them leaue. Then ſith it is "vnpoſsible for them either to fight, or flie; why "come they hither, but euen by Gods own appoint"ment, to offer themſelues, and all their prouiſions "into your hands? and here you ſee their horſes, "their Armour, yea and their bodies, to reſt at your "pleaſure: reach forth therefore your warlicke "hands to ſeize on that ioyfully, which God hath "freely brought you.

Which exhortation hee had ſcarſly cloſed, when the noiſe of Trumpets, and ſhout of the enemies comming on, was Rhetoricke enough to incite them to their tasks.

(28) A ſore battaile was fought, and with equall ſucceſſe a long time maintained: for the band of the diſherited, whoſe particular wrongs whetted their courage, (and were therefore politickly placed in the front) brake terribly into the Kings Vauntgard; and contrariwiſe *William* of *Ypres* into the *Welſh*, vntill the Fore-ward of the Kings horſemen beganne to ſhrinke backe, and (not without ſuſpition of treaſon) galloped away; when preſently the Earle of *Cheſter* encountred the Kings battaile of foote, in whoſe ſtrength he repoſed moſt truſt; but it being ouerlaid with Aſſailants, beganne alſo to faint and to flie, leauing the King enraged, both with his friends faint-heartednes, and with his foes ſucceſſe. *A very ſtrange ſight it was* (ſaith Paris) *there to behold King* Stephen, *left almoſt alone in the field, yet no man daring to approch him, whiles grinding his teeth, and foaming like a furious wild Boare, he draue backe with his battle-axe whole troupes aſſailing him, & maſſacring the chiefeſt of them to the eternall renowne of his courage: If but a hundred ſuch had there beene with him, a whole Army had neuer been able to ſurprize his perſon:* yet as hee was ſingle, hee held out, til firſt his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his ſword alſo, with the force of his vnreſiſtable ſtrokes, flew in peeces; and he now weaponleſſe, and (by an vnknowne, doubtleſſe, an vn-noble hand) ſtricken down with a great ſtone throwne at him, was ſeized on by *William* of * *Kahames*, a moſt ſtout Knight, and by Earle *Roberts* commaund, preſerued from any violence to his perſon, was carried priſoner vnto *Maud* the Empreſſe at *Glouceſter*, & thence was ſent bound vnto *Briſtow*, where in the Caſtle he remained in ſafe cuſtody.

(29) The Empreſſe hauing thus got the Lion in her hold, triumphed not a litle in her own fortune, & now as ſole Soueraign of *Englands* Monarchie, commanded all buſineſſe, elected her Counſellors, and beſtowed many dignities where ſhee moſt fauoured. Notwithſtanding, that ſhee altered not her ſtile of Empreſſe, or Queene of *Romans*, may appeare by this her *Broad-Seale* enſuing; vnder which ſhee granted the cuſtody of the *Tower of London* vnto *Geffrey de Mandeuil*, and his Heires, couenanting with him therein, *that ſhe would not make peace with the Citizens of London, without the ſaid Geffreis conſent, becauſe they were his mortall enemies*: but this Earle being afterwards vnawares apprehended in the Kings Court at *Saint Albans*, could not bee releaſed, till hee had ſurrendred both the *Tower of London*, and other his Caſtles to the King.

Vpon theſe happy ſucceſſes of the Empreſſe, the States-men ſtood not any longer for *King Stephen*, but their *Faithes* turning with his *Fortunes*, all of them ſurrendred their allegiance vnto her; the *Kentiſh* only excepted, where *Stephens Queene*, and *William de Ypres*, maintained his quarrell to the vttermoſt of their powers.

(30) But

THE TRVE SCVLPTVRE OF MAVD THE EMPRESSES BROAD SEALE, APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.

(30) But the Empreſſe conducted in State to *Wincheſter*, had the Regall Crowne of the Kingdome there deliuered her; no man more forward then *Henry* the Biſhop, and Brother of *Stephen*, who vpon the vowing to bee *ruled by his aduiſe in affaires of Eſtate*, being then the *Popes Legate*, ſolemnely in a Synode of the Clergie, accurſed all ſuch as withſtood the Empreſſe, and bleſſed all them that aſſiſted her intereſt: but both hee, and his friends forgot not to adde that wonted trayterous clauſe of their oath, *ſo long to keepe faith to her, as ſhee kept her Couenants with them:* and ſo with applauſe of the people, ſhe came to *London*, and after much perſwaſion and mediation (for that the Citizens were very ſtiffe againſt her) was receiued into the City with a roiall Proceſsion.

(31) Neither was King *Stephen* thus defeated of *England* onely, but *Normandy* alſo caſt off the yoke of ſubiection: for *Geffrey* of *Aniou*, husband of the Empreſſe, hauing ſome intelligence of this atchieued victorie, induced the *Normans* to incline vnto him, by publiſhing the captiuation of *Stephen*, vnable now to relieue them, or himſelfe; and *Dauid* King of *Scotland* for his part was not behind, to ſet forward the claime of Lady *Maud*, aſſuming in her behalfe the County of *Northumberland*.

(32) *Maud* thus eſtabliſhed, all now eſteemed her as *Fortunes* deare darling, and beheld her as their onely riſing ſunne; the Priſon walles ouerſhadowing the Preſence, feature, and fauours of the now deiected vnfortunate *Stephen*, whoſe ſorrowful wife Queen *Maud*, inceſſantly ſollicited the Empreſſe in her husbands behalfe, deſiring his liberty, but not his Crowne, which hee was now contented to let her enioy; and thereunto offered for pledges many great perſons, who proteſted for him to the Empreſſe, that hee thenceforth would deuote himſelfe vnto God, & either become a Monke or a Pilgrime: *Henry* of *Wincheſter* alſo became a ſuiter vnto her in the behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, King *Stephens* ſonne, that the * Counties belonging before to the Father, might bee conferred vpon the ſonne.

(33) The *Londoners* likewiſe hauing receiued her into the City as their Lady, thought now (as moſt doe with new Princes) they might haue what they would aske, and became her importunate Suppliants, that the ouer hard lawes impoſed by her Father, might now be remitted, and thoſe of King *Edward* might wholy bee in force. But ſhee reiected all theſe Petitioners, out of pride, ſay ſome; but it may ſeeme rather of policy, holding it ſafeſt, to paſſe affaires of importance, not vpon intreaty, but by due aduice, and to gouerne the ſubiect with a ſauere auſterenes, rather then an indulgent lenitie. But this too regular ſtrictnes, which might haue done well in a ſetled gouernment, in this her yet greene, and vnſecured eſtate, proued not ſo behouefull. For firſt, Queene * *Maud* ſent to her ſonne *Euſtace*, that their ſuites muſt bee obtained onely by warre; willing him to make ſtrong his partie by the aſsiſtance of the *Kentiſh*: the Nobles likewiſe, *Stephens* vndertakers, repined, that they were ſo ſlightly regarded, or rather reiected: and the *Londoners* alſo ſtorming at the repulſe of their deſires, deuiſed how they might take the Empreſſe their Priſoner, and ſo redeem King *Stephen*, to whom their affectiõs were euer firm: but ſhe hearing of their conſpiracie, fled ſecretly in the night, and tooke into *Oxford*, which in all her difficulties ſhee euer found true vnto her, out of their loue, both to her cauſe, and to her Father; & threatning due reuenge for her late wrongs, wrought it vpon the Nobles in priſon, and (more then was due or decent) vpon *Stephen* himſelf, whom ſhe commanded to be laden with Irons, and to bee abridged of all princely ſeruices.

(34) *Wincheſters* high mind not brooking the Empreſſes deniall of his ſuite, in behalfe of his Nephew *Euſtace*, vpon ſecret conferences with Queen *Maud*, by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his affection towards the diſtreſſed King his brother; & in fine, reſoluing to trie the vttermoſt for him, abſolued all thoſe whom before hee had excommunicated; pretending, *that the Barons had all kept faith with her, but ſhee had not kept touch with them*; and thinking this a fitte time to worke for his brother, ſolicited the diſcontented *Londoners* in his behalfe, and ſtored the Caſtles of *Waltham*, *Farnham*, and *Wincheſter* with Munition and men; meane while the Empreſſe came ſpeedily to *Glouceſter*, to conferre with *Milo* her chiefeſt friend, and preſently againe returning to *Oxford* (* which ſhe choſe for her Court and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained only at his charge, not hauing one dayes diet, or prouiſion of her owne; to requite which fidelity, and other noble ſeruices, ſhe there created him Earle of *Hereford*.

(35) Her forces recollected, & thither aſſembled, ſhe went forthwith to the City of *Wincheſter*, accompanied with *Dauid* King of *Scotland* her vncle, Earle *Robert* her brother, and many other Nobles; where ſending for the Biſhop being then in the City (whoſe aid ſhee could hardly ſpare, and therefore was deſirous of his reconcilement) though hee miſtruſted ſome perill, yet not daring to ſend a deniall, returned the Meſſenger with this equiuocall anſwere, that he would *with all ſpeed addreſſe himſelfe*, as if hee had meant to follow them: ſo forthwith iſſuing ſecretly out of the City, did indeed *addreſſe himſelfe* to worke her ruine: for, ſending for Queene *Maude* her ſonne *Euſtace*, the *Londoners*, and *William Ypres*, (afterwards created Earle of *Kent*) made ſtrong his part, himſelfe and friends abiding in the City, whiles

* King *Stephens* wife.

The Nobles offended, fall off from her. *Malmeſ. Nouel. lib. 2.*

The *Londoners* conſpire againſt her. *Nic. Triuet.*

Roger Houeden.

Ger. Dor.

Malmesb. Nouel. libro ſecundo.

Henry of *Wincheſter* recalls his Excommunication.

* *Idem loco citato.*

The Empreſſe maintained at *Milo* his charges.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* equiuocateth.

* *Ego parabo me. Will. Malmsb.*

Will. Malmeſ. Geruaſ. Dorob.

the Empreſſe and her Nobles defenſed themſelues in the Caſtle, not aduenturing to goe forth amongſt ſo many their mortall enemies : and ſoone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Citizens to bee more affected to the Empreſſe then to him, commanded the ſaid Citie to bee ſet on fire, *where in, the Monaſtery of Nunnes, aboue twentie Churches,* the Conuent of S. Grimbald, and the better part of the Citie, were conſumed to aſhes.*

Hee fires *Wincheſter.*
* *Alias* The Conuent at Hyde. *Malmeſb.*

(36) Seuen weekes thus ſpent, in this counter-ſiege of the Citie and Caſtle, the Biſhoppe, to deceiue the Empreſſe, commanded peace to bee proclaimed, and the Gates to bee ſet open towards euening. The Empreſſe then, who had indured ſuch troubles and ſo long a reſtraint, greatlie deſired to change her lodging, and to recreat her perplexed ſpirits in ſome other place; ſo taking horſe, accompanied with her brother, *Reinold* Earle of *Cornewall*, her ſeruants, and many others her friends, beſides Earle *Robert*, who followed behind with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; preſentlie at the Biſhoppes commandment, ſhee was purſued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken priſoners; the Empreſſe by good prouidence eſcaped into the Caſtle of *Lutegareſhall*, and thence to the Caſtle *Diuize*: where vnderſtanding that ſhee was ſtill in hazard to bee ſurprized, ſhee was contented, (as what will not neceſsity endure, & a womans wit deuiſe?) to bee laide in a coffine bound faſt with cords; and ſo, as if it had beene her Corſe, carried in a horſe-litter to the Citie of *Gloceſter*: in which bonds of her owne diſtreſſe, ſhee had good occaſion to remember the chaines of King *Stephens* captiuitie. To ſuch extremities were theſe two Princes at the ſelfe ſame time ſubiect, that whiles they turmoiled for ſpacious Kingdomes, brought themſelues to the very extream wants, of aire, and of elbow-roome; but with ſuch dalliance doth *Fortune* (wee ſee) oftentimes follow her game, that ſhee maketh euen Monarchs the *Balls* of her play, and toſſeth them laſtly into the *Hazard*, whence hardly they eſcape with ſafetie of life. Yet this was not the worſt; for Earle *Robert* her brother, whileſt hee *was buſier in prouiding for her ſafetie, then for his owne*, was taken by his purſuers at *Stoubreg* with others; brought backe to *Winchester*, and there preſented by the Biſhop vnto Queene *Maud*, King *Stephens* wife, who committed him to the cuſtodie of *William Ypres*, and he for more ſafety to *Gloceſter*; but others taking ſanctuarie in the *Nuns* Monaſtery of *Warwell* were burned together with the place: Thus then the King on the one ſide, and the Earle on the other, were kept in ſafe cuſtodie; but the Queene labouring for the Kings releaſe, and the Counteſſe for the Earles, many Articles were propounded, and many meſſengers imploied: at length, this was thought fitteſt, that *Stephen* ſhould bee reſtored to his kingdome, and *Robert* vnder him to haue the whole gouernment of the Land; ſo that both of them ſhould now iointly vphold that, which they (the two Ring-leaders) by oppoſition had caſt downe. But Earle *Robert* as he was no whit deiected in mind, with any frowne of *Fortune* whatſoeuer, ſo reſerued hee his fidelity to the Empreſſe vnſtained, and vnmoued either with feare or faire inticements, ſtill refuſing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Siſters liking; who likewiſe bare ſo braue a minde, that were her ſtate neuer ſo weake, ſhee would not conſent nor giue the leaſt eare to any compoſition for the Crowne.

Malmeſ. lib. 2.

The Empreſſe carried as a dead Corſe. *Wil. Walſingham. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.*

Will. Malmeſ.

(37) Then was enmitie increaſed, the Kingdome diuided, and the peoples hatred kindled in mainetaining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For theſe two Chieftaines wearied with irkſomnes of irons, and hard impriſonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and ſo ſtudied not onely to renew their former deſignes, but to encreaſe the lands miſerie by more eagre warres. *Stephen* in *England* wrought the people for him, & *Robert* * *taking pledges of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empreſſe at Oxford till his returne*, went into *Normandie* to ſolicite *Geffrey* her husband for her defence. But the Earle hauing troubles with his owne Nobilitie, and the *Normans* ſcarſly brought to any ſubiection, thought it not conuenient by his owne abſence for a ſtate in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore ſent with *Robert* ſome ſtrength of Armes, and with them his young ſonne Prince *Henrie* into *England*.

Wil. Malmsb. An.D.1142. The King and Earle *Robert* redeeme each other out of priſon. *Roger Houeden.*

(38) The Empreſſe in his abſence, had well fortified her ſelfe in *Oxford*, whom *Stephen* (vſing the benefit of *Roberts* abſence) followed with an eagre purſuite, and wanne the Suburbs euen vnto the Citie gates; then girt hee the Empreſſe with ſo ſtraite a ſiege, (meaning neuer to giue ouer, till hee had now made her ſure in his poſſeſsion) that for two monethes whatſoeuer *Strength* or *Stratageme* could performe in aſſault or defenſe, was there put in practize, till at length great penurie enforced to thinke of a ſurrender: but ſhee, a woman (whoſe ſexe hath often deceiued wiſe men) reſolued once againe to ouerreach her foe by wit, whom ſhee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wiſhes; for being a winter, ſharpe aboue meaſure, the Riuer *Thamiſis* that runnes by the Citie walls, was then congealed with a ſtrong cruſted Ice, and beſides a great ſnow did then continue, and had couered the ground. *Maud* vpon theſe aduantages, put in practize a moſt dangerous attempt: for cloathing herſelfe, and ſome choice of her company, in white linnen garments, to deceiue the eies of the Sentinells, iſſued ſecretlie by night out of a poſterne-gate, and paſsing the frozen Riuer, ranne on foote, through ice, and ſnow, ditches, and vallies, for fiue miles, euen to *Abingdon*, the falling ſnow ſtill beating in their faces; and there taking horſe, the ſame night got to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, to the great ioy, and alſo admiration, of all that were therein.

Malmeſ. Get. Dor.

Earle *Robert* taken. *Malmeſ. lib. 2.*

(39) In the meane while, Earle *Robert*, with Prince *Henrie*, were arriued in *England* at *Warrhame* hauen, and preſentlie beſieged the Caſtle there, (ſo to withdraw the King from ſiege of his ſiſter;) but hearing of the happie eſcape of the Empreſſe, came with young *Henry* vnto his mother, whoſe ſight made her forget the griefe and ſorrowes that ſhe had long indured. Then was *Oxford* vpon conditions yeelded to the King; and *Wilton* fired by the baſtard Earle *Robert*: The Towre of *London*, with the Caſtles of *Walden*, *Pleiſes*, and *Lincolne*, yeelded to *Stephen*; the Caſtles of *Warham*, and *Portland*, yeelded to *Robert*: The Earles of *Cheſter*, and *Eſſex*, ſurprized by the King; *William Martell* the great fauourite, taken and impriſoned by the Earle. Thus ſundrie yeeres paſsing with variable ſucceſſes to and fro, and euery yeere heaping on each ſide, freſh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole land; the Empreſſe, euen wearied with thoſe warres and vncertaineties of ſucceſſe, went into *Normandie*, chuſing rather to be vnder the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigne in *England* perplexed with troubles: and to the ſame end ſhe had not long before, ſent her young ſonne *Henrie* to his father, who deſired to haue him rather heire of a Dukedome with ſafetie, then of a Crowne with daylie hazard.

Math. Paris. * *Malmsb.*

(40) *Stephen*, that bya freſh ſurprizall of *Randall* Earle of *Cheſter* had got *Lincolne*, and entring thereinto (which no King before him durſt doe, for that certaine wizards had propheſied euil luck vnto ſuch) at chriſtmas did there weare the Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Empreſſes departure, cauſed the Barons of *England*, to ſweare allegiance vnto Prince *Euſtace* his ſonne; by which two complements, hee ſuppoſed all had beene ſure on his ſide; and the rather, for that the moſt faithfull, puiſſant, and euer-renowned Earles, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and *Milo* of *Hereford* the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conqueſts ſupported their *Anioueians* cauſe, were now conquered by death; and the reſt of the Nobles, applying themſelues to the Times,

Times, kept themſelues quiet in the abſence of theſe Competitors; all which gaue no little aſſurance vnto *Stephens* eſtate.

(41) But *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe*, grown now from a Child, thought it beſt a while to leaue *Mercury*, (for it is ſaid hee was *Bookiſh*) and to follow *Mars*; ſo knowing his preſence would preferre much his purpoſes (for men would bee loth to hazard all for one, who himſelfe would neglect all) haſted againe into *England*, with an Armie of valiant and choice Souldiers; to whom ioined the diſcontented Earle of *Cheſter*, *Roger* the ſonne of *Miles* deceaſed, with many more Knights and *Gallants* of the *Engliſh*: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with *Dauid* his coſen, King of *Scotland*, of whom hee was moſt honourably receiued, and ſolemnely ſacred with the Military honour of Knighthood: and thence forward ſought all occaſions to prouoke both King *Stephen*, and his ſonne *Euſtace* againſt him: and hauing ſetled ſome courſes with certain Peeres for the purſuit of his deſignes in *England*, hee returned into *Normandy* to compoſe & ſet forward ſome other buſineſſes, which might be auaileable for theſe his ends.

(42) Where long he ſtaied not, but that *Geffrey* his Father departed this life, and left him his Heire both of *Anion* and *Normandy*; and the yeere following, he matched in marriage with *Eleanor* Dutches of *Guien* and *Aquitane*, lately diuorced from *Lodowicke* King of *France* for conſanguinity, and adultery (ſaith *Paris*) after ſhee had borne him two daughters; *Lodowicke* fearing iſſue-male by this marriage to the diſheriting of his ſaid daughters, greatly impugned Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen* ſuſpecting his greatnes, now being Duke of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Aquitane*, and *Guien*, both of them ſought each way to impeach his peace: *Lodowicke*, with Prince *Euſtace*, in the parts beyond ſeas, and *Stephen* in *England*, to make ſure his ſucceſſion, ſought to inueſt the ſaid Prince *Euſtace* with the *Engliſh* Diademe; both to preuent, and vtterly depriue *Henry Fitz-Empreſſe* for euer: for calling a Counſell at *London*, King *Stephen* commaunded *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to conſecrate Prince *Euſtace* for their King; which hee refuſed to doe, and that by commandement from the Pope (whoſe holy See can deale on both ſides, as makes moſt for their aduantage) alledging now, that his Father was an vſurper, and periured Intruder: whereupon the honeſt Archbiſhop fled into *Normandy*, and the King ſeized vpon al his poſſeſsions. It may ſeeme, that one cauſe of the Popes inclining to yong *Henries* title, was to ſtrēgthen him againſt his enemy King *Lewis* of *France*, who had highly offended his Holines, for *caſting the Popes Bulles* (whereby hee required the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedrall Churches in *France*) *into the fire*, *ſaying*, *hee had rather the Popes Bulles ſhould roſt in the fire, then his owne ſoule ſhould frie in hell.*

(43) King *Stephen* thus defeated of his purpoſe, and ſeeing his Title queſtioned by the Church, who had before approued it, reſolued to make it good by the ſword: for winning the Caſtle of * *Muby*, fortified *Malmesbury*, and laid a ſtrait ſiege vnto *Wallingford*; againſt which, hee erected the Caſtle *Cranmerſe*, to ſtoppe the paſſages of their reliefe, or comming forth. But *Henry* after hee had calmed the boiſterous ſtormes of warre, in the parts beyond the ſeas, came ouer into *England* well appointed, vnto whom alſo reſorted many of the Nobility, who yeelded vp themſelues, and aboue thirty ſtrong Caſtles to the young Duke; now well furniſhed, haſted to raiſe the ſiege of *Wallingford*, and there vndertooke a great enterprice; for hee incircled the *Beſiegers* with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from reliefe, as they did keepe the *Beſieged*.

(44) *Stephen* following haſtily to ſuccour his men, (though with the leſſe edge, for that hee *neuer ſped well in any aſſault of that Caſtle*) pitched downe his Tents, euen neere his enemy; and ready on both ſides to giue battaile: the Winter ſtormes were ſuddenly ſo troubleſome, that nothing could bee done; but thoſe ſomewhat ouerblowne, and the Armies ſcarſe three furlongs aſunder; as King *Stephen* was buſied in diſpoſing of his hoaſt, and giuing direction for order of the battaile, his horſe vnder him riſing with his fore-feet, fell flat vpon the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did he thrice ere he left; which thing his Nobles ſecretly muttering, interpreted for an vnlucky preſage: when *William* Earle of *Arundell*, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and aduiſed him to a peace; affirming the title of Duke *Henry* to be iuſt; that the Nobility on both parts there preſent, were neerely linked in Alliances & Bloud, and how theſe ſtood affected, was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there aſſembled, the one againſt the other, whereof muſt needs follow an vnnaturall warre betwixt them, & of dangerous conſequence, euen to him that conqueſted. With theſe and the like allegations at laſt *Stephen* beganne to bend, and a parley for peace was ſignified vnto the Duke. *Henry* already warme for the battaile, and his thoughts fixed on nothing leſſe then peace, could hardly moderate his youthfull affections; yet at his friends importunity, hee yeelded to conferre with King *Stephen*.

(45) The place for conference was ſo appointed; that the riuer *Thameſis* parted the preſence of theſe two Princes; ſo that from either banke they ſaluted each others, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and vpon faire tearmes of amity departed, commaunding all weapons and attempts of warre to be laid aſide.

(46) But *Euſtace*, who hitherro had attended Fortune for the Crowne, and now hopeleſſe to haue as his Fathers Succeſſor, was greatly diſpleaſed with this new moulded friendſhip, and in a fury departed the field, purpoſing to raiſe himſelfe by his owne meanes; and comming to *Bury*, vrged the Monks of Saint *Edmunds* for money, to ſet forward his heady deſignes: But the wiſer amongſt them vnwilling to bee wagers of new warres (which though ill for all ſorts, yet proued euer worſt to the Clergie mens poſſeſsions) denied his requeſt; wherewith enraged, hee commanded his men to carry their corne and other prouiſion into his owne Caſtle, ſituated hard by. But being ſet at dinner, *wee reade of him* (ſaith mine Author) *that euen the verie firſt bit that hee put in his mouth, draue him into a frenſie, whereof ſhortly after hee died; whoſe body was interred at Feuerſham in Kent.*

(47) The death of Prince *Euſtace* ſo much aduantaged Duke *Henry*, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off vnto him, and many Caſtles were deliuered, as *Bertwell*, *Reading*, *Warwicke*, *Stamford*, and others; whereat *Stephen* was not a little diſpleaſed, and thinking to entrappe the yong venturous Duke, with a ſtrong Army followed him vnto *Wallingford*: *But God himſelfe looking downe from heauen* (ſaith *Mathew* of *S. Albans*) *made there an end of thoſe long calamities, by ſtirring the minds of chiefe men in the land to labour for peace*: ſuch was *Theobald* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and *Henrie* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who hauing troubled the realm with fire and ſword, moued now to repentance, wrought ſo effectually with his brother, that hee enclined vnto a wiſhed peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Son and Succeſſor; and ſo comming both together to *Oxford* (a bleſſed ſight to ſo diſtreſſed and diſtracted a Kingdome;) there did all the Nobles do fealty to him, as to the vndoubted Heire of the land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a fauour, yeelded him the honour of a Father, and the roialtie of all Kingly power during his life.

(48) Notwithſtanding, the cleere Sunneſhine of theſe faire daies, was ſomewhat darkened with a cloud of treacherie, and lewd attempts of the *Flemings*; who enuying *Englands* peace, vpon *Barham Downs*

ready to ioine battaile. *Henry Hunt.*

Vnlucky preſages to K. *Stephen.*

A Parley betwixt K. *Stephen* and *Fitz-Empreſſe.*

Gerv. Dorobor.

A truce concluded. *Math. Paris.*

Euſtace K. *Stephens* ſon likes not the truce.

Iohn Trxiur.

Polychr.

Gu. Dorob. Prince *Euſtace* dieth.

Polydor.

Math. Paris.

The King and *Fitz-Empreſſe* accorded.

Gerualius.

An. D. 1154 Prince *Henry* in danger by treachery.

Downes, intended to ſurpriſe Prince *Henry* in his returne from *Douer*, and preſence of King *Stephen*. In this conſpiracie was *William* the Kings ſon, though but yong, who himſelfe meaning to haue one caſt at the Crowne, inſtantly before it ſhould haue been effected, was through the wantonnes of his horſe caſt to the ground, and with the fall brake his legge; to whoſe aſsiſtance, whiles euery one gathered and lamented, *Henry* vpon ſecret notice of the treaſon haſted vnto *Canterbury*, and thence to *London*, and ſoone after ouer the ſeas into *Normandy*.

Prince *Henry* goeth into *Normandy*.

(49) And *Stephen* now after he had raigned eighteene yeeres, ten moneths, and odde daies, departed this life at *Douer*, in the Monaſtery of the Monkes, of an *Iliacke* paſsion, mixed with his olde diſeaſe the *Emrods*, the twenty fiue of *October*, and yeere of Chriſts Natiuity, 1154. *A moſt worthy Souldier*, ſaith *Paris*: and (in a word) one who wanted nothing but a iuſt title to haue made him an excellent King; in his ordinary deportment very deuout; the fruites wherof were ſhewed in erecting with ſufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of *Cogſhall* in *Eſſex*, of *Furneſſe* in *Lancaſhire*, the houſes of *Nunnes* at *Carew*, and *Higham*, an Hoſpitall at *Yorke*, and the Monaſtery of *Feuerſham* in *Kent*, where his *Queene*, his ſonne, and laſtly, himſelfe were enterred: but ſince, his body for the gaine of the lead, wherein it was coffined, was caſt into the riuer. So vncertaine is man (yea greateſt Princes) of any reſt in this world, euen after buriall; and reſtleſſe may their bodies be alſo (who for filthy lucre) thus enuie to the dead, the quiet of their graues.

King *Stephen* dieth.

Pariſ. Booke of *S. Albanes*.

Iohn Stow.

His Wife.

(50) *Maud*, the Wife of King *Stephen*, was the daughter of *Euſtace* Earle of *Bulloigne*, the brother of *Godfrey*, and *Baldwin* Kings of *Ieruſalem*: her Mother was *Mary*, ſiſter to *Maud* Queene of *England*, wife of King *Henrie*, her husbands Predeceſſor. Shee was crowned at *Weſtminſter* vpon Sunday, being *Eaſter-day*, and the two and twenty of March, in the firſt yeare of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene fifteene yeeres, ſhe died at *Heningham* Caſtle in *Eſſex*, the third of May, and yeere of Chriſt, 1151. and was buried in his Monaſtery at *Feuerſham* in *Kent*.

Ger. Dor.

His Iſſue.

(51) *Baldwin*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud* (bearing the name of King *Baldwin* his vncle) was born in the time of the raign of K. *Henry* his fathers vncle; and died in his infancy, during the raign of the ſame King. He was buried at *London* in the Church of the Priorie of the *Trinity* within *Algate*, which was a houſe of blacke * *Canons* of the *Auguſtinian* order, founded by Q. *Maud*, the firſt wife of the foreſaid King *Henry* the firſt.

* The firſt Canon Regular in *England* was of this place *Ann.* 1108. and the Prior thereof was Alderman of *London*. *Stowe, Survey.*

(52) *Euſtace* the ſecond ſonne of King *Stephen*, & of Queene *Maud* his wife, being the heire apparant to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of *Bollogne*, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. Hee married *Conſtance* ſiſter of *Lewis* the ſeuenth King of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis* the *Groſſe*: who afterward was remarried to *Raimond* the third, Earle of *Tholouze*: for *Euſtace* died before her without Iſſue by her, the tenth day of Auguſt, in the eighteenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of Grace, 1152. Hee was buried by his mother in his Fathers Monaſtery at *Feuerſham* in *Kent*.

(53) *William*, the third and yongeſt ſonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, maried *Iſabell* daughter and heire of *William Warren*, the third Earle of *Surrey*, with whom hee had that Earledome; hee was in his Fathers life time Earle of *Surrey*, Lord of *Norwich* and *Peuenſey* in *England*, Earle of *Mortayne*, and Lord Eagle of *Normandy*. After his fathers death, King *Henry* the ſecond made him Knight, reſumed thoſe things that hee held of the Crowne, reſtored him to all that his Father held before hee was King. And ſo he was Earle of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*, and being with him in his iourney to *Tholouze*, died without iſſue, in his returne home-Ward, in the Moneth of October, the ſeuenth of King *Henries* raigne, and of Chriſt Ieſus, 1160.

(54) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was borne before her father was King, in the raign of King *Henrie* the firſt, her vncle; in whoſe time alſo ſhe deceaſed, beeing but yongue, (though ſome report ſhee was wife to the Earle of *Millen*) and was enterred at *London*, with her brother *Baldwin*, in the Priorie of the Trinity aforeſaid, then commonly called *Chriſts-Church*, and now latelie named the *Dukes Place* within *Algate*.

Stowes Sur. p.105.

(55) *Marie*, the yonger daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maude*, was a Nun, and Abbeſſe of the Nunnerie at *Rumſey* in *Hampſhire*; notwithſtanding, when her brother *William*, Earle of *Bolloigne*, was deceaſed without iſſue, ſhee was ſecretly taken from thence, and married to *Matthew* the yonger, ſonne of *Terry* of *Alſac*, and brother of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who in her right was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then diuorced from him, by the ſentence of the Pope, and enforced to returne to her Monaſtery, hauing had iſſue by him two daughters, which were *Ide* and *Maude*, allowed by the cenſure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady *Ide*, the elder, was maried to *Raymond* of *Damp-Martine*, in her right Earle of *Bolloigne*; and *Maude*, the yonger, to *Henrie* Duke of *Lorraine*.

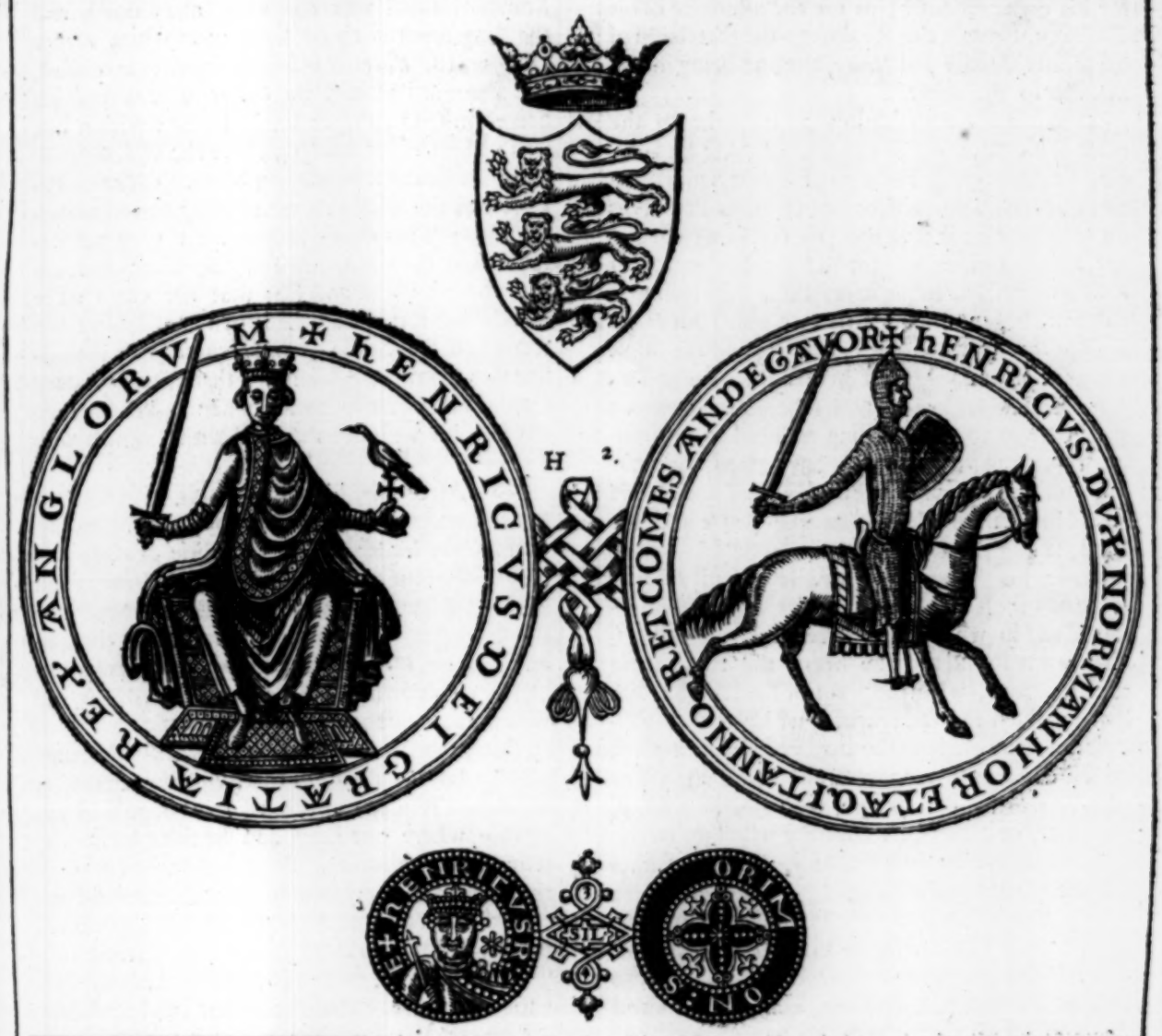
His Naturall Iſſue.

(56) *William*, the Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, is miſtaken of ſome to bee the ſame *William*, that was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Others, who know that *William* Earle of *Bolloigne* was lawfully borne, do thinke that his father had no other ſon named *William* but him; wherein let *William* Earle of *Bolloigne*, the lawfull ſon of King *Stephen*, be himſelfe a lawfull witneſſe of the truth, who hauing beſt cauſe to know it, doth beſt prooue it, ; and in an ancient Charter of his, beeing written in thoſe daies, and extant in theſe, doth name him for a witneſſe, and calleth him his Brother.

(57) *Geruais*, another Naturall ſonne of King *Stephen*, begotten on a gentle-woman named *Dameta*, and borne in *Normandy*, was brought into *England* by his father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, *Anno Dom.* 1140. Hee was the ſame yeere, by his fathers meanes, made Abbat of *Weſtminſter*, and ſo continued for the ſpace of twenty yeeres: hee deceaſed there the twentie ſixt of *Auguſt*, in the ſixt yeere of the raigne of King *Henrie* the ſecond, the yeere of Grace 1160. and lieth buried in the South part of the cloiſter, within the ſaid Monaſterie, vnder a flat ſtone of black marble, which is remaining there vntil this day.

HENRIE THE SECOND, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS AND ISSVE.

Monarch 43.



CHAPTER VI.

HEnry of that name the second, by the double interest of descent and adoption (as you haue heard) succeeded in the Kingdome of *England*, whose Pedegree, (which *Mathew Paris* extendeth by the mothers side, in a right line vp to *Noah*) and former fortunes, hauing already been touched; his counsels, acts, and other affaires of greatest importance, after the death of King *Stephen* come now to be handled.

(2) Hee came not to the Crown vnexpected, nor vndesired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceiued of his future gouernement, had the force to hold *England* in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soule into the Body, did quicken, and enspirite the Realme, as then (in the person of *England*) this clozing verse, or Epiphoneme spake;

Spiritus es, caro sum: te nunc intrante reuixi.
Thou, Soule; I Body am: by thee to life I came.

Henry Hunt.

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse ioy at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, annointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courses for setling his State was this.

His acceſſe and Coronation. *Tpodig. Neustr. Mat. Paris.*

(3) Sundry Castles (nests of Rebels) hee flatteth to the earth, some others hee fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly such estates, as had beene alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and vniust reward of those who withstood his claime. Others write, that hee promiscuously tooke all such lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found vpon oath to haue belonged at any time vnto the Crowne. Some Earles vnduly created, he reduceth to priuate condition, and purgeth the Realme from

His first actions. *Mat. Paris.*

Lib. Monast. S. Albani.

Polyd. Vir. lib. 13.

Pseudo-Comites, saith *Mat. Paris.*

forraine Souldiers; chiefly from the *Flemings*, whose mercenary swarmes most pestred the same, and had most infested him. And because Gouernment is the Soule of State, and Wisedome the Soule of Gouernment, he chooseth to himselfe a Body of Counsell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of *England* vpon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall fauour *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, he had *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, chiefe Iusticiar of *England*, *Richard de Luci*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Neuile* and others: but for a Cabanet-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne mother, *Matildis* the Empresse, one of the most sage and experienced Ladies of the World. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Counsell at *Wallingford*, hee aswell for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, sweares the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

Roger Houeden.

Roger. Houed.

Math. Paris. ad A.D. 1155.

Ger. Dorob.

(4) But quiet consultation did not take vp the most of his time, euen in the daies of these Sun-shining beginnings: for the raign of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessity of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to bee seuere) hauing giuen way for many of the mighty, to maintaine sundrie insolencies; these now feeling a restraint, beganne not a little to repine: but *Hugh de Mortimer*, wanton with greatnes, and the most arrogant man aliue, stuft his Castles of *Gloceſter*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth* with rebellious Garrisons; which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subiection, though in the siege of the last-named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Hubert de S. Clare*, cast himselfe betweene death and the King, taking the arrow into his owne bosome to preserue his Soueraignes life. It bound *Tiberius* to *Seianus* most of all, when a part of the banquete ting Caue in which they were, suddenly falling, *Seianus* was found to haue borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seianus* suruiued that aduenture, which our *Senelere* did not, saue onely in the better renowne thereof, which deserues to bee immortall, being an Act of piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Codrus*, *Curtius*, *Manlius*, or whosoeuer else haue willingly sacrificed themselues for their Country, or for the Father of their Country, the King.

Lib. Mon: ſt. S. Al.

Math. Paris.

(5) *Henrie* thus hauing in some sort setled *England*, hasteth into *France* to King *Lewis* in the first yeere of his raigne, and there did homage vnto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, *Angiou*, *Main* and *Tourain*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Elianor* his wife.

Roger Houed. Annal. p. a.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued or appeased, hee put his brother *Geffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it be any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Aniou* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to him in *France*. But *Geffrey* did not long enioy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeare, death brought a discharge, and *Henry* was disburdened of those paiments. For his violence in taking away those lands, King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother: but that allegation might bee auoided with his owne consent, which once hee gaue: but the great *Elixar*, called *Reason of State*, (though falsly so called, vnlesse it bee seasoned with Iustice, and Religion) hath so transmutatiue a faculty, as to make Copper seeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will stand for good, while there are forces to support it.

Math. Paris ad an. Dom. 1561.

Polyd. Virg. in H. 2.

(7) This accord between the two brethren, being thus (howsoeuer) establisht, the King repaires into *England*, and at *Chester* enters amity with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, on such termes, as his Grandfather had done, yet *Saluis omnibus dignitatibus suis*, *sauing to himselfe all his dignities*: and the said *Malcolme* restored to *Henry* the City of *Karleol*, *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, &c. and *Henry* restored to him the Earledome of *Huntington* in *England*. And, so iustly dreadfull did the growing puissance of this young Monarch appeare to his greatest enemies, that *Hugh Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, who had potent means to doe mischiefe, rendred his Castle to bee at his disposall.

(8) The *Welsh* notwithstanding forsooke not themselues, but did some memorable matters vnder conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen* against the *English*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their Countries liberty, to the losse of the *English*, and extreame danger of the Kings owne person, whose Standard roiall was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to be slaine: for which *Henrie de Essex*, the *Kings Standard*-Bearer at that conflict, was afterward accused by *Robert de Montford* his neere Kinsman, and in single battaile within lists was vanquished at *Reading*, where the said *Henry de Essex* was shorne a Monke, and died. *Mathew Paris* relates the whole voiage of King *Henry* summarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army against the *Welsh*, with full purpose to ouercom them both by land and sea; that hee cut vp the woods and forrests, and laid open a way; that hee recouered the Castle of *Ruthlan* and other fortresses taken from his Ancestors; that hee repaired the Castle of *Basingwerke*, and that hauing brought the *Welsh* to his will, hee returned with triumph into *England*.

(9) After this, himselfe and his wife Queene *Elienor* beeing openly crowned vpon Christmas day, (* some say Easter day) at the Citie of *Worcester*; they both at the *Offertorie* laid their Diademes vpon the high Altar, vowing neuer to weare them after; this beeing now the third time in which at three seuerall places, *Westminster*, *Lincolne*, and *Worcester*, he had beene crowned. This deuout act of his, did flow perhaps out of some such speculation as that of *Canutus*, who thought none truly worthy the name of *King*, but *God* alone; or that, vpon which *Godfrey* of *Buillion*, refused to weare a crowne of gold in *Hierusalem*, where our Lord and Sauiour had beene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and symproms of mortification and piety, and did heerein acknowledge the onely giuer and taker-away of kingdoms *God-almighty*; putting himselfe and Realme, vnder the protection of that Maiestie of whom hee held paramount; and professing (as it were) that from thencefoorth hee would direct his actions to the glorie of his omnipotent Master, which is indeede the only finall cause of all true monarchie.

(10) Not long after, hauing establisht his affaires in *England*, hee croſt the Seas into *Normandie*: where succesiuely sundrie matters of importance fell out: as the seisure of the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* after his brother *Geffreis* death; his iourney to *Paris*, beeing inuited thither by *Lewis* and his wife the Queene; the vnprofitable siege of *Tholouze* laid by King *Henrie*, where *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in companie with him; the vnripe marriage of his sonne *Henrie* to *Margaret* the *French* Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerlie conducted with verie great State from *Paris*, by consent of parents for that purpose; the offence taken at those spousals by *Lewis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himselfe was a looser thereby; the warre heereupon attempted by *Lewis*, fortifying *Chaumount*, which (the *French* hauing quit the Field by flight) King *Henrie* recouered with aduantage; the Armies of both these great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to ioine, disperſed vpon reconciliation of the two Kings, by rea-

Powel in hiſt. Camb. p. 222. mistakes a Bridge for a Caſtle. In old Records indeede Bridge-North, is called Bruge, which caused that errour.

Powel writes that it was a Welsh man, who shot the arrow at the King, ibid.

reason of a marriage concluded vpon, betweene *Richard*, King *Henries* second son, and *Alice* the *French* Kings daughter: All which and some other, not drawing with them any extraordinarie sequell, nor affording much matter for ciuill document, must not preponderate the handling of things more rare and considerable.

(11) For after these accidents, beganne the famous controuersies betweene the King and his Arch-bishop *Becket*, a man of an inuincible stomack and resolution in his life, and after death reputed by some for a great Saint or Martyr; as is likewise noted of *Henrie*, * that he was the most politike, martiall, rich, and honoured Prince of all his time. This Prelate by birth a *Londoner*, (though his mother, a *Sarazen*, * say some) by profession a * Ciuilian, was by *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, both made his Arch-deacon, and also placed about the person of Duke *Henrie*, who beeing now King, aduanced him in the verie first yeere of his raigne to bee Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high honor he carried himselfe *like another King*, and afterward vpon the death of *Theobald*, though the * Monks obiected against *Becket*, that *neither a Courtier nor a Souldier* (as * hee had beene both) were *fit to succeede in so high and sacred a function*, yet the King *gaue him that Arch-bishopricke*, partly in reward, and partly in further hope of his ready and faithfull seruice. Which to be true, a *Legender* of his Miracles can best relate. *Nonnullis tamen &c.* *Many* (saith hee) *iudged his promotion not Canonicall, because it was procured more by the importunity of the King, then by the voices of Clergie, or People; and it was noted as presumption and indiscretion in him, to take vpon him to guide the Sterne, who was scarce fit to handle an Oare, and that beeing skild onely in worldly affaires, hee did not tremble to ascend vnto that sacred top of so great dignitie.* Whereto agreeth the reports of two learned Monks who then liued, (for such Authors onely wee will heerein follow, as shall bee vnpartiall) * one of which testifies, that the Pope about that time calling a Councell at *Tours* (and the King *giuing Licence to his Arch-bishops and Bishops to goe thither*) Becket *secretlie surrendred his Arch-bishopricke*, which hee had receiued *from the Kings hand*, into the Popes hands. The * other saith, *Becket* himselfe confessed, that, *not Canonicall Election did call him, but publick power droue him in, nor the will of God, but mans pleasure, placed him in the roome.* Howsoeuer, these beeing memorable arguments of the Kings exceeding loue; let vs now see how this great Prelate endeuoured to deserue it, or how hee chanced to lose it.

(12) Great and flourishing was the state of the *English* Church & Cõmon-wealth at this season; the quiet of both which, *the King studied* & hoped to establish by the vndoubted assistance of his great fauorite *Becket*, whose coũsel & authority he knew might much further his princely designs, especially touching affaires of the Church, and abuses of Church men, which then were grown to a dangerous height: wherof let vs heare the Monke of *Nuborough* speake: *It was declared in the Kings presence, how that Clergy mẽ had cõmitted aboue a hundred murthers vnder his raign; wherewith the King highly offended, hee was in punishing of them somewhat too vehement; but the blame of the Kings too much earnestnes, must lie on the Prelates, in as much as they gaue the cause thereof: for, whereas sacred Canons ordaine, that Clerks found guilty, not onely of hainous and grieuous sinnes, but also of lesser, should bee degraded, and thousands of such were in the Church of* England, *like innumerable chaffe amongst a little good corne; yet very few such, for these many yeeres haue beene depriued. The Prelates forsooth, while they bestirre themselues rather to vphold the liberties & dignities of Clerks, then to chastice, and cut off their vices, thinke they doe God and his Church good seruice, in protecting from publike Discipline such hainous offenders, whom (by duty of their places) they ought to correct according to the Canons censure, whereby they through their impunity, hauing liberty to doe what they list, haue neither feare of God, (whose iudgement they thinke is farre off) neither of men in authority, sith on the one side their Prelates neglect to reforme them, and on the other side, they are thus exempt by their order from the temporall Iurisdiction.*

(13) This being the state of the Church and Realme, wherein some were so iniured without remedy, and others so iniurious without coertion, as if neither sort were in condition of Subiects; the King (who was a man of excellent Wisedome, Constancy, and Zeale) *tooke especiall care of quickning the publike Discipline, and the rigour of ancient lawes*, which thus lay neglected; for which end *hee had setled choise Ministers of Iustice through all parts of his land; and vpon complaints brought him by his Subiects of the remissenes, and other defects of his Iudges, hee accordingly by his princely prouidence applied remedies, and chastised the delinquents.* The like remissenes (to censure it no harder) was complained of in his Spirituall Iudges, occasioned by a murther, committed by a Priest of *Sarum* Dioceese, whom the Archbishoppe commanded to be depriued, & put into an Abbey, whereby he was freed from sharper punishment, intended by the Kings Iusticiaries: with which (and some other like affronts of his Archbishop) the King conceiued no little displeasure, as requiring, that *Iustice should be ministred to all alike without partiality*, & seeing this apparantly to tend vnto the ruine of all roiall gouernment: the Archbishop on the other side, stood no lesse *peremptory on the immunities of his Clergy and See*: yea so farre, as that hee challenged from the Crown (to the Kings great offence) *the custody of Rochester Castle and other Forts*, which the King for securing his state had resumed into his owne hands.

(14) This maine controuersie betwixt *Regnum, & Sacerdotium*, the *Crowne* and the *Mitre*, *Houeden* (who then also liued) thus summarily deliuers: *The King would that all such of the Clergy as were deprehended in any Robberie, Murther, Felonie, burning of houses, and the like, should bee tried and adiudged in his temporall Courts, as Lay-men were: against which, the Archbishops resolution was, that all Clergy men so offending should bee tried onely in the Spirituall Courts, and by men of their owne coate, who if they were conuict, should at first be onely depriued of their office and benefice: but if they should againe be guilty of the like, they should then bee adiudged at the Kings pleasure.* The King finding himselfe to bee hereby but a *Demi-King*, depriued of all Soueraignety ouer one half-deale of his Kingdome, and perceiuing *Beckets* stiffenesse, in thus contesting with his Soueraigne, to bee no way mollifiable by whatsoeuer his old fauours, or fresh perswasions; notwithstanding resolued to put nothing in execution, which should not first bee *ratified and strengthned with consent of his Bishops*; of whose ready assent to so iust demands hee had no cause to doubt: who thereupon assembling at *Westminster*, the King, tooke both offence there, at the Archbishops thwarting his desires, and occasion also to establish sundry other Articles, which hee called his Grandfathers Customes, peremptorily vrging *Becket* to yeeld thereunto, without any such reseruation of *sauing in all things his order, and right of the Church*, wherewith he would haue limited his assent.

(15) The points in those Ordinances which the Archbishop principally stucke at, as * himselfe did set them downe in his letters to the Pope, and his owne *Suffragan* Bishops within the Dioceese of *Canterbury*, were principally these; 1. That none should appeale to the See of *Rome* for any cause whatsoeuer, without the Kings licence. 2. That it should not be lawful for any Archbishop or Bishop to depart the Realme, and repaire to the Pope vpon his summons, without the Kings licence. 3. That no Bishop should excõmunicate any one whomsoeuer, holding of the King in chiefe, or put any other of his officers vnder *Interdict*, without the Kings licence. 4. That Clerks criminous should bee tried

Idem Nubrig. l.2.cap.1.

Houeden. M. Fox.

M. Fox. p.264.

Nubrig. l.2.c.16. sine delectu.

Gerua. Dorob. ad An.1163. cũ gestiret iura Cant. Ecclesia reuocare.

Ibidem.

Roger Houeden. ad An.1163.

Nubrigensis.

Ger. Dorober.

Points which the Archbishop would not consent vnto.

* *Ep. Tho. ad Alex. 3. PP. Ep. Th. ad Suffr. suos. apud Roge. Houed.*

Gervasius, A. 1169
** Apud montem miro bilem.*

(30) Howbeit, by mediation at length, the two Kings were againe reconciled, and at their friendly * enteruiew, *Beckets* wel-willers aduised him to submit himselfe in the presence of both kings, * *without any more reseruations*; which he seeming to yeeld to, presented himselfe verie humbly, and referred the cause to the king, not now, *Saluo ordine suo*, but yet on a new point, *Saluo honore Dei*; wherewith the king exasperated, told the *French* king, such was the humor of the man, that *whatsoeuer displiked him, he would say it was against Gods honor*, and so would bee neuer the neerer to conformity; with which, and other speeches, *King Lewis* offended with *Becket*, asked him *whether hee thought to bee greater or holier then Saint Peter? and the Peeres of both Nations accused him of much arrogancy, as being himselfe the wilfull hinderer of his own, and the Churches tranquility.*

** Tacita omni conditione. Gervas. ibid.*

Idem.

Idem.

An. D. 1168.

(31) Notwithstanding, the Pope forgot not his faithfull *Thomas*, and therefore after hee had graced him with a confirmation of all the Priuiledges, and powers, which any of his Predecessors in that See did enioy (to the daring and defiance as it were, of the kings vtmost indignation) the king sent a letter into Germany, declaring that hee would forsake Pope *Alexander*, and ioine with the Emperour, and *Antipape*. Whereupon, when the Bishop of *Rome* had commanded *Gilbert* Bishop of *London* to admonish the king to giue ouer his courses, and customes preiudicious to the Church, the said Bishop obeyed, and in his answere sought to perswade the Pope to a conniuencie, and forgets not to iustifie his Soueraigne, as *That the King was ready to obey the sacred hests of the Church, sauing to himselfe his own & his Kingdomes dignity: That, as for Appeales, he claimed that honour, by the ancient institution of his Kingdome, that is to say, That no Clerke should for a ciuill action depart the same vntill right could not be had in his Courts at home, and then he would hinder no man. That hee did not banish the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who might returne at his pleasure, so as he would obserue all those his Grandfathers customes, which once hee had giuen his faith to doe: That the King thinks himselfe greatly iustified, in that hee is willing to stand to the iudgement of the whole Church of his owne Kingdome*, &c.

Math. Paris.

The King goes about to forsake the Pope, and ioine with the Antipape.

The Bishop of London commanded to admonish the King.

Rog. Houd.

The Bishop of *Londons* defence of the King to Pope *Alexand.* 3.

(32) But when mediations, letters, messages, or other waies, would not preuaile; the Pope admonisheth the King, that he meant no longer to restrain the Archbishop from reuenging his owne, and his Churches iniuries with the sword of censure, and thereupon (for a beginning) the Archbishop excommunicates *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, and proceeded so farre with others, that there was *scarce found in the Kings owne Chappell and presence such as might performe the wonted ceremonies.*

The Bishoppe of *London* excommunicated.

An. D. 1169

Gerv. Dorob.

(33) The King both touched with his owne wrongs, and tender of their case, (who for his sake vnderwent that seuerity, animates Bishoppe *Gilbert* with most louing offers to beare the charges of prosecuting his appeale against *Becket*, and desires the Pope to send him Legates which might absolue his excommunicated Subiects, and settle a peace, *or else he should bee compelled to prouide otherwise for his own security and honour.*

Comforted by the King.

Ger. Dor.

(34) Two Cardinals therefore, *Gratian* and *Vivianus*, comming into *France* to end the contention, returne notwithstanding without possibility of doing good; for that *Becket* would not yeeld in any point to those Customes, at which he had once excepted, but with his ordinary limitations. At last yet by the popes mediation, the two kings of *England* and of *France* met at *Paris*, whether the Archbishop repaired, and yet no peace ensued: for that the king refused the kisse of peace with him, and *Becket* would either haue a sound and full peace, or none at all; where, though the king of *England* refused to satisfie any thing vnder the name of restitution, as being against his honour (because all restitution implied a wrong) yet in the other maine matter of his *Auitall Customes*, offering to stand to the iudgement, not of his owne onely, but euen of *the Parisian Diuines, and Church of France*; hee came off from that conference with some aduantage & fauour, in the opinion of the hearers.

Cardinals attempt to make reconcilement.

Dorobernenſis.

(35) *King Henry* (for all this) seeing no issue of his long disquietnes, and vnregall vsages, vnderstanding also that the *Archbishop of Sens in person had solicited the Pope, to put the Kingdome of England vnder Interdict*, (which is the prohibiting of the publike vse of Christs Religion, & Christian Burial throughout the whole land) hee beeing then in *Normandy*, sends forth his Edict: *That if any man bring from the Pope or Becket, any letters of Interdict, he should presently suffer as a Traitour to the King and the State: That no Clerke whatsoeuer goe forth of the land without a Passe from his Iusticiaries, and none returne againe without letters of licence from the King himselfe. That none receiue any message from the Pope or Becket, nor make any appeale vnto them, nor hold any Plea by their mandates; That if any Prelate or Clerke, or Layman shall obey any sentence of Interdict, he and all his Kindred shall be forthwith expulsed the land, and all his goods escheated to the Crowne. That all Clerkes who haue rents in England, returne home within three Moneths, or else all their rents to fall to the King. That certaine Prelates specified, bee cited to answere in the Kings Courts for interdicting Earle Hughes lands. That Peter-pence be not paid to Rome, but reserued.* Thus, (as *Gervase* the Monke lamentably complaineth) *all from the eldest to the yongest throughout England were made to abiure obedience to Pope Alexander and Becket.*

Math. Paris.

(36) After all this, it came into King *Henries* mind, to sweeten these his many cares with some solace, and to crowne his eldest sonne, yongue *Henry*, King of *England*, now in his owne life time: *A counsell not more temerarious, then infortunate*: but of which yet he did hope to reape this consolation, that it was done in contempt of *Becket* (whose office it was to haue crowned the King,) with some aduantage also toward the perpetuation of the *Auitall Customes*, and that also without scruple of conscience, his sonne *receiuing the Crowne without caution, to preserue the Churches libertie, either by him put in, or by others exacted.* Yea rather, an Oath ministred, and by the yongue King taken, to maintaine those *Auitall Customes* to the vttermost.

(37) This solemnitie was performed, at *Henrie* the fathers commandement, by *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, (the anciently riuall See of *Canterbury*) contrarie to the Popes expresse Inhibition, the father himselfe King *Henrie*, being present thereat, though without any fortunate presage in comming, or cause of consolation in the action. For * he, in his inauspicious passage out of *Normandy*, arriuing not without very great perill, at *Portsmouth*, the best and neweſt ship he had was suncke in the stormes, and therein, besides *Henrie de Agnellis* and his two sonnes, *Gilbert de Sullemni*, M^r. *Ralf de Bealmunt*, the Kings physition and fauourit, with about foure hundred men and women more, were deuoured of the working waues. And at the feast, the ioifull father himselfe, carrying the first dish, and the Arch-bishop of *Yorke* saying in pleasance to the yongue King: *Reioice my faire sonne, for their is no Prince in the world, hath such a seruitor attending at his table as you. The vnnaturall yongue man answered; why? wonder you at that? my father knowes hee doth nothing that misbecomes him, for so much as hee is roiall borne but of one side, but our-selfe are roiall borne both by father and mother.*

** Roger Hou.*

(38) Adde heereunto, that this vnluckie Coronations triumphes, were celebrated with bon-fires kindled by the furies in *Normandie*; which *Lewis* the *French* King inuaded with fire and sword, because his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned aswell as the yongue King her husband: but the father speeding into those parts, quencht this flame with a promise to recrowne his sonne, and then his daughter

Mar-

Margaret should be honoured with like ceremonies. Thus the fathers patience was exercised on euerie hand, and worse things were feared.

(39) So now yet at last, in the seuenth yeere of *Beckets* banishment, another meeting was had at *Sens*, whither, the two great Kings, and the Archbishop of *Sens*, and Bishop of *Neuers*, beeing together, the Arch-bishop of *Canterburie* repaired, and the treatie of Peace was entred into, which at *Amb*ois, in an other meeting (at procurement of *Rotrod* Arch-bishop of *Roan*) was finished; and the Archbishop (knowing the King was terrified with the expectation of the foresaid imminent *Interdiction*) was restored to the Kings fauour, and permitted to haue full vse of his Metropolitane See, and all the profits thereof with the arrerages. Which conclusion, the King signifies to his sonne into *England*, whither the Arch-bishop returnes, and lands at *Sandwich*: And thus the controuersie betweene the King and his Arch-bishop seemed to bee ended.

(40) But the Arch-bishop had not beene long in *England*, before hee published the Popes letters, by which, *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, were suspended from the vse of their Episcopall function, for crowning the yongue King in preiudice of the See of *Canterburie*; and the Bishops of *London*, *Exceter*, and *Salisburie*, cut off from the Church by censure, for assisting the said Arch-bishop at that Coronation; whom *Becket* would not, but vnder conditions, at the yongue Kings request, absolue. Whereupon a great complaint was carried into *Normandy*, to the father King, * by some of the Bishops: and in the meane time, the Arch-bishoppe *Thomas*, putting himselfe vpon the way to visite the yongue King, at *Woodstocke* in *Oxford-shire*, was commanded not to approach.

(41) At the newes of these late censures, the father King was so sore displeased, that some words slipping from him, and arguing his great discontent, mooued *Hugh Moruill*, *William Traci*, *Hugh Brito*, and *Richard Fitz-vrse*, knights and courtiers, to poste into *England*, and there in a furie, (without either warrant, or priuitie of their Soueraigne) to murther the Arch-bishop (being then about * forty and eight yeers old) in his owne Church of *Canterburie*; which sacred *Place*, and *Time*, besides his high *Calling*, might haue pleaded for pittie, had not the men been wholly transported with barbarous rage. For howsoeuer we are farre from their fancies, who, for his zeale to the Popes Soueraignety, haue so mounted him to the top of Martyrs glory, that not onely the basest part of his *Shrine* was pure gold, and his * old *Shoe* was deuoutly kissed by all * passengers; but also shamelesse and numberlesse Miracles are blindly ascribed vnto him, and his * *Bloud* almost matched in vertue with our euer-blessed Sauiours: yet wee no lesse condemne their butcherly execution, who (how great so euer his offence was against the King and State) had no lawfull authoritie to beare them out, or acquit them, from the guilt of Bloud.

(42) To shut vp this long contention (which, as you see, would not be extinct but by bloud, nor take end but by his death,) because any censure of our owne will be said to sauour of *Time-seruing*, or *State-pleasing*, we will onely annexe the bare iudgement of the forecited learned Monke of that time, who thus speaks. *Indeed though most mens custõe is, in those, whom they loue and praise, to extoll whatsoeuer they haue done, (an argument of their great affection, but slender wisdom) yet in plain truth, those things, which the venerable Arch-bishop so acted, that no profit at all thence proceeded, but the Kings wrath onely was kindled (whereby so many mischiefes afterward arose) I doe not thinke to bee praise-worthy, though they sprang from a laudable zeale; as it was in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, who attaining the top of Apostolicall perfection, taught the Gentiles by his example to Iudaize; for which the Doctor of the Gentiles * declares that he deserued to be reprehended, though hee did it with a praise-worthy and pious intent.* And in another place. *The Arch-bishop was hot in zeale of Iustice, but whither fully according to knowledge, God knoweth, (for it is not for a man of my meane quality, rashly to iudge of so great a mans actions,) but I thinke, the blessed Pope* Gregorie *would haue dealt more mildly, and winkt at those things which might haue beene borne, without any hazard of the Christian faith, &c.* and then concludes: *Therefore, that which the venerable Arch-bishop then did, I neither iudge that it is to bee commended, neither presume I to condemne it, &c. For good men are so to bee loued, or lauded by vs, that wee neither loue nor laud those acts wherein they shew themselues to be fraile men, but onely those things wherein without scruple we ought to imitate them: and therefore they are wiselie and warilie to be praised, that Gods prerogatiue may be reserued intire to himselfe.*

(43) Some other learned men there were, who liued neere to that time, whose censure was farre sharper then that Monks: Such were some of those Diuines of *Paris*, mentioned by * *Cæsarius* the Monk, who saith, *The Question was debated to & fro amongst the Doctors, in the vniuersitie of* Paris, *whether* Thomas *were damned or saued: amongst whom,* Rogerius *the* Norman *auowed, that hee deserued death and damnation, for his contumacie against his King, the Minister of God: but* Petrus Cantor *alleadged, that his Miracles were signes of his saluation, &c.* An indeede if all bee true, which * one man hath written in fiue bookes, containing his 270. Miracles, wee cannot but acknowledge him, both the greatest Saint, and the merriest too, that euer gotte into heauen; so ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of *Ailwardus*, who for stealing of a great whetstone (which the Author that writes it, best deserued) beeing depriued of his *Eies* and * *Virilities*, by sentence of Law; vpon praier to S. *Thomas* he had all restored againe: Yea euen a * *Bird, hauing beene taught to speake, flying out of her cage, and ready to be seized on by a Spar-Hauke, said onely, S. Thomas helpe mee, and her Enemie fell presently dead, and shee escaped,* and (belike) reported it. Of which great power in this Saint, how canne wee doubt? sith wee read, that euen in his life time the * *Virgin Marie* her selfe was contented to bee his Semster, and *sowed his shirt with red silke?* Many of which kind of follies, (if that word be sharp enough) might bee heere inserted, were not our present argument more serious, and these forgeries fit onely for Monks to endite, children to read, and fooles to beleeue.

(44) The report of the tragicall outrage on the Arch-bishop, comming to the old King, at *Argenton* in *Normandy*; there was no kind of sorrow, into which, (without respect to Maiestie, or State) hee fell not; and not without cause, as knowing how plentifull an *Hydra* of mischiefes (vpon the opinion of his priuitie with the fact) would rise, if not preuented. But the murtherers, fearing least this their fact would displease the king, in whose reuenge they did it, fled into the North, and abode one whole yeere in the kings Castle of *Knaresborough* in *Yorke-shire*; perhaps by fauour of the yongue king: none of them dying for the fact, by way of iustice, because, the Clergie exẽpting themselues from the bonds of ciuill Laws, the punishment of a Priest-killer (as by some it appeareth) was not then the death of the *Body* by execution of capitall sentence, but of *Soule* by Excommunication, till about the twentie third yeer of this king, it was (at the instant suite of *Richard* Arch-bishop of *Canterburie*, and of the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Elie*, and *Norwich*) yeelded, that such persons should also suffer losse of life.

45 The king therefore, vpon protestation to submit himself, to the iudgement of such Cardinals, Legats, as the Pope should send to inquire of the fact, kept his Realme from *Interdiction*, though the king of *France*, the Archbishop of *Sens*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, had outgone his Embassadors with their inflaming letters, conteining the descripion of that Parricide.

Henrie

Abrig. l. 2. c. 25.

An. 1220.
* *Cæsarius Dialog. l. 8. cap. 69. Bale Script. Brit. Cent. 2.*

Fox. p. 239.

* *Monach. Cant. de miraculis B. Thomæ.*

* *MS. Pendenda* perhaps for *Pudenda. Malmesb. de Reg. l. 5.*
* *The printed golden Legend in vit. Thom.*

Ibidem.

The kings sorrow for the murther, and his difficulties thereupon. *Math. Paris. Ypodig. Neustr.*

Guil. Nubrigens. l. 2 c. 25. Mat. Paris.

Nich. Triuet. Powel, and Holinsh. p. 99. Math. Paris. saith it was granted to Cardinall *Petro Leoni*, by King *Hen. Math. Paris, ad A.D. 1176.*

King *Henry* ſ projects the cõqueſt of *Ireland*.

(46) *Henry* therefore, among ſo many perplexities riſing out of the Archbiſhops murther, ſaw no way ſo ready for the calming his owne perturbations, or for the auerting mens thoughts from the conſideration of that ſcandalous tragedie, as to vndertake ſome great and noble enterpriſe, which now offered it ſelfe very ſeaſonably. For *Ireland*, a verie ſpatious and plentifull Iland, and lying ſcommodiouſly for the vſes of the *Engliſh*, burned in it ſelf with ciuill diuiſions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rothericke* the *Great*, called *O Conor Dun*, Prince of *Connaught*, abuſing his power and the aduantage of the times, to the oppreſsion of his Neighbours, ſought to make himſelfe the vniuerſall King thereof, hauing already inuaded the Title & Stile of KING AND MONARCH OF IRELAND. And this his purpoſe was much aduanced by the fatall and familiar errour of proceedings in like caſes: for the Iriſh Princes, either through diſtruſt or pride, forbearing to vnite their forces againſt the common enemy, while each prouides for one, they are all as it were, ouercome.

Girald. Cambr. de expug. H b.

Annalib. Hiber. apud Cam. p. 794. An. Dom. 1166.

(47) Moreouer * *Dermot Mac Murrgh* (in that time of the Iriſh *Pentarchie*, or fiue-fold Kingdome) hauing ſecretly ſtolne away the wife of *Rotherick* (a light woman, and conſenting or plotting rather, & vrging the rape it ſelfe) added to *Rotherickes* ambition, a iuſt deſire of reuenge, for ſo notable, impudent, and publike iniurie, ſo much the more odious in *Dermots* perſon, for that hee was old: neyther was this all; for the cauſes of this change were higher.

* *Annalib. Hiber. Ibid.*

Girald. Cambr. lib 1. cap. 1. in Hiber. expug.

(48) The onely diſpoſer and tranſlator of Kingdomes is God; & in *Ireland* to moue him to offence (without which no Kingdom is transferred) againſt the people thereof, all ſuch ſinnes abounded, as commonly forgoe the greateſt changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation were extremely corrupted, but the Chriſtian faith it ſelfe decaied; barbariſme ouerrunning the one, and * more then ſuperſtitions the other. But it may ſeeme by ſome * Authors, that *King Henries* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title vnto that Kingdome, deriued from his anceſtors (the kings of *England*) for many ages before him; and * many vnſufferable wrongs (by their Piracies) vnto the *Engliſh* Nation, *buying and ſelling their Captiues, and vſing Turkiſh tyranny on their bodies*: which made the *Iriſh* Clergy themſelues confeſſe, that they had deſerued no other, *then that their land ſhould bee transferred to that Nation whom they had ſo cruelly handled.* Notwithſtanding, king *Henry*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raiſed on ſmall occaſions, thought his way would bee much eaſier, if he went onward with the Popes good fauour, which hee eaſily obtained (ſo liberall is his holineſſe of that which is none of his) for a fee; viz. *a penny yeerely to bee paid to Saint Peter of euery houſe in Ireland.* Touching which point, *Roſſus of Warwick* (no Proteſtant, I aſſure you,) ſaith, *That Englands King is not bound to rely on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that taxe, becauſe hee had claime to that Kingdome by an hereditary right*: and that the Pope had no temporall intereſt therein (as his fauorites pretend) the often-mentioned Monke of *Newborough* can tell vs, who ſaith, that *Nunquam externa ſubiacuit ditioni, Ireland was neuer ſubiect to any forraine command.*

* *Poligamie, &c. Polydor. Virg. l. 13.*

* *Girald. Camb. Hib. expug. l. 2. c. 7. Edmund Campians Hiſt. of Ireland l. 2. c. 2. M.S. Roſſus Warwic. MS.*

* *Campian. l. 2. c. 1. MS.*

Idem. ibid.

Bulla Hadrian. apud Mat. Paris.

Roſſus Warwic. MS.

(49) God Almighty therefore did now put it into the heart of *Henry*, for the reforming of that kingdome, to make a Conqueſt thereof, hauing in his infinite wiſedome before hand fitted all circumſtances needfull to concurre, for inducing ſo warie and frugal a Prince to ſuch an enterpriſe, which thus tooke beginning.

Gul. Nubrig l. 2. c. 26.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murgh*, beeing in poſſeſſion of his fatall *Helen* (the adulterous wife of *Rothericke*) was purſued ſo eagrely with the reuenging ſword of his enemie (who, howſoeuer wounded in heart with the abuſe of his Bed, reioiced in the colour and occaſion miniſtred therby, for him to ſeiſe vpon the flouriſhing Prouinces of *Leinſter*) as hee was driuen to flie from place to place, and at the length to quitte his kingdome alſo, the ſubiects whereof his tyrannie and vices had vnſetled, ſin their affections toward him. Thus deſperate of help at home, his laſt deliberations were to draw in forreine aides, the neceſſity of his caſe requiring it; and for that purpoſe, finally reſolues to repaire to the court of the wiſe and potent *Henrie*, King of *England*, beeing then in *Aquitain*: neither could *Dermot* but knowe, that it had heeretofore beene in *Henries* deſignes, at ſuch time as hee ment to ſubdue it for *William* of *Angiou*, his yongeſt brother, and alſo, becauſe his preſent Dominions did halfe (as it were) enuiron it. In which hopes he was not deceiued; for *Henrie* liſtened thereunto verie willinglie, as to a thing which hee had indeede * ſome yeeres before proiected.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his ſuite. But, becauſe the thing, as at that time, neither ſeemed great enough, for ſuch a Prince as *Henrie* to vndertake directly, nor as yet was held ſufficiently diſcouered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferiour meanes, and aſwell the conueniences, as inconueniences, ſounded to the depth, (without engaging the roiall perſon, name, or power,) it was by the Kings letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled Prince) to draw what * aduenturers, or voluntaries, either the commiſeration of his eſtate, or other reſpects, of pietie, profit, or delight in armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whoſe Countreis lay toward the coaſts of *Wales*, (and within ken vpon a cleere day) by commodity thereof might entertaine intelligence, aſwell as trafficke, with the inhabitants of thoſe parts; or, for that the fame of their Cheualrie did inuite; or, for that his acquaintance at his arriuall grew there firſt; or, for that theſe and many other circumſtances mette in this accident: ſure it is, that *Dermot* raiſed his firſt, and principall ſuccours from among the Engliſh Colonies there.

(52) The Welſh had then in their hands a valiant Gentleman of Norman race, one *Robert* * *Fitz-Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entruſted with the defence of the towne of *Cardigan*, but through * treachery the Towne being ſurpriſed, *Robert* was alſo deliuered vp to *Rheſe ap Gruffin*, Prince of *South Wales*, who would hearken to no other endentments of his liberty, but onely, that he ſhould for euer abandon his poſſeſsions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the oportunity of *Dermots* quarrel giuing hopes of new fortunes) immediately hee entred into contract with the *Iriſh* king, promiſing by a certaine day to come to his ſuccour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the voiage could ſtirre: which he * did accordingly perſorme, leauing it very diſputable, whether with more ſucceſſe or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this *Gentlemã* (to whoſe valor nothing ſeemed impoſſible) were vnable to vndergo the whole weight of the vnknowne worke, had formerly dealt with that renowmed Lord, *Richard* of the houſe of *Clare*, * Earle of *Pembrooke*, ſurnamed *Strong-bow*: the man whom the Fate of *Ireland* did expect.

(53) *Dermotes* perſwaſions to the Earle were of "this kind: That the enterpriſe, beſides the faculty thereof, was full of pietie, honour, Iuſtice, "and commoditie: That it appeared ſo to *King* "*Henry* himſelfe, by whoſe leaue hee was free to "gather what forces he could: That hee was dri- "uen out by the cruell ambition of Neighbours, & "treacherie of wicked Subiects. That *Leinſter* "was a *Kingdome*, and though but a part, yet cleere- "ly the beſt and richeſt part of *Ireland*. That mul- "titudes offered themſelues to his aid; but his cares "were not onely for a *Generall* to lead them, but "for one to whom hee might leaue his kingdome alſo.

"alſo: That the Earle was he, as the onely man, in "whoſe perſon all the reſpects of birth, honour, "bounty, valour, youth and fortunes did happily "meete. That the Earle (in his conceit) did dwell "but narrowly (conſidering what hee was worthie "of) pent-vp in the ſtraights of an Earledomes ti-"tle, for whom a great Kingdome was not great. "That they who would not allow *Leinſter* for a "kingdome, did forget, that *England* once was bro-"ken into leſſer ſtates; and if *Dermot* were not a "King, neither then were *Ella*, *Ciſſa*, *Vffa*, *Sigbert*, "*Crida*, and the reſt in the Saxon ſeuen-headed go-"uernment: that the quantity of Dominion made "more or leſſe ſtrong, but not more or leſſe a "King. That he was rightfull King of *Leinſter*, as "Sonne and Heire to *Murgh* King of *Leinſter*: that "if hee muſt forgoe his inheritance, it ſhould be to "ſuch as had done him no wrong, and were wor-"thy of it; to *Richard Strong-bow* and his follow-"ers, and not to *Rothericke* and Rebels. That hee "was not vnking'd, though vnkingdom'd: that *E-*"*ua* his daughter (*Eua* the pearle and ſtarre of *Ire-*"land) ſhould indeed be *Eua* to his enemies to bring "vpon them death, and iuſt confuſion: that yet in "defeating the Tyrant *Rotherick* of his hopes by plā "ting Earle *Richard* and his Forces, hee ſhould pro-"uide for his Country, not deſtroy it. That if it did "fall out otherwiſe, yet his diſloiall people had "their iuſt deſerts, who obiecting vices to their So-"ueraigne, did themſelues commit vile treaſons. "Indeed (quoth he) I was neuer ſuch a King, as that "I was not alſo a Man. But for thoſe matters be-"tweene God and me, here is now no place to ac-"count, for though his iuſtice hath found me out, "yet his mercy hath left me more friends at home, "then the number & meaſure of my ſinnes deſerue: "My quarrell is moſt iuſt, as againſt moſt wicked re-"bels and vſurpers: Reſtore me then (my Lord) by "your puiſſance to my natiue ſoile, and my lawfull "rights therein: reſtore with me Religion and Diſ-"cipline to the ancient ſplendor thereof, which was "not greater in any Realme about vs then in *Ireland*; "reduce the ſtray, enlighten our ignorance, poliſh "our rudeneſſe, and let not ſuch abundant matter of "merite and immortall glory eſcape you. God him-"ſelfe will proſper the enterpriſe; holy Church hath "long ſince approued it: and vpon ſuch Authors "what can miſcarry? And though in thy noble and "Chriſtian courage nothing can weigh ſo much, "(and theſe I ſee work mightily) yet to ſatisfie all "reſpects, Thou ſhalt haue far larger territories then "here Thou canſt poſſeſſe, and goodly lands to di-"ſtribute for reward among thy friends and follow-"ers. My laſt offers now ſhall not ſhew a more de-"ſire to vſe thy forces, then a loue to thy perſon & "vertues. They are not trifles I propoſe, but that "of which God himſelfe doth ſeeme to me to haue "laid the ground; ſeeing it is his holy will that thou "at this time ſhouldſt bee without a wife. Know "thou then, that I haue that one daughter *Eua*, the "heire of my Crowne, and comfort of my age: let "thine owne eye tell thee how faire and worthy: "this I dare auouch, that thou wilt thinke far broa-"der ſeas wel croſt, for view of ſo honeſt beauty: ſhe "in the firſt bloſſome of her youth, a vertuous vir-"gine, and by both Parents borne of Princes, ſhall "at thine arriual, with this right hand, bee made "thine, and with her after my death, my whole "realme, and other my rights whatſoeuer: which "were they infinitely more; (deſpiſe not ſuch loue, "nor the alliance of one diſtreſſed, but neuertheleſſe "a King,) I would repute them farre too little for "ſuch a ſonne in law: who though thy ſelfe as yet "no King*, art come of Kings, and it is my whole "and laſt ambition, that I may liue to make thee "one. The Earle accepted the conditions, reſo-lute to ſet vp *Dermot* againe, and for that purpoſe bound himſelfe by ſolemne contract, to the full per-formance of his part within a certaine time.

(53) *Dermot* hauing thus negotiated his affaires and ſet it in ſo good forwardnes, while his friends in *England* prepared themſelues and their Forces, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to relie vpon forraine aides, and ſo to diminiſh with them the reputation of his owne valour and alliances at home; hee ſailes backe into his Country; carrying with him the promiſes of confederates, and there both by his preſence and perſwaſions did the beſt hee could to facilitate the entrance of the *Engliſh*; whoſe honourable enter-tainements, deuotions, ciuility, riches, valours, wiſedome, and victorious greatneſſes he ſpared not to celebrate, as inſtruments aduancing his own de-ſignes: which raiſed no little expectation, mixt with contrary affections of deſire and feare.

(54) The next yeare, when the ſeaſon grew fit for an Army to take the field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen* accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe brother by the ſurer ſide, & * a competent number of Souldiers, repoſing (vnder God) their chief hope in their ſwords and courages, ſet ſaile for *Ireland*; & in the beginning of *May* came on ſhore, at a place called by the *Iriſh*, *Bann* (by the *Engliſh* at this day commonly, *Bagg* and *Bunn*) which in our language ſignifies *Sacred*: a word which (ſo much as names may be preſages of things) did as it were hallow the attempt of the *Engliſh* with a lucky and gratious o-mination, whereof the Inhabitants at this preſent retaine this rime.

Robert Fitz Ste-phen ſaild into Ireland.
* *Triginta Mili-tibus.*

At the head of Bagg and Bunn,
Ireland was loſt and wun.

Manuſc. Clonmel. in Coſtod. Patric. White.

An. D. 1170 They were Soul-diers of all ſorts 390. *Stowes Annals, ad An. Dom. 1170.*

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Prendergaſt* alſo, with * other men of Armes, and many Ar-chers in two ſhippes arriued there, being parcell of *Fitz-Stephans* Forces and Companions of his For-tunes, who ioining themſelues together, immediat-ly marcht to the City of *Weiſford* vnder their Ban-ners, and that in the greateſt brauery they could, (the Knights and Men at Armes, in their * Coates of Arms & Colours) to draw thereby now at the firſt the greater reputation to themſelues, and with opi-nion ſo gotten, to fill vp the ſmalnes of their num-bere: in which manner aſſailing the City, the *Iriſh* therein rendred themſelues, and in reward of the ſeruice, being alſo * according to capitulation, and en-couragement of others, who were to proceed in this warre, *Dermot*, to whoſe vſe the *Engliſh Gene-rall* had taken it, * beſtowed the City it ſelfe, and the Country about vpon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his pleaſure to be diſpoſed off: and there the firſt Co-lony of our Nation was planted, which hath euer ſince immoueably maintained their abode among innumerable changes in the world, retaining at this day the ancient attire of the *Engliſh*, and the language alſo it ſelfe, though brackiſh with the mixture of vulgar *Iriſh*, which therefore by a diſtinct name is called *Weiſford* ſpeech, current onely in that City, & the County about.

* *Manuſcr. Clon-mel, ibid.*
* The name of Pendergaſt yet remaines in Ire-land: taken firſt (as ſeemeth) frō a Towne of that name in Pen-brokeſhire.
* *Pendergaſts* Coat Armour, was *Gules, a Sal-tyre Vaire*, as my learned friend, M. *Bolton* (whoſe notes haue giuen mee much light in this King's life, and diuers o-thers) himſelfe obſerued in the Friers Church at Clon-mell.
* *Girald. Cambr. in expug. Hiber.*
* *Camb. p. 748.* The firſt Engliſh Colonie.

Weiſford ſpeech.

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephan* thus aduanced, for his more aſſurance, beganne to raiſe a * Town at *Carricke*, making the place which nature had alrea-dy fortified, much more by Art defenſible. This entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (vnder the name of *Henry* King of *England*) and the ſucceſſe exceeding hope, *Richard Strong-bow* receiuing ad-uertiſement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of *Weiſford*, of all occurrences; thought fitte, firſt to diſpatch * ſome ſupplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which a-bout the beginning of May, vnder the conduct of *Raimund le groſſe* (a Gentleman of the Earles fa-mily) were accordingly ſent: and after *Rai-mund* the Earle himſelfe in the ſame yeere ſet forth: His Forces were about * two hundreth men of Armes, and a thouſand other Souldiers, with whom he came ſafe to Anchor in the Bay of *Waterford*, vpon the Vigil of Saint *Bartholomew*, *Au-guſt*, 23. *Ann.* 1171. Earle *Richard* the Generall, knowing that expedition did carry with it terrour and aduantage, preſently marcheth to *Porthlarge*, (the

* *Camb. ibid.*

Earle *Richard* prepared for *Ireland*,

* *Annal. Hibern. apud Camb. p. 795.* *Raimund* ſent before with ſupplies.
* *Annal. Hibern. apud Camb. p. ead.* An. 1171. *Chron. Regum Mannie apud Cambd. Manuſcr. Clonm. Annal. b. Hiber. apud Cam. vbi per-peram pon. 1180, pro 1171. vt patet ibid. ad An. 1181.*

Earle *Richards* fifth attempts. Waterford taken

(the *Irish* name of *Waterford*) and vpon the very next day tooke the City by force, and sacrificed the armed Inhabitants to the reuenge of *Dermot*, so the rather to make roome, and security for themselues, to the exceeding terrour, and iust dismay of all about, as they who found, that, howsoeuer the pretence was to resettle *Dermot*, the purpose was to seat the *English* for euer.

He marrieth the Lady *Eua*.

(57) But *Dermot*, Author of this calamity to his Nation, resolute in his purpose, in full complement of his Contract, doth openly in solemne maner bestow his promised daughter *Eua*, vpon the Conquerour in mariage, with his owne right hand giuing her in the Church: at which time, the famous *Strong-bow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indissoluble knot of the *Irish* allegiance to the *English* Soueraignetie, with the same Ring which circuled his Wiues finger, affiancing that Iland to this our Country.

Earle *Richard* marcheth to *Dublin*.

(58) The Marriage performed, it was far from the mind of the Earle to spend much time in reuels and feasts, but consults with his men of warre what was next to bee done for the setling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finishing the Conquest which was now so happily begunne, in two seuerall parts of *Ireland* at once. Leauing therfore a sufficient Garrison to make good the places already gaind, & to secure the lāding of fresh supplies, he sets forward with his selected Companies, to whose victorious weapons the whole Realme lay open, so farre forth, that *Rotherick* himself was very wel contented (notwithstanding his lately vsurped, & swelling title of Monarch of *Ireland*) to hold himselfe within the bogs and fastenesses of his peculiar Realme, the wild, and mountainous *Connaught*; meane while, *Strongbow* keepes on his way ouer the bosome of *Ireland* to the principall City therof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and securing himselfe by pledges, of their loialty, or otherwise, as he saw most fitte. In which iourney, pleased with the delight and fertile situation of * *Kildare*, he resolued there to settle his abode, and to erect a seate to his posterity.

* *Camd. p. 752.*

Dublin taken.

The conquest of *Dublin* being speedily, and most happily atchieued; not long after, *Dermot Mac Murgh*, Father in law to the Earle (whom the *Irish* for his affection to the *English*, call *Dermot Ningall*, that is, *Dermot* the *Strangers friend*) breathed his last at *Ferns*, dying, (**plenus dierum.*)

Dermot King of *Leinster* dieth.
* *Annal. Hiber. præfat.*

(59) The fame of these successes wafting ouer the *Irish* seas, and comming to the King, made him resolue to passe in person thither, that he might haue the honor of the Conquest: and not approuing such forwardnes in the Earle, who (as *some say) went against his expresse commandement, (and indeed * *Giraldus*, who liued at that time, cals his leaue no better then an Ironicall leaue) and for that hee knew not to what insolency such faire fortune might in time allure, as also for that they seemed to handle the *Natiues* too rigorously; * thereupon *hee forbids by his Proclamations, any vessell to carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all English to returne before Easter, and leaue off their attempts, or their estates in England should be seised for the King.* By which Edict these affaires were brought into fearefull extremity, which was changed into better condition by the trauell of *Herueius de Monte Marisco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the aduenturers, who finding the King in *Gloucestershire* with an Army for *Ireland*, appeased his displeasure vpon these termes: *That the King should haue the head City of the Kingdom, Dublin, with the adiacent Cantreds, with all the Coast townes and Castles, the rest to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and so to bee vnder his protection, as Subiects ought, and as they were before;* which subiection it seemed to the King they ment to haue renounced.

* *Wil. Parum. Nic. Triuet. Holinsh. p. 83.*
* *Giral. Cambr. cap. 13. lib. 1.*

* *Idem lib. 1. c. 19.*

(60) The Kings goodly Nauy lay in *Milford* hauen, to which as hee iournied, hee thundred against the Welsh Nobility, comming to entertaine him, for suffering *Strongbow* to depart: At last being imbarkt, he had a faire Gale which set him safe in *Ireland* with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where first hee commits to prison *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens presented bound, hauing held him in custody, vnder color of doing good seruice, because hee had entred *Ireland* without the Kings particular leaue; yet soon after the King released him, but depriued him of *Weisford* and the territories. Then takes he the homages of such petty Kings, and principall persons of the *Irish* as repaired, dismissing them in honourable sort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not exasperating courses; and marching through *Ossyrie* to *Dublin*, he takes ô *Rotherick* the King of *Connaughts* homage by *Hugh Lacie*, and *William Fitz-Aldelm*: lastly, at *Dublin* he kept his Christmas in Royall state, which to behold, very many of the *Irish* Princes came thither.

Giral. Cambr.

(61) Mindfull now of his duty to God, the Iland being calme, and silent through the presence of such a mighty Monarch, the *most noble King of England, and triumphator of Ireland* (as* mine Author stileth him) causeth a Synode to be holden at *Cassils* for reformation of the *Irish* Church, where amongst sundry other constitutions, to which the *Irish* Clergy did willingly submit, it was decreed, *That all the Church-lands, and their possessions should be altogether free from the exaction of secular men, & that from thenceforth, all Diuine things should be handled in euery part of Ireland in such sort, as the Church of Eng-*
" *land handleth them.* For (saith the Constitution)
" it is most iust, and meete, that as *Ireland* hath by
" Gods mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of
" *England*, so also that from thence they should re-
" ceiue a better forme of life, and maners, then here-
" tofore they vsed.

* *Idem cap. & 34.*

(62) The King continuing his politicke iealousies, and thinking *Strongbow* to be as yet too great, draws from his dependency *Raimund*, *Milo Cogan*, *William Makarel*, and other of the best Captaines, & makes them his owne by bounty. But before hee could fully establish that Kingdome (the inseparable euil fate thereof, which would neuer suffer it to enioy the blessed benefite of exact ciuility) other affaires which he esteemed more necessary, call him away, and therefore hauing left *Hugh Lacie* at *Dublin*, hee sets saile for *England* vpon Easter* Monday, and landed happily at Saint *Dauids* in *Pembrokeshire*, from whence with all speed hee posteth into *Normandie*.

* *Eadmerus.*

(63) In *Normandy* there attended for his arriuall two Cardinals, sent as Legates at his owne request, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whereof, *vpon oath that hee was no way consenting to that cruell, and sacrilegious reuenge, and declaring withall his infinite sorrow for hauing in his anger giuen occasion by rash words for others to doe that deede, and giuing further oath to performe enioined penances*, he was by them absolued. The condition of his absolutions were, That hee should at his owne charge maintaine two hundreth Souldiers for an whole yeere for defence of the holy land. That he should suffer Appeales to be made freely. That hee should reuoke all customes introduced to the preiudice of the Churches liberty. That he should restore and make vp the possessions of the Church of *Canterbury*. That hee should freely receiue all such as were in banishment for *Beckets* cause, &c. Not long after *Thomas* was canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and so not onely the victorie clearely giuen him against King *Henry*, but a triumph also.

(64) Now beganne the wombe of rebellion, and vnnaturall conspiracies to disclose the mischiefes which were ordained to exercise this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched here at home by the malice (some say) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at such time as hee was absent in *Ireland*, so that as * one writes

writes, *God ſtirred vp the Kings owne bowells againſt himſelfe.* Cauſes of this vnhappie diſſention, there were many: Firſt a Queene and *Wife*, violentlie vindicatiue for wrong done vnto her Bed by the King, who was immoderatlie addicted to varietie of loues: then Ambition in an euill-naturd Child, and laſtlie, pernicious Actors and inſtruments, who, for their owne ends, nouriſhed this curſed miſchiefe; ſo as if we ſhould out of our ſtories recapitulate the ſeuerall occaſions taken by the ſonne againſt the father, wee ſhould rather ſhew you the colours, then the cauſes: For none of thoſe cauſes which his Son pretended, ſeemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out ſuch continuall diuiſions as followed.

(65) The head of this conſpiracy was verie great, and iuſtly verie terrible: for on the ſide of King *Henry* the ſonne, there were the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, * *Richard* and *Geffrey*, two yonger ſonnes of the King of *England*, whom by their mothers perſwaſions they forſooke, to follow the yongue King; *Dauid* the *Scotiſh* Kings brother, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, (a Peere of *France*, and a potent Prince,) *Matthew* Earle of *Boloigne*, *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other great ones, in great numbers, ſo as nothing ſeemed wanting, but onely a good cauſe, which (ſuch as it was) Queene *Elianor*, like an *Alecto*, kept aliue, ſo much as lay in her, with perpetuall fomentations. And indeed the ſcope of theſe confederats did require no leſſe a combination, it beeing to depoſe the Father, whom it pleaſed them (for countenance of their vngodly armes) to repute no King, becauſe hee had crowned his ſonne.

(66) Though nothing then could come more greeuous, to the bleeding heart of a moſt louing father, then ſuch a warre; yet not to bee vnprouided, hee (like a ſouldier) prepares himſelfe, when faire meanes faild, and found multitudes readie to liue, and die with him; the indignitie of the vnnaturall reuolt, did ſo much inflame all honeſt courages, which acknowledged him their Soueraigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the wars would fill a volume. At one time *Normandie*, *Guien*, and *Britane* were inuaded by the confederats in *France*, and at the ſame time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had friends in all thoſe parts, and himſelfe hearing that *Vernuil* was * beſieged by the *French* King in perſon, hee beganne at laſt to kindle, hauing, like a ſleeping Lion, ſitten ſtill all that while, and (for that the place had, vpon parlea, agreed to render if aid came not by a day) hee arriued to their ſuccour within the time, * ſending King *Lewis* word that hee ſhould gette him foorth of *Normandie* with ſpeed, or he would without faile, come, and ſee how hee did vpon that verie day. *Lewis*, meaning nothing leſſe then to put his owne Crowne in danger, while he ſought one for his ſonne in law, (and therefore in all the warre-time, would neuer ſet vp his reſt vpon a battell,) but willing otherwiſe to doe to King *Henrie* the father, all the harme hee could, by countenancing the faction, and ſupporting the reuolted malecontents with his beſt meanes, and knowing King *Henry* was a ſower and terrible Prince when he came indeede to fight, immediatelie raiſed his ſiege, and with as much haſt as hee might, abandoned the place * leauing his Camp, tents, and warlike prouiſions behind, and retired into *France*.

(68) And though King *Henrie*, beginning now indeede to ſhake his dreadfull ſword, had many faire daies of his enemies, mixt with ſome loſſes both of men and other ſtrengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the ouerthrowes which on his behalfe were giuen: For that in *Britane* his forces had in battell vanquiſhed *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, & *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlaine about one thouſand and fiue hundred of their army; & in *England*, *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall*, and *Richard de Lucie*, had in bloudie battell * ouerthrowne the inſolent Earle of *Leiceſter*, and *entred the towne of *Leiceſter* by force; and that he had the perſons of the ſaid * *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Fulgiers*, and verie many other priſoners of eſpeciall note and Nobility; yet *Lewis* the *French* King mouing a parlea, the father deſirous to vſe the good fortune of war, to reclaime his rebells, was ſo willing to make peace, that hee might ſeeme to haue outgone expectation in the qualitie of his offers, but through ſuch wicked perſwaſions, as were vſed, preuailed not.

(69) A violent firebrand in this diuiſion, was *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, beeing matched with a Ladie no leſſe proud, and ſtomachous then himſelfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to haue affronted King *Henrie* the father, on the behalfe of his yongue Lord, and Maſter the ſonne, but (after many words of reproach) is ſaid to haue laid his daring hand vpon his ſword, with purpoſe to haue ſtrucken the King, had he not been with-holden: (and where ſuch ſpirits had to doe, it is eaſie to geſſe what kinds of counſell were like to be embraced and purſued;) hauing forſaken the father, not for that the others cauſe was more honeſt, *but for that* (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) *the father King, labouring to enlarge the regall power, ſought to ſet his foote vpon the neckes of the proud and haughtie.*

(70) But God, who ment to chaſtiſe the King, and not to deliuer him vp into his enemies hands, deſtroied thoſe hopes, that mooued the ſonnes to their vnnaturall attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into *Normandy*, that his faithfull friends and ſeruants, * *Richard de Lucie* and *Humphrey de Bohun* high Conſtable of *England*, together with the powers of *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings vncle, *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, not farre from *Burie*, couragiouſlie encountred with the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and his * *Flemings*, of whom aboue * fiue thouſand were ſlaine, or taken, and among the priſoners was the Earle himſelf, and * his *Amazonian* Counteſſe, whoſe perſons at his commandement were not long after, brought ouer into *Normandie*.

(71) This * great victorie and other good ſucceſſe, did ſo much aduantage the King, that *Lewis* beginning to diſtruſt the enterprize, ſought for ſixe monethes truce for himſelfe, and had it granted: but becauſe there were yet in *England*, two principall men, * the Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Roger Mowbray*, which held out; hauing *Leiceſter* for their *Randeuou*, and ſeat of warre, with no ſmall numbers of partakers, notwithſtanding that *Geffrey* (the Elect of *Lincolne*, the Kings baſe ſonne) had taken two of *Mowbraies* Caſtles, and done other good ſeruice for his Lord and Father, the truce ſerued the enemie for no other purpoſe but to breath, and to repaire himſelfe.

(72) The father (of whom *Lewis* ſaid, that, *hee ſeemed not to goe, but to flie*, he went with ſuch celerity from one place and Kingdome to another) in the meane while, recouers *Xaintis* from *Richard* his violent ſonne, weakning that partie by ſo much, and would haue weakned it farre more, but that aduertiſments came poſt, declaring ſuch matter, as made him ſpeede into *Normandie*.

(73) Thither * came vnto him out of *England*, *Richard* (the Elect of *Wincheſter*) ſent with all haſt by the Kings Iuſtitiaries, to lay open vnto him, the dangerous eſtate wherin the Realme at that time ſtood. For after that *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* had ſolemnelie ſworne to inuade *England*, in ſupportation of yongue *Henries* quarrell, ſundrie forces arriuing and ioining with *Hugh Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, had taken and ſpoiled the Citie of *Norwich*, and done otherwiſe much harme, whereby the yongue King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the die of warre were turned, and aſwell the yongue King as the Earle of *Flanders*, were come with forces to the Coaſts, there to tranſport for *England*: * Moreouer, *Robert* Earle *Ferrers* of *Derby* (who was faine from

* *Polydor. Virg.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſtr.*

* *Houeden.*

* *Math. Paris.* The outragious and diſloiall behauiour of the Earle of *Leic*

* *Roger Ho... Holinſh.*

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

The Kings victorie in *England* he beeing ab ent.

* *Polyd. Virg. Henry Hunt. Holinſh. in H. 2.*

* *Gallo quidam vocat.*

* *Houeden.* and *Polyd. Virg.* ſaith 10000. were ther ſlaine.

* *Math. Paris.*

Lewis King of *France* concludes a truce.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Ypod. Neuſt.*

* *Math. Paris.* Great new dangers againſt the King.

* *Roy. Hoved.*

from the father) had ſuddenly entred vpon *Nottingham*, burnt the towne, beaten out the Kings Garriſon, ſlaine the people, and (enricht with ſpoile) retired to *Leiceſter*, whether about the ſame time, *Anketill Malorie* (Conſtable thereof) had alſo brought about two hundred priſoners taken at *Northampton*, which he (with ſlaughter of the like number of the Towns-men) had alſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed and taken: ſo that the Realme ſtood doubtfull, and in extreame perill; to the encreaſe whereof, *William* King of *Scots* (being deepe in the confederacy) inuaded *England*, diuiding his Forces, himſelfe with part waſting *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* (a very cruell Captaine) with the other deſtroying the weſterne Borderers.

(74) The Father wonderfully ſtirred herewith, leaues *Normandy* in as good aſſurance as the time would permit, and ſends before him to the Ships, *Eleanor* his owne Queene, and Queene *Margaret* his ſonnes wife, his ſonne *Iohn*, &c. the Earle of *Leiceſter* and his Counteſſe, with many other priſoners, and a mighty Armie; but the winde changing, and hee compelled to ſtay in harbour at *Barbefleet* in *Normandy*, where hee had taken ſhipping, he is ſaid (God touching his heart) to haue vttered theſe words with much remorſe, in the preſence of al; If my purpoſe in this voiage be for the peace of the Clergy and people, and if the King of heauen ſhall vouchſafe to quiet and calme theſe troubles at my arriuall, then for his mercies ſake wee beſeech him to ſend vs a proſperous winde: But if he be againſt it, and hath reſolued to viſit the Kingdome of *England* with the rod of his fury, let him graunt mee neuer to touch the ſhore of that Country more. His Praier thus vttred from the depth of ſoule, was ſecunded with a freſh perie of wind: whereupon ſetting ſaile, hee arriued ſafe the ſame day with all his Nauie at the Port of *Hampton* in *England*.

King *Henry* ſailes into *Normandy*.

(75) The next day he took his iourney towards *Canterbury*, where (as it appeareth) the reſidue of his penance enioined him at his Abſolution, was to bee performed. For, beſides the fore-mentioned conditions, the *Legates enioined him* (ſaith the * Author of *Beckets* life) *ſome other thing ſecretly, which came not to our knowledge*; yea the * Legates themſelues wrote in their owne letters, that *hee then promiſed to do* (*voluntarily*, if yee liſt to beleeue it) *ſome things which was not fit for them to lay open in writing*. And well might they be aſhamed thereof; but if it were ſo vnfit to bee written, how vnfit was it to be impoſed on ſuch a Soueraigne Prince? what it was, let * *Houeden* report. The King comming towards the Church, where the late Archbiſhop was buried, clad all in wollen, *went three miles barefooted, inſomuch, that the very ground where hee went, was bloody, as was euidently ſeene, much bloud running from his tender feet which were cut with the hard ſtones*. Neither yet was this the worſt; for after all this, *He receiued Diſcipline at the hands of the Biſhops, of a great many Prieſts, and of the Monks*. *Geruaſius* names *Abbots* alſo, wherby appears, that euery ſeuerall ſort were to haue a hand in that ſeruice. *Mathew Paris* can tell you more plainly what that *Diſcipling* was: viz. he *receiued the Diſcipline of rods on his bare fleſh, receiuing of euery religious man, (a great multitude of them being there gathered)* 3. *or* 5 *ierkes a peece*: whence we may eaſily beleeue, *Baronius* and his * Author ſpake within compaſſe, who acknowledge hee receiued 80. laſhes. To ſuch height was the Papall tyranny and pride grown towards thoſe, of whom God had ſaid expreſſly, *Touch not mine Annointed*.

*Vita B. Th. l. 4. c. 5.
* *Epiſt. ad Archi. Rauen. apud Houeden.*

(76) Yet ſome Monkes of that age, attribute the happy and great ſucceſſe which enſued, to the reconcilement which King *Henry* thus made with God for the bloud of *Thomas*, becauſe it pleaſed God to deliuer his enemy *William* King of *Scots* into the hands of his ſouldiers about that very time, & did alſo with ſtormes beat backe into *France* his diſobedient ſonne the young King, being now vnder ſaile for *England*, ſcattering the whole Fleet, and almoſt ſinking it with tempeſt.

Roger. Houed. in H. 2 *p.* 308.

Mat. Paris. Ann. 1174. *Walſingh. Nubrigenſis. Capgraue. Geruaſ. Dorob. &c.*

* *Apud Baron. An. Dom.* 1174.

(77) The Kings other actions till his next returne into *Normandy*, which was not long after, (becauſe *Lewis King* of *France*, and his ſonne in law the young King *Henry*, the head to which all this putrified humour drew, with the Earle of *Flanders* had laid a ſtrong ſiege to the City of *Roan*) * *Thomas Walſingham* comprehends in theſe few wordes; *He tamed his Rebels, put his enemies to flight, ſeized on their fortreſſes*. And ſo hauing in a manner miraculouſly quieted the Realme, hee takes with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, with other his chiefe Priſoners * (whom hee afterwards firſt impriſoned at *Caen* in *Normandy*, & then at *Faleis*) but leauing his ſeditious wife behind him vnder ſtraight cuſtody, hee arriues with his puiſſance in *Normandy*, which being vnderſtoode in the Confederates Campe, the ſame * brake vp, and firſt ſetting fire on all the engines of warre, retreated into *France* in ſuch ſort, that the *Engliſh* ſouldiers laid hold vpon much munition and warlike furniture. *Roger Houeden* (a very ſure Author) ſaith * that the confederates had onely beſieged *Roan* vpon one ſide, and that *Lewis* hearing that the victorious King *Henry* was within *Roan*, did firſt ſend away the weake, and worſt of his Armie, and then deceiuing the *Engliſh* with a ſolemne promiſe of returning the next day, to enter into a conference with the King about making a finall agreement, did depart; ſo that *Houeden* aggrauates the diſhonour of the retreat, with the note of faith-breach.

(78) Let the greatneſſe and felicity of this King bee now but ſleightly looked vpon, and it will appeare, that no Prince of thoſe times was hitherto ſo much bound to God for manifold fauours as hee. The King and power of *France*, after ſo many attempts with the young King of *England*, and all their forces, flying at his preſence without any ſtroke ſtrucken, the valiant king of *Scotland* priſoner, and the chiefeſt of his Rebels vnder his foote, *England* aſſured, *Scotland* diſmaied, *Ireland* retained, *Wales* miniſtring ſouldiers, *Normandy* in poſſeſſion, and all the coaſting Regions, *Britaine*, *Angiou*, *Poictou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, *Limoſin*, *Gaſcoign*, *Guien*, &c. from thence as farre as the Mountaines which ſeparate *Spaine* from *France*, vnder his dominion; and the bleſſing of Peace ſhortly after enſuing, vpon ſuch termes as himſelf could reaſonably wiſh, made him like another *Salomon* to bee ſought vnto: his Wiſedome and Magnificence being in ſuch high credite through the Chriſtian World, that the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Nauarre* choſe him ſole Arbiter in their debate, which to both their contentment he moſt wiſely determined; and then * at one time in his Palace at Weſtminſter were ſeene together, the Ambaſſadors of *Manuel* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, of *Fredericke* Emperour of *Romans*, of * *William* Archbiſhop of *Triers* in *Germany*, (a mighty Prince) of the Duke of *Saxonie*, and of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*. Moreouer he had the gouernment of *France* for a time, the Kingdome of *Ieruſalem* offered him, but refuſed, and two of his daughters married to the two Kings * of *Caſtile* and *Sicilie*.

(79) There was firſt therefore a truce taken betwixt the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henries*; wherein *Richard* (who ſtood out) was left to his Fathers proſecution, who ſeeing himſelfe thus deſtitute after many flaſhes of preparation to reſiſt, and great conflicts with himſelfe, put himſelfe moſt humbly into his Fathers mercy, and throwing himſelfe * with teares at his feet, obtained the pardon hee begd, and a full reſtitution to his moſt inward grace and fauour. A moſt chriſtan, fatherly, wiſe & happy Act; for *Richard* ouercome with this vnexpected and incredible goodnes, neuer deſiſted till hee had brought the young King to a finall attone-

Math. Paris. Rog Houed. Ypodig. Neuſt. Hector Boetius. 13. li. c. 3. *ſaith*

ment

ment, armes being laid apart vpon all hands. The chief points of that wiſhed peace were: 1. That *Henry* the yong King with *Richard* and *Geffrey* his brethren ſhould returne, freed from all oathes of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Priſoners ſhould be ſet at large without ranſome on all hands. 3. That *William* King of *Scots*, the Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Fulgiers*, & other, who had compounded for their ranſome, before this concluſion, ſhould haue no benefite of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father ſhould take aſſurance of loialty toward him by hoſtage, or oath of ſuch as were enlarged. 5. That King *Henry* the ſon ſhould ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his ſon *Iohn*, of ſome Caſtles, & yerely rents in *England*, &c. The Seale it ſelfe, wherwith the yong king made this mentioned Ratification, we haue here annexed.

(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding: our Hiſtorians all agree not, * ſome ſaying more, * ſome leſſe: but * *Hector Boetius* (a Scotiſh Hiſtorian of ſome credit with that Nation) writes 1. That King *William* was to pay 100000. l. Striueling for his ranſome, the one half in preſent coin, the other 50000 l. vpon time. 2. That for aſſurance of that ſumme the Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* & *Huntington* ſhould reſt in morgage 3. That K. *William* ſhould moue no warre againſt *England* for the retention of thoſe lands. 4. That, for the more ſecurity of the premiſſes, the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Edenbrough*, *Roxbrough* & *Striueling* ſhould bee deliuered to the *Engliſh*.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henry* according to Couenants, diſchargeth out of captiuity nine hundred ſixty and nine men of Arms, taken in thoſe late warres; and King *Henry* the ſonne diſcharged aboue one hundreth; and hauing accompliſhed whatſoeuer might content or ſecure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the ioious letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the ſubiects; which hee did, (ſaith *Paris*) *That whom the generall danger of warre had afflicted, the common gladneſſe might recomfort.* In their trauaile thitherward the confidence was ſuch vpon this freſh reconcilement, that one Chamber and table ſerued both, for whom before one Kingdome was not wide enough. They landed at * *Portſmouth* vpon Friday, 20. *Maij*, 1175.

(82) The face of *England* at this preſent, was like that of a quiet skie and ſea, no blaſt, no billow, no appearing ſigne of diſcontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henry* the Father accompanied with the King his ſonne, omitted no office of a iuſt and prudent Gouernour, viſiting a great part of his Realme in perſon, conſulting, ordering and enacting ſuch lawes and courſes, as might moſt eſtabliſh the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were preſent in a Synode, in which *Richard* lately choſen Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did publiſh (* with the Kings aſſent) certain Canons for the better gouernment of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; *At the true fountaine of all happy rule*, that is to ſay, *at the honour of God, and eſtabliſhment of Religion & Diſciplyne, &c.* & amongſt the reſt, this one Canon in eſpecial words is enacted, *both by authority of the King & Synode*, (and indeed worthy for euer to bee in force) *That euery Patrone taking reward for any preſentation, ſhould for euer looſe the Patronage thereof.* And the ſame Kings not long after being at *Woodſtocke*, in accompliſhment of ſuch holy purpoſes, by aduiſe of the Clergy prouided men to ſuch Biſhopricks, Abbacies, and principall cures as were vacant, where King *Henry* the Father forgat not his true friend *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

(83) From hence comming to *Yorke*, he ſet thoſe parts in peace; whither *William* King of *Scots* * repairing, ſundry matters of importance were handled betweene the two Kings: as likewiſe afterward at *Windſor* (where the King had called a great aſſembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Rotherick* King of *Connaught* in *Ireland* (at the ſuite of his Ambaſſadors, the Archbiſhop of *Thuamon* and *Toomund*, & others of that nation, ſubiects to *Rotherick*) was receiued into protection & fauour, and became Tributarie: *K. Henry* being vnwilling * to fiſh with an hooke of gold, which in warring vpon *Ireland* hee ſhould ſeem to do. In an other Parliament, not long after at *Northampton*, he cauſed *England* to be diuided into ſix circuits, & to each Circuit three Iuſticiars Itinerants deputed; and aſwell to giue his lawes more free paſſage, as alſo the better to ſecure himſelf he threw to the earth ſundry * Caſtles which had bin formerly kept againſt him, as *Leiceſter*, *Huntington*, *Walton*, *Groby*, *Stutesbury*, *&c.* and had the reſt both in his *Engliſh* and in his French Dominions committed to his diſpoſition.

(84) The young King * about theſe times diſcouered freſh alienations in his mind againſt his Father; who yet diſſembling all, did arme notwithanding vpon the defenſiue, and repleniſhed both *England* and *Normandie* with Garriſons, which drew the ſonne the ſooner to come in.

(85) But the old King not vnwilling perhaps (leſt the Brethrens concord might proue no better then a conſpiracy againſt the Father) that his warlike Children ſhould contend, * did nouriſh debate among them: Certaine it is, that to diuert the warre from himſelfe, he appeaſed his ſonne the King with an encreaſe of maintenance for himſelfe, amounting in the whole to an hundreth pounds *Aniouin* by the day, and ten pounds of the ſame money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lewis* then King of *France*, who was maried at three yeares of age to *Richard* (ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*) when hee was but ſeuen, and now demanded of King *Henry* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enioy her, the old King who was * ſuſpected

The Kings at Yorke.

* *Polyd. Virg.* Parliament at *Northampton.*

An. D. 1176. The firſt Iuſticiars *Itinerants.* *Holinſh. in Hen. 2. Houeden.*

* *Math Paris Roger Wend. Manuſc.*

* *Rog. Houed. Polyd. Virg.*

* *Tho. Walſingh. in Ypod. Neuſt.*

Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 2 calls her *Adela.*

* Rog. Hound.

* ſuſpected to haue deflowred her, for that time ſhifted of the deliuery of her perſon, in ſuch ſort that peace was not hindered thereby.

An.D.1183. * Rog. Wend. Math. Paris. Th. Walſ. in Ypodig. Neuſtr.

(86) But while the yong King by his Fathers *inſtigation ſought by force to conſtraine young *Richard* to doe homage to him for *Aquitaine*, and King *Henry* the Father for the ſame cauſe commaunded *Geffrey* his third ſon, Duke of *Britaine* (whom *ſome for his extraordinary perfidiouſnes in this ſeruice toward his Father, and manifold ſacrilege, cals the * *Child of Perdition*) to aide and aſſiſt his ſaid elder brother; while alſo the iealous Father (*out of the ſtrife of his ſonnes*) ſought his own ſafety, and in nouriſhing it, had by the treachery of the ſaid ſonnes bin twice endangered, and had at both times been wonderfully preſerued; and while the young King by profound diſſimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother *Richard* into ſubiection; behold the hand of God by taking away the young King at *Martell* not farre from *Limoges*, where his Father lay at ſiege, gaue an end to this odious, fowle and intricate contention.

* Rog. Hour.

King *Henrie* the ſonne dies in the flower of his youth. * *Rog. Wend. MS. Math. Paris. Thom. Walſ. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weauers threed (ſay * Authors) who had by dying cut of the hope of many: But whatſoeuer his life was, which God thus ſhortned at his age of twentie and eight yeeres; certainely his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be ſet out in Tables at large as a pattern to diſobedient Children: for his Father refuſing to viſite him (fearing his owne life,) but ſending his Ring in ſigne of forgiuenes; the dying Prince moſt humbly with flouds of teares kiſſing the ſame, made a moſt ſorrowfull confeſsion of his ſinnes, and feeling death approch, would needs be drawne (as an vnworthy ſinner) out of his owne bed, and laid vpon another, ſtrewed with aſhes, where his ſoule departed in a moſt penitent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, hee fell vpon the earth, weeping bitterly, and (like another *Dauid* for his *Abſolon*) mourned very much, *O quam nefandum eſt*, ſaith "one moſt grauely: *O how hainous a thing it is for* "*ſons to perſecute the father! for neither the ſword of the* "*fighter, nor the hand of an enemy, did auenge the fathers* "*wrong: but a feuer and a flux with excoriation of the* "*bowels*. His body was buried (by his own deſire) at *Roan*; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if the factions, of which hee was the cauſe in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forſake him beeing dead; for the Citizens of *Mauns* hauing enterred it, they of *Roan* without menaces, and the fathers expreſſe commandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken vp againe,) but his wife Queene *Margaret* was ſent backe into *France*, and his ſuruiuing ſonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, not any enemie daring to appeare.

* Rog Hoved.

An.D.1183

(88) Who would not haue thought, that this ſtirring Prince, ſhould haue had opportunitie to end his daies in peace and glorie? but it was otherwiſe ordained by God, and ancient writers hold, hee was principallie ſcourged, for beeing drawne, by ſeeming reaſons of State, to put off an holy enterprize, the occaſion whereof, was laid as it were at his foote. For *Heraclius* Patriarcke of *Hieruſalem*, drawne with the ſupereminent fame of *King Henries* wiſdome, valour, riches, and puiſſance, trauailed from thence into *England*, where, * at *Clerkenwell* by *London*, in an aſſemblie of the States purpoſelie called, the king made knowne to them: That Pope *Lucius* had by erneſt letters, commended the lamētable ſtate of the *Holie-land*, and the Patriarcke *Heraclius* vnto him: That *Heraclius* (there preſent) had ſtirred compaſſion, and teares, at the reherſall of the tragicall afflictions of the Eaſterne world, and had brought with him (for memorable * ſignes, that the ſuite was by common conſent of the Countrey) the *Keies* of the places of *Chriſts Natiuitie*, *Paſsion*, and *Reſurrection*; of *Dauids Tower*, and of the holy *Sepulchre*; and the humble offer of the *Kingdom* of *Hieruſalem*, with the *Enſigne* or *Standard* of the *Kingdom*, as * dulie belonging to him, who was right heire thereunto, to wit, the ſonne of *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, whoſe brother *Fulke* was king of *Hieruſalem*.

* Math. Paris. Roger Wend.

* Rog. Houed. Mat. Paris. * Roger Houed. fol. 358.

(89) Neuertheleſſe, (the King hauing, at leſtwiſe formally, adiured the Lords to aduiſe him, that which ſhould bee moſt for his ſoules health) it was thought fit, to aid the cauſe with money, but not to emploie his perſon, nor the perſon of any child hee had, which was the Patriarcks laſt requeſt; and therupon (to the vnſpeakable griefe of the ſaid Patriarcke, and of the whole *Chriſtianitie* of the Eaſt) hee refuſed the ſaid Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occaſion of immortall renowne, as euer any King of *England* had beene offered; but gaue leaue * to all ſuch as would, to take vpon them the Croſſe and ſerue. This *Heraclius* is hee who dedicated the *Temple* Church in *London*, as by this Inſcription ouer the Church doore in the Stone-worke doth appeare.

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.C.LXXXV DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONORRM BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRATIA SANCTERESVRRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA II IDVS FEBRVARII. Q^i EAM ANNATIM PETENTIBVS DE INIVNCTA S^i PENITENTIA LX DIES INDVLSIT.

(90) Thus the ſorrowfull Patriarcke being diſmiſſed (not forgetting as * ſome doe write, to thunder againſt the King for abandoning the cauſe) brought back nothing but diſcomfort and deſpaire, the *Weſterne* Princes (by the Diuels malicious Arts) beeing wrapt and knotted in mutuall ſuſpitions and quarrells indetermined, whereupon ſhortly after, enſued, with the loſſe of *Ieruſalem*, the captiuity of *Guido* King thereof, and of innumerable Chriſtians beſides; whom *Sultan Saladin*, Prince of the *Muſulmans* or *Saracens*, to the griefe and diſgrace of all the Chriſtian world, did vanquiſh.

(91) But, King *Henries* mind was more fixed on ſetling the ſtate of his already-poſſeſſed Kingdomes, and therefore in a great Parlament, held at *Oxford*, (vnto which came *Rheſus* and *Dauid*, Kings of *South-Wales* and *North-Wales*, with other their chiefe Nobles, which al did there ſweare fealtie to the King) he beeing deſirous to aduance his ſonne *Iohn* (whom he exceedingly loued, and commonly in ſport, hee called *Sans-terre*) hauing aſſured vpon him certaine Lands and Rents in *England* and *Normandie*, did there verie ſolemnly giue him alſo the title & Kingdome of *Ireland*; for, (beſides the foreſaid Bull of Pope *Adrian* the fourth, who for ſigne of inueſtiture had alſo ſent a * ring of gold, which were laid vp in the Records at *Wincheſter*) *Giraldus* (who liued in that age) tells vs (to omitte what hee writes of one *Gurguntius*) that *Guillomar* King of *Ireland*, was tributarie to the famous *Arthur*: that *Baion* (whence (ſaith hee) the *Iriſh* came) was at that preſent vnder King *Henrie* the ſecond; and that the *Iriſh* Princes had *voluntarily ſubmitted themſelues*, as vnto him who by the * *Law of a Seciall warre*, was become their Soueraigne. But that Author had not ſeene belike, or did not remember (when thus he went about to prooue a legall right in the King) what others write of * *Egfrides* vngodly ſpoiles in *Ireland*, or of * *Edgars* Charter, in which is ſaid to bee contained, that he had vnder his rule the chiefe City of *Ireland Dublin*, and the greateſt part of the kingdome alſo. But King *Henrie* ſtrengthening his other rights with Grants of the Popes, *Adrian*, and *Alexander*, obtained alſo of *Vrban* the third (for *Lucius* the third, who was *Alexanders* ſucceſſor, would not gratifie the the King therein) that it ſhould bee lawfull for him, to crowne which of his ſonnes hee would, King of *Ireland*, to whom hee ſent a crowne of *Feathers* wouen with gold, in all their Grants *reſeruing to the Ro-*

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man See, the Peters pence, and rights; whereupon the King gaue the ſame to his ſonne *Iohn*, whoſe Coronation (ſtung with the like before) his father onely did delay, at ſuch time as two Cardinales offered to celebrate that ſolemnitie.

(92) At *Windſor*, therefore his father giuing him the * Order of knight-hood (at which time hee was about * twelue yeeres old) ſent him foorthwith into *Ireland*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* and the State, entertained him, but (by reaſon of ſuch parſimonie toward his ſouldiers as was vſed) hee returned the ſame yeere without doing much, but not without hauing waſted the moſt part of his Armie, in skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. His Stile in his ſeale of *Ireland* (though *Houeden* ſaith, his father made him *Regem*, a king) was onely, *Sigillum Iohannis filij regis Angliæ Domini Hibernia*, Lord of *Ireland*.

(93) King *Henrie*, hearing now that his martiall ſonne, Earle *Richard*, had fortified in *Poictou* againſt him, and vanquiſhed *Geffrey* Earle of *Britane*, * prepares a puiſſant armie, vpon terror whereof, *Richard* came in, rendring vp *Poictou* to his mother *Elienor*, (whoſe inheritance it was) at his fathers commandement. The ſame yeere wherein the Weſt was thus defiled with vnnaturall diuiſions, the Eaſt was likewiſe polluted with the curſed Apoſtaſie of one *Richard de S. Albane* (whom wee ſhame to thinke, was *Engliſh*) who renouncing the Chriſtian beleefe (vpon the Patriarcks diſcomfortable returne) became a principall Commander vnder the *Sultan* of *Babilon*, *Salandine*, whom the Chriſtians draue, with loſſe and ſlaughter of his armie, from *Hieruſalem*. But on the other ſide, reuenge of diſobedience ſtill purſued *Geffrey*, ſonne of *King Henrie*, who was in a * *Torneament* at *Paris* troden to death vnder the horſe feete. A miſerable end, and a fearefull.

(94) About which times, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh* all things ſtoode vnſure, now warre, then peace, and warre againe, by reaſon that *Philip* (who had been crowned King ſome yeeres before, during the life of *Lewis*) challenging the cuſtodie of *Arthur*, the *Poſthumus* ſonne, and heire of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britane*, and ſometimes one thing, and ſometime another, could not haue his will: Whiles Earle *Richard* turning to *Philip* againſt his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeeres, ſuch amity (if there be any amity among mighty Princes) grew between king *Philip* and Earle *Richard*, Heire apparant of *England* and *Normandy*, &c. that one bed and boord ſerued both. The Father perplexed, cals his ſonne home, who pretending many griefes, as the detention of *Alice* his Spouſe, the doubt of diſinheriſon, and other things, ſtood out againe; and againe after a while ſubmits to his Father. Then burſts forth *Philip* into Armes; and things ſo ſtanding, the heauy newes of *Ieruſalem* loſt, flew into Chriſtendom. When this City was formerly recouered by *Godfrey* of *Bolein*, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, an *Heraclius* Patriarch; ſo now when it was loſt, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperor, and an *Heraclius* Patriarch.

(95) Vpon theſe news *Henry* and *Philip* meet, and for the honour of God, laying downe diſpleaſure, in preſence of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, at which time ſome ſay a Croſſe appeared in the aire, take vpon them, as Souldiers of Chriſt, the badge of the Croſſe, and there the better to diſtinguiſh themſelues, it was agreed that the * *French* ſhould weare read Croſſes, the *Engliſh* White, and the *Flemiſh* Greene. And this determination was ſeconded with warlike preparations, leuies of money, and inſtitution of martiall Diſcipline: all which notwithſtanding nothing went forward.

(96) At *Richard* began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking reuenge vpon certaine Rebels of his in *Poictou*, who brooked not his hard hand; one miſchiefe drew another, and at the laſt both the Kings of *England* and *France* became parties to the quarrell, greatly againſt the minde of K. *Henry*, whoſe heart was firmely ſetled (as it ſeems) to reuenge the cauſe of Chriſt vpon *Sultan Saladine*: for that in his * anſwere to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, "imploring aide, he concludes, That among o-"ther Princes himſelfe; and ſonne, reiecting this "worlds glory, and deſpiſing all pleaſures whatſoe-"uer, and ſetting behind, all things which were of "this World, would in their owne perſon with "their whole Forces by the fauour of the Lord "ſpeedily viſite him. And ſure the ſtate of thoſe parts required it, *Saladine* hauing ſlaine many of the Knights Templars, and Nobles, and aboue thirty thouſand footmen, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him ſubdued. Among all which grieuous accidents, we cannot (to ſeaſon ſower therby with ſweet) omit one noble proteſtation made by the chiefe croſſed Lords, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the Earle of *Bloys* and other, who being required to "take parts, made anſwere; That they would not "contrary to their promiſe to God, put armour on, "againſt any Chriſtian, till they had done their de-"uoire againſt *Saladine*.

(97) In the treaties therefore between *Henry* and *Philip*; the demaunds of *Philip* on the behalfe of *Richard* were ſuch, and ſo vnſafe for the King (as that all his ſubiects ſhould ſweare fealty to *Richard* during the Fathers life; but yet reſeruing their allegiance to the Father) that *Richard* apparantly fell off, and became Liegeman for *Normandy*, &c. to *Philip* King of *France*; and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinall Legate) the demaunds of *Philip* being more hard then before, as that King *Henry* ſhould not onely ſettle the Kingdome vpon *Richard*, but take *Iohn* alſo with him into *Paleſtine*, or that otherwiſe *Richard* would not goe (being iealous of his brothers grace with his Father): *Henrie* would conſent to none of thoſe inſolent propoſitions, but diſdaining to ſeeme to be enforced, they betooke them ſelues on all ſides to their ſwords.

(98) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forſaking King *Henry*, hee ſuſtained many loſſes by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, & was driuen out of *Mentz* in *Main*; (the city where he was born, & which he loued aboue all other places) by firing of the Suburbes before the enemy came, being caſually conſumed, hee was glad to yeeld to ſuch conditions as it pleaſed *Philip* to preſcribe. It is written * that at the meeting of theſe two Kings, the skie being cleare, a thunderbolt ſtroke betweene them, and after a little pauſe comming together againe, it thundered more terribly, ſo that *Henry* had falne off his horſe, but that his people ſuſtained him; whereupon hee came preſently to an end, though it were to his vnſpeakable griefe; his Kingly heart being vſed to giue, and not to take conditions.

(99) Fearefull was the ſpeech which King *Henrie*, when hee abandoned *Mentz* by reaſon of the fire, "vttered againſt *Richard*; which was, That ſith he "had taken from him that day the thing that hee "moſt loued in this world, he would requite him, "for after that day hee would depriue him of that "thing which in him ſhould beſt pleaſe a Child, to "wit, his *Heart*. But after the peace concluded, (vpon mediation) between the ſides, another thing ſtrucke neerer; for finding the name of his ſonne *Iohn* firſt in the Catalogue of the Conſpirators againſt him in that action, hee bitterly curſed the howre of his birth, laying Gods curſe and his vpon his ſonnes, which hee would neuer recall, for any perſwaſion of the Biſhoppes and others: but comming to *Chinon* fell there grieuouſly ſicke, and feeling death approch, hee cauſed himſelfe to be borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confeſſion, and ſorrow for his ſinnes, hee departed this life.

(100) It ſhal not (in contempt of humane glory) be forgotten, that this puiſſant Monarch being dead his people preſently left him, and fell to ſpoile all he had, leauing him naked; of whom * one ſaith trulie "and

* *Ex pift. Itin. 1. ad Patriar. Antioch. apud Reg. Houed. pag. 367.*

An.D.1189. An.Reg.35.

* *Reg. Houed.*

King Henries death.

Holinſh. pag. 339. in Hen. 2.

An.D.1189.

Accidents after his death, which was, when he had raigned 34. yeers 7. monethes and 4. daies, being 63. yeeres of age. * *Roger Houeden.*

"and grauely, *Vere mel muſca*, &c. Surely, theſe flies "ſought honey, theſe wolues a Carcaſe, theſe Ants grain; "for they did not follow the Man but the ſpoile and bootie. Neither muſt it be vnremembred, that the fierce and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) comming to meete his Fathers body, roially adorned for the buriall according to the Maieſtie of his eſtate; the very Corſe (as it were abhorring and accuſing him for his vnnaturall behauiours) guſhed forth bloud; whereat *Richard* pierced with remorſe, melted into flouds of teares in moſt humble and repentant maner, attending vpon the remaines of his vnfortunate Father to the Graue.

He was buried at *Fontencrard*.

His Wife.

(101) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the eldeſt of the two Daughters, and the ſole Heire of *William* Duke of *Aquitaine*, the fift of that name, & the ninth in ſucceſsion, ſonne of Duke *William* the fourth, her Mother was Daughter to *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouſe*, and her great Dowrie was motiue firſt to King *Lewis*, (who had two daughters by her, *Mary* and *Alice*) and after to King *Henry*, to marry her. There are of the * *French* Hiſtorians who report that king *Henry* had a former wife, and that ſhee bare vnto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of our owne affaires (and * ſome alſo of the *French*,) acknowledge but onely *Eleanor* for his Wife. Certain it is, that king *Henries* times were much famouſed by two Women of much differing qualities; the one was his renowmed Mother *Matildis*, whoſe Epitaph thus compriſed part of her glory:

* *Serres* in *Lewis the yonger.*

* *Paulus Aemylius* in *Ludouic.* 7. who calls her *Leonora*,

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima prole:
Hic iacet Henrici Filia, Sponſa, Parens.

Here Henries Mother, Daughter, wife doth reſt:
By Birth, much; more, by Spouſe; by Child, moſt bleſt.

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the firſt cauſe of theſe bloudie Warres, which long after continued as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and the bellows of that vnnaturall diſcord, betwixt her husband and his ſonnes. Shee much out-liued her husband (as a bad thing ſtickes longeſt) beeing ſo happie as to ſee three of her ſonnes, aduanced to the Crowne, and ſo vnhappie as to ſee two of them in their graues: for ſhe liued till King *Iohns* time.

His Iſſue.

(102) *William*, the eldeſt ſonne and firſt child of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne before his father was King, and while hee was but Duke of *Normandy*, in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere after, (his father beeing then King, and in the ſecond yeere of his raigne) the Nobilitie of *England* ſware vnto him their fealtie, as to the heire apparant of the Kingdome, at the Caſtle of *Wallingford* in *Barkeſhire*; but he deceaſed the yeere following, being the third of his fathers raigne, and the fift of his owne age 1156. He was buried in the Monaſtery of *Reading* at the feete of his great Grandfather, King *Henrie* the firſt.

(103) *Henrie*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, beeing borne the laſt of Februarie 1156. was their heire apparant, after the death of his brother *William*; was Duke of *Normandie*, Earle of *Anion* and *Maigne*; and was crowned King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, the fifteenth of Iulie 1170. His wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *Lewis* the *Yonger*, King of *France*, married to him at *Nuburgh* in *Normandy*, the ſecond of Nouember 1160. crowned Quene at *Wincheſter*, by *Rotrocke* of *Warwicke* Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, the 21. of Nouember 1163. and ſuruiuing him was remarried to *Bela*, King of *Hungarie*: He died without iſſue, before his father, at *Marcell* in *Touraine*, the eleuenth of Iulie, the twentie ſixe yeere of his fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the Church of our Lady at *Roan*.

(104) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henrie*, and Queen *Eleanor*, was born at *Oxford*, (in the Kings Pallace there, called *Beau-Mount*,) in September the fourth yeere of his fathers raigne 1157. He proued a Prince of great valor, and was therefore ſurnamed in French *Cuer-de-Lion*; in Engliſh *Lions-Heart*: hee was created Earle of *Poytou*, and had the whole Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage to King *Lewis* the *Yonger* of *France*, in the eighteenth yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward he conceiued ſome diſcontentment againſt his father, and maintained warres vpon him, but was reconciled againe into his loue, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdome.

Reſus w... alij.

(105) *Geffrey*, the fourth ſonne of *King Henrie*, and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twentie third of September, in the fifth yeere of his fathers raigne 1159. Hee married *Conſtance* daughter and heire of *Conan* Duke of *Britane*, and in her right was Duke of *Britane*, and did his homage to his brother *Henry* for the ſame Dutchie, and receiued the homages of the Barrons of the ſame: hee died at *Paris*, in the thirtie two yeere of his fathers raigne 1186. the nineteenth of Auguſt, and is buried in the quire of our Ladies Church there: hee had iſſue *Arthur* Duke of *Britane*, borne after his fathers deceaſe, the heire apparant of *King Richard*, and by ſome ſuppoſed to bee made away by *King Iohn*; and alſo *Eleanor* called the *Damſell* of *Britane*, who died in priſon in the raigne of *King Henrie* the third.

(106) *Philip*, the fifth ſonne of King *Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, may bee miſtruſted, to be miſtaken by Antiquaries of our time, as miſunder-ſtanding the ancient writers, who mentioning the birth of *Philip* the Kings ſonne, might by good likelihood, be thought to meane, *Philip* ſonne of *Lewis* the *Yonger* King of *France*, who was borne about this time, and was after King of the ſame Countrey. But M^r *Thomas Talbot*, an exact trauailer in genealogies, hath not onely ſet him downe in this place, amongſt the children of this King, but alſo warranteth the ſame, to bee done with good authoritie: howſoeuer, it is apparant, his life was verie ſhort.

(107) *Iohn*, the ſixth and yongeſt ſonne of *King Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in Anno 1166. hee was ieſtinglie ſurnamed by his father *Sans-terre*, in *Engliſh* without Land, becauſe hee was borne laſt, as if there had beene nothing left for him: Notwithſtanding ſoone after, hee was created Earle of *Mortaigne*, and had more-ouer by degrees, the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, and *Gloceſter*, the Counties of *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, the Honors of *Wallinford* and *Nottingham*, the Caſtles of *Tikhill*, *Marlborow*, and *Ludgarſall*, with many other great Seigniories, and (aboue them all) was alſo Lord of *Ireland*, and at the laſt ſucceeded his brother *Richard* in all his Dominions and was King of *England*.

(108) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of *King Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of her fathers raigne, married to *Henrie*, ſurnamed the *Lion* Duke of *Saxonie*; *Lothar* that died yong, *Otho* the fourth *German* Emperour, and *William* borne at *Wincheſter*, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwicke*, who bare for their Armes, the Coat of *England*, with the two Lions, as *King Henrie* his Grandfather bare, before the match with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Maud* married to *Geffrey* Earle of *Perch*: Shee ſuruiued him, and died in the firſt yeere of the raigne of her brother *King Richard*, and was buried by her husband, in the Church of S. *Blaſe* at *Brunſwicke*.

(109) *Eleanor*, the ſecond daughter of *King Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162. She was married to *Alfonſe*, the ninth of that name, ſurnamed the *Good*, King of *Caſtile* in *Spaine*, and had iſſue by him *Sanches*, that died in his infancie: *Ferdinando*

dinando that died in his youth, *Henry* King of *Castile* after his Father, *Blaunch* Queene of *France*, wife to King *Lewis* the 8. and mother of Saint *Lewis*. *Berengar* married to *Alfonso* king of *Lion*: *Vrraca* Queene of *Portugall*, and *Eleanor* wife of *Iames* king of *Arragon*.

(110) *Ioane*, the third and yongest daughter of king *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was born at the City of *Angiers* in *France*, in the moneth of *October*, the 13. yeare of her Fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. when shee was eleuen yeeres of age; shee was with great honour conueied to the City of *Palermo*, and there married to *William* the second of that name, king of *Sicil*, Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Capua*, vpon Sunday the 13. day of *Februarie*, 1177. and was crowned Queene the same day at the same place. Shee had a sonne by him named *Boamund*, whom his Father when hee was returned from his Christning, created Duke of *Apulia*: but the child died first, and the Father after, leauing no issue. And she suruiuing, married againe, and was the third wife of *Raimund* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Tholouz*, by him shee had Issue *Raimund* the last Earle of that house, *Bertrand* Lord of *Branquell*, *Montelore*, and *Saluiac*, and a daughter married to *Berald* of *Elbeine*, Prince of *Orenge*.

His Naturall Issue.

(111) *William* the Naturall sonne of king *Henry*, born of *Rosamund*, the daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*; which Lady for her incomparable beauty was reputed (with allusion to her name) *Rosa-mundi*, the Rose of the world: the deare affection the king bare her, caused both burning iealousie in the Queene, and fatall ruine to her selfe, albeit the amorous king, for her secresie and security, (but what walles will not a iealous eye pierce through?) had built for her a most artificiall Labyrinth at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, with such cunning windings and intricate passages, as had not Fate, and Heauens reuenge on Adultery, shewed the way, the enraged Queen had not so soone beene rid of her Riuall, nor that wanton Dame of her life. Shee was buried in the *Nunnery* of *Godstow* by *Oxford* with this Epitaph.

Hac iacet in Tumba Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda;
Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.
(*Rose,*
This Tombe doth here enclose the Worlds most beauteous Rose, passing sweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

But *Hugh* (called the Saint) Bishop of *Lincolne*, thought the Hearse of a Harlot no fit spectacle for a Quire of Virgins to contemplate, & therefore himselfe in person caused her bones to be cast foorth of the Church; which yet those chast sisters afterward recollected, and placed there againe with much honour, erecting a goodly Crosse, thus inscribed to the honour of her memory:

Qui meat hac, oret, Signumque salutis adoret,
Vtq; tibi detur requies Rosamunda, precetur.

All you which passe this way, This Crosse adore, and pray,
That Rosamunds Soule may True rest possesse for aye.

The first Sonne which by her *King Henry* had, was the said *William*, surnamed in *French*, *Longespee*, in *English*, *Long-Sword*. He was Earle of *Salisburie*, in right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, son of Earle *Patrick*, by whom hee had Issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Stephen* Earle of *Vlster*, *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*, *Ida* Lady *Beucham* of *Bedford*, and *Isabell* Lady *Vescie*: his sonne Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*: hee died in the Castle of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of the New City, in the ninth yeare of the raigne of king *Henry* the third.

(112) *Geffrey* an other Naturall sonne of king *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Rosamund* aforesaid: This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers procurement) made Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, and after Bishop of that See, which hee held aboue seauen yeeres without consecration: and then resigning it, in the yeare, 1181. into the hands of *Richard Archbishop of Canterbury*, and his Father; hee was made Chancellour of *England*, and afterward by his brother king *Richard*, hee was aduanced to the Archbishopricke of *Yorke*, (being consecrated at *Tours* in *France*, An. 1191.) which See he gouerned with good approbation. But in the time of his Brother King *Iohn*, hee vnderwent many difficulties, by opposing the Kings purposes, who therefore made seisure of his whole state, and *An.* 1207. he left the Land and after fiue yeeres banishment, died, viz. *Ann.* 1213.

Gerv. Dorob.

An. D. 1181.

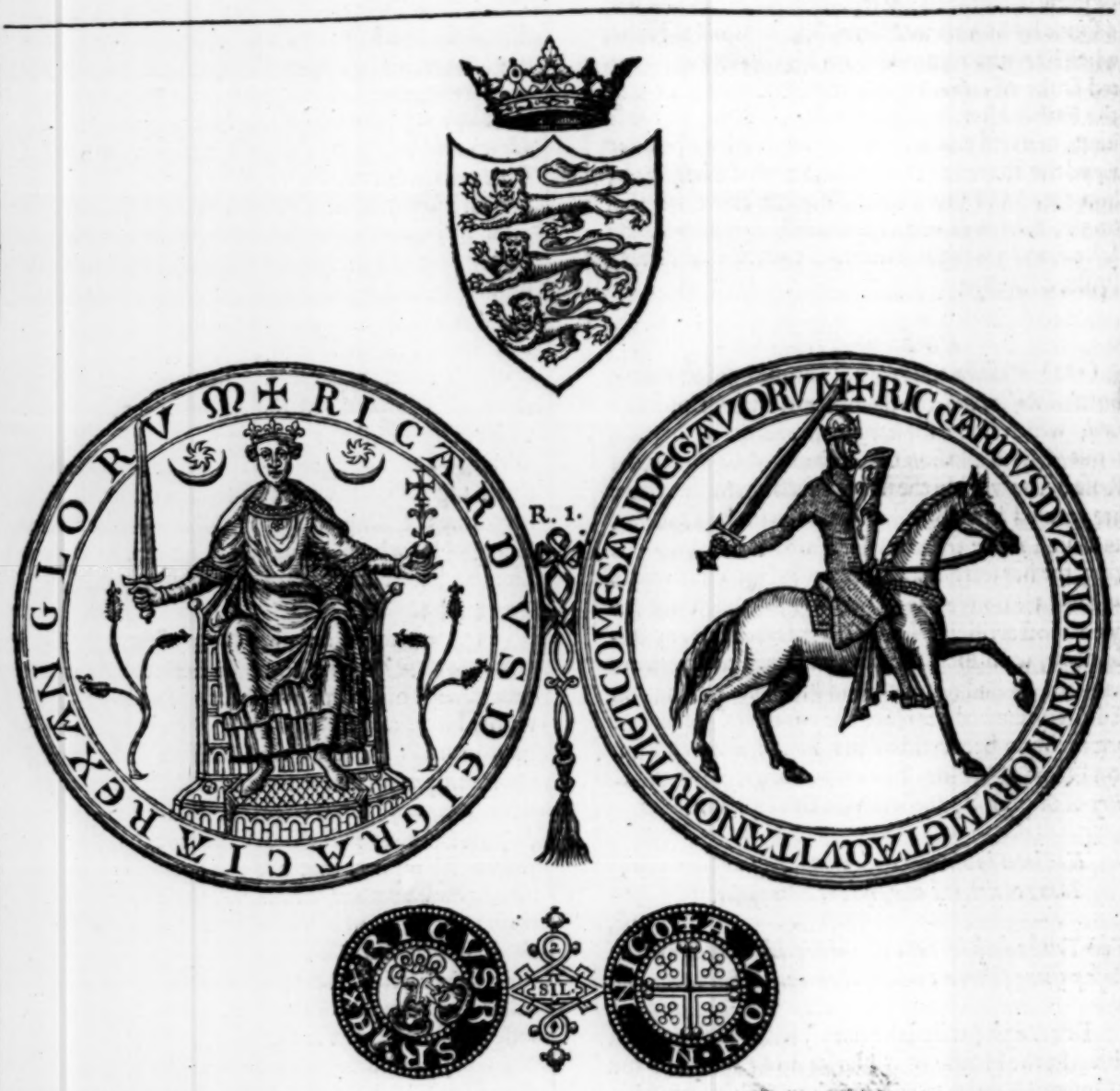
(113) *Morgan*, an other *Naturall* sonne of King *Henry*, is thought by * some (because so small mention is made of him) to haue beene of no long life after his birth, and to haue beene borne of some woman in *Wales*, where this Christian name is most commonly vsed, and whither this King vpon many occasions, sometimes resorted. But * some others (whose studious paines, deserue much thankes of posteritie) report, that hee was gotten on the wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* (or *Blewet*) a knight, and liued both to bee *Prouost* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Durham*, when comming to *Rome* for a dispensation (because his Bastardie made him otherwise vncapable) the Pope willed him to professe himselfe *Blewets* lawfull son, and not the Kings *Naturall*, promising to consecrate him on that condition: but he, vsing the aduise of one *William Lane* his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion, he would renounce his father, or deny himselfe to bee of roiall bloud: so blind were some Prelats of those times, who esteemed *spirituall functions*, to be but *worldly promotions*.

* Mr Fuirers.

* *Goodwin* of the B.B. of *Durham*. *Iohn Stow* in the life of King *Iohn*.

Richard I.

RICHARD THE FIRST, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VI.

An.D.1199 King *Richard* orders his estate.

RICHARD succeeding to his deceased Father *Henrie*, brought forth that wonder, which a Writer ofthat age thus celebrated,

Mira cano; Sol occubuit, Nox nulla secuta est.

A Wonder strange I write, the Sundid set, yet was no Night.

Meaning, that though *Henry* were dead, yet the glory and happinesse of the land was not thereby clouded, for that *Richard* was another Sunne, and in some respects farre the more bright, and farther shining of the two; as hauing for honour of Christian Chealrie, wholy consecrated his warlike minde and actions to the seruice of God, and readuancement of the Crosse of Christ, dishonoured by the Infidels in *Asia*: in which enterprise hee was so feruently zealous, that from the time of his Fathers death (in whose vowes it had beene) hee meditated scarse any thing else, disposing the affaires of his Estate (but not * carelesly, as some would impose) as of things which did but onely vnder-serue, and conduce to the maine and principall end of aduancing his Sauiours glory, whereunto hee iudged that action did tend.

* *Reg. Houed. Mat. Paris &c.*

Rand. Higden in Rich. 1.

(2) Hauing therefore ordered his weightier businesses in *Normandy*, and other his transmarine Dominions, & in *England* by his letters, set * the Queen his Mother at liberty from that captiuity, wherein her late husband the king had long detained her, (who sensible of others woe by her owne, did afterward exercise many works of mercy in that kind) he cuts ouer hither, aswell to receiue all the rights of Soueraignety, and to settle the same; as also to leuie meanes for proceeding in his intended holy voiage, together with *Philip* king of *France*, and other Christian Potentates.

* *Ger. Dunst.*

(3) And though before his Coronation, most Writers doe not call him a *King*; yet sure it is, that he

Kingly power before Coronation.

he and others did immediately, and vnqueſtionably, vpon the firſt accruement of the intereſt, (which was at his Fathers laſt gaſpe) exerciſe all the offices of the roiall power; for ſo hee reſtored *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter* to his whole eſtate: So plaine it is, that our Gouernment allowes not the dangerous conuulſions, & emptie ſpaces of an *Interregnum*, ſuch as in meer electiue States are cõmon, if not continual.

(4) But in nothing more could this noble Prince ſhew his iudgement (though he were otherwiſe * *Sagacis ingenij*, of a ſharpe and ſearching wit) then in this: That hee baniſhed from his familiarity, & (as my Author ſaith) hated all thoſe of what profeſſion ſo euer they were, who had forſaken his Father, and both retained, and enricht thoſe other, who had loially ſtood for him againſt himſelfe in al aſſaies.

(5) At his Coronation, which was moſt magnificently performed at Weſtminſter, by * *Baldwyne* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the pointes of the Oath which hee made to God, and the Kingdom of *England*, at the Altar vpon the holy Euangeliſts, before the Prelates, Nobles, and whole people, * were theſe: 1. That all the daies of life he would beare peace, honour, and reuerence to God, and holy Church and the Ordinances thereof: 2 That in the people to him committed, hee would exerciſe right, iuſtice, and equitie. 3. That hee would blot forth naughty lawes, and peruerſe cuſtomes, if any were brought vpon his Kingdome; and would enact good lawes, and the ſame in good faith keepe, and without *mal-Engyn*. Which oath being moſt ſolemnly taken, and the ſacred vnction performed; the Archbiſhop ſtanding at the Altar forbad him, on the behalfe of Almighty God, to aſſume that honour, vnleſſe hee had a full purpoſe to keepe what hee had ſworne: whereto *Richard* aſſenting, and with his owne hands, humbly taking the ponderous Crowne Imperiall from off the Altar, in ſignification, as is probable, that hee held it onely from God; hee deliuers it to the Archbiſhop, who thereupon accompliſhed all the Ceremonies of Coronation.

(6) Which Act was accidently hanſeld, and auſpicated with the bloud of many *Iewes* (though vterly againſt the Kings will) who in a tumult (raiſed by the * *Ocean*) were furiouſlie murthered, which (though it were afterward puniſhed by the Lawes) might ſeeme a preſage, that this *Lion-hearted* King (as his by-name *Ceur-de-Lion* did import) ſhould bee a ſpeciall deſtroier of the Enemies of our Sauiour.

(7) After counſell therefore (firſt moouer in all worthy enterpriſes) Money was in his firſt, and chiefeſt cares; for raiſing whereof, to furniſh the intended pilgrimage, he ſold, morgaged, eſtated, and (by a thouſand princely skills) as if he ſhould neuer haue come againe, added incredible heapes to thoſe huge ſums, which hee had ſcruzed out of *Stephen de Turpham*, his fathers Treaſurer (amounting to eleuen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, if ſome ſay true) all hoorded by King *Henry*. What could indeed be ſaid enough for ſuch a voiage? and it was a cogitation woorthy ſo glorious a purpoſe, ſo to order his eſtate, as if hee were not to returne at all; becauſe, looking-backe doth vnbend and ſoften reſolutions.

(8) As for men and ſoldiers, the Prelats, Friars, and other Preachers, had ſtirred vp innumerable, by their manifold exhortations (the Arch-biſhoppe of *Canterburie* hauing * trauailed through *Wales* in perſon for that purpoſe, going afterward with the King to *Paleſtine*, where alſo * he died) in pulpits and priuate conferences, ſounding nothing but the Croſſe and Paſſion of Chriſt, calling the world to reuenge his cauſe vpon the *Pagans*, and ſetting ſoules on fire with vehement geſtures, actions, and perſwaſions. But the kingdome of *England* he ordered thus.

(9) The onely maine danger of the State in his abſence, was in his brother *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, of whoſe ambition hee was ſomewhat iealous, as * knowing that King *Henrie*, not long before his death, had intended the Crowne to him: to conquer therefore his appetites, with bountie, and munificence; and to take away all murmuration in him, for want of Princelie competencies, King *Richard* did as it were ſhare the Realm with him, giuing him ſixe Earledomes, *Cornwall*, *Dorſet*, *Sommerſette*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaſter*, beſides Caſtles, Honors, Manors, Foreſts, and much other riches, and finallie, the Earledome of *Gloſter*, with the Heire of that Countie to bee his Wife, though the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie* forbad the Nuptialls, alledging ſhee was within degrees of conſanguinitie.

(10) But leſt, through euill nature or aduiſe, Earle *Iohn* ſhould conuert thoſe ſo great gifts to the ſubuerſion of the beſtower, *Hee* entruſted him with no part of the Regall power, as the Key, and ſecret of his proper ſafetie: but laide the maine burthen of Gouernment vpõ *William Longchamp* Biſhop of *Ely*, * chiefe *Iuſtitiar*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Papall Legate, (a perſon out of all ſuſpition for aſpiring to the Crowne) whereby was conferred vpon him, whatſoeuer either King or Pope could grant, for accompliſhment of his authoritie; ſo that he might well be ſtiled * *Prince* and *Prieſt* of *England*; as hee was one, the moſt powerfull ſubiect for the time, that perhaps this Realme hath had: for, though the King had (as it were) ioined with him in *Commiſsion*, one *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham*, for the parts of *England* beyond *Humber*; yet, as it * happned in the Conſulſhip of *Caſar* and *Bibulus*, that nothing was reported of *Bibulus*, but all of *Caſar*, ſo did *Longchamp* in a ſhort time eaſilie make himſelfe ſole and abſolute, his ſway burying in ſilence, the name, and endeauours, of his Colleague.

(11) Thus the ſumme of commaund, or the Souereigne power it ſelfe, was in the Chancellor as Viceroy, but for defence and preſeruation of his iuſtice, hee * did ſubordinate or aſſociate to thoſe Biſhops, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marſhall*, *Geffrey Fitz-Peter*, *William Bruuer*, *Robert de Whitfield*, *Roger Fitz-Remfrey*, wherein hee did ſhew his loue and care of the *Engliſh* Nation, as alſo of Iuſtice it ſelfe: for that many of theſe, were of the moſt honourable Peeres of the Land (and not men bred-vp or formerly enured to make Iuſtice, or their owne Tongues venall, for a fee:) honour beeing the rule of their proceedings, and ſtrength of priuate fortunes, with their Princes fauour, the pillar to ſuſteine that honor.

(12) There remained to prouide for (before hee left *England*) the neighbour-hood of *Scotland* and *Wales*, which might otherwiſe make vſe of his abſence to his preiudice: But *Rheſe ap Gruffith* (of whom there is extant a ſhort but elegant *Panegyris*) Prince of *South-Wales* (beeing already in amitie) came as farre as *Oxford* toward him; but becauſe the King (who was there) came not in perſon to meete him (as his father King *Henrie* had done) the Prince (notwithſtanding Earle *Iohn* the Kings only brother, had conducted him from the Marches with ſpeciall honor) tooke it in ſo high ſcorne and indignation, (for euen the meaneſt, from whom ſeruice or loue is expected, will againe expect regard) that hee foorthwith returned into his Countrey, without once ſaluting the King; who by this neglect, loſt *Rheſes* loue, as, vpon the like omiſſion, and vnreſpectiueneſſe, *Auguſtine* (the too ſupercilious Monke) did leeſe the affections of the Monkes of *Bangor*, *Rheſes* owne countrie-men, in another part of *Wales*.

(13) As for william King of *Scots* (a verie worthie Prince) hee iourneied hither to King *Richard* into *England*, and heere concluded a firme friendſhip, which hee kept verie religiouſly, euen in the greateſt troubles of King *Richard*, to the glorie of himſelfe and his Nation, and as ſome write, ſent his Brother *Dauid* with 5000. *Scots*, to ſerue him in the ſacred warres. The chiefe points of their conuention were. 1. That for ten thouſand Markes Sterling, (then paid

* *Geruaſius.*

Roger Houed. * *Mat. Paris.* *& alij.*

**Rex & Sacerdos. Mat. Paru.*

* *Sueto. li. 1. c. 20.*

Rog. Houed.

Iuſtice is beſt where it brings Honour rather then riches.

Rog. Houed. The agreement betweene the two Kings of *England.* and *Scotland.*

Hector Boetius lib. 13 aap. 7.

Hector Boetius ſaith 10000. l.

paid) the Caſtles of *Rockesbrough*, and *Berwicke* (cautionarie Caſtles, or gage places, for part of his ranſome) ſhould be reſtored. 2. That he ſhould haue all ſuch deedes, inſtruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henrie*, which had by conſtraint or dureſſe beene obtained: and himſelfe to be freed from all encombrances, claimes, or pretenſions whatſoeuer. 3. That he ſhould haue all ſuch dignities, as his brother *Malcolm* held in *England*, (for which King *William* did there make fealtie) and all ſuch Lands as his Anceſtors did hold of the *Engliſh* Crowne.

Houeden.

The agreement betweene the Kings of *France* and *England.*

(14) The State of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points eſtabliſhed, King *Richard* croſt the Seas into *France* to *Philip* king therof, according to appointment, that from thence, with minds & forces vnited, they might ſet forward vnder the Enſigne of the Croſſe; which after ſome ſtay (occaſioned by the* death of the *French* Queen) they did, vpon theſe Chriſtian and friendly termes; 1. That each of them preſerue the others honour, and beare faith to him for life, and member, and earthly dignity. 2. That neither of them ſhall faile the other in their affaires; but that the King of *France* ſhall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, euen as hee would defend the City of *Paris*, if it were beſieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, ſhall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, euen as he would defend his City *Roan* if it were beſieged. This * being fairely engroſt, and afterward ratified with oath, and ſent by the kings themſelues in perſon, the Earles and Barons ſware in ſolemne manner, that they would not treſpaſſe againſt their fealty, nor ſtirre any warre in either of the kings Dominions, ſo long as they were in that pilgrimage: on the other ſide, the * Archbiſhops and Biſhops did firmly promiſe (*in verbo veritatis*, in the word of truth) that they would accurſe and excommunicate al ſuch as did tranſgreſſe this agreement.

Ger. Dor.

** Houeden.*

The agreement ſolemnely ratified on all parts.

** Matth. Paris.*

(15) Thus (after ſome neceſſary ſtaies) theſe two the greateſt Monarks of the Weſt, ſet forward ouer land (toward the publike ſeruice of Chriſtianity) with ſuch numbers as thēſelues thought beſt; which were ſo great, that hauing aduanced (not without ſome little loſſe of people by the * fall of the Bridge ouer the riuer *Rhene* at *Lions*, which brake by reaſon of the throng) beyond the ſaid violent ſtreame, they parted company; *Philip* paſſing ouer the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-ſide at *Marſilia*, there to meete with his Nauie, which being compact of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandy*, and other his *French* Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

The Kings of *France* and *England* ſet forward to the Holy Land.

** Roger Houed. Matth. Paris.*

(16) But the voiage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleet, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, embarkt himſelfe * in twenty hired Gallyes, and ten great hulkes or Buſſes (a kind of ſhipping as it ſeemes peculiar then to the Mediterranean ſeas) and ſet ſaile toward *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, the *Rendeuow* of both the kings and of their Armies: in which paſſage, lying at Anchor (on occaſion,) in the mouth of the riuer *Tyber* not far from *Rome*, * *Octauianus, the Biſhoppe of Hoſtia repaired vnto him, deſiring him in the Popes name, that hee would viſite his Holineſſe; which the King denied to do, laying to the Popes charge many ſhamefull matters touching the Romiſh Simony, and Couetouſneſſe, with many other reproaches, alleadging that they tooke* 700. *Markes for conſecration of the Biſhoppe of Mains,* 1500. *Markes for the Legatiue power of William Biſhop of Ely; but of the Archbiſhop of Burdeaux an infinite ſumme of money: whereupon hee refuſed to ſee Rome.* Thus (after ſundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Nauy was ſafe, he *ſtaied for them by the way, and then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23. of September) before the City of *Meſſana*, with ſo great a ſhew of power, and ſound of Warlike Inſtruments, and other ſignes of Maieſty, in the ſight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there aſſembled, that it ſtroke horror into the Inhabitants, (ſaith *Houeden*) and moued no ſmall enuy in the hearts of his confederates.

The Citie of *Meſſana* in Sicilia the *Rendeuou* of the Kings.

** Act & Mon. pag. 314.*

Roger Wend. Matth. Paris.

Roz. Houed.

(17) From this time forward, as it may ſeem (the Enemy of Concord feeding the maleuolent paſſions of men with perpetuall matter of debate) the king of *France* was neuer truly king *Richards* friend in heart, but vpon the ſame day (whither ſtreightned in prouiſions or otherwiſe) hee left the king of *England*; but by contrary wind was driuen backe before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *Engliſh* and *Sicilians*) the two kings peaced againe, and ſetled a new & as firme a league, as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time king of *Sicilia* by vſurpation, after the death of *William*, who had married *Ioan* ſiſter of king *Richard*, whom (at that time vpon diſpleaſure and quarrell being priſoner) *Tancred* ſet at liberty, ſending her in honourable manner to her brother, and did yeeld to ſundry Articles, and alſo preſent paiments of ample ſummes. Feare wrought on both parts; for *Richard* being among ſtrangers, and not very ſure of the *French*, ſeiſed vpon a ſtrength of the *Griffons* (people much redoubted in thoſe parts, till the arriuall * of the *Engliſh*) & in a tumult tooke the City of *Meſſana* it ſelfe, where he diſplaied his Enſignes, till for the *French Kings* loue hee was content to diſaduance them, and to entruſt the City to the Knights Templars and Hoſpitalers, vntill *Tancred* had fulfilled all ſuch things as *Richard* did challenge to bee due, being many.

(19) Vpon great deliberation therefore, the *Sicilan* King made anſwere, that hee had already paide to his ſiſter, late Queene of that Iland, a very great quantity of coine in recompence of her Dowry or Ioincture, and would ſatiſfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predeceſſor king *William*, to the Father of king *Richard*) as far as hee ought] according to the cuſtome of that kingdome, and thereupon gaue vnto him for the quitclaime of his ſiſters Ioincture, twenty thouſand ounces of gold: and farther to bee acquitted of all other claims & pretences, as alſo in conſideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, nephew & next heire of king *Richard* (if *Richard* died without iſſue) ſhold take towife the daughter of K. *Tancred*, he paid him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold; and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* loue, and for the loue of the *Engliſh* Nation (which, ſaith our * Author, was then in greateſt reputation through the kingdome of *Sicilie*) as alſo to bee the more aſſured of performance, he gaue him other twenty thouſand ounces of gold, beſides afterward foure great Ships, called *Vrſers*, and fifteene Gallies.

** Roz. Houed. fol. 384.*

(20) King *Richard* on the other ſide, not to bee wanting to any matter, which in honor and equitie might bee expected of him, beſides letters Patents, hee put in vpon their Oaths for his ſureties, two Arch-biſhops, and two Biſhops of his owne there preſent, and twentie great Lords, and principall men his ſubiects, whoſe names (becauſe many of their poſterities doe yet ſtand) are heere inſerted out of the ſaide letters Patents, as they are vpon record in *Houeden.*

Iordanus de Humez his Conſtable, *Wilielmus de Curci, Richardus de Camuilla, Girardus de Talebot, Robertus Sabluil, Guido de Croun, Guarinus filius Geroldi, Bertramus de Verdun, W. Chamberlangus de Tankeruile, Robertus de Nouo-burgo, Hugo Bardolf, Wigain de Cheresburg, Gilbertus de Waſcuil, Hugo le Bruin, Iohannes de Piller, Amauri de Muntford, Andreas de Chauenni, Wilielmus de Forz, Gaufridus de Rancune, Amauri Torell,* and other not named.

(21) Moreouer for finall aſſurance, he offereth that Pope *Clemēt* ſhould vndertake for performance of his part in the ſaid agreement; and that the ſaid *Clement* would accordingly vndertake, hee requeſts him by moſt officious letters, giuing him leaue without

out any reluctation) to put his dominions (vpon any his breach) vnder seuerest censures.

(22) This peace and accord being happily thus concluded, King *Tancred* (hauing most roially and louingly feasted the King of *England* for three daies and three nights in a Castle of his) discouered, vpon the way at *Tauernium* in his returne, a foule and vnprincely conspiracie of *Philip* (whome one of our Writers cals the *vain-glorious King*) against the head and safety of King *Richard*; which comming to bee scanned betweene the two Kings, the *French* charged the *English* with picking of quarrels; and added, that vnlesse *Richard* maried his sister *Alice*, according as hee ought, hauing beene contracted long before together, he would be his enemy while he breathed; whereunto King *Richard* (being pressed) did replie: That his * sister during the time of her abode in *England*, had a child by his Father *Henry* King of *England*, which he was ready to proue by many witnesses there present: so that King *Richard* had farre more cause then a suspition of dishonesty (which *some write) to refuse the marriage. This falling out so shamefully, *Philip* (vpon certaine conditions betweene *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife where he thought good, but neuer (as it may seeme) forgaue him his euill will while they two liued together.

(23) And because acts of Christian remorse and humility are too rare among the Great ones of this vaine world, it were a crime to pretermit the exemplar humiliation of this famous General K. *Richard*, at this time, who (to vse my * Authors words) *inspired with diuine grace*, and studying to fitte himselfe for the great attempt he had in hand, was stung at the soule with so iust compunction for his sinnes, that calling before him his Archbishoppes and Bishoppes into a Chappell, at the house where he was lodged without the walles of *Messana*; hee blushed not to make a penitent confession of his manifolde excesses, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his subordinate Ministers) of Absolution; & God (saith *Houeden*) *respected him with eies of Mercy, and gaue him a penitent heart, so that from thenceforth hee proued a man fearing God, eschuing euil, and doing good.* "* *O felicem illum, &c. O happie he, who so fals, that* "*he may rise more strong: O happy he, who after peni-*"*tence, relapseth not into fault and ruine.*

(24) Wherupon addicting his mind to diuine contemplations, & meditation of the christian Church, whose Champion now he was; hee desired conference of one *Ioachim* (a Cisterciã Abbot) whose great learning and *deepe vnderstanding in the Scriptures*, with an opinion of a *Propheticall inspiration*, made him so famous ouer the world, that King *Richard* sent for him, being thẽ in *Calabria* neer *Sicilie*, whom at his comming he heard preaching and expounding the *Apocalypse* of *S. Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichrist*, *which* (saith hee) *was then borne, and in the City of Rome, and shall bee aduanced in the See Apostolicke, of whom the Apostle said, he should extoll himselfe aboue all that is called God; and that the seuen Crownes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which obeyed him.* Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in *Rome*, which might seeme to giue great probability to that Abbots opinion, especially, if Emperours and Kings bee truely called *Gods, ouer whom *Antichrist* also *should extol himself*: for in the same moneth that *Richard* left *Messana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperour, and his Empresse *Constantia*, in S. *Peters* Church; where Pope *Celestine*, the very next day after his own consecration to the *Papacie*, *sate in his Pontificall chaire, holding the Emperiall golden Crowne betwixt his feete and the Emperour* (*as likewise the Empresse*) *stooping low, receiued on his head the Diadem from the Popes feet; and presently against the Pope strake the Emperors crowne with his foot, and dasht* it to the ground; *signifying that hee had power to throw him* (*vpon his demerites*) *out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching vp the crowne, put it againe on the Emperours head.*

(25) The same day in which *Philip* & his *French* Forces set saile out of the Hauen of *Messana*, arriued *Alienor* King *Richards* mother, accompanied with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouse, daughter to* *Sanctius* King of *Nauarre*, whome afterward he tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a short stay returned by *Rome* into *England*, leauing the young Lady with *Ioan* Queene Dowager of *Sicilie*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Nauie being *one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty three Gallies well appointed for the warre, and* many other Sailes and Vessels: and (not to omit the same because it is recorded as a singularity) he had among all these,* thirteen Buces or Buscies, which had each of them three course of Sailes to saile with: but no Writer (so farre as we yet find) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the *English* Armie.

(26) This Nauie roiall betweene the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) was scatterd by God with a terrible tempest, some one or two of which suffered wreack vpon the Isle of *Cyprus*, whom* *Cursac* (or as other call him *Isakius*, Emperour of the *Griffons*) being a * tyrant did spoile, and contrary to Christian Religion, (which was his profession, though some mistake) and all honour and humanity, he would not (among other his vnprincely, or rather barbarous behauiours) suffer the Kings sister, and Lady *Berengaria*, with other of that tender societie, to come into harbour, to their great discontentment and perill, a * Shippe or two sinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgiue it him.

(27) For the said vnworthy Prince hauing thrice refused to make restitution of his vnlawfull seisures and prisoners, was entred vpon by the *English*, driuen from the shoares with great dishonour and slaughter; the City *Limesium* left for a prey to the victors, and himselfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an escape made by him, his onelie daughter and heire yeelding her selfe, and her Father lastly comming againe of his owne accord (as despairing to lie hid) vnder custodie, and thrust into fetters of gold and siluer, the whole Iland (with all the people, strength, and riches thereof) became subiect to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter led away into captiuity.

(28) There arriued at *Limesium*, to salute and honour King *Richard* within three dayes after his first victory, *Guido* King of *Ierusalem*, *Geofrey de* * *Lenizant* his brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, Earle *Boemond* his sonne, &c. offering their seruices, and swearing to bee his against all men; with whose priuity King *Richard* seised the flourishing and spatious Iland of *Cyprus*, by antiquity celebrated as the very *seate of Venus*, which that it might so proue to himselfe, in the ioyous moneth, he solemnly took to wife his beloued Lady *Berengaria*.

(29) The person of the Emperour (for by that lofty title Writers call him,) was sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, vnder the custody of *Ralph Fitz Godfrey*, Lord *Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berengaria* and *Ioan*: the Iland it selfe was entrusted to *Richard de Camuile*, and *Robert de Turnham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and prouisions, and the Ilanders suffered to enioy all such lawes and liberties, as they held in the time of *Manuel* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stamboli*.

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his conquering a mighty * Argosie, called a Dromond, wherein were aboord one thousand and fiue hundreth *Sarazens* (though disguised vnder *French* Flagges) furnished, besides all other prouisions, with fire-workes, barrelles or cages of venemous serpents, and the like, for the vse of the *Sarazens* at *Acon*, (anciently called *Ptolomais*, to the siege whereof he was then sailing,) thirteene hun-

perour, but *ean* is more probable with relation to *Coronam*.

A.D. 1191. The King of France sets saile for the Holy Land.

* *Ro. Houed.* 392.

* *Tpod. Neust.*

Mat. Par. ad A. D. 1191. *Tpod. Neust.*

* *Houed.* King *Richards* Nauie scattered.

* *Tpod. Neust. Matth. Paris.*

* *Houed. Ger. Dor. Hect. Boet. l.* 13. *cap.* 7.

* *Houed. fol.* 392.

King *Richard* subdues the Isle of *Cyprus*. *Ro. Houed. Mat. Paris. Tpodig. Neust. Ger. Dor. Alt. and Mon.* p. 320. *Holin. p.*

* *Lusignan.*

* *Ro. Houed. pa.* 392. *Alt. and Mon.* p. 319.

* *Ro. Houed. Mat. Paris Tpod. Neust.*

dreth of which Miſcreants, he ſacrificed to *Mars* & *Neptune*, keeping the reſt for ranſome.

(31) *Philip* King of *France*, (in hope perhaps to conquere *Acon* before the *Engliſh* could arriue, and to winne thereby that glory intire) came ſafe before that City in Eaſter weeke; but as yet had not forced the ſame: at which time (that the Reader may obſerue the generall diſpoſition of the weſtern Chriſtians in thoſe dayes) there engirded *Accon* (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Cheifes) theſe Nations following; the *Genowayes* and *Florentines*, the *Engliſh* vnder *Hubert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, afterward * Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Flemings*, *Almaines*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, *Friſelanders*, *Piſans*, *Lombardes*, beſides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beſide the aides of the *Aſians*: all which lay quartered at the Seige in order, as here they are placed, at that time in which the King of *France* arriued. But *Richard* King of *England* with his victorious and triumphant Nauie (which when it went out of *Cyprus*, being much belike augmented * did containe 254. tall ſhippes, and aboue 60. Galliots) brought terrour & diſmay to the beſieged, and comfort to the Chriſtians, * vpon the Sunday after *Pentecoſt*, being about the middeſt of Iune.

(32) The ſiege was ſo vehemently plied, that (notwithſtanding ſundry diſſentions between *Philip* and *Richard*, the two competitors of glorie in this voiage) after ſeuerall breaches and aſſaults, the laſt whereof was made by the *Piſans* and *Engliſh*, vpon the twelfth of Iuly following, many offers of compoſition made by the *Saladine*, being vtterly refuſed, the City of *Accon* was rendred to the Chriſtians vpon theſe conditions. 1 That *Saladine* (Prince of Miſcreants) ſhould by a certaine day reſtore the holy Croſſe. 2 That he ſhould ſet at liberty fifteen hundreth Chriſtian Captiues. 3. That the City with all the things contained therein ſhould remain and be to the Chriſtians. 4. That the Turks or Sarazens ſhould haue their liues onely ſaued, if theſe conditions were performed. 5. That they ſhould pay twenty thouſand Bizants, (peeces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take poſſeſsion for the *French*, there was ſent in *Drogon de Merlou*, and one hundreth men of Armes, and for the *Engliſh*, *Hugo de Gurnay* with the like number, who equally parted the City, goods, and people, betweene them.

(33) And euen now *Philip* King of *France*, aſwell becauſe the Earle of *Flanders* died at the ſiege without iſſue, whoſe countries hee long had coueted, as for euill will to *Richard*, whoſe noble Acts ſo farre outwent his, and becauſe, as ſome * write, hee had taken bribes of *Saladine*, meditates nothing but return, asking licence of King *Richard* to depart, being then but the tenth day after the Cities ſurrender; ſo badly his enuious eyes could, as it ſeemed, endure the ſplendor of his companions glory. The chiefe commanders of his Army hearing this, ſhewing themſelues true *French-men*, and ſenſible of their obligation to God, and honour, with many teares beſought him not to forſake that holy affaire, *ita impudenter*, ſo ſhameleſly. In what Prince would not this haue kindled a deſire of a better reſolution? But impotent paſſions carrying him, and miſcarrying him, he perſiſted to get leaue of *Richard*, who but two dayes before, would haue had him ſweare to a ſtay of three yeeres longer in that ſeruice; but hee who had other cogitations farre more vnworthy of a King, would needes depart, giuing his oath vpon the holy Goſpels, without which oath King *Richard* would not grant his good will. That he would well and faithfully keepe the lands and ſubiects of the King of *England*, and neither doe dammage nor grieuance to them by himſelf, nor ſuffer it to be done by others * till his returne.

(34) The King of *France* thus leauing *Accon*, in the Caſtle whereof King *Richard*, his Queene and Siſter were lodged, and the *Duke* of *Burgundie* remaining behind with the *French* hoaſt, (to whome King *Philip*, not without ſundry ſecret inſtructions, had with it committed a great part of his treaſure) king *Richard* in the ſame day ſet forward vpon a new enterprize; but it is true which one writes, * that by reaſon of the diſſention betweene the Kings, *which of them ſhould ſeeme the greater*, little or nothing proſpered; & iuſt cauſe had King *Richard* to complaine in * his letters, that *Philip* to the eternall reproch of himſelfe and Kingdome, had fouly forſaken his purpoſe and vow vnto God.

(35) But when the *Saladine* could not by any means obtaine a longer day for performance of the ſaid Articles of compoſition, hee cut off the heads of all his Chriſtian Captiues; in reuenge whereof King *Richard* brought out his Turkiſh Captiues, (being about two thouſand and fiue hundreth) and in the ſight of the *Saladines* hoaſt cauſed their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the ſame to the like number, neere vnto the walles of *Acon*, ſeuen onelie being kept aliue by the Chriſtian Generals, whereof *Karakeys Salaadines* * foſter Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his vndertaken action, and in his march to *Ioppa*, being ſet vpon by *Sultan Salaadine* (who had put the Duke of *Burgundie* to flight, and ſlaine the valiant *Iaques de Auennis*, who onely with a few in the Reregard made reſiſtance) ſo couragiouſly encountred him, that the *Salaadine* with the loſſe of three thouſand his choiſeſt Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flie: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imploied in the Holy-land, let vs looke backe a litle how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

(36) *Iohn* the Kings brother, making vſe in *England* of ſuch diſcontentments, as the *incredible inſolencies, and intollerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who *carried himſelfe both like a Pope and a King*) had bred among the Nobility and people, to aduance thereby his owne deſignes, ſtirred againſt him (though *ſtrengthning himſelfe like a Generall in the field*,) ſo powerfull oppoſition, that in the end, (vpon warrant of a new * Commiſſion ſent from the King his Brother) hee with the reſt of the Peeres ſuddenlie thruſt him out of all commaund, and ſhortly after moſt reprochfully (as it happened, for he fled, and was taken in a Curteſans attire, ill beſeeming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome alſo, vpon occaſion, as of other foule demerites, ſo particularly of a ſacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chancellours commaund, vpon the perſon of *Geffrey* Elect Archbiſhop of *Yorke* (naturall brother to King *Richard* and the Earle) on pretence that he entred *England* contrarie to his oath giuen to his brother King *Richard*, where as he then came to take poſſeſsion of his See, to which hee was aduanced by the * Kings owne procurement, and by Queene *Eleanors* owne trauaile to *Rome* in his behalfe. And albeit this puniſhment & ſhame deſeruedly followed the Chancellors pride and oppreſſion, yet in one maine point of oppoſing the Earles Ambition; (who ſought to aſſure to himſelfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of bloud belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his ſeruice to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loialty of affection, and not from a ſwelling deſire of greatneſſe, which he hoped ſtill to enioy, if *Arthur* (a child) ſhould ſucceed in the kingdome, whereas he knew Earle *Iohns* aduancement could not be without his apparant ruine.

(37) But *Philip* King of *France* in all places labouring by * wrongfull and vnprincely aſperſions to deface the renowne of King *Richard*, though finding ſmall credite to his words (becauſe the man had done nothing himſelfe) deuiſed after his return how to trouble and endammage his friends dominions; and had effected it, if the Lordes of *France* whom he ſollicited to that wicked worke, vpon pretence

All and Mon. p. 318.

Rog. Houed.

The City of Acon rendred.

Mat. Paris Tpod. Neuſt.

* Rog. Houed. fol. 395.

King Richard vpon certaine conditions permits the King of France to depart Roger Houed. fol. 394. pa. 6.

Ran. Higd. in Polycr. lib 7. cap. 27. Iuly vltimo.

tence of the compoſition made with King *Richard* at *Meſſana*, had not (to their immortal glory) *refuſed to aſsiſt him therein, till *Richards* returne, aſwel in regard of their owne oathes, as becauſe the ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all ſuch as did attempt to endammage him in his abſence.

(38) King *Richard* notwithſtanding that the relation of theſe things greatly troubled him, gaue not ouer as yet, but after ſundry other matters of importance performed, did march vp within the ſight of *Ieruſalem*, where he skirmiſhed with the enemie, & ouerthrew the Conuoy or Carauan of the *Salaadine*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with ten thouſand men; whom King *Richard* valiantlie encountring with fiue thouſand ſelected ſouldiers, put moſt of them to the ſword, and took three thouſand Camels, and four thouſand Horſes and Mules, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, and ſo gained the rich ſpoile of all the Carriages.

(39) After this, and many other worthy thinges done, as the reſcue of *Ioppa*, and repulſe of *Saladine* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his braue attempts, deſirous to regaine *Ieruſalem*, and the City *Baruck*, was abandoned in that enterpriſe by the Duke of *Burgundie* (who is ⁎ ſaid to haue beene apparently corrupted with gifts from *Saladine*, and the regiments of *French* vnder his conduct;) wherupon he was the rather perſwaded by the *Knights Templars*, and chiefes of the Chriſtian hoaſt, not to refuſe *Saladines* offers for a ſurceaſance from hoſtility, conſidering that hee had a purpoſe to returne with reenforced numbers and meanes; that his preſent powers by diuiſions, by ſickneſſe, by battales were waſted, and that the dangerous eſtate of his owne Dominions did require his preſence, (the greateſt motiue, for he had ſupplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope *Celeſtine*) by reaſon of ſome vndue practiſes at home, and the rancour of King *Philip* his vnreconcilable aduerſary abroad. Wherupō a truce was taken for three yeers, and *Saladine* repaid ſuch charges as *Richard* had been at in fortifying *Askalon*, which was brought to the ſame eſtate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

(40) But the King of *England*, though hee had very far excelled all the Chriſtian Princes in great exploites at that iourney, becauſe * he had neither conquered *Salaadine*, nor *Ieruſalem*, did mourne, and parted penſiue. In the holy-land hee left *Henry* Earle of *Champaine*, (who vpon taking the ſaid *Baruck* was to haue beene crowned King of *Ieruſalem*, which *Guido* had reſigned) and hee left *Guydo de Luſignian* (the late King of *Ieruſalem* in *Cyprus*, to whom hee had paſſed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his Kinſeman the ſaid Earle of *Champain*; which, vpon that Title, the familie of *Luſinian* for * many deſcents after did poſſeſſe and enioy. Thus *Richard* hauing ordered his affairs in the Eaſt parts, ſets ſaile homeward. The Queenes *Berengaria* his wife, and *Ioan* his ſiſter, with the Captiue Lady, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, vnder the conduct of *Stephen de Turnham* (hearing of the Kings moſt heauie fortune) ſoiourned at *Rome* about ſixe moneths, for feare of *Richards* enemies, & afterward came ſafe by *Marſilia* in *Poicton*.

(41) God, whoſe cauſe was onely pretended in this voyage of the Chriſtians, did not ſeeme to approue the ſaid truce; for hee ⁎ſcattered the *Engliſh* with a terrible tempeſt, and the ⁎ opportunity of Conqueſt was ſo loſt, that hitherto it could neuer bee regained, and the King of *England* letting it ſlippe when God had almoſt put the ſame into his hands, did miſerably fall into his enemies hands. Certainelie, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladine*, who had receiued diuers loſſes, foiles and ouerthrowes at his handes: Moreouer, the *Saladines* whole eſtate being endangered by ſuch of his own ſect as reputed him a meer vſurper, hee could not long withſtand the double impreſſion of the Chriſtian Cheualrie, and of his owne Allies and Countrimen; as indeed not long after* he died, leauing his Empire fowly, but iuſtly, diſtracted by ciuill confuſions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world ſee, that the powers of two ſo potent Monarkes had in a manner effected nothing; & *Richard* could neuer haue time to return for accōpliſhment of his deſigns; for which all Chriſtendome hath at this howre reaſon to bee ſorrowfull, and hereof himſelfe* was very ſenſible, ſo that hee would oftentimes crie out, that hee was not alwayes wiſe, alluding to this occaſion loſt.

Reg. Houed. f. 414.

Polyd Verg lib. 14

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with ſpeed through *Germanie* in diſguiſe, tooke to him the name of * *Hugo* a Merchant, the haire of his *head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his iourney ouer land, was neere to *Vienna* vnhappily diſcouered by the profuſeneſſe of his expenſes; when hee ſaw he could not eſcape them, * in contempt of his fortunes, he put on roiall garments, and refuſed to yeeld but *onely to the Duke himſelfe, who came with ioy as to a prey which he ſore longed for: but the raſcall multitude* cried things worthy of themſelues, calling him (O barbariſme) Traitour, and ſome ſaying, ſtone him, ſome cut off his head, & others hang him: and becauſe the inhumanity of this vſage may be ſuited with rimes as rude and ragged, you ſhall in ſuch heare the cauſe of this Arch-dukes malice, growing firſt at *Accon*, where the Author ſpeaking of King *Richard* ſaith;

An. D. 1193

* *Mat. Paris.*

Reg. Houed. f. 408.

* *Polyd. Verg l. 14*

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Ger. Dor.*

* *Hardings Chr. cap. 238.*

He gate it ſoone with his great Ordinance,
And on the walles his Banners full high ſet,
The Kings Armes he ſet vp alſo of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ieruſalem well bet,
The Duke of Oiſtrich Limpold without let,
Set vp his Armes after aboue them all,
which King Richard did caſt downe from the wall.

(43) And though it is certaine that this Author faines not this fact, for that ſome ſuch matter (and told by *ſome with more diſaduantage to *Richards* cauſe) is by others ⁎related, yet the graueſt Authors agree (that next to the common enuie at his vertues) the greateſt pretence was the murther of the Marqueſſe *Conrad* committed at *Tyre*, by two curſed *Aſſaſines*, a⁎ certaine ſect *in the Eaſt, liuing vnder a Senior or Ruler, whom they honor as a Prophet, by whom they are ſent forth to murther ſuch Princes as fauor them not, promiſing themſelues the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the loſſe of their owne liues.* Of which barbarous fact *Henrie* the Emperour, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke (whoſe neer kinſman *Conrad* was) would ſeeme to beleeue that *Richard* was the Author, though therin they toucht his princely reputation and integrity, ⁎ moſt iniuriouſly, for that the chiefe of that ſect by their owne publike ⁎ letters (*written with the bloud of the ſhel-fiſh called Murex*, wherewith Scarlet vſed to be dyed) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cauſe thereof, which was a particular Act of iniuſtice in *Conrad* himſelfe: There wanted not ſundry other pretences, as in ſuch caſes is vſuall, as ⁎ that *Richard* had entred league with *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* the Emperours enemy, and that hee had thruſt the *Cypriot* (their kinſman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captiue. But this booty, being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his cuſtody, meaning to coine much gold and ſiluer out of his moſt vniuſt affliction, by ſharpe impriſonment: which could not make him in any act or ſpeech, or geſture of his, ſhew beneath the Maieſtie of a victorious Prince and King of *England*.

Pretences for the detinue of King *Richard*.

* *Mat. Paris ad An. D. 1192.*

Ger. Dor. who writes that the Archduke ſet vp his Standard in the chiefe place of the City of *Acon* to the iniurie of King *Richard*.

Guil. de Neubur. go. lib. 4. cap. 24 & lib. 5. cap. 16

This deſcription fitteth a like ſect now in the weſt.

Typod. Neuſt. p. 455. Edit.

An. D. 1603

The copie of the ſaid letter ſee *Nubrig l. 5. cap. 16*

Mat. Par. ad An. Dom. 1193.

(44) The diſmall newes thereof flying through the world, preſently diſcloſed who were ſound or vnſure; ſorrow and diſmay was euery where among his owne: ⁎ His carefull mother and other his faſt friends

The face of England in her Kings captiuity.

⁎ *Ger. Dor.*

Reg. Houed. f. 408

friends sweare the realme to be true to King *Richard*, watch the coasts, and prouide for the security of the State with singular vigilancie, assuring the Cities & good Townes with Bulwarkes, Walles, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle *Iohn* being (by the cunning inueigling and suggestions of his brothers professed foes) not onely put out of all hope of his releasement, but also incensed against him for intending the Crowne to his Nephew *Arthur*, entred into an vnbrotherly attempt against his Soueraigne Lord; the summe whereof, take in the words of *Thomas Walsingham*, who saith, that *Iohn* with promises allured many to him through the whole Kingdom, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in *England*, and passing the seas, entred into league with the King of the *French*, that he might vtterly put his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Britaine* from that hope, which the Britaines had conceiued of his promotion. The* *Normans* giuing any way to his disloiall practises, hee swears fealty to *Philip* King of *France* (his brothers most mortall enemie) and also that he would take to wife the Lady *Alice* King *Philips* sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause reiected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* he posts into *England*, sollicites Peeres and people, and was loyally resisted: but hee not quieted so, labors to stirre the *Scot* and *Welsh* to ioine in an inuasion with him: the *French* and *Flemings* assuring them that his Brother King *Richard* would neuer be set at liberty: but *William* King of *Scots* would neither giue assent, nor countenance to such vndutiful practises, or rather madnesses.

The attempts of *Iohn* King *Richards* brother

* *Ger. Dorob. Reg. Houed. Matth. Paris. *Ypod. Neust.*

**Reg. Houed.*

Ger. Dor.

(45) In this most perilous time the valour and loyalty of the City of *Roan* (the choisest of *Normandy*) did most clearely shew themselues to the euerlasting commendation thereof: for *Philip* comming before it with a puissant Army solicited thē to reuolt, promising mountaines. In stead of answere* they set open the gates, telling him that hee might enter if he would, for no man hindred him: but the* vaine-glorious King being better aduised, (for the inhabitants, yea & the damsels of the City, whose heads were polde like as mens, powred molten pitch, and such like matter vpon the besiegers) retreated from the walles, and marcht away confounded: and being certainely aduertized that the Emperour and King *Richard* were agreed, hee sends ouer to Earle * *Iohn, bidding him looke to himselfe, for the Diuell was now let loose.* Hee thereupon crost ouer the seas to *Philip*, who *excited him to vsurpe the Kingdome of *England*.

* *Reg. Hou. f. 412.*

**Ger. Dorob.*

Martiall women in Roan.

**Reg. Houed. f. 414*

Lanquet ad A. D. 1191.

(46) Neuertheless by Queene *Elianors* negotiation (who in person trauelled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his liberty vpon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundreth thousand Markes sterling. 2. That he should pay fifty thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That he should marry his Neece, (sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*) to Duke *Leopolds* sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till he were vnder saile with a fore-wind. 5. That hee should set the *Cypriots* person at liberty, and deliuer his daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, who was her vncle, and should deliuer 67. hostages for assurance of all.

The Articles of King *Richards* liberty.

(47) But to colour this vnreasonable and vnprincelie extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter giues vnto King *Richard*, *Prouince*, and sundry other ample territories, containing 5. Archbishoprickes, and thirty three Bishoprickes (sometime parcell of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) & therof crowns him *King*, writing magnificent letters into *England*, with such like offices.

King *Richard* crowned King of Prouince, &c.

(48) Now when King *Richard* (who had wonne to himselfe wonderfull honour and respect, euen of the couetous Emperour, by the proofe of his innocency, and by his most noble and constant carriage) did expect his liberty at an assembly or diet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person, to wit, The three Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Saltzburg*; The three Bishops of *wormes*, *Spire*, and *Leiges*; The three Dukes of *Swane* (the Emperours brother) *Austrich*, and *Luuain*; The *Count Palatine of Rhene*, &c. which had vndertaken for the Emperour, whose officers had already receiued the greater part of the ransome: behold euē then the Emperour shewes a willingnesse to breake off, producing the letters of *Philip* King of *France*, and of *Iohn* Earle of *Morton*, in which they offer an huge summe &c. too impious and diuelish to speak of: but the Princes who had vndertaken to King *Richard* for good dealing, went to the Emperour reprouing him for his auarice, who would so dishonourably trauerse and start backe from the agreement: * vpon the fourth of Februarie therefore being Friday, the Archbishoppes of *Mentz* and *Coleine* restore him * after fifteene moneths imprisonment, to Queene *Alienor* his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were present weeping thereat for ioy.

A new and foule treason of Earle *Iohn* discouered.

(49) This Archbishop of *Coleine* was hee, who entertaining the King in the Dominions of his Archbishopricke; with great ioy for his deliuerance did celebrate diuine seruice in this manner: *Now know I truely that the Lord hath sent his Angell and taken me out of the hand of Herode, and the expectation of the common people of the Iewes*, &c.

(50) And indeed it was *Gods Angell* did it: for after all this, whiles the King staied for a wind, and other preparations at the Sea-shore, the Emperour repenting him of his release, sent speedy guarders to apprehend him againe, vowing *hee should neuer bee freede from bonds whiles he liued*; but some secrete message (as Princes Courts neuer want Spials) speedily premonished him, and so by a verie little time he preuented his surprisers, landing happily at *Sandwich*, in April the Sunday after Saint *Georges* day: where in stead of all other triumphes, or particulars of ioy for his returne, wee will content our selues with onely one, as signe of the rest. When the King drew neere to *Rochester*, the venerable new Archbishop of *Canterbury Hubert* (who had beene with him at *Accon* in the Holy-land) went ioyously foorth to meet him; whom when the King saw, he dismounted from his horse, and hauing bowed his knee, fell vpon the earth, in like sort the Archbishoppe lay right against him; at the last both of them rising from the ground, they ranne into each others arms, comforting themselues with mutuall embraces & weeping with ioy.

(51) The iustice of a true history will not suffer vs here to forget, in what sort the iniustice of this vnnoble captiuation of *Richard* King of *England*, was punished by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of *Austrias* Country, and people, being visited with these fiue plagues, Fire, Water, Barrennes, Worms, & Pestilence: the Fire, casually burning his Towns; the Riuer of *Danubius* drowning ten thousand of his Subiects, in an ouerflow; the earth waxing drie and sear; the Wormes destroying such fruit and graine as grew; and the stroke of Pestilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obstinate like another *Pharao*, swearing to cut off the heads of K. *Richards* Hostages, vnlesse all Couenants (though extorted by cruell Duresse) were exactly and speedily performed. *Baldwin de Betun* (one of the Hostages) is sent to the King with this bloodie message; but before his return, vpon S. *Stephens* day in *Christmas*, the Duke* spurring his horse in sport vpon a Castle of snow among youthes, which were counterfeiting a siege, and an assault, with the slip of his horse, brake his foot in such sort, as it came to be* cut off, and within a while feeling himselfe perishing vpward, so that his death was certaine, could not bee absolued of his Bishops from the sentence of *Excommu-*

* *Ger. Dor.*

* *Tyrrel. Hist. Engl. Iohn Stow. Rich. 1. Hollinsh. pag. ad A. D. 1*

communication which had by the Pope bin denounced, till hee and his Lords had sworne to release all the said matters betweene the King of *England* and him; but his sonne after his death refusing the performance, his Fathers body lay stinking aboue ground eight daies, for that no clergy man durst burie it, being but conditionally absolued, till the son did yeeld to the performance; yet (if * some may be credited vpon his bare word) the sonne did voluntarily condiscend, and not vpon this compulsion.

(53) But albeit the Emperour * to declare himselfe wounded with some remorse for his vngodlie violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gaue three thousand Markes of King *Richards* ransome to make siluer Censers through all the *Cistercian order*, who generally refused the gift, as parcell of an accursed spoile (for as for those * seuenty thousand marks, which hee forgaue to King *Richard*, with as bad a purpose (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the *French*) as he had taken the other vniustly, they are not to be accounted as restitution, but as the wages of sinne); reuenge forsooke him not, being pursued by his owne wife (the Heire of the Crowne of *Sicilia*) in reuenge of some crueltie done to her Countrimen; and after reconcilement with her, falling dangerously sicke, he died at *Messana*, excommunicated for King *Richards* cause. And albeit hee had in his life time sent his Chancellour out of *Burgundie*, of purpose to offer King *Richard* recompence for the iniuries he had sustained, and although *Constantia* the Empresse had sent the Archbishoppe of *Messana* (while the Emperours body lay aboue ground without buriall) to Pope *Celestine* in humble manner, praying Christian buriall, yet * *vnlesse the mony which hee had extorted from the King of England were restored*, hee could by no entreaties obtaine it: which accordingly was promised.

(54) Neither were the King of *Englands* afflictions vnprofitable vnto him, for they gaue him occasion to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene *Berengaria*, whose society for a long time he had neglected, though she were a roiall, eloquent, & beauteous Lady, and for his loue had ventured with him through the world.

(55) King *Richard* after his ioyous returne into *England*, hauing at the Abbey of Saint *Edmunds*, in performance of his vow (as may seeme) offered vp the rich Imperiall Standard of *Cursac*, Emperour of *Cyprus*, which hee tooke among the spoiles of the *Griffons* Campe: thence he marched, and tooke in by surrender such Castles as the seruants of his brother *Iohn* (beleeuing that the King was not returned) held against him; but *Henry de Pumeray*, who had fortified *Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall*, hearing for certaine that King *Richard* was come, died for very feare. And now, forty daies of summons being exspired, which were allowed to Earle *Iohn*, & *Hugh* Bishop of *Couentry*, for making their appearance, to answere to such heinous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, *Iohn* was adiudged by the Peeres and States of *England*, to haue forfeited all that hee might forfeit in the Realme, and the Bishop to be punishable by the Ecclesiasticall censures, as hee was a Bishop, and likewise as an Officer of the King, by the Laitie. *Richard* afterwarde bestirres himselfe to draw in money more greedilie, then did become so great a Maiesty, wherein yet (saith * one) he was rather to be pardoned then accused, for that hee was presently to lead a mightie Armie against the *French*.

(56) But first of all, to wipe away both the sadnes and contumelie of his late restraint, for a better fortunes beginning, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe at the City of *Winchester*; which celebritie was honoured with the presence of *William* king of *Scotland*, who bare a sword before * King *Richard*: betweene which two Princes, there * followed great amity and tendernesse of loue; then beeing granted to him, and his successors Kings of *Scotland*, a certaine pension, with sundry other allowances, and princelie attendances, from the first day of their friendlie entrances at any time into *England*, til their returne.

(57) The King likewise caused a new broad Seale to bee made, requiring that all Charters granted vnder his former, should be confirmed vnder this, whereby he drew a great masse of money to his Treasurie, subscribing such renued Charters thus: *This was the tenor of our Charter vnder our first Seale, which because it was lost, and in the time of our beeing captiue in Almaine was in the power of another, wee caused to bee changed, &c.* Some haue obserued, that as this *Richard* was the first of the *English* Kinges who bare Armes on his Seales, as appeareth by the * former: so was hee the first who carried in his shield, three Lions passant, borne euer after for the Regal Arms of *England*. And whereas we see heere the Moone in her full, which in the other was but a *Crescent*, (which is the Turkish Ensigne,) it may seeme to be done *Emblematically*, in that sence, as wee read of another Prince (who going against the Turkes) gaue a Crescent with this word, *Plenior redibo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this second Seale we haue here annexed.

(58) A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at Westminster, and receiuing aduertisement of the siege laid to *Vernoil*, by his restlesse enemie *Philip* of *France*; sware that hee would neuer turne his face, till hee had gotten thither with his Armie to fight with the *French*; whereupon hee caused the wall to be cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared * aboue two hundred yeares after) neuer resting, till with an hundred great Shippes hee had crost the seas from Portsi-

Houed. fol. 418.

Math. Paris.

* Rog. Houe. f. 420 Hest. Boet. l. 13. cap. 8.

Ro. Houed f. 419.

Inter Chartas in Custod. D. Rob. Cotton Equitis.

* Wherein are 2. Lions rampant combattant: well fitting that *Coeur de Lion*.

* In *Wolsingham* daies who liued vnder *Henry* 5.

*Ro.Hou.f. 421. Mat.Paris. *Ypod.Neust.

Portsmouth into *Normandy*, where the onely rumor of his approch made the *French King* raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous Enemie, (but not without losse and shame) to quite the field.

King *Richard* forgiues his brother *Iohn*. * *Nubrigens.l.5.c.5*

(59) Neither was his clemency lesse then his courage, whereof needs no greater testimony, then when vpon Earle *Iohns* * dutifull submission, & his mothers intercession, he so freely forgaue him, as that he calmely said, * *would that thy fault may so be forgotten of me, as that thy selfe maiest keepe in memorie what thou hast done*: and * afterward restored his possessions vnto him; the Earle from that time forward becõming his *true Knight, & doing him very noble seruices, (especially against the *French* who had seduced him) as a louing brother, & faithfull Leegeman, whereby he made amends for his former excesses, and fully recouered the hearty affection of his Lord and brother.

*The Wals: in Ypodig.Neust. fol.456. * Houed.fol.428. *Nubrig.l.5.c.5 Rau.Hygd. in Iob. li.7.c.29.

(60) There were after this sundry skirmishes, takings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betweene the *French* and *English*, moued belike, by such as religiously tendered the effusion of Christian bloud, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by * Stratagems and starts, then by battle; but within *thirty seuen daies after the *French* mens flight from *Vernuil*, King *Richard* (in reuenge of that desolation which the *French* King had brought vpon the City of *Eureux*, where he neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) comming to *Vendome*, with purpose to surprise the King of *France*, had the spoile of the *French* Campe, their King (a thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the *French* were slaine, and taken, together with *much treasure, the Chappell roiall, the Indentures of such as had left *Richard* to serue King *Philip*, and all the * tents, carriages, and other furnitures for warre: and from hence marching in *Poictou* and *Engolisme*, hee had such successes (howsoeuer the silent partialities of forrain Writers smoother them) that * himself wrote ouer to his deerest *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, *That by Gods fauour, who in all things considers the right, hee had taken Tailburg, Marsiliac*, and all *the other Castles of Geofrey de Rancune, the City of Engolisme, and all the Castles and Territories of the Earle thereof, and almost three hundreth Knights, or men of Armes, and about forty thousand armed Souldiers.*

* Ger.Dor. Ypod Neust.

Rog.Houed.f. 421. *Ypod.Neust. fol.456. Nubrig.l.5.c.2.

*Rog.Hou.fol.422

(61) We will not here ouerpasse, that which *Houeden* reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermits comming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bad him bee mindfull of the subuersion of *Sodom*, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, *otherwise* (saith he) *the deserued vengeance of God will come vpon thee*: The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, hee more seriously bethought himselfe, and afterward waxing sound in soule, as well as body: his daily exercise was to rise earely, & not to depart from the Church till diuine seruice "were finished: whereupon (saith *Houeden*) *how "glorious it is for a Prince to beginne and end his actions "in him, who is beginning without beginning, and iud- "geth the ends of the earth.* Moreouer, hee bountifully releeued euery day much poore both in his Court and Townes about: and restored gold and siluer vessels to such Churches, from which to pay his ransome they had beene taken away.

A.D. 1195. *Ro.Houed.* 428.

King *Richards* amendment of life and dayly exercise.

(62) After this passed sundry interchanges betwixt the *French* and *English*, sometimes of warres, with wasts and spoiles, sometimes of truces with interuiewes and Parlies; in one of which, the Lady *Alice*, (cause of much mischiefe) K. *Philips* sister, was restored (according to the contract of *Messana*) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in mariage, vpon *Iohn* Earle of *Pontif*. In the mean while the Kings sought to make friends vpon all sides; but King *Richard* by his munificence, and other means, drew from King *Philip* a mighty party of his neerest neighbours: * *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earle of *Tholose* (to whom also King *Richard* gaue in * marriage, his sister *Ioan* Queen of *Sicilia*) the * *Champanois* and others: so that *Philip* was faine to trust wholy vpon himselfe: for whereas hee had latelie married the sister of the King of *Denmarke*, of purpose to vse the *Danish* shipping against the *English*, that affinity proued enmity: for the * next day after his wedding, hee put her away, pretending (besides * other things) that shee was of too neere a propinquity of bloud; albeit most vntrulie, as her brother, *the King of Denmarke proued before the Pope, though he could not be heard, the King of France more preuailing, either by feare or fauour.*

(63) About this time, *Iohn* the Kings brother & *Markadey* Captaine of the *Brabanters*, called the * *Rowtes*, had made an incursion vp to *Beauois*, where the Bishoppe, being also an Earle of the Roiall Bloud, and the eleuenth Peere of *France*, valiantly fighting, was * taken in the skirmish, armed at all points, and brauely mounted; on whose behalfe the Pope (vpon the Bishops humble suite, * pleading the Clergies immunity) wrote somewhat earnestlie to King *Richard*, to set *his verie deare sonne*, for so he called the Bishop, at liberty; The King in a kind of pleasant earnestnesse, caused the Habergeon and Curaces of the Bishop to be presented to the Pope, with this question (alluding to that of * *Iacobs* children to their father, concerning *Iosephs* garment,) * *Vide an tunica filii tui sit an non, See whether it bee thy sonnes coat or no.* Whereupon the Pope replied, that "*he was neither his sonne, nor the sonne of the Church,* "*and therefore should be ransomed at the Kings will, be-* "*cause hee was rather iudged to be a seruitor of Mars,* "*then a Souldier of Christ.* Whom the King of *England* (in * reuenge of many euill offices, especiallie in the time of his captiuity with the Emperour) handled sharpely. The Bishop at length waxing impatient, writes a passionate letter to the Pope; whose answere in part is here set downe, for that it "notably defends the King of *England*. If (saith "the Pope) thou hast had ill successe, it is no mar- "uaile, for putting off the peaceable Prelate, thou "didst put on the warlike Souldier, and rashly too- "kest a shield in stead of a cope, a sword for a Stole, "a Curace for an Albe, an Helmet for a Miter, a "Lance for a Bishops staffe, peruerting the order, "& course of things: neither meant you (as you al- "ledge) to repell violence but vertue, nor did you "fight for your Country, but against it: for of your "*France* we can now publikely pronounce; *woe to* "*that land whose King is a * Child.* For your King "was strictly bound by corporall oath to the King "of *England*, not to damnifie his territories, &c. "at least wise till his returne from the iourney of his "Pilgrimage: neuertheless, contrary to his faith "and oath, hee without all shame seised by force "the good townes of the said King, and cruellie "wasted his Dominions with hostile hand: but "that King returning at last out of captiuity, man- "fully encountred your King, not reposing his hope "in multitude, but in Almighty God, &c. Humili- "ty therefore against pride, right and equity against "wrong, measure and modesty against intempe- "rance and arrogancy, haue certainely hitherto "fought for the King of *England*, &c. Wee haue "notwithstanding directed our supplicatorie let- "ters to him on thy behalfe, &c. for in such a case "we neither can nor ought commaund, &c. Meane "while beare your bands and sorrowes patientlie, &c.

(64) While thus sundry warlike matters passed betweene the *English* and *French*, the King of *England* encreaseth his side with new associates, *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, the Duke of *Luuain*, the Earles of *Gynes*, *Boloine*, *Pereh* and *Blois* with others: and * *Houeden* recites three seuerall times within a short space, in which the King of *France* was driuen with losse

losse and dishonour out of the field by King *Richard*, beside the losse of Saint *Omers*, of *Air*, and of other Townes wonne by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and besides the wast of the *French Dominions* by many inuasions. But the greatest of the three victories was the second, which King *Richard* gained at the battaile betweene *Curceles* and *Gysors*, where the K. of *France* himselfe fell into the riuer of *Ethe*, the bridge breaking vnder him, with the throng of people which fled for their liues before the *English Lion*: neither was hee easily saued (twenty of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before he could be drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

(65) This was a famous victory; for besides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors; there were taken by the Kings Armie, 100. Knights and Seruitours on horse-backe, and footmen without number, besides thirty men of Armes, and other inferiour Souldiers not countable, which *Markadey* (Generall of the Rowtes) had for prisoners. There were also taken 200. great horse, whereof seuenscore had barbs, and caparisons armed with yron. King *Richard* in his owne person did most nobly, for with one speare he threw to the earth *Mathew de Mummerancie*, *Alan de Ruſci*, and *Fulke de Giseruall*, & took "them. So haue we vanquished the King of *France* "at *Gysors* (saith the King) howbeit wee haue not "done the same, but * *God and our right* by vs: and "in this fact we did put our owne head and king-"dome in hazard aboue the counsell of all that were "ours. Howsoeuer therefore the *French* or others may slubber ouer such a noble Iourney, wee haue not doubted vpon so good warrant to record the same.

(66) The warre continuing still, many vertuous men laboured to make a finall accord; and the new Pope *Innocentius* the third, hauing proclaimed a new vndertaking of the Holy-warre * sends a Cardinall Deacon to attone the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of peace were drawne; but *Richard* (being farre before hand) was nothing hastie to conclude, and therefore put it off, till his returne from *Poictou*, whether hee went to chastice his rebels, though * some say, hee did then conclude the peace.

(67) At this enteruiew or treatie, *Philip* King of *France*, * (*the sower of strife*, though he sought peace) shewed to King *Richard* a deed, in which Earle *Iohn* newly yeelds himselfe Liegeman to King *Philip*, against his brother. *A wonderfull thing* (saith *Houeden*) *that Richard should beleeue it* (being perhaps but a Copie of that deuice or tricke, if it were a deuice which they once had iointly put vpon the same *Iohn*, as in the end of King *Henry* the second you heard) who thereupon forthwith disseised the Earle his brother euery where. But the Earle hauing searched and learned the cause of the Kings sudden displeasures, (whose loue hee had before redeemed with many loiall seruices) *Hee sends two men of Arms to the French Court, who should on his behalf, in what sort soeuer, defend his honour and innocency, against any his accusers: but there was no man found in that Court, neither King nor any other, who would vndertake the proofe or maintenance thereof; whereupon euer afterward Richard held his brother more deare, and gaue lesse credite to King Philips words.*

(68) But now ensued the fatall accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death ouer this triumphall and bright shining starre of Cheualrie, the vnworthy occasion of which misaduenture makes it the more lamentable; which notwithstanding, for a document to the Great ones, against the outrage of Auarice and Cruelty, God suffered thus to fal on him. *Widomare*, Vicount of *Limoges* hauing found a great * horde of gold and siluer, sent no small portion thereof to King *Richard*, as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that *treasure troue*, was wholy his by vertue of his prerogatiue royall, or else misliking that the Vicount should make the partition) came with a power to a Castle of the Vicounts called * *Chaluz*, where hee supposed the Riches were; the Garrison of which place offered to yeeld the same, and all therein, if onelie their liues and limbs might be saued: but hee would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themselues as they could, for he would enter by the sword and hang them all. It grieues me to thinke that such a Prince should so forget himselfe: but behold the seuerity of Gods iudgement. An Arbalaster (or Archibalista) standing vpon the wall, & seeing his time, charged his steele bow with a square arrow or quarrell, * making first his praier to God, *That hee would direct that shot, and deliuer the innocency of the besieged from oppression.* Whereupon discharging it, as the King was * taking a view of the Castle within the danger and distance of such an Engin, & the King (* vpon hearing the bow goe off) stooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left shoulder; the anguish & perill wherof was extremely augmented by the butcherly and vnskilfull hand of the Surgeon, who hauing drawne out the wood and not the * enuenomed yron, * mangled the arme with cruell incisions before hee could preuaile; the paine whereof hastned his end.

This Chaluz the English did cal Castle Gallard saith *Fabian*.

*Ger. Dorob.

Roger Houed. Mat. Par. Ypod. Neust.

* *Ger. Dorob.*

Houed. cals him *Carnifex.*

* *Ro. Wendouer.*

* *Reg Hou. f. 449.*

(69) Concerning the name of this tragicall Archer, there is so much variety, as that we could willingly take that vncertainety for a warrant to silence it: being loth to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily punishable with vter obliuiō, to haue shed (though defensiuely or but casually) the bloud of such a King. *Mathew Paris* * in calling him *Peter Basilij*, seemes to allude to some ominous conceit in *Basilii* (which with the Greeks signifies a *King*;) him *Thomas Walsingham* followes therein, as *Mathew Paris* followed * another: there want not * some who also giue him a third name; but *Houeden* who deliuers this accident, as all the rest of this Kings life, in the most probable and fullest manner, cals him *Bertram de Gurdonn*, applying vnto him certaine * verses of *Lucan*, in commendation of his vnapalled constācy, when he came before King *Richard*: where thou maist perhaps (for satisfaction of thy mind, with beholding some reuenge) desire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Castle by continuall assaults was taken; and (by the Kings command) none left aliue but he (as being reserued * perhaps to some more shamefull death) the king (vpon a christian magnanimity) forgaue him the fact, which the party (without shew of dismay) did neither deny nor excuse, but alledged the necessity of his case, and the iustice of Gods worke in it, for that the king had slaine his Father and two Brothers with his owne hand: being hereupon set at liberty, and one hundred shillings sterling giuen him by the king: *Markadey* (Captain of the Mercenarie Rowtes) after the king was dead, tooke him, flead him quicke, & then by hanging ended his life.

Mat. Paris

Ypod. Neust. Reg. Wendouer. Ger. Dor.

**Consistit ante pedes Regis, vultuq; minaci, &c.*

* *Reg Hout. f. 449*

Idem fol. 450.

(70) *King Richard* feeling the approch of certaine death, disposed his worldly estate, thus: to his brother *Iohn* he gaue the kingdome of *England*, and his other dominions, with three parts of his Treasure, commaunding such as were present to sweare him fealty: to his Nephew *Otho* king of *Almaine*, he bequeathed (as it * seemes) all his goods and chattels, money excepted, and the fourth part of his said treasure he gaue to his seruants, and the poore. And hauing thus discharged his last cares toward the world concerning his transitory state, he prepared himselfe for the presence of God, strengthning his soule * with hartie contrition, confession, and participation of the holy Sacrament: commanding further, that when he was dead, * his bowels should be buried at *Charrou*, among the rebellious *Pictouins*, as those who had only deserued his worst parts: but his Heart to bee enterred at *Roan*, as the City, which for her constant loialty had merited the same; and his Corps in the Church of the Nunnerie at *Font-*

King *Richards* will.

Houed. fol. 449

* *Omnia Barbella sua, saith Houed.*

* *Reg. Wendo. Math Paris.*

* *Ro. Houed.*

Font-Ebrard in *Gaſcoigne*, at the feet of his Father King *Henry*, to whom he had beene ſometime diſobedient: and God affording him gracious leaſure till hee had thus diſpoſed of all; the venemous vapour aſcended to his heart, and draue the ſpirite forth, *with whom* (ſay *Authors) *the glory and honor of Militarie skill exſpired.*

Mat. Paris.

(70) There hath been an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cordelyon*, becauſe hee encountred a *Lyon* in priſon at the Emperours Court: but (ſaith *one very truly) theſe are fables imagined by *Engliſh* tale-tellers to aduance their King *Richard*, as the *Britaines*, by the like, aduanced their King *Arthur*. The like deuice (though more lofty and Mathematicall) may theirs ſeeme, who coniecture, hee was called ſo of the famous * Starre called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceite of killing of a *Lion* ſhould come vp, as it is not worth the while to enquire, ſo certainely, *Hugo de Neuile* (one of King *Richards* ſpeciall familiars) is recorded to haue ſlain a Lion in the holy-Land, driuing firſt an arrow into his breaſt; and then running him through with his ſword: whence perhaps that atchieuement is transferred from the man to the maſter; and the ſtory applide to the by-name of King *Richard*, whereof the true reaſon is that which * *Thomas Walſingham* mentioneth, ſaying; That for the *magnanimity of his heart* (*groſſitudinem præſtans*, ſaith an * other, meaning, as it ſeemes, that his materiall heart it ſelf, was bigge and maſſiue, which *another alſo ſaith was *inexpugnable*) this King was both by the *Engliſh* & *Normans* ſtiled *Cœur de Lion.*

*Fabian.

*And yet a Starre he gaue in his deuiſe, as is ſeene in both his Seales.

Ypod. Neuſt.

* *Ger. Dorob.*

* *Matth. Paris*, in *Rich.* 1. and his Epitaph. *Neuſtria tuq; tegis Cor in. expugnabile Regis.*

His Wiues.

Alice the daughter of *Lewis* the ſeuenth, King of *France*, by Queene *Alice* daughter of Earle *Thibald* of *Champaigne*, is by * ſome reputed the firſt wife of King *Richard*, though indeede ſhe were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father; but when he demanded her, his father refuſed to deliuer her, or ſhe to com to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiuing diſpleaſure againſt King *Philip* her brother, and more then ſuſpecting her continency with his owne father (by whom he alledged ſhe had a child) he refuſed to take her: yet * gaue a hundreth thouſand pounds to *Philip*, *pro quieta clamantia*, *to be quite freed from her.* She became the wife of *William* Earl of *Ponthieu*, and had iſſue Queene *Ioan* of *Caſtile*, the mother of Queene *Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the firſt.

* Mr. *Ferers.*

* *Armilius.*

Houeden.

**Mat. Paris p.* 113

Berengaria the ſecond wife of King *Richard*, was the daughter of *Sanches* the fourth of that name, King of *Nauarre*, ſonne of King *Garcie* the fourth: her mother was *Beatrice* daughter of *Alphonſo*, the ſeuenth King of *Caſtile*, called the Empcrour of *Spaine.* She was conueied by *Eleanor* the kings mother vnto the king in *Sicily*, and married to him in *Cyprus*, whence ſhe accompanied him to the Holy land. The king (vpon what cauſe we find not) neglected her company for a while, but vpon more ſetled thoughts, he reſumed her againe to his loue and ſociety, but had no iſſue by her.

His naturall Iſſue.

Philip, the naturall ſon of king *Richard*, ſeemeth to haue been begotten, while he was Earle of *Poyton*, of a Gentlewoman *Poytouin*, and to haue had of his fathers gift a towne in *Poyton* named *Sumac*, to haue taken alſo his ſurname, and title of the ſame towne; and to haue beene the Progenitour of a familie of Gentlemen of the ſame ſurname & title, in the ſame Country.

Iſabel (by * ſome who mention not *Philip* at all) is reputed the Naturall Daughter of king *Richard*, (whoſe mother the Author nameth not) and that ſhe was married to *Leoline* Prince of *Wales.*

Three other Daughters, (Baſtards no doubt) he is ſaid to haue, of whoſe names and matches wee will report as we finde recorded. Whiles hee was in *France* imployed in his warres againſt king *Philip*, *Fulco* a *French* Prieſt, came vnto him, telling him he had three very bad Daughters, which he wiſhed him to beſtow away from him in marriage, or elſe Gods wrath would attend him: when the king denied, he had any daughter, yes (quoth the Prieſt) thou cheriſeſt three daughters, *Pride*, *Couetouſneſſe*, and *Lecherie.* The king apprehenſiue of his meaning, called his "Lords there attending, and ſaide: My Lords, this "Hypocrit hath found that I haue three Daughters: "which I maintaine, viz. *Pride*, *Couetouſnes*, and *Leche-* "*rie*, which he would haue me beſtow forth in ma- "riage; and therfore (if any ſuch I haue) I haue found "out moſt fit husbands for them all. My *Pride* I "bequeath to the haughty *Templars* & *Hoſpitallers*, "who are as proud as *Lucifer* himſelfe: My *Cove-* "*touſneſſe* I giue to the white Monks of the *Ciſteaux* "Order, for they couet the Diuell and all: But for "my *Lechery* I can beſtow it no where better then on "the Prieſts and Prelates of our times, for therein "haue they their moſt felicity. Doubtleſſe theſe mariages proued ſo fruitfull, that their iſſue hath now ouerflowed all kingdomes of the earth.

Monarch. 45

IOHN DVKE OF NORMANDIE GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FIRST,

STILED *LORD* OF IRELAND, THE FORTIE-FIFTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THe lustre of Diadems, and Soueraignety, so dazeleth the eyes, and bewitcheth the hearts of ambitious beholders, that whiles they fondlie deeme the greatest content to bee in highest Titles, running after a *seeming Happines*, they often cast themselues headlong, and whole Kingdoms, into irrepairable ruine; as the calamities, which after the death of the noble *Cœur-de-Lyon*, lighted on the Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miserably distracted State, will yeeld vs too ruful a President. To the full acting of which *Tragedy* (for such it was, and so we must now present it in this our *Theatre*) concurred as principall *Actors*, the two (though these *Patients* rather, as the issue proued) vnfortunate Corriuals for the Crowne, *Iohn* Earle of *Moreton* Brother to the late King, and his Nephew *Arthur*, the [a] *Posthumous* sonne of *Geoffry* Duke of *Britaine*, the Earles eldest Brother: their two *Female* (and therefore more emulous and restlesse) *Solicitors*, Queen *Eleanor* and Lady *Constance*, each ambitious of their owne, in their Sonnes aduancements: their two reuengefull *Abettors*, *Otho* the Emperour for *Iohn*, and *Philip* King of *France* for *Arthur*: thereupon, the two vniust *Intruders* on the Crowne; *Lewis* the *French* Kings Sonne, and *Innocentius* the *Pope*, the one by vnprincely forces, the other by vnpriestlie fraud: and lastly, their two sorts of treacherous *Instruments*, of the *Laitie* for the one, and *Clergie* for the other; all which, like so many Tragicke fire-breathing Furies, set this State in so horrible combustion, as that the [b] smoake is not as yet, so many ages after, quite allayed.

(2) Earle *Iohn* (the very Centre in which those calami-

[a] Borne after his Fathers death, who died at *Paris* 1186. *Cal. Aug. Ypod. Neustria. Giraldus, Hib. expug.* c. 22.

Philip the 2. of *France*.

Innocentius the 3.

[b] *In Bellar.* and other Iesuites.

Earle *Iohns* preparatiues to the Kingdome.

calamities met,) had from his infancy beene fedde with high and royall hopes, as [c] *being his Fathers onely darling*, from whome hee had the [d] possession of the *Irish*, and [e] intendment also of the *English* Kingdom: and in his brothers time([f] whose return from the holy warres all men despaired) had by gracious deportment towards the Subiect, obtained an oath of Fealty to himselfe, in remainder, *in case his brother should die childlesse*: hauing now therefore the way to those his designs made smoother by the [h] last Wil of King *Richard*, and [i] allegiance of his Nobles then attending; (for these courses may facilitate, but not make a *iust claime*;) wee may not thinke, that either hee was cold now, for the accomplishment of that, which so hotely hee had before pursued, or so nice, as to neglect a Kingdome, vpon scrupulous points of *Titles* and *Right*. [k] *Propinquity of Blood* pleaded for *Iohn*, as [l] *Lineall descent* for *Arthur*, the Kings Brother being neerer then his Brothers sonne; but *Iohn*, who knew that the weaker vse to argue their Titles, whiles the stronger hold the possession, resolued to trie the strength of his claime by no other Law then of Armes; and therefore, being at time of King *Richards* death in those forraine parts, hee makes it his first care to fasten to himselfe, by present [m] *largesse, and large promises* of future fauours, (the vsuall Rhetoricke of Competitours) all the *Stipendiary Souldiers, and other Seruitours of his deceased Brother*. To winne himselfe the like assurance of loue at home, and [n] *to settle* (if it might be) *an vniuersall quiet*, he [o] *forthwith despeeded into England* (there to concurre with Queene *Eleanor*, his experienced mother) three of the choisest men of the *State*, *Hubert* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Marshall* a potent Peere, and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* the great Iusticiar, by whose seuerall interests, the *three States* of *Clergy*, *Chiualry*, and *Commonalty*, might best bee eyther allured to him by fauours, or awed by feare; himselfe, the whiles [p] *posting to Chinon*, where King *Richards* great Treasure was kept; as knowing that hee should hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces or Friends, if hee wanted Coine & Crowns, to winne and hold such needfull Ayders.

(3) The Treasurer, though [q] *himselfe with his Store, Castles, and Fidelity*, thus assured to the Earle, had yet a powerfull [*] *Nephew*, the *Castellan of Angiers*, *wholy* [r] *deuoted to Duke Arthur*, to whose vse hee yeelded vp that City and Castle, with whom also [s] *sided the Nobility of Anion, Maine, and Turaine*, surrendring those large Territories, as to [t] *their liege Lord*, iointly auowing it to be the [u] *Law and Custom of those Signiories, that the heritage which was to accrew to the elder Brother, if hee had suruiued, should descend vnto his Sonne*. But *Constance Arthurs* mother, no lesse [x] *desirous to be Regent to a King* (for her son was but [y] twelue yeeres young) then Queene *Eleanor* [z] *disdainefull* to goe below a Dutchesse, did not dare to build her high hopes on so low grounds, for that such subordinate Princes as fauoured her cause, might easily be corrupted by faire meanes, or crushed by foule: and therefore vpon newes of King *Iohns* successes in *England* (for with general applause and [a] *homages* hee was now proclaimed *King*,) distracted with violent and *Woman-like Passions, Ambition* of her sonnes *Right*, *Rage* for his *Wrong*, *Feare* of his *Safety*, and (not the least) *Emulation* that Queene *Eleanor* (whose *Prudence* and *Grace* with the *English*, had [b] swayed exceedinglie) should effect more in a wrong, then her selfe in a iust cause; [c] shee flies to *Turon* to the *French King Philip*, (to seeke a *Wolfe* to whom shee might commit her *Lambe*,) to whose *Protection* shee wholy surrenders his *Person*, his *Cause*, his *Countries*. *Philip* [*] pretending (as *Princes* vse) a tender care of his *Neighbour Princes* state, but [d] meaning indeede out of so wished a prize,: to *raise aduantage* to his owne, forthwith ([e] *without regard of Truth*, *or Truce sworne to King Richard*) reenforceth all *Arthurs* Cities and Castles with his *French* Garrisons; some of which had scarse put their foot into *Maunz*, but [f] King *Iohn* was at their heeles, to prouide them their last lodging, sacking that Citie, and *demolishing it to the ground*, for a terror to all others, which after *fealty once sworne* vnto him, (as they had done) should dare to reuolt.

(4) Queene *Eleanor*, who hauing setled *England* in Peace, was now come ouer to forward her sonne in the Warres, and was [h] present at the surprising of *Maunz*, is [i] censured to haue too much sharpened his edge against her Nephew *Arthur* and his friends, out of her implacable disdaine, and Enuie towards *Constance* her *Daughter in-Law*, and appears no lesse; for the King passing thence into *Anion*, left there his [k] *Captaines and Forces with his mother*, who made *Angiers* participate the Fortunes of *Maunz*, the City ruined, the Citizens captiuated; whiles himselfe comming to *Roan*, [l] was there by the hands of *Walter* the Archbishop, in the Cathedrall Church with great pompe on *Saint Marks Festiual*, girt with the [m] *Ducall Sword of Normandy*, and crowned [n] *with a Coronet of Golden Roses*, (taking his Oath for faithfull administration in that Dukedome) which was the pledge or earnest of his vnquestionable admittance to the *Englisb Diademe*, which euery day now expected him. Neither yet may wee thinke, albeit King *Iohns* [l] mature & experienced age, his home-bred, and well knowne education, his reannexing of *Irelands Kingdom* to *Englands*, made his person more gracious then *Arthurs*, that yet his *Agents* all this while in *England* found no rubbs in their way, before [m] *all the Earles, Barons, Burgesses & Free-holders* could bee induced to disclaime *Arthurs* apparant Right, and to sweare *fealty to King Iohn against al men liuing*: yea, many of the [*] *Englisb Peeres* (who through their last Kings absence, and others conniuences, had habituated in them a conceit of vncontrouled Greatnes, which they miscalled *Liberties* and *Rights*, vnder vayle whereof, they after drew, not onely vndue restraints vpon the *Regaltie*, but also infinite calamities and massacres on the people, whose good they pretended,) in the great Assembly at *Northampton*, yeelded onely to sweare a [x] *Conditionall Fealty*, to keepe [n] *Faith and Peace to King Iohn, if hee would restore to euery of them their Rights*: which was the first seed of disloyalties, which after grew to so great a height. Thus howsoeuer, all domesticke difficulties ouerblowne, and Queene *Eleanor* [o] left in *Aquitane* to prouide against Forraigne, King *Iohn* arriued at [p] *Shoreham*, and the next day comes to *London*, preparing for his Coronation to bee at *Westminster*, the morrow following being Assention day.

(5) Strange it was to consider, (if ought bee strange in *State-plots*) how men, otherwise very prudent, transported once with Worldly, and seeming-politicke respects, can so wilfullie cloud their Reason, as to attempt those things, which leaue both a present staine on their *Soules*, and a lasting disreputation both of their *Integrity* and *wisedome*, wherein so much they glory. For what else did *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, the man so [q] famoused as the [r] *Pillar of the Common-wealthes stabilitie*, & [s] *incomparable for deepe-reaching wisedome*, when in that sacred and celebrious Assembly of [t] *all the States*, addressing for the roiall Inauguration, hee added to those *Lay-Peeres Conditionals*, his *Clergy-Sophismes*, and [u] second *Seede-plot of Treasons*; perswading them by a cunning, but disloyall speech (which yet [x] some by transforming, haue more deformed) that the *Englisb Crowne* was meerely *Arbitrary* and *Elective* at the peoples deuotion? That [y] *they all in discretion were to know, how that no man hath Right or any other fore-Title to succeed another in a Kingdom, vnlesse first* (*with inuocation for Grace and Guidance of Gods Holy Spirite*) *hee be by the Body of the Kingdome thereunto chosen, and be indeed some choice man, & picked out for eminencie of his vertues; by the President of Saul, the first Annointed King, whom God made Ruler ouer his owne people, though neither the Sonne of a King, nor*

[c] *Quem teneriorem diligebat.* *Guil. Nubrig.*
d *Gerald Hib. expug. l. 2. c. 31.*
e *Ger. Dorob. MS.*
f *Guil. Nubrig.*
g *Rog. Houed. in Ric. 1.*
h *Trinet. MS.* *Roger Houed.* *Ypod. Neust.* and al, except wilful *Polydor.*
i *Rog. Houed. & al.*

The titles of both competitours.
k *Iure propinquitatis, & Testamento Successor.* *Walsing.* *Ypod. Anno 1199.* *Trinet.*
l *Iure communi* *Paul. Aemil. in Philip. 2.*

Earle *Iohns* helps for the Kingdom.
m *Rog. de Wendouer. MS.*

n *Rog. Houed. in Iob.*
o *Math. Pariens. Hist. Maior.*

Earle *Iohns* Agents.

p *Wendouer MS. in Iob.*

Duke *Arthurs* Adherents,
q *Houeden in Ioh.*
* *Thomas de Furnes.*
r *Paris Hist. Maior*
s *Idem.*
The beginnings of hatred betwixt Earle *Iohn* and the Prouincials.
t *Rog Hou. in Iohn.*
u *Iudicia & consuetudo, ib.* *Mat. Westminst.* *Iudicium, Ius & consuetudo*
x *Polyd. Verg. l. 15*
y *Walsing.* *Ypodig. Borne An. 1187. die Pasche*, his father dying before in August.
z *Sclai inuidia, &c* *Polyd. ibid.*
a *Houeden.* *Iohn* proclaimed King in *England.*

b *Polyd Virgil. 15*
c *Rog. de Wen. MS* *Constance* commiteth *Arthur* to *Philip* King of *France.*
* *Magnificis verbis, &c.*
Polyd Verg. l. 15.
d *Iob. de Serres in Phil. August.*
e *Nich. Trinet. MS.* The beginning of hatred betwixt K. *Iohn & King Philip.*

[l] *An. aet. 32.* *Walsing. Ypod.* The Inuestiture, as 2. Sam. c. 5. 4. David was 30. years old when he began to reigne.
m *Rog. Houed.* King *Iohn* his deraigne how removed.
* *Ric. Earle of Clare.* *Reinold Earle of Chester.* *William Earle of Tuscanby.* *Wil. Earle Warwicke.* *Wil. Marshall &c.*
Presence of Barons, the glasse of the State.
o Sab her conscience. *Houed.* n *Rog. Houed.* The first seed of the ensuing troubles.
o *Verg. l. 15.*
p *In Suffex.* *Ca. Lan. Houed.* *Iohn* crowned King of *Eng.* True homely & only true, *Poly.*

q *Mat. Paris.*
r *Singulare Orbis Imma[illegible]* *ibid.*
(*Vir profunde prudentie, [illegible] perabilis sapientie*) *ibid.*
s *Omnium qui Coronationi [illegible] esse debuerunt, Wendouer, M.S.*
n The second roote of [illegible] treason.
x *Polydor* [illegible] geth a slight speech of his owne heate, & Hollinsh. in [illegible] followes him. Archbishop Sophisticall Oration [illegible] tion.
y *Mat. Paris Hist. Maior.*

nor yet of any Regall descent. So after him likewise Dauid the Sonne of [a] Ishai: the one for being valourous, and a Personage fitting royall dignity, the other for being Holy and Humble minded. To shew that so he, whosoeuer in a Kingdome excelleth all in Valour and Vertue, ought to surmount all in Rule and Authority: yet so, as that, if any of the Offspring of a deceased King surpasseth others, it is fitte iointly to consent in election of such a one. Thus hee spake (as hee professed) in fauour of Iohn, who then was present, whose most illustrious Brother King Richard dying without any Heire from him descending, Him they had all (first imploring the [b] Holy Ghosts assistance) as being a Prouident, Valiant, and [c] vndoubtedly-Noble Prince, vnanimiously Elected, as wel in regard of his Merites, as of his Royall Bloud. So vniust a speech from so great a Person, could not but moue both Offence and Wonder to many, euen to Iohn himselfe, who doubtlesse meant to stand to [d] his right of proximity by bloude: [e] but they durst not then and there moue Questions thereof, as afterward [f] some did, to whom he gaue a reason of it, as strange as the speech it selfe; saying, [g] that he was assured by some diuining foresight, that King Iohn would work the ruine of the Kingdome, and that therefore, to [h] bridle him from so doing, hee had affirmed his Admission was to be by Choice, and not Hereditary Succession: implying that as by Election he got the Crowne, so by Eiection on demerite hee might as iustly loose it. But for that present, the Ceremonies all pompously accomplished, (where [i] three Oaths were ministred to him; To loue Holy Church, and preserue it from all oppressors; To gouerne the State in Iustice, and aboiish bad Lawes; Not to assume this Royall honour but with full purpose to performe that he had sworne:) the first act and bounty of his kingly Power, was to reward those, whose hands had lifted him to it, making William Marshall and Fitz-Peter, Earles of Pembrooke and Essex, and the Archbishoppe, Lord high Chancellour; who seeming [l] to glory in that addition of honour, was told by the Lord Bardolf, that the height of Archiepiscopall dignity was such, as it was euer reputed a great aduancement for a Chancelor to be made Archbishoppe, but none for an Archbishop to be made a Chancellour.

(6) The Kings Enemies, [m] who kept their heads in, whiles hee was there in Armes, founde opportunities to impeach him, while hee was here setling his Peace: the [n] French King in Normandy surpriseth the City Eureux, & recouers the County of Main; the Britaines regaine the City Angiers with other strong holds: the newes whereof caused King Iohn with all speed [o] to passe the Seas, to giue stoppage to that current; where on his arriuall, his Army of [p] Friends and Voluntaries was so encreased, that King Philip was soone content to take [q] truce for fiftie dayes; on expiration whereof, an Enteruiew was agreed on to establish a lasting Peace. But Philip a [r] long time noted of dubling, (ill beseeming any, but chiefly a Prince) the [s] very day before the two Kings should meet, giuing Duke Arthur the [t] Belt of Knighthood, and taking of him Homage for the Signiories of Anion, Poyton, Turaine, Mayne, Britanny, and Normandy, hee made him faithful vow, to yeeld him powerfull helpes, for acquiring those possessions. Neither was King Iohn behind him in that kind of preuention, when Philip Earle of Flanders, the French Philips professed Enemie, [u] comming to Roan, and disswading King Iohn from trusting anie French friendship, did there sweare vnto him both faithfull Helpe and Homage. Yet the two Kings keeping touch for the day, though not for the purpose of amitie (and yet making faire shew of that too) held Parley betwixt Butauant and [y] Guletun, [z] two dayes by Commissioners inter-current, the third by presence and priuatie, that not one of their Nobles or Attendants (who on each side lay farre aloofe for the space of an houre) vnderstood any passages betwixt them. This much yet came to notice by after-relation, that [a] King Philip then required for Himselfe the large Country of [b] Vengessine, pretending that Geffry Earle of Anion graunted it to Lewis le Grosse, for aiding his Sonne King Henrie the second against King Stephen: and for Arthur, all Poyton, Anion, Maine and Turayne: both which immoderate demaunds with others, King Iohn (conceiuing with [l] Salomon, Why doth he not also aske for Adoniah the Kingdome?) [m] neither would nor ought to graunt vnto him; whereby their amities intended, ended in more hostile defiances. But Philips capitulating then for Arthur, was onely perfunctorie and complementall, as his owne words, (and afterward his actions) bewraied: when being questioned by his Fauourites of his implacable [n] hatred against King Iohn, who had neuer harmed him, professed it was onely, for that hee had (not, defeated Arthur, but) possessed himselfe of Normandie, and the other Demaines, without asking him leaue, or offering him Homage.

(7) The flames thus on all sides breaking forth the stronger, by how much the more they had been for a time kept in, [o] many Earles and Barons of Fraunce (who formerly adhered to King Richard) became Homagers to King Iohn, they swearing, neuer without his assent to reuert to Philip, and hee, neuer to make Peace with Philip, but they therein to bee concluded. In the heate of which tidings (if not before) a [p] chiefe adherent of the foresaid Earle [q] of Flanders (now col-leagued with King Iohn) being the Bishop Elect of Cambray, fell into the hands of the French, at which time also [q] Philip Bishop of Beauois, (a great French Peer) was held in prison by King Iohn; and neither of them willing to forgoe their mitred Champions, [r] Petrus de Capua, the Legat, interdicted France for the one, and Normandy for the other, till they, as persons sacred & inuiolable, should bee dismissed: yet King Iohn (whose Person and Title the Pope and Papals as yet much tendred) had the fauour to wring out of his prize, [s] sixe thousand Markes for his release, and an Oth, neuer whiles he breathed to beare Armes against any Christian. [t] This Legat in King Richards time, had made agreement with King Philip for a fiue yeeres Truce, which expiring with Richards last breath, hee still laboured to establish it betwixt the now-Kings: but King Philips great heart would not so come downe, which was likely to haue cost him deere. For pursuing whither his Furie (a bad guide) did lead him, after his siege of Luuardin ([u] Whence vpon King Iohns approach with his Army hee fled to Maunz, and thence again fled, King Iohn comming thither;) seized the Castle of Balun (which belonged to Arthur) and to preuent his enemy (as is likely) [x] he leuelled it vnto the very grounds; which fact Duke Arthurs [y] Generall, William de Rupibus wrathfully expostulating with King Philip, as hauing done therein contrarie to Couenants with his Lord Arthur, hee as scornfully answered, that hee would not for his Lord Arthures pleasure, forbeare his owne, in doing as himselfe listed, with such forts as hee tooke. The Generall seeing Arthur was but the outward maske, vnder which Philip reuelld for his hidden ends, [z] seriously perswaded his Lord to reconcilement with his vncle King Iohn, and rather to hazard his hopes on the clemency of a Generous Foe, then on the guiles of a false hearted Friend: & so making his peace with King Iohn, hee presentlie yeelded vp to him both Maunz, & (with Lady Constance) the young Duke also, the important matter of so great contentions. But Heauens were not so propitious to these Reconciliats, as so to hold them long: some Philippines buzzing such needlesse [a] terrors of Imprisonment into the Noble Childs eares, that the next night, Feare giuing wings to his flight, as Loue did to his Mothers, (for leauing her husband [b] Ranulph Earle of Chester, shee was amorous of, and married Guido a gallant Gentleman, who thē fled with her,) they escaped into Angiers. Arthur neither sure of K. Philip, nor sure to K. Iohn, had now cast himselfe betwixt two Milstones; but (howsoeuer) Philip ment the greist in the end should be his.

(8) The

a Virgessium. Vrsulger. Virgessin. Houed. Vilecassium. Polydor. Vicis-Cassium. Paul Aemil.

King Philips vnreasonable demaunds.

l 1. Reg. 2. 22.

m Nolunt, nec debuit, Paris.

The Pasley ends in discord.

n Reg. Houed.

o Houeden.

p Math. Paris.

q Of whom, see in Richard the 1.

r Mat. Paris.

s Paris, Houeden, saith but 2000.

t Nic. Trinet. M.S. Reg. Houeden.

King Iohn pursues Philip from place to place.

u Reg. Houeden fol. 452.

x Reg. Houed.

y Princeps Exercitus Arthuri, Houed. 18.

King Philips wrongs to Arthur

z Mat. Paris, Reg. Houed.

Arthur reconciled to King Iohn.

a Reg. Houed.

Arthur flyeth from King Iohn.

b Paul. Aemil. saith Guydo was her second Husband: but it appeares otherwise by Houeden and others.

King *Philip* and the Emperors hatred, encreaseth the malice betwixt King *Iohn* and *Philip*.

c *Otho* the fourth sonne of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Maud* daughter of K. *H.*2.

d *Rog Houed. f.*457.

e *Mat. Paris.*

f *Mat. Paris.*

g *Mat. Westmin. An.*1198.

h *Rog. Houed. f.*452.

The Emperour offers his aide to K. *Iohn*.

i *Idem. ibid.*

An. 1200.

The Kings interuiew againe.

k *Rog de Wendouer*, M.S. *Paris. Houed.*

Articles of attonement.

l *Nich. Triuet. MS*

m *Vide Chartam apud. Houed. p.*463

* *Houed. f.*456.

n *Paris.*11. *Cal. Iul.*

o *Walsing. Ypod. A.*1200.

p *Homo Iohannis. Houed.*

q *Ypod. Neust. Loco cit.*

King Philip yeelds vp *Arthur* to King *Iohn*, against his vow.

The Emperours two Brethren sent to King *Iohn*.

r *Houed. f.*456.

s *Eboraci*, saith *Houed.* perchance for *Ebroica*, *Eureux*.

t *Nicol. Triuet*, in *Rich.*1. *M.S.*

u *Rog. Houed.*

King Johns care of his oath to K. *Philip*.

x *Wendouer. Houed, f.*457.

y So called by *Wendouer, Paris. Mat. Westminst. Houed, &c.* but our Heralds (*Glouer, Millet, Ferrers, &c*) call her *Isabel*.

z Grandchild to *Rob.* base-brother of King *Iohn*.

a *Iob. de Serres.*

b *Ypodigma.*

c *Apud Houed.*

d *Ibid. f.*463.

e *Idem f.*457.

f *Ib. f.*458.

g *Ib. Consuet. Scactarij.* 463.

h *Idem f.*439.

i *Houed.*

k See the description of *Huntingtonshire*.

l Sonne of *H.*2. by *Rosamond*.

m *Houed. f.*453

n *Wendouer. MS.*

(8) The breach betwixt these two great Kings, was the more irreconcileable, by reason of the hatred betwixt King *Philip* and the Emperour [c] *Otho*, King *Iohns* Nephew, whose aduancement to the Empire (himselfe perhaps [d] aiming to it) *Philip* still endeauoured to impeach, [e] *not regarding that the Pope* (whose power Kings then regarded only, while it made for their purpose) *had thundered his Anathema against all his Opposers*: and *Otho* in [f] *gratitude to King Richard, who* [g] *procured him the Diadem Imperiall*, and in tender regard of his vncles honour, sent him aduise, [h] *not to hasten any finall attonement* with the *French* King, for that himselfe *would bring him his vtmost Imperiall assistance*. Notwithstanding, by the *Cardinall-Legates* assiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the [i] Feast of *Saint Hilary*: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treaty betwixt *Wailun* and *Butauant* Castles, [k] it was agreed: that *Lewis* the Heyre of *France* should marry *King Iohns* Neece, *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alfonsus* King of *Castile*; that King *Iohn* should giue for Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with sundry Forts in *Normandy*, and thirty thousand Markes in siluer; vowing also not to aide his Nephew *Otho* with men or means to attain the Empire: & further, [l] *promising to leaue (if he died without Issue) vnto Lewis al the Territories he held in France*; all which Articles were [m] formerly engrossed, but finally cõcluded betwixt *Butauant*, & *Guletun* (the * one, *K. Iohns*, the other, *King Philips* Castle) the [n] *Octaues of Saint Iohn Baptist*, when, these Counties were actually surrendred to *Philip*; the Lady *Blanch* [o] espoused to *Lewis* his son; Duke *Arthur* (*Philips* once vowed, but now vnualued charge,) yeelded ouer, and made [p] *Seruant* and [q] *Homager* to K. *Iohn* for his own Dukedom; whom yet his vncle was content to leaue with King *Philip*, who had now so left him, and erst had vpheld him, onely as the baite of his owne aduantage. If Princes can bee thus vnprincely degenerous, what trust can men repose in baser vassals? King *Iohn* hereupon proued much more stedfast to *Philip*, then either *Philip* was to him, or himselfe to *Otho* the Emperor, who sending his two Brethren *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William* (surnamed of [r] *Winton*) to demand the Counties of [s] *Yorke* and *Poictou*, with the Treasure and Iewels which [t] King *Richard* bequeathed him: King *Iohn* denied to yeeld thereunto, [u] *only in regard of his Oath which hee had passed to Philip, to yeelde no kind of aide to the Emperour*. And further to testifie, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to preserue intire this amity with *Philip*, [x] by his aduise he diuorced [y] *Hawisia* his wife, as *too* [z] *neere of Bloud*, by sentence of the Archbishop, and Bishops of *Burdeaux*, *Poictoirs*, and *Xanton*, and by the Archbishops hands espoused *Isabell*, [a] Heiretrice of *Ailmar* Earle of *Angolisme*, a faire yong Lady, but [b] dedestined to another bed.

(9) This Finall Concord (so [c] called, but not prouing so) with *Philip*, who now acknowledged *Iohn* the [d] *rightfull Heire* of *King Richards Crowne*, gaue him more leasur, to receiue peaceably all [e] *Submitties*, and bring in forceably all [f] *out-standers* of those his transmarine Dominions, and after to look home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had beene (and we there following him,) too long absent. Yet in the heate of those forrain imploiments, hee on occasions had his recourses hither to settle his State-affaires, and [g] Crowne-Reuenewes; to enact wholesome [h] lawes for forraine and domesticke Commerce; to collect an [i] Ayde for his Neeces great Dowry, and Martiall vses; which later (being three shillinges on euery [k] Carrucata,) though his first and onely Subsidie since his comming to the Crowne, caused much heart-burning; especially by meanes of his [l] owne brother *Geffry* Archbishoppe of *Yorke* (touching whom the King was [m] forewarned, that *hee would bring a Sword, & not Peace into England*) who bearing himselfe too bold on his bloud and place, [n] *forbad the Collectours of that Aide in his precincts* (though it were [o] granted to the King generally for all *England*) and also being *required by the King* to attend him into *France*, to conclude the Peace, and his Neeces Espousall, he very vndutifully denied his seruice. The King [p] iustly moued with those his disloyalties, caused all his Temporalities to bee seized on by his Sheriffe; whom therefore *Geffry* (adding fresh fuel to the fire) *did solemnly excommunicate*, caused the Kings Officers to beare blowes, and *interdicted the whole Prouince of Yorke*. So partiall, and vnhistoricall, is the report of [q] one; (a Stranger by birth, but more strange for bold vntruthes) who faines the onely incentiue of such indignation in the King, was that Prelates reprehension of his Rapines on the people. For (to giue a further taste of that Authors [r] *vehement fond malice*, iustly so taxed) what ancient Iudicious Writers call an [s] *Aid* necessarie for Warres, that he enstileth Rapines and Spoiles; where they make *Iohn* his Brothers Heyre by Will, hee makes *Arthur*; they say hee was a [t] valiant man, hee saith he was a Coward; where they make him [u] *pursuing*, and *Philip flying*, hee chargeth him to haue *made onely plaints, when he should haue drawne swords*; where they charge the Peeres for [x] *drawing backe from his Warres*, hee makes them the onely *Hasteings*, and *Iohn* the *Hinderer*; briefly, if a [y] *fire-shooting Meteor* appeare aboue, it portends Heauens fury on *Iohn*; if the [z] *watry Element* ouerflow, it bodes *Iohns* fury on his Land. But surely that part thereof, which fell on *Geoffry*, it was (you see) not vndeserued: notwithstanding, vpon the Kings * returne into *England*, and *Geoffreys* to his more loyall carriage & submission, *his Peace was made*, at the very time, & for the more celebrity, of Queen *Isabels* * Coronation, with whom the King himselfe was * *again crowned at Westminster* by Archbishop *Hubert*.

(10) The Pompe of that solemnitie ended, the King resolued of ending a long depending controuersie with King *William* of *Scotland*, who formerlie (before *Iohn* was proclaimed King) had challenged, as [a] his *patrimoniall Right*, the Counties of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*; and afterward seeing he got but words and delaies, was ready, (*King Iohn* being then in *France*) with an hotter and more forceable argument, to winne, what hee could not craue: but being in dark [b] *deuotion all Night at Saint Margarets Hearse*, the still true [c] *English*-hearted Queen *perswaded him by a Dreame* (for certainely it was no other) not to infest *England* her natiue soile; who thereupon sent backe his Army. But now he commeth with a more friendly traine, vpon *King Iohns* sending to him, in Honourable [d] Embassage, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Hereford*, *King Williams* Brother and Nephew, his three Sonnes in Law, *Lacy*, *Vescy* and *Ros* with others, to desire him to giue him meeting at [e] *Lincolne*, where accordingly they both [f] meet with kingly curtesies; and the next day, *King Iohn* to auspicate his Temporall affaires with Spirituall deuotions, (and yet to shew what hee thought of some superstitious follies of those times) went [g] *vndauntedly into the Cathedrall Church, being much disswaded by many*, (for Monkish Impostures perswaded many it was very ominous for a *King* to enter that, and certaine [h] other places) and there offered *a golden Chalice on Saint Iohns Altar, which* [i] *no King before him durst doe*. Where his Deuotions performed, the two *Kings* (in presence of * three Archbishops, thirteene Bishops, the *King* of *South-Wales*, with a multitude of *English*, *Scottish*, *French*, and *Irish* Princes and Peeres,) ascending the toppe of that conspicuous & high * hill, on the North side of the Citie, did there in a glorious solemnity, sweare amitie and faithfull loue, [k] *vpon the Crosier of Archbishop Hubert*.

(11) That Spectacle so roial to the beholders, was seconded with another no lesse Honourable to *K. Iohn*, (for *Humility* in such great ones is more glorious then their glory,) when the King hauing latelie left

o *Walsing.*

p *Causa motus pleni. Rog.*

q *Polyd. Virg. l.*15.

r *Grafton, l.*

s *Wend.*

t *Stretton Antiq. Houed. brens.*

u *Houed.*

x *Sais dem. Matth. Paris. Triuet. MS.*

y *Polyd. l.*15. z *Ibid.*

* *Houed. Paris.*

* *Dominica Passionis Domini.* * *Paris.*

The Interuiew of the Kings of England and Scotland.

a *Houden.*

b At Dunfermelin *Houden.*

c Shee was Grandchild to King *Edmund Ironside*, wife to King *Malcolme* of *Scots.*

d *Houden.*

e So *Houden. Walsing.* but *Holinshed Polydor* by slay at London f 11. *Cal. Dec. Houed.*

g *Idem.*

h At Saint *Frideswides* Church *Oxford.*

i King Stephen before durst not enter the City of *Paris* in Person.

* (*Cant. Dubricius Regnens.*

* Now called *Pare-hill.*

k *Triuet. MS. Walsing.*

left *Hugh* Bishoppe of *Lincolne* (called the Saint, for the opinion of vnfained integrity, though [1] blemished with some obstinacies, and surcharged with Legends of [m] fained Miracles) at *London* very sicke, (where himselfe with gracious care [n] went to visite him, and both confirmed *his Testament and promised the like for other Bishoppes after*,) now hearing hee was [*] dead, and his Corpes then bringing into the gates of *Lincolne*, hee, with all that princely Traine, went forth to meete it; the [o] three *Kings* (though the *Scottish* was to *depart that very day*) with their roiall Allyes, carrying the Hearse on those shoulders, accustomed to vphold the weight of whole kingdomes: from whom the Great Peeres receiued the same, and *bare it to the Church Porch*, whence the three Archbishops and Bishops conuaied it to the Quier, and the next day (it there lying the meane time [p] *open faced, mitred, and in all Pontificall Ornamentes, with Gloues on his hands, and a Ring on his finger*) interred it with all solemnities answerable. Yet here the *King* rested not to giue proofe, in so great a height, of his lowly mind, and then benigne (how euer afterward auerted) to the Clergy; when twelue Abbots of the *Cisteaux Habit* (whose [q] *whole Order* had displeased him, by refusing to giue *Aid* towardes his great payment of thirtie thousand pounds) [r] came now to *Lincolne*, and all prostrate at his feet, craued his gracious fauour, for that his Forresters had driuen out (for so the King had giuen commaund) of his *Pastures and Forrests all their Cattle, wherewith themselues, and Christs Poore were sustained*. The King touched with remorse on so venerable a troope of *Suppliants*, (though so great offenders) commaunded them to rise, who were no sooner vp, but the King [s] *inspired with diuine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, desiring pardon*; adding, that hee not onely *admitted them to his loue*, & *their* [*] *beasts to his Pastures*, (a speciall fauour which Kings had graunted that Order,) *but would also build an Abbey for men of their sort, (if they would designe some choice seat) wherein himselfe meant to bee enshrined*. Neither did he promise then more then hee performed, nor were those wylie *Humiliates* regardlesse of choosing a delicate plotte for the purpose, where hee built a goodlie Abbey of their Order, deseruedly for the pleasance of the place, named [t] *Beaulieu*, and of [u] rich *Reuenue*, and exceslliue *Priuiledge*; continuing long *of great renowne, as a Castle of refuge inuiolable*; our Auncestors thinking it most hainous sacrilege, thence to draw any, though *wilfull Murderers* or *Traitors*: wherein the Founders of such vnsanctified [x] *Sanctuaries*, & *Temples of Mercy* (so they called thē) *throughout this Kingdom, seemed rather to take Romulus for their President, thē Moses, who granting fauor to casuall Manslaughters, yet* [y] *commanded wilfull Murderers to bee drawn from the Altar to the slaughter*.

(12) By what degrees, men not onely of such *reputed-religious habit*, but also of the *Secular-Clergy*, fell afterward more and more from such fauours of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purposely winke, may easily behold, both sorts standing so stiffe on their persons, and their possessions Exemption from Regall commaund, that whiles the [z] Pope could haue all for any superfluous imploiment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdome were in hazard, as you heard by the disloyall obstinacies both of the Archbishop of *Yorke*, who denied the King his personall attendance, and those Cisteaux Monkes, whose Coffers were thus lockt against him. The like pretended Exemptions of their *Clergie-Prelacies* (as well as of their Persons and Purses) wrought also like offences, both with former Kinges, and now with King *Iohn*, who on the death of Bishop *Hugh*, resoluing to conferre by gift, (as his [b] Ancestors did, and [c] himselfe elsewhere lately had) that See, on some whom either merite or affection had endeared to him, (the rather, because [d] men of those places, in those dayes, were vsually their Soueraignes bosom-Counsellors) [*] hee was with peremptory affronts withstood by the Cannons there, who very bolde on the Popes vpbearing, reckt very slenderly their Princes displeasing. It is not vnlikely that Archbishop *Hubert* (lest *Canterbury* might be thought inferior to *Yorke* in daring boldnes,) as being Papal Legate, in secret bolstring them had a hand, though closely carried in a gloue: for that the man, who lately, [f] gloried the King was wholy his, now finding hee had not the sway hee expected, and thought hee deserued (by obligement of his first Agency about the Crowne,) not onely studied to make vpp that by his Legatine Glory which hee wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as [g] one who thinkes hee extolles his vertue, paints forth his disloyalty) *hee repented now, more then any thing in all his life, that hee had so aduanced King Iohn to the Crowne*. Certes, about this time, hee shewed slender respect to his Soueraigne, (for as God is in his, so are Kings dishonoured in their Ministers disgraces) when being prohibited by *Fitz-Peter*, the Kings great Iustitiar and Minister (in the Kings absence) of regall commaund, [h] *from holding a General Councell of his Prouince*, (neuer vsed to bee held, but by Soueraigne permittance) his pleasure scornde to take any countermaund, but from him especiallie, who, in [i] calling his inferior, by [*] ioynt deserts towards the King, but his Equall, was now, in neerenesse and fastnesse to the King, become farre his Superiour. But what speake I of confronting a subordinate power? did hee spare to out-beard his Soueraigne himselfe? It seemes no. For hauing notice, the Feast of the *Natiuity* now approaching, that the King intended with his Queene, at *Guilford* to keepe that feastiuity with great magnificence; he whose Pallace ordinarily, for *Splendour, multitude of Attendants, and sumptuous intertainements did striue with the Kings* (as one of his own [k] *Successors* auows) thought this a fitting time, to shew, both his great state, and little regard of his Princes discountenance, by [l] *paraleling to the Kings*, his owne sumptuous preparations, [m] *with rich attires, and costly gifts for his Attendants at Canterbury*. The King (as Kings brooke not to bee braued by Subiects, nor is it wisedome for disfauourites to doe it,) moued [n] *with great indignation*, thought the man had too much riches, & too little Discretion (which seldome lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart,) and therefore to abate somewhat the one, and learne him more of the other, hauing first beene in the [o] *North parts* to gather money for his better vses, hee meant not to lauish it in keeping his Easter, which he chose rather to doe at the cost of *Hubert the* [p] *Rich*; & not to spare him, who spared not himselfe, he there increast that great expense with a greater, of His, and his Queenes solemne [q] crowning againe on Easter day, in the Cathedrall Church; where, in lieu of his expence, *Hubert* had the formall honour *to set on their Crownes*, but yet not the grace to sit neere the Kings Heart.

(13) Such being the first ouertures of hart-burnings betwixt the King and his Clergy, which after by additament of dayly fuelling, brast forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Peeres were so farre from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for these Bellowes of Rebellion, which before their Homages did condition for their Rights & Liberties, were not all this while sparing of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it selfe (whence al Rebellions spring, and thither fall againe) could not wish a fitter occasion to broach and actuate such a mischiefe. For the [r] *Poytouins* with King *Philips* conniuence, (taking aduantage of *King Iohns* absence, and Springs approach) were vp in Armes, dislodged his Garrisons, beleagured his Castles; tidings whereof recalled King *Iohns* thoughtes from his Domesticke Pompes, to his Transmarine Affaires; for the present, he gaue commaund to his [*] *Seneschall of Normandy*,

e *Rog. Houed.*

Offence taken by the King against Archb. *Hubert* of *Cant.*

f *Rog. Houeden.*

Huberts hollow heart to K. *Iohn.*

g *Polyd. Verg. l.* 15

Hubert resisteth the Kings chiefe officer.

h *Houeden.*

i *Archiepiscopus in Regno a Rege secunda persona. Mat. Paris.*

* As fellow agents for the Kings aduancement. *Hubert* outbraues the King himself. An. 1201.

k *Mat. Parker in Antiq. Eccl. Ang. in vit. Hubert.*

l *Mat. West. Quasi cum Rege a pari contendere.*

m *Wendouer, M.S.*

n *Mat. Paris.*

o *Stow* erreth in saying he then went into *Ireland.*

p *Mat. Parker Antiq. Eccl. Ang. Godwin. in vit. Hubert.*

q *Reg. Wend. M.S.*

The first breaches betwixt the king and his Lay Peeres.

r *Rog. Houed.*

* *Warin de Clapiam Houed.*

mandy to attempt on them ſome Counter-ſeruices, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom alſo King *Philip*, [f] hearing *King Iohn was in perſon comming ouer with an Army, forthwith recalled*,) and publiſhed his generall [t] ſummons, that his Earles, Barons, and all that held by Knights-ſeruice, ſhould bee ready at *Portſmouth* with Horſe and Armes, on Whitſonday then inſtant, to croſſe the ſeas with him. The tumultuous Earles knowing, that the King then needed their preſent helpes, and therefore might bee forced to any Capitulations, in a conuenticle held at *Leyceſter*, by a [u] ioint conſpiring, ſent an audacious meſſage to the *King*, that they *would not* attend him, vnleſſe hee would *firſt reſtore their rightes*; with which diſloiall refuſall, the *King* iuſtly incenſed, [*] *by ſome mens too precipitate aduiſe*, (conſidering the hazardous time which needed a ſalue rather then a coraſiue) ſeized into his hands ſome of their Caſtles, to preuent their further attempts, of ſome he tooke their children for pledges, and others, whoſe Purſes were likely to doe him truer ſeruice then their owners, *hee* [x] *releaſed vpon payments*. At which prefixed time, he diſpatched before him *william* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and Lord *Roger Lacie* with [y] two regiments to ioyne with *Normandies* Seneſhall. What a [*] graue Author iudged of thoſe bold Barrons here, and other turbulent Great-ones then abroad, may bee gathered by this; that aſſoone as mention fell in of thoſe refractary Lords, he ſtreight fell off, to ſhew how in that very yeare, Pope *Innocent then raigning in Rome, Saffadine the Turke in Ieruſalem*, [*] *Alexander the* [z] *Fatricide in Conſtantinople*, (for ſo he yoketh thoſe three together, with ſome others following them;) the great Doctors preached, that *then was the time* ([a] *propheſied by Saint Iohn*) *when after a thouſand yeers reſtraint, the Diuell was let looſe*, to ſeduce the Nations like a [b] Serpent, and trouble the world like a [c] Dragon: which how true it proued in this our Nation and little-World, (in whoſe Tragedy the Diuell alſo, amongſt the [d] firſt named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolicall enſuing practiſes, both of fraud and fury, will hereafter demonſtrate.

(14) The King, though thus diſfurniſhed of his principall home-helpes, yet [e] entruſting the cuſtodie of the land, eſpecially thoſe Southern parts, with [f] *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlaine, and receiuing to [g] full reconcilement (for more ſecurity of the Northerne,) *Geffrey* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whoſe [h] Churches large Priuiledges then he ratified; without delay at *Porteſmouth* hee put forth to ſea, with *Iſabel* his Queene, though in ſundry Bottomes, and with differing ſucceſſe, a [i] ſudden guſt diſparting the Fleet, whereby the King was driuen backe on the *Iſle* of *Wight*, *but the Queene* [k] *with much adoe*, arriued ſafe in *Normandy*, whom ſoon after the King followed thither. Vpon whoſe arriuall, the *French* King [l] *perceiuing the power of his aduerſary*, preſently condiſcended to another perſonall (but very [m] priuate) Parley; wherein each gaue and receiued ſuch reciprocall ſatisfaction in their deſires, that thereupon, not onely the former bonds of Amity ſeemed to cõtinue ſtrong, but were alſo more ſtrengthned with a new knot of [n] Aſſociation, wherein ſundry great Lords of either ſide were by indentment of Writing, made ſuerties to the counter-part, with condition, that whither of the two Kings did firſt violate the Couenants, all his cautionary Lords ſhould bee releaſed of their alleagiance to him, and become Leegemen and Aſſiſtants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loues, they [o] both agreede to contribute to the *Holy-Warres*, (which now beganne to bee on foot) the fortieth part of the whole Reuenewes of their Crownes; ſending their [p] letters abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles & people, by their examples to doe the like. With which intercourſes, & other cõplements, three daies being ſpent betwixt them, King *Philip* the deeper to ſerue himſelfe into King *Iohns* good opinion, (the [*] ſureſt way to ouerreach another in any commerce) by intreaty obtained his company, firſt to *S. Denyſes Pallace*, [q] where hee entred with a pompous Proceſſion of the Clergy, and lodged with royall entertainment by the King; and the next day, to *Paris*, where hee was receiued with [r] *very rich Preſents* of the City, and great applauſe of all ſorts, to ſee ſo noble arguments of affection betwixt two ſo great princes, lately ſo mortall enemies: where the *French King* betaking himſelfe to a more priuate manſion, left his owne pallace to accommodate and honor *Englands* King. After ſome dayes there beſtowed in princely delights, and entertainements, King *Iohn* conducted forth of the City by *King Philip*, and parting with mutuall atteſtations of loue neuer to bee parted, tooke his iourney towards *Normandy*, in ful hope to enioy thence forward the contentment of quiet to himſelfe, and peace to his Dominions: but thoſe windy hopes ſoone changed with his change of the aire.

(15) For whiles at *Chinon* hee was roially entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his [a] ſiſter (whom [b] hee there alſo bounteouſly ſatisfied in performing the Ioynture promiſed her by *King Richard*, giuing her the [c] City and Signiory of *Baion*, two Caſtles, and their Demaines in *Anion*, with a thouſand Markes yeerelie for tearme of life,) and at [c] *Argenton* in *Normandy*, where hee kept his Chriſtmas, was ſolacing himſelfe with his faire Queen *Iſabel*; the Earle of *March*, *Hugh*, ſurnamed *Le-Brun*, a [d] Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Iſabel* was firſt promiſed (though for her [e] vnripe yeares he neuer bedded her) enflamed with loue of her, who was now thought worthy to bee a Queene, [f] drew on other *Poictouine* Nobles, to thinke that hee was vnworthy to bee a King, who wrongfully had taken her [g] from him, and would, if not preuented, do the like in time with them. So, [h] once againe young *Arthur*, whoſe former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by theſe fire-brands, and ſet vp by their malice, to ſupplant his vncle, but by Heauens Decree, to ouerthrow himſelfe; howſoeuer the [i] *Britaines*, then faſcinated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the ancient *Great Arthur* was riſen againe in him, and that the Tranſlation of the *Engliſh Kingdom* was now by him to be effected. Neither was the [k] *French King*, for all his late painted pretenſions of loue, deafe to their ſuggeſtions, who laboured to incenſe his hatred againſt *Iohn*; whereto hee had theſe further inducements; that King *Iohn* might quicklie waxe too potent a Neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not timely rebated; that now the meanes to worke it, were more then before, the [l] *Engliſh Peeres* being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed Liberties; but chiefly, that the [m] profite (ſuch baſe ends can ſome propoſe of ſo Noble a Band) which hee hoped for by his amity (being the [n] *enioying of thoſe Signiories in the Continent, if hee died ſans Iſſue*) was now in a manner cut off. Queene *Iſabel* beginning to giue apparant hopes of ſome faire fruite from ſo faire a ſtemme. Thus whiles Earle *Hugh* out of his loue, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King *Philip* out of Auarice, (ah that the nobleſt perſon ſhould haue the baſeſt end,) but all out of Hatred, were contriuing King *Iohns* ruine; hee was fartheſt from ſuſpition, when neereſt his danger, and yet they, who thus were forwardeſt to vndermine his Greatnes, were themſelues formoſt to bee cruſht with the weight thereof.

(16) But theſe ſlie Serpents ſhrowded in ſecret their enuenomed heades, till the warmth of the [o] Spring (a time ſuiting for martiall miſchiefes) called them forth; when King *Philip* (hauing newly caſt his skinne, and as moſt able, ſo was [p] moſt willing to break the way) deſired another enterview with King *Iohn*: who comming thither (the [q] place was twixt *Vernon* and *Liſle Dandale*) vvith expectation

[f] *Houed. f. 465.*
[t] *Apud Tewkſburie, die Aſcenſionis. Paris.*
Liberties the cauſe of contention..
[u] *Houeden.*
[*] *Maluſus conſilio. Houed.*
[x] *Wendouer. MS.*
[y] *Houed.*
[*] *Rog. Houeden.*
[*] By *Houed.* ſo named, but *Alexius* by *Nic. Triuet.*
[z] *Nich. Triuet. MS* ſheweth he depriued his brother *Cuſath* of Empire and eyes not of life.
[a] Apoc. 20. v. 7.
[b] v. 2. & 8.
[c] *Ibidem.*
[d] *Supra* § 1.
[e] *Houed. f. 465*
[f] *Parker in vit. Arcb. Cant.* erreth in ſaying it was *Hubert* the Archbiſhop, whoſe name was *Hubert Walter*.
[g] *Houed f 465.*
[h] *Ibid.*
[i] *Hollinſ.*
[k] *Mat. Weſtmin. Walſing.* and yet *Houed.* ſaith, *proſperis ventis nauiga.*
[l] *Paris Hiſt. minor MS.*
[m] *Nemine conſcio Houed.*
[n] *Wendouer. MS.*
[o] *Houed. f. 471.*
[p] *Epiſt. Galfredi Apud Houed. f. 471.*
[q] *Hollinſ.*
[r] *Pod. Neuſ. Hollinſ.*
A new conſpiracy.
[a] *K. Richards*
[b] *Rog. Houed.*
[c] *Mat. Weſt.*
Ann. 12
[d] *P. Armil. Philip.*
[e] *Nangius Hemeden. f. Armil.*
[g] *Houed* ſaith father gaue to King *Iohn*
fol. 457.
[h] *Pod. Neuſ. Mat. Weſt.*
[i] *Mills his Log. of hou. Richard Earles.*
The French king breaks amity with *Iohn.*
[k] *Wendouer*
[l] *Rog. Houed. Nub. M.S.*
[m] *Nub. Wolſing.*
An other view of the kings.
[o] *Mat. Weſt. hiſt. min. Sabellic. in Mar. Paul. Emil. M.S.*
[q] *Nich. Trio. Mat. Weſt.*
it was neere *Gaillon*
XUM

tion of ſome fruits of thoſe louely courteſies which their laſt meeting ſeemed to haue engrafted; he there found that this laſt winter had nipt all thoſe faire bloſſomes. For *Philip*, [r] *forgetfull of all former Compacts*, and [s] pretending ſome imaginary wrongs, in *outragious manner* [t] required him without delay to redeliuer into *Arthurs* hands, all his *Tranſmarine dominions*, *Normandy*, *Turayne*, *Anion*, *Poictou*; or otherwiſe as Lord *Paramount* of thoſe Countries, which *Iohn* held by *Homage*, he peremptorily [u] cited him perſonally to appeare in [x] *Eaſter Terme* at *Paris*, there to [x] anſwere what ſhould bee laide to his charge, and to abide the *Arreſt* of his *Court of Iuſtice*. The colour on which hee thus did cite him, was (ſay [y] ſome) King *Iohns* ſharpe repreſſing of ſome rebellious attempts of *Hugh le brun* the former yeer, whereof the Earle complained to King *Philip*, as to the *chiefe Lord*. King *Iohn* much amaſed to ſee, not onely *hony* ſo ſoone diſtempered into *gall*, but the *French* King alſo turned into an *Apparatour*, [z] diſdained both his *Citation* and *Commaunds*, as very vnnoble for *Englands King* to accept, or the *French* to offer; neither indeed did *Philip* thus put the matter to *daying*, as intending any ſuch legitimate proceeding, but onely to make his aduerſary ſecure of any other aſſaults, then by *Petty-foggers*. For whether it be true or no, [a] that King *Iohn* for his *non-appearance*, was by ſentence of the *French Peeres* adiudged to looſe all his *Territories* in the *Continent*: certaine it is, that [b] no ſooner was the *Conference* with indignation broken off, but *Philip* (hee had before prepared to effect what hee had proiected) with *power* and *fury* aſſailes *Butauant* Caſtle, whoſe Turrets (high-reared by [c] King *Richard*) hee [d] leuelled with the *Foundations*, and thence ſodainely like a flaſh of lightning, beganne to inuolue the [e] neighbouring partes with *ranſakings* and *ruines*, till giuing an aſſault, (which had held him eight dayes) to the Caſtle of *Radepont*, King *Iohn* comming to the reſcue, forced him *with ſhame* to ſpeed away. To repaire which diſhonour, and to empaire the *Engliſh* forces by diſtraction of imploiments, returning to *Paris*, hee there [f] appoints for *Arthur* (to [g] whom hee had now affianced his yonger daughter) both certaine ſelected Nobles to bee protectors to ſecure and guard his perſon, & alſo bands of Souldiers to attend his commaund, amongſt which were 200. the [h] *choice Knights of France*; all which in [i] *very pompous Troupes* followed him, (with *Philips* [k] directions, and alſo *ſupply of* [l] *great ſummes of money*) into *Poictou*, to reduce thoſe partes to his *Allegiance*; which was no hard matter to effect; the greater part of *Commaunders* there (being fore-wrought) expecting nothing more, and the better part ſuſpecting nothing leſſe, then theſe perfidious aſſaults.

(17) Queene *Eleanor* Regent of thoſe prouinces, attended with a [k] *very ſlender guard*, yet ſtrong inough for daies of *quiet*, (which both her [l] Age did now deſire, and her [m] *Homage* done to *Philip*, and *Philips* faire ſhewes to her did promiſe;) hauing no ſpeedier notice of thoſe incurſions, then the vnpleaſing effects thereof, (for on *Arthurs* good ſucceſſes, [n] *K. Philip* proclaimed him Lord of thoſe *Dominions*) betooke her ſelfe into *Mirabeau*, one of the moſt tenable townes in [o] *Poictou*, ſending to *King Iohn*, (whoſe forces were then in [p] *Normandy* and [q] *Mayne*, repreſſing or preuenting *Philips* attempts) for preſent aids. Which yet could not ſo ſpeedily come, but *Arthur* (who knew that vpon ſeiſure of ſuch a prize as *Eleanour*, hee might draw her ſonne to any conditions) had preuented them, beſieged her, and [r] poſſeſſed himſelfe of her towne, though not of her perſon, as [s] ſome by miſ-underſtanding haue miſ-related. For ſhe [t] retiring into the Caſtle, made it good againſt her Grandchilds inceſſant batterie; about which, whiles he, with his [x] *continuall ſupplies* of *Poitouine* and [y] *Aniouine princes*, was [z] *indefatigably* buſied, King *Iohns* Army neere at hand (for his expedition both by day and night to his mothers reſcue, is recorded as [a] *admirable*) brought the newes of their owne approch; which cauſed [b] *the great Army* of the *Leagers* ſo induſtrious before to impeach others, no leſſe ſollicitous now to defend themſelues. Both *Armies* [c] *martially ranged*, & *Arthurs* Battalions not onely [d] *vndaunted-ly*, but alſo very [e] *pompouſly* comming on to the ſhocke, the fight proued [f] moſt fierce and terrible, each ſide reſoluing, by reaſon of both the Competitors preſence in the field, that the *End* and vpſhot of all their deſignes, depended on that dayes ſucceſſe: which in the end by the fortunate [g] proweſſe of King *Iohn* and his *Engliſh*, fell diſaſtrouſlie on *Arthur*, his *French*, and other Aſſiſtants, who after a [h] great ſlaughter made amongſt them, [i] turning their backs to him, from whom they had before turned their Faithes, tooke their flight [k] towards the *Towne*, to ſhelter their liues within thoſe walles, which ſo late the *Seat* of their triumphes, became now the cage of their captiuation, and the *Toombe* of all *Arthurs* ambitious hopes, though himſelfe ſo vnhappy as to ſuruiue them: for [l] together with the tumultuary flyers, the victorious King & his Armie entred, renued a [m] moſt bloudy fight, repoſſeſſed the *Town*, freed his *mother*, enthralled his *Enemies*, and recouered all the *prouinces* which had reuolted.

(18) This victory was ſo glorious to King *Iohn*, and ſo dreadful to his Enemies, (for King *Philips* two chiefe confederates, [n] *Arthur* and *Hugh Brun*, [o] *Raymund*, Father to *Guido* the husband of *Conſtancia*, [p] all the Peeres of *Poictou* and *Anion*, [q] aboue 200. *French* Knights and others of command, beſides the vulgar multitudes were taken priſoners) that both then *King* Philip, though very hote in the *ſiege* of *Argues* in *Normandy*, preſently cooled and [r] confounded with newes thereof, brake vppe his fortnights ſiege, and returned home; and ſince, the *French* fawning fauourites, and *King Iohns* maligners haue ſought to extenuate the matter, auerring againſt [s] all truth of record, that it was exploited [t] *before the French were come to Arthurs aide*, and [u] *when all his Souldiers were both vnarmed and vnordered*. But, as others highly extolling king *Iohns* valour herein, [x] interprete thoſe fore-doomes of *Merlin* to haue beene ment of him, [y] *that hee ſhould hee crowned with the head of a Lion, ſhould cut out the tongues of Bulles, and lay yron chaines on the backes of roring Beaſts* (and indeed hee [z] chained them *hand and foot*, and ſo conuayed them away in *Carts*, *a kind of riding till then vnuſuall with them*,) ſo *King Iohn* himſelfe, [a] duely acknowledging *the greatneſſe of Gods goodneſſe therein*, ſent his Letters to all his *Barons* whereſoeuer (thereby to encourage the loiall, and hold in awe the tomultuous) inciting them *to render all prayſe vnto God for ſo admirable a worke, and ſo gratious aſſiſtance*: and ſoone after [b] hee diſperſed his nobleſt Captiues into ſundrie Caſtles in *Normandy* and *England*; *Arthurs* ſiſter *Eleanor*, called the *Damoſell of Britaine*, being [c] committed to *Briſtow Caſtle*, where ſhee [d] long liued with [e] *very honourable vſage*. And though the kings diſpleaſure was iuſtly incenſed againſt her brother *Arthur*, for ſo frequent wauering in his faith, yet meaning to trie all meanes of winning him who had thus loſt himſelfe, [f] hee ſent for him (being then at *Falaiſe* in the cuſtody of [g] *Hubert* L. Chamberlain) and *entreated him very gently, promiſing him all honourable reſpects, if (as yet) he would reſolue to forſake the French kings amity, and frame both his mind for hearty loue, and his Actions for peaceable obſeruance towardes him, his vncle and Leege Lord.* Which exceeding clemency, the ill-aduiſed young Gentleman (for what wiſedome is it to ſhew *pride* where wee neede mercy, and to giue threates beyond poſsibility of performance?) [h] requited onely with *arrogant and vndutifull Language, furiouſly* obraiding the king with violent and fraudulent detention of the *Engliſh* Crowne, which menacingly *he there required of him, and all other King Richards Countries, as his lawfull inheritance*,

a Wendouer, MS. King Iohns letter in Hollin.
b Mat. W. B.
c Wendo. M.S.
d Paris hiſt. min. MS.
e Wendouer.
f Mat. VVeſt.
g Paris. hiſt. ma.
h Polydore,
i Triuet. MS.
k Mat. VVeſt.
l VVendouer. MS
m Mat. VVeſt.
n Pariſ.
o Litera K. Iob.
p Reg. VVend.
q Litera Regis,
r Mat. Weſt.
ſ VVend. Paris. Triuet. VValſing. VVeſt.
t So Aemelius,
u So Polydor.
x Triuet. Walſing.
y Merlini Vaticinia.
z VVendou.
a Litera Regis apud Hollinſ.
b Paris min. 215.
c Ypodigma. Neuſtr.
d Shee liued till 1241. Paris in H. 3
e VValſing. Anno 1203.
f Hollinſh.
g Paris,
h Mat. Weſt.

heritance, affirming with an Oath, *that vnleſſe he did forthwith reſtore them, hee ſhould not long liue in peace.* With which incorrigible pertinacy the King prouoked, as ſeeing no place left to better hopes, [i] committed him to ſtricter cuſtody [k] vnder *Robert de Veypont*, in the Caſtle of *Roan*.

i *Mat. Paris.*
k *Stowes Annales*

(19) The *Britaines* fury and conſpiracies, which King *Iohn* hoped to abate by this their Princes durance, [l] were thereby much more augmented; like *Serpents*, moſt ſtrugling with their traines, when they feele their head in preſſure. Which moued the King, who was now returned into *England*, (and in triumph of his late victory, [m] wore his crowne againe at *Canterbury* at the coſt of his former hoſt) to take aduiſe of his *Councell* touching his troubled affaires, whoſe ſentence was (if wee will credite the [o] reporter) that *Arthur* ſhould looſe his eyes. But the eſcaping of ſuch tortures, is by [p] ſome aſcribed to the commiſeration of Lord *Hubert*; by [q] others, to the mediation of Queene *Eleanor*, who interceded with her Sonne for her Grandchild as long as ſhe liued, which was not long; Deathes vnpartiall hand (and [r] griefe of heart, ſome ſay) laying that great & prudent *Queen*, (the wife of * two mighty Kings, and mother of * three) where *Princes* and *Peſants* are all equals. Her Nephew much behind her in age, ſoon ouertook her (if not [s] outwent her) in deſtiny; whoſe death diuulged on King *Iohns* returne from *England*, [t] gaue his maligners freſh coloured occaſion, both to moleſt his *quiet*, and to diſtaine his *eſtimation*, as if hee had not onely beene the *Cauſer*, but alſo the *executor* of it *with his owne hands*.

l *Rad. Coggeſhall.*
m *Wendouer MS*
o *Rad. Coggeſhal.*
p *Holinſ.*
q *Paul. Aemyl.*
r *Iohn de Serres*
* *Lewes of France & Hen. of Eng.*
* *Hen. Rich. Iohn.*
s *Sonnes of H. 2.*
s *By Paris it ſeemeth ſhee outliued him.*
t *Pariſ. min. hiſt. M.S.*

(20) As the *Tongues* of *Paraſites* are no true *ſcales* to weigh the worth and vertues of *Great men*; ſo neither ought we to iudge of their (or any mans) blemiſhes, by the deforming *pencils* of *Enuy* or *Rancour*; with one of which, no eminency, either of *place* or of *vertue*, was euer vnattended. And that this bloody aſperſion on the King, came from no other *fountaine* but malignity; ſuch as then liued, and might therefore beſt know the truth, and were alſo (as *Monkes* gnerally were) his moſt bitter Taxers, and therefore farre from ſaluing his infamy with partiall falſhood, can beſt witneſſe. *It was* (ſaith [u] one) *by certaine perſons auowed that Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, was by caſualty drowned in the Riuer Seyne* (on which the Caſtle of *Roan* is ſeated;) *and yet the Frenchmen, the Kings mortall enemies (and therefore plenary credite not to bee giuen them) giue it out, that hee was murthered by the Kings command, yea and by his owne hands: thus by the malice of ſlanderers, Englands King became not a little defamed.* With whom other the approuedſt Authors accord (thogh differing in the * manner of his death) that this imputation ſprang onely from the [x] *French emulation*, as ſince it hath beene kept on foot, onely by [y] *French*, or *Italianate* ſpirits; [z] one of which hath not bluſhed to charge King *Iohn* with *murdering of his owne Brother King Richard*, and [b] another with killing *Arthurs* ſiſter, who yet outliued him 24. yeeres; ſo ſhameleſly will the *penne* blur the truth of *Actions*, where its once dipped in gall againſt the *perſon*. But ſharper ſhowers then of *tongues* (which being vndeſerued, are to bee vnregarded) were ſequels of *Arthurs* death: it ſeeming to giue new life to King *Iohns* troubles, & King *Philips* hatred, which yet once againe muſt go masked vnder the roabe of Iuſtice. For *Philip* cites *Iohn* as Duke of *Normandy*, to appeare at a ſet day, to bee tried vpon point of [c] *Treaſon* by his Peeres; *Conſtance Arthurs* mother (well brooking her name for her *immutable* hatred to King *Iohn*) is made the [d] *plantiffe*, requiring iuſtice of *Philip*, as both their Soueraigne; *King Iohn* not appearing, is condemned [c] *of a traiterous outrage, for that careleſſe of his oath made to the French, he though an vncle, had murthered his elder brothers ſonne, being an Homager to the French, and that within the French Territories; without any legall courſe, nor by cognizance of thoſe to whom it appertained; whereupon hee is adiudged to bee held an enemie to the French State, to forfeit all his Signories which by Homage he held of the French, and thoſe to reuert to the Crowne of France, and a re-entry to bee made by force of Armes, if any deny poſſeſſion.* Thus now the ſecond time, by ſolemne ſentence the King & Peeres of *France* diſherited and condemned King *Iohn*, though abſent, vnheard, neither confeſſing, nor conuicted of the Action; albeit at that time [f] *hee ſent them his royall promiſe to come, (if they would giue him publike faith and ſafe conduct* for his comming & returning) and anſwere at *Paris touching the death of Arthur, though hee was his Leegeman, had ſworne him fealty, had violated the ſame, had raiſed a rebellion, and was taken in battle.* Vpon which grounds, if King *Iohn* had cauſed the pretended execution on ſo capitall a Complotter both againſt his Life & Crown; and one, who had cauſed ſo much bloudſhed of his people, and more would if he had eſcaped; in [g] which caſes *Princes* are and ought to be very iealous; what vnderſtanding *Statiſt* can iuſtly condemne him, or iuſtifie the *French* iniuſtice? Eſpecially it being queſtionable, and euen then [h] much debated, *Whether the Peeres of France were competent Iudges on a King annointed, and ſo their ſuperiour, the King of England and Duke of Normandy being but one perſon, & maior dignitas abſorbet minorem, the greater dignity was to ſwallow vp the leſſe.* But when the *will* of a *Ruler*, is a *rule*, or *ruled-caſe* to his Iudges, no other could bee expected then by theſe Peeres was performed.

u *Pariſ. biſt. min. MS.*
* Some ſaying he died of griefe, ſome of wilfull abſtinence from food.
x *Trinet. Walſing.*
y *Screti, Aemylius, Polydor.*
z *Sabellicus Ennead. 9. l. 5.*
a *Iohn Harding. Chron. c. 142.* erring alſo in his Sifters name, ſaying:
Thus ſlew hee both *Arthur* and *Iſabell*,
To ioy the Crowne of England, as men tell.
b *Paris ad Ann. 1241.*
c *Mat. Weſt.*
d *Iohn de Serres.*
e *Paul. Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
The Peeres ſentence vpon King *Iohn.*
f *Ex Cambd. Britan. Rad. Diceto.*
g *Ingenia prona ad [illegible] natum, Salisb.*
h *Camd. Elizab.*

(21) Neither did they here ſtay; but (as in moſt *States*, the *Acts* and *Decrees* aduantageous to the Princes, are carefully purſued, though others ſeldome or coldly executed) that heady *ſentence* was [i] ſeconded with as haſty *force*, on *Philips* part, and on *Iohns* (if ſome Authors ſay true) as much neglected. It is no rare thing to ſee Princes (becauſe on their ſafety depends the State of their Kingdomes) often ſuſpitious of dangers where there is no cauſe; but it is vnexcuſable in them, vnder a ſhew of reſolution to bee ſecure, where they ſee their *Perſon* or *State* may bee neere vnto hazard. An intelligent man would thinke, that whiles ſo vaſte indignities were in *hatching* (yea and now on *wing*) by ſo inſatiate enemies, King *Iohn* had beene whetting his reuenge, leuying his forces, ſtrengthning his confines, combining his friends and Allies, ſo to regret their *pride* and *malice*, who thus proceeded to vnſtate him of that [k] *goodlieſt portion of France*, [l] part wherof for aboue three hundred yeers had been the inheritance of his Anceſtors. But whether it were the * *bewitching dalliances* of his *faire Iſabel*, with whom hee was in armes, when hee ſhould haue been in *Armes*, as [m] ſome Authors taxe him; or his deceiued expectation of Aides from his *Barons*, as [n] himſelfe alleadged; or promiſed redreſſe by the *Pope*, as the [o] ſequele ſhewed: too true it ſeemeth, that beginning his *Chriſtmas* at *Cane* in *Normandy* with feſtiuall pleaſures not vnfitting the ſeaſon, hee continued them ſo vnſeaſonably and vnreaſonably too, that he gaue both to the [p] *French* leaſure to execute their Peeres ſentence, and [q] to the *Brittons* and *Poytouins*, an edge to proſecute their old rebellions, now newquickned with the loſſe of their *young maſter*: whereby his ſtrongeſt Towns and Caſtles dayly fell away, either by *force* of Aſſailants, or *treachery* in defendants, or on *diſpaire* of needfull aides.

i *Iohn de Serres*
k *Paulus Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
l *Iohn de Serres.*
* *Mat. Weſt. ſaith ab [illegible] tuum.*
m *Paris Hiſt.*
n *Apud Paris.*
o *Tyrrel. Hiſt.*
p *De Serres.*
q *Paulus Aemil.*

(22) *Treachery* as it was formoſt (for it gaue beginning and meanes to the reſt) ſo did it moſt in vndermining King *Iohns* poſſeſſions, which ſtirred him to take ſharpe reuenge [r] *by hanging vp* all his Hoſtages of *Poyton* for their Countrimens treaſons. But ſuch a death (though of all other moſt diſgracefull) is not ſo hatefull to a Spirit truly enobled, as is the ſtaine of *diſhonour*, eſpecially for *Treachery* or *Cowardize*: from either of which I wiſh I could with truth acquite [s] thoſe two great Barons (whoſe names wee will here forget) to whom King *Iohn* entruſted the defence of the [t] *famous Caſtle* called *Vall-de Ruill*

Ann. 1200
r *The Wr[illegible]*
i *Iohn de Ser[illegible]*
k *Paulus Aemil. in Philippo 2.*
l *Iohn de Serres.*
s *Sanctus Rob. Fr[illegible]*
t *Paris*

Ruill; who no ſooner ſaw *King Philip* [a] *engirding it with his great hoaſt, and mounting his Engines of battery* againſt it, but eftſoones, *before one ſtone of the wals was ſhaken, or any one of their men had loſt the leaſt haire of their heads*, they diſhonourably ſurrendred the *Fort* (a matter of very great conſequence) to King *Philips* pleaſure: who though abundantly pleaſed with the *deed*, yet ſo [x] contumeliouſly (but moſt iuſtly, and prince-like) recompenſed the *Doers*, for *Traytors* alwayes become odious, though the Treaſon be commodious,) that, for ſo baſe a part *he commanded them to be fettered in chaines, and baſely intreated in cloſe priſon, till they had deerely redeemed their liberty*, though they could hardly their reputation. Another noble Baron, * Captaine of *Caſtle Galliard* (which being built on a very high Rocke ouer *Seyne*, [y] King *Richard* had made impregnable) by his vndaunted prowеſſe, and [z] great ſlaughter made vpon *Philips* hoaſt, lying [a] 6. *moneths in ſiege* about him, was far from any ſuſpition of *daſtardie*; but yet [b] eſcaped not the blemiſh *both of ingratitude* and *infidelity*, in that at length hee not onely yeelded vp that *Caſtle* to the enemies, but alſo [c] *ſecretly by night brought them into the Caſtle of Montfort*, which hee betraied vnto them, *not weighing his faith to his Leege Lord, who had beſtowed on him that Caſtle, with all the honour and demaines thereto belonging*. Otherwiſe for his firſt ſurrender, his caſe had beene more excuſable, the famine (an vnreſiſtable enemy) in the Caſtle being ſo great, that, as the [d] *French* Recorders themſelues confeſſe, when the Women and others of the vnſeruiceable ſort were put forth for ſparing of *prouant*, and being betwixt the *Caſtle* and the *Enemies*, found pitty and releeſe of neither, *in the ſight of them all a Woman great with Child was deliuered, and her infant preſently eaten vp*. Amongſt thoſe, and other of King *Iohns* reuolting Barons, like ſo many *falling Starres*, if we ſhould pretermit that *fixed* and bright *Starre* of vnmoueable *fidelity* and *reſolution*, the Lord * *Robert de Lacy*, wee ſhould bee guilty of high offence againſt *true honour*; who hauing receiued of his Prince the cuſtody of the goodly Caſtle *Rocke-Andely* ([e] which was builded alſo by King *Richard*) [f] did brauely beare of the ſiege and power of *King Philip* and his hoaſt almoſt a *whole yeere*; in which ſpace, though by their continuall *batteries* and *vnderminings* [g] a great part of the walles were flatted, yet they could neuer make entry vpon him, but were repulſed with ſlaughter, till his prouiſion of *victuals* being now *ſpent to the laſt howre*, he called "his Souldiers together, encouraging them, *after ſo* "*long proofe of their Manhood not to faint now in the* "*laſt Act; but to conſider, that though it were better* "*for them to die by famine, then to liue with reproch of* "*falſe or faint-harttedneſſe, yet it is more noble for ſoul-*"*diers to die fighting, then famiſhing, and together with* "*their owne liues, to ſacrifice to their Countries honour* "*the bloud of their ſlaughtered enemies*. Whereupon fiercely * ſallying forth with his *Reſolutes*, after a bloody ſhambles made in the middeſt of his *beleaguers*, hee was by *multitude ouerborne* and taken; but [h] *in regard of his exemplary faith and prowеſſe, in maintaining his charge by King Philips expreſſe command*, (a ſecond princely and prudent fact, to diſcipline his Subiects by thus entreating his foes,) hee was honourably vſed, and * without reſtraint of a *priſoner*.

(23) But as the fact of this *Peere* was peereleſſe, ſo was this *Clemency* in that *King*, but rare and vnaccuſtomed towards ſuch *Cheiftains* as ſtifly out-ſtood his aſſaultes; [i] ſome of whom formerly hee had cauſed to bee diſpiteouſly dragged at horſe-heeles, for the terrour of others. Of which indignities, & other irkeſome extremities, (the inſeparable companions of warre) indured by his people, when King *Iohn* had notice by Meſſengers ſent vnto him for *reliefe* and *aides*, no maruaile is it, if [k] *his griefe were aboue beleefe* or meaſure, finding himſelfe vtterly deſtitute of meanes to relieue their *wants*, or his owne *loſſes*; albeit for the time hee bare it out with a manly ſhew, ſaying, [l] *that theſe were but the French pilferings, of which he meant in due time to exact an account with intereſt*. For what elſe could hee doe? The *Normans* (to omit thoſe others in open Rebellion) [m] *either wholy fallen away from him, or but diſſemblingly adhering to him*; his [n] *Barons* from home, failing him *at his need*; his [o] *Nobles* there about him, being *vnder pretext of a ſpeedy comming againe*, returned into *England*: by which meanes the King [p] *was left very diſpeopled, hauing onely a ſmall traine*, which could in ſo great a need doe him but very ſmall ſeruice: but that theſe important and vnportable matters [q] *did no whit moue him*, nor could retriue him [r] *from the boſome* of his too-dear *Enchantreſſe*, (which occaſioned ſome to think him infatuated with * ſorcery) is a thing paſt capability of beleefe.

(24) The King thus diſfurniſhed of all helps, *Innocentius*, the ſtirring Biſhoppe of *Rome*, made fayre ſhew to ſalue theſe *temporall* wounds with a *ſpirituall* playſter; which doubtleſſe made King *Iohn* more ſecure then ſtood with his good: for, as in ſo great diſtreſſes, there was no *forraine Prince* fitter for the King to conbine with, then *Otho* the Emperor, his owne Nephew, and *Philips* profeſſed enemy: ſo the Pope on the one ſide beginning to bee iealous of *Otho's* greatneſſe, miſtruſted the concurrence of two ſuch great *friends*, and therefore vndertooke to vmpeere the debates betwixt thoſe two great *Enemies*: and *King Iohn* on the other ſide, willing to make vſe of the *Popes* fauour, durſt not yet comply with any, whom his *Sanctitude* any whit diſfauoured. His *Legates* for this buſineſſe, were the *Abbots* [t] of *Caſmer* and *Troiſſons*: his motiue, [u] that [x] theſe diſſentions of *Chriſtendom* weakned the wars againſt *Turky*: his *colour*, [x] that this contention being a matter of *faith-breach* (as of *Leagues, Oath* and *Couenants*) *the cognizance thereof did properly appertaine* to his ſacred iudicature; whereof hee made ſo little doubt, as that *the* [y] *very letter then ſent to the French Peeres, is to this day regiſtred for* [z] *a pontificall decree*: and this audacious *Law* then by *Innocentius* firſt brought to the world for current, * *That whenſoeuer one Prince is delinquent againſt another, the correction thereof appertaines to the Pope*. Their *Commiſſion* was, [a] to call the Biſhops and Princes of both Kingdoms, for ſetling a Peace; to inhibite all hoſtility; to reſerue the further triall of the *Right* to the Pope as [b] *Soueraigne* Iudge; [c] to enioyne that all Religious places by the warres deſtroied, or empoueriſhed, ſhould be reſtored to their due State; [d] if either of the *Kinges* ſhould bee refractary, his whole Kingdom preſently to bee put vnder *Interdict*. *Philip*, albeit the Pope was then offended with him vpon other terms, (for that hee [e] impoſed towards his warres a taxe of certaine *Tenthes* vpon his *Clergy*, (againſt the Popes will) alleadging *it was neceſſary that out of their priuate abundance, they ſhould beare a charge in the common preſeruation*,) yet knowing the Pope had need of his friendſhip about ſetling the *Empire*, he ment ſo long to ſide with the Popes *authority*, as the Pope would ſtand with his *commodity*, & repining to haue ſo faire a prey taken out of his talents, made bold [f] to deſpiſe both the *commands* and the *curſes*: yet this hee did in ſmoother faſhion then hee had done once before, when he *rigourouſly puniſhed all the* [g] *Biſhops and Prelates, whom, for conſenting to ſuch a Papall cenſure, hee turned out of their Sees and dignities*; for now, he [h] appealed from the ſentence for a faſhions ſake, [i] but yet violently proceeded with his warres, and [k] did ſwimme with the full current of his *victories*. The waues whereof ſo faſt ſurrounded King *Iohn*, that * fearing alſo further treaſon of his owne men, hee thought good, till ſome better daies would ſhine vpon him, (eſpecially *winter ſeaſon* enforcing ſurceaſſe of warres) to abandon the place of his iniurious foes, to expoſtulate in *England* with his perfidious friends.

(25) For that was the firſt worke hee did, after his

[a] Mat. Paris, ma. hiſt.
[b] Pariſ. min. hiſt. MS. in ipſo articulo deficiſſent.
[c] Wend. MS.
[d] Pariſ. hiſt. ma.
[e] Mat. Weſt.
[f] Wend. Weſt.
[g] Sortilegij vel maleficijs. ibid.
[h] The Pope interpoſeth betwixt the two Kings.
[i] Wing. 125.
[k] De Caſ. Mary, & Trium ſontium.
[l] Polydor.
[m] Paul. Aemil.
[n] The Popes Nuncios.
[o] Wend. MS.
[p] Grafton, Stow.
[q] Gaguinus.
[r] Polydor.
[s] Aemilius in Phil. Auguſt.
[t] Ep. Decretal. l. 2. Tit. 24. de iureiur. c. 29.
[u] Blondus Decad. 2. l. 6.
[x] Trinet. MS.
[y] Wend. MS.
[z] Graſton, Stow.
[a] Trinet. MS. ad An. 1201.
[b] Ioh. de Serres.
[c] Ypod. Neuſt.
[d] P. Aemil.
[e] Ioh. de Serres.
[f] Wilſing. Polyd.
[g] Trinet. MS. ad An. 1201.
[h] Gaguinus.
[i] Polydor.
[k] Wend. MS.

his arriuall, ([l] which was at *Portſmouth* on Saint *Nicholas* day in *December*) when [m] laying to the charge of his *Earles* and *Barons*, that *in his warres they ſuffered him to be deſtitute of requiſite aides, and* [n] *had left him in the middeſt of his enemies, by which their defaults, hee was thus deſpoiled of his Caſtles and Countries*; thereuppon, by [o] aduiſe of *Hubert* Lord Archbiſhoppe, and Lord *Fitz-Peter Chief Iuſtitiar* (who knew theſe were no [p] *forged cauillations*) he put them and other delinquents to their Fines, (for his Warres made him deſire their mony more then their liues) wherein theſe two great Counſellors were [q] ouerſeers for the receits, the one for the *Clergy*, the other for the *Laity*) of both whom they receiued no leſſe ſummes of *curſes*, then of *Coine*. The like repining among the people, (who iudge of the goodneſſe of a *King* only by ſparing their purſes) enſued on the grant of a large *Subſidie* (two Marks and halfe of euerie *Knights Fee*) in a Parliament* preſently after held at *Oxford*, where the King & Peeres conuening about redreſſe of thoſe remediles miſchiefs, the iſſue ([r] as ſeemeth) was, that Ambaſſages ſhould bee addreſſed into *France*, two Prelates, *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, with two Earles *Marſhall* and *Leiceſter*, to treat from the Body of the Kingdome, touching thoſe Prouinces, which being incorporated with *Englands Soueraignety*, could not without apparant iniuſtice bee abſtracted from a Nations common intereſt, vpon coloured pretences againſt any particular. *Philip*, hauing [s] vpon King *Iohns* departure thence vſed his whole Forces and wittes, to weary, or to winne diuers other Cities & Forts; which had till then ſtood faithfull (for which purpoſe hee alſo imployed ſundry [t] inſtruments, themſelues firſt corrupted, that they might corrupt others to defection, with *great rewards and greater promiſes*,) hee meant not now to re-commence Queſtions of Right, hauing already neere decided that point by the point of his ſword: yet becauſe hee was to deale with a mighty Nation, hee would not abruptly refuſe to capitulate, and yet againe by propoſall of [u] conditions exceeding either Reaſon or Poſſibility, hee dammed vp all paſſages to peaceable agreement: [x] his demaunds were to haue either *Arthur*, whom hee knew to bee dead, redeliuered into his hands aliue, or elſe, his Siſter *Eleanor* in marriage with all thoſe Countries in that Continent: but thoſe Stateſmen eaſily perceiued that *Philips heart*, aimed farther then his tongue, and that with *Eleanor* hee hoped to purchaſe a higher dowry, euen the *Engliſh* Diadem, whoſe claim glided down from her brother to her; which perchance was the ſecret ground of his [y] Oth, that he would neuer linne to purſue that quarrell, till hee had depriued King *Iohn* of his Kingdome.

(26) This Ambaſſage was not onely thus iſſueleſſe, but produced alſo effects tending to further irritation: for this ſeemeth to bee the time when [a] *Philip* ſent a brauing Champion, to iuſtifie by *Duel* before the States here in *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King in open warre; and [b] though it was not deemed expedient to iopard a Title of ſuch weight on the Armes and Fortune of one man; yet it was reſolued the Challenger ſhould not paſſe vnanſwered, whereto none was held fitter then *Iohn Curcy* Earle of *Vlſter*, (for [c] *rebellion and denying his homage to the King*, condemned to perpetuall impriſonment in the Towre,) a man of Giantlike limme and ſtrength, and of ſome diſpoſitions not deſpicable, if they had not beene ſauaged with a too careleſſe rudeneſſe: which appeared not onely in his [d] wild ſpeeches, touching the Kings miſuſage of his Nephew *Arthur* (which [e] ſome by errour alledge as cauſe of his indurant durance,) but euen now, when the king demanding him, whether hee would combate in his quarrell? [f] *No*, (quoth he) *not in thy quarrell, nor for thy ſake, but for the Kingdomes right I will fight to the death.* Againſt which day, whiles hee repaired with large diet his impayred limmes and ſinewes, the *Frenchman* hearing of his exceſſiue feeding, and ſtrength anſwerable thereto, thereby fearing he had been ſome *Monſter of Nature*, rather then a man, hee ſecretly ſneaked away [g] into *Spaine* aſhamed to ſhew his face in *France* againe. *Curcy* finding the King gracious, was hereupon releaſed, and [h] is ſaid (if this bee not to digreſſe) to haue croſſed the ſeas for *Ireland* fifteen times, and euermore beaten backe to the ſhore: [i] (acknowledged himſelfe herein iuſtly puniſhed of God, neuer againe to ſee his owne ſeat, for diſplacing God out of his, when he conuerted the Church of Prebendaries in *Doan* conſecrated to the *bleſſed Trinity*, into an Abbey of Monkes, to the honour & name of Saint *Patrick*, [k] whoſe Image was erected in a ſtately ſeat, wherein before the *Trinitie* was depor-tracted, which was thence reiected into a priuate Chappell. The [l] *Iriſh* relate, that the two Kinges being afterward together (belike when they made the next truce in *Erance*) King *Philip* hearing *Curcy* to bee in the *Engliſh* Campe, intreated to ſee ſome experience of his ſo much feared and reported ſtrength: where a Helmet of excellent proofe full farced with Mayle, being ſet vpon a great wooden blocke, the Earle lifting his truſty Skeyne, firſt louring round about him with a dreadfull aſpect, cleft ſo deepe quite through the ſteely reſiſtance, into the knotty wood, that none there could draw it out but himſelfe, who did it with eaſe, and being asked by the Kings, why hee frowned ſo irefully before the ſtroke; hee told them, that hee then intended if hee had failed of his blow, to haue killed them all, both Kings and others the lookers on.

(27) But what *Philip* could not in *England* by one Champion, he accompliſhed in *Normandy* by many; where hauing a [m] *mighty power attending him frō City to City*, yet hee thought faire wordes would bee for himſelfe both cheaper and ſafer, and with the *Prouincials* more forceable then force it ſelfe; eſpecially, where ſuch troupes of armed Orators were at hand, and where golden preparatiues had made way with the chiefeſt. *Philip* tolde them, [n] "their late "Lord had quite forſaken them, and that therefore "himſelfe, as their ſupreme Liege came to prouide "that his owne Countries might bee indemnified, "deſiring, them loungly to admit and embrace "him as their Lord, ſith now they had no o-"ther to protect them from ſkath; but menacing "withall, that if they forced him to vſe force, they "ſhould die no other death then hanging, or to be "ſlead aliue: with which fawnings and feares, though many well munified places were fetched off *without any reſiſtance*, [o] *their Captaines violating their faith to curry fauour with the French*; yet *Roan*, the [p] place euer honoured for *fidelity* to the *Engliſh* Crowne (and [q] therefore worthily ſelected by King *Richard* to bee the *Shrine* of his *Leonine Heart*,) was better fortified both in *affection* and *munition*, then to waue vpon parties. Which neglect incenſed *Philip* to turne his *Oratory* into *Battery*, (it being the chiefeſt City, and therefore of greateſt conſequence for conſūmating his victories,) which he continued in a moſt fierce & [r] *horrid manner of ſiege*, the ſpace of two monethes; but finding it to be *with ſmall aduantage*, hee fell againe to [s] golden Eloquence, attracting ſome in ſpeciall with preſent pay, and all in generall with [t] *promiſes of future inioying all their wonted lawes, and liberties without impairement of any their commodities whatſoeuer*: aduiſing them [u] not to reiect *thoſe profered conditions, which ere long they would gladly get, when they ſhould not be granted.* The *Roaniſts*, ſeeing their dangers, feeling their wants, fearing their ruines, yet deſired reſpite till King *Iohn* might know their State: who finding himſelfe at home as ill beſtedde as theirs abroad, his *Barons* [x] *refuſing to follow the warres*, returned them anſwere, he could not preſently releeue them. Whereupon the [y] *Great men who could ſway the multitude with cheaper reaſons, then Philips* open hand had ſwayed with them, perſwa-

[l] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
[m] *Mat. VVeſt.*
[n] *VVendou. MS. Pariſ. min. hiſt. MS.*
[o] *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*
[p] *Apud Mat. VVeſtmin. occaſiones cauillatorias.*
[q] *Wend. MS.*
An. 1204.
* *In craſtino circumciſionis. Pariſ.*
[r] *Rand. Cogſhal.*
[s] *Mat. Parri.*
[t] *Polydor. l. 15.*
[u] *Stow. Hollinſh.*
King *Philips* demaunds.
[x] *Rad. Cogſhall. Stowes Annales.*
[y] *Hollinſh.*
[a] *Annales Hibernie, apud Camb. in Brit.*
[b] *Campians hiſt. of Ireland. l. 2. c. 3*
[c] *Annales Hiber.*
[d] *Ibidem.*
[e] *Campion hiſt. of Ireland, Iohn Stow Anna.*
[f] *Annales Hib.*
[g] *Campion hiſt. Ireland.*
[h] *Annales Hib.*
[i] *Campion hiſt. Ireland.*
[k] *Annales Hib.*
[l] *Ibidem.*
The great ſtrength of *Curcy*.
[m] *Pariſ. hiſt.*
[n] *VVendouer.*
[o] *Wendouer. Math. Weſt. Pariſ.*
[p] *Polyd. Lib.*
[q] *Supra in Richards the 1.*
[r] *Pol. Virg.*
[s] *Denis de Rochefort miſſus ad Anglos, Ibid.*
[t] *Paul. Aemil. Polydor.*
[u] *Rog. Wendouer. Math. Weſtminſter.*
[x] *Paul. Aemil. Phil. Augu.*

XUM

ſwaded them to weigh, that *in truth they were all originally Frenchmen, though now called Normans, of that nobleſt and richeſt part of all France, and the French king being Supreme Lord thereof, there was no cauſe at all of continuing this new hoſtility, but very many of renuing that antique amity.*

(28) The [r] *Head*, yea and *Heart* of all *Normandy* thus fainting; who can expect that thoſe few inferiour members, yet vntainted ſhould ſo continue long? neither did they. So as eſtſoones all that Dukedome, one of the goodlieſt gemmes in the *Engliſh Diademe*, and disbranched from *France* [a] ſince the yeare *eight hundred eighty fiue*, was againe rent away, ingloriouſly for them who loſt it, iniuſtlie by them who got it, but perfidiouſly by ſuch as ſhould, and might haue kept it. For whatſoeuer *neceſſity* then, or *malice* ſince hath laid on the King; this *Eulogie*, and memoriall thereof, written by [a] vnpartiall pennes, will ſtand indelible on his Subiects, *A rege Angliæ, Normanniæ fraudibus ſuorum alienata, Englands King loſt Normandy by treachery of his owne people.* And no leſſe treacherouſly dealt *Philip* with them, when hee had caught them with the trappe of his gloſing proffers (as ſuch Princes more vſually then princely, ſquare their promiſes to others liking, their performances to their owne) cauſing without delay their Cities goodly wals [b] *to be vtterly demoliſhed, and giuing ſtrict charge that they ſhould neuer bee built vp againe*. The other neighbouring Countries, *Main, Turaine, Poictou*, who were all forerunners in the rebellion, would not be now behind in the finall reuolt; *Angiers* in this more happy, that ſhee fell away by others falſhood, not her owne, when ſtanding on her guard, [c] *William de Rupibus* cladde his choice Souldiers vpon their armour in the habite and other furniture of market-men, who ſo getting acceſſe into the City gates, made eaſie entrance for a greater hoaſt; which ſoone after became abſolute Lords of all *Anion*.

(29) Wofull experience had now taught *King Iohn* a leſſon fitte to be learned of all Princes, whom the fawning world enſtyleth moſt *Mighty*, that this their *might* is not onely lyable to the checke and diſpoſe of that Higheſt all-ruling power, who vnthrones them at his will; but euen depends of the wauing humors, and wils of thoſe * inferiour vaſſels, of whom they thinke themſelues vnreſiſtable Commaunders. But King *Iohn* was not vnſenſible eyther of his forraine diſhonours, (though as [d] often as hee endeauoured to redeeme it, by leuying any Army, ſuteable to ſo great a deſigne; ſo often was hee croſſed by his owne Nobles) or of thoſe his domeſticke affronts; which notwithſtanding, by *counſell* and *aſſiſtance* of his better affected, & truer hearted friendes and ſubiects: at length [e] hee gathered a *Royall Hoaſt and a mighty Nauy*, (therein 14000. Mariners [f] ſome ſay) with full reſolue to reuenge his wrongs, and repaire his loſſes. Which great enterprize managed with vnmoueable determination (for now with full ſayles, and fuller heartes at *Portſmouth* they were ready to embarke) brought to the Kings further knowledge, and to the worlds, who had beene all this while the ſecret vnderminers of his fortunes, and hinderers of his imployments. For *Hubert* [z] *the Archbiſhop, and Papall Legate with many others*, (amongſt whom, [h] ſome find *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke* numbred) thither comes vnto the King, and *flatly* [i] *forbids him to proceede in the voyage*. Some [k] Writers haue laboured to coniect the true cauſe and reaſons of this audacious *Prohibition*; but if wee conſider on the one ſide the *Popes* vſe of *Philips* Forces, to counter-ballance if need were *Othos* greatneſſe; on the other, the intereſt which both the *Pope* and * *Philip* had in *Huberts affection*: wee may without *Huberts* [l] *diuining Spirit* prie into the myſtery of his ſecret workings, as an *Archbiſhop*, and now open commaund as a *Legate* to hinder *King Iohn*, for feare of hindring *King Philip*.

(30) But whatſoeuer was the reaſon, *Hubert* was the Inſtrument that ſo reſolute proiects, ſo [m] ineſtimable charges, ſo neceſſary an action fell ſodainely to the ground, whereby, beſides the ſelfe miſchiefe which therewith fell on the King, many freſh grudgings accrewed vnto him, for ſuffering himſelfe to bee thus violently repulſed from ſo behouefull a purpoſe. The *Archbiſhoppe* and *Marſhall* as principals were rewarded with the [n] *curſes* of the diſmiſſed multitudes, as the iuſt fee for their vniuſt counſell; and the King himſelfe was ſo little pleaſed with ſo vnexpected a countermaund, that albeit at the preſent, (either awed with the authority of the Papall Legate, or with the weight of his coloured motiues, or with hazard which hee might leaue behind him) hee durſt not withſtand it; yet [o] the very next day, checking himſelfe for ouerprizing the commaund of any man, aboue the value of his kingly honour and ſtate, hee [p] reſolued to recollect his diſparkeled troupes, and to * put forth to Sea. To which end, taking order for his *Nobles* to follow, they gaue him leaue [q] *with a ſmall company* to waffe vp and downe two daies in expectance of their attendance, till ſeeing them more obſequious to *Huberts* commaund then his, ([r] the Archbiſhoppe alſo ſending his Inhibition after them on the ſea) hee was forced to come againe to land. How a King of any royall ſparkle, could brooke ſuch Sea-and land-Tempeſts, without diſgorging his Kingdom of the cauſers therof, I cannot conceiue; and yet ſo vneuenly doth ſome mens iudgement poyſe, whoſe affection guides the *Beame*, that this defeating of the Kings weightieſt affaires, is cenſured as [s] too light to deſerue the puniſhment which inſued, when *the King put many of his Earles, Barons, Knights, yea and Clergymen to a grieuous pecuniary redemption for thus refuſing to follow him for recouerie of his Inheritance.*

(31) The Archbiſhop though their Ringleader, might well haue beene exempted from this iudgement, by his paſſage to a higher, dying, (if [t] ſome erre not) the very ſame weeke, eyther of [u] *griefe*, or of a [x] *feuer*, which killed him in foure dayes: but the [y] king forthwith in perſon at *Canterbury* ſeized vpon all his wealth and poſſeſſions, ſhewing himſelfe [z] *right ioyfull*, that now hee was rid of him, whom *men ſuſpected of too familiar practiſing with the French King*; & ſaying, [a] *hee was neuer a King till now*, by reaſon of *Huberts too preſumptuous daring to croſſe his royall reſolutions as late hee did.* But this ioy and hope of happier daies, was ſoone choked and buried in the ſame Toombe with *Hubert*; out of whoſe Aſhes ſprang vp a roote yeelding more, and more bitter fruites, then King *Iohn* had as yet taſted, by how much more lamentable are the wounds which are in the bowels and heart of a *State*, then thoſe which onely light on the skirtes or more remot members. The firſt ſeedes of which faſt growing miſchiefes, were to the eye, (as are the beginnings of all Kingdomes ruine) very ſmall and contemptible, and the *Sowers* of little better regard, being but *Cloiſtered monkes*, who craftily factious to aduance a priuat friend, (which once mounted into *Hubers* chaire, might befriend them againe,) they gaue a deadly blow, both to *themſelues*, their *Soueraigne*, and the *State* in generall. The * *yonger heads* amongſt them (whoſe vnexperience makes them in acts of Societies more foreward and daring) hauing ſecret notice of *Huberts* death, [c] meant by a ſlight (whereunto they doubted not to find the Popes furtherance) to defeat their Soueraignes intereſt in that Election, (and perchance in all other, euer after) of a Primate for the See of *Canterburie*, the moſt important place of his Kingdome. * *Reginald*, the Sub-prior of their Couent, One (as you ſhall heare) fitter for their proiects, then for that place, was the man they choſe, and that at [d] *midnight*, when ſinging *Te Deum*, they lifted him firſt vpon the *High Altar*, and after into the *Metropolitan chaire*. They ought to haue firſt obtained the Kings

m *Coggeſhal. Stow.*

n *Holliſh.*

o *Ibidem.*

p *Rog. de Wend.*
* *Idibus Iulij, Pariſ.*

q *Mat. Paris, ma. hiſt.*

r *Mat. Paris, hiſt. min. MS.*

s *apud Mat. Par.*

Archbiſhoppe *Hubert* dyeth at his Manor of *Tenham, Paris,* t *Windouer, Paris* u *Polydo.*
x *Vit. Arch. Cant.*
y *Ibidem,*
z *Paris hiſt. ma.*

a *Mat. Paris. min. hiſt. MS:*
b *Idem,*

Archbiſhoppe *Huberts* end the beginning of greater troubles to King *John,*

The Monks of *Canterbury* the ſeedmen of Englands troubles.

* *Adoleſcentiores, Paris min. MS, Wendouer MS.*

c *Mat. Weſtmin.*

* *Trinit MS.* cals him *Reynerus,*

d *Wend. MS. Paris Weſt. &c.*

Kings assent, and leaue to elect, and therefore to preuent both his [e] interposing and displeasure, till it were too late for him to redresse the wrong; the same night they caused their *Elect to enter caution by oath*, neuer to carry himselfe as *Archbishop*, nor to make it knowne to any man liuing, till he had further *especiall warrant from them, vpon proofe of the successe it might find at Rome*, whither forthwith they sent him for his dispatch.

(31) *Reginald* taking *Flaunders* in his way, was both so [f] *proud*, [g] *periurious*, and [h] *impudent*, (the vertues of their most choice man) that he could neuer conceale the purpose of his iourney, and boast of his dignity from any mans *Eares*, nor from their *Eyes* the Conuentuall letters ratifying the same. Wherof when the Couent had notice, *vehemently incensed against him who had thus diuulged their secret*, and prouidently casting how to euade the Kings offence, [i] out of hand they despeeded certaine of their *Crue*, to craue both [k] pardon of their fact, and *licence* for choice of some worthier *Primate*. There was then in high grace and imploiment about the King, *Iohn Gray* Bishoppe of *Norwich*, a [l] man of great *wisdom*, *learning*, and *Integrity*, (qualities truely befitting that high place) whom the King much desired to aduance, commending him, as one [m] *most deare vnto him, and of his secreteſt Counsels* (of [n] which, some say, hee was *President*) *most behouefull for the Commonwealth, for Himselfe, and them:* which message from the King faithfully deliuered, [o] all of them *glad thus to redeeme the fauour*, which they had hazarded, with *vnanimous consent* elected him; and sending for him from *Yorke* (where hee was in the Kings affaires) the [p] King himselfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury* with his presence *in great pompe*; and the next day, the *King with a multitude of People assembling in the Metropolitane Church, the Prior did there publish his Election solemnly, and in due forme performed; where the Monkes carrying him with* Te Deum *to the high Altar, did forthwith enthronize him in the Chaire of his Primacie*; *The King there in presence of them all, giueing him actuall possession of his Temporalities.* This louing correspondence betwixt the King and his *Clergy*, gaue great hope of more blissefull fortunes henceforward vnto them both; but the Infernall Author of debate, and his *chiefe Agent*, tooke a hint hereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergy, King and all.

(32) Little thought false *Reyner* what was doing at *Canterbury*, whiles hee was trotting to *Rome*; whither when hee came, and shewed his *letters of Ratification* to his Holinesse and his Cardinals, [q] hee receiued *this short answere, that it was a businesse which asked mature deliberation and better informations*; the Pope soon finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too sleight an instrument for him to worke with, and for King *Iohn* to bee wrought with, and therefore bethought him of some fitter hammer for so hard an Anuile. But sundry stoppes were in the way, which wisely and by degrees were to bee remoued. The first was (which *Reginald* in likehood had imparted to hasten his owne dispatch) that the *Bishoppes* of the *Prouince* claimed a ioint interest with the Monkes, in choice of their *Primate*: a point which could no way suite with the Popes aduantage, because Bishoppes were generally much obliged to their Soueraignes, and so likely still to Elect a *Royalist*, whereas Cloyster-men, professing ignorance of worldly affaires, and obedience to one Superior, might more facilly bee swayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in preferring his creatures. Which was the Motiue (we may suppose) of the Popes * letters, soone after sent to the Suffragane Bishops, exhorting them by [r] sacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to desist *from vexing, like vndutifull sonnes, their Mother Church with such vndue claimes.* The *Bishops* notwithstanding, who knew themselues in sacred writ to be styled *Fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Innocentius* to his light *Reasons* added the weight of his *Eyes*, and by his power swept both that and other rubs out of his intended way. For the King keeping his Christmas at *Oxford*, (attended as it seemeth by his Bishoppes) meaning not to pretermit any faire means to worke the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he sent for [t] twelue of the Monkes, whom with some other of his owne Clerks (which carried his *letters* to the Pope) he put in trust for transacting this businesse at *Rome*; allotting them *very bountifull expenses out of his Exchequer* for their whole iourney. They to leaue with the King (who knew well the traines of *Rome*, and the ouer-reaching fetches of *Innocentius*,) a pledge of their duty, and assurance of his hopes, [u] entred with him [x] *a couenant by oath*, that no man, nor meanes should remoue them from him, whom the King & themselues had already appointed. The Bishops sent [y] the same time their *Procurators* also, to plead their right of *Co-election*; so as, foure obstacles stood at once in the Popes way, (the *two elections* of the Monkes, and the *two claims* of the *King* and *Prelates*, hee for his *Royall assent*, they for their *ioynt consent*, in the choice) which all must be done and voided before the Pope can haue his full forth.

But because these will aske long time for contriuing, (which moued his Holinesse to adiourne the hearing to the very [z] end of the yeare,) wee will see the while how the King and State of *England* is imployed.

(33) The dorre, which deceased *Hubert* did put vpon *K. Iohn* and his late design, gaue both *K. Philip* aduantage, to take surer footing in his new possessions, and *King Iohn* greater stomacke and edge to recouer his old. The last taske (almost) of the one, and hold of the other, was *Chinon* a place of great strength, but in nothing more, then in the euer-trusty valour of her Captain, *Roger Lacy*; who (if [a] some mistake him not in steed of [b] *Hubert de Burgo*) being redeemed from the *French*, resolued here to giue *Philip* another taste of his prowesse, and *King Iohn* of his fidelitie; had not others faithlesse feare defeated his braue resolution. For the besieged hauing [c] no rest night or day, from a long and incessant batterie, their *Commaunders* inuinceable constancy against yeelding, which enheartned the better sort, dismayed the baser, as more prizing their ease, then their *faith* or *fame*; some of which by night slipping ouer the walles, so instructed the enemy of all secret aduantages to possesse the towne, that by a sodaine assault, both it and *Lacy* (more worth then it,) was againe surprized. Here seemed to haue beene the *Garland* of *Philips* conquest; had not newes beene thither brought vnto him of some new risings in *Brittaine*, where *Guido*, the husband of *Constantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (sensible belike of the false-grounded wronges offered to *King Iohn*, vnder pretence of *Arthur*,) [d] returned gladly both into *Amity* and a strong *league* with the *English*: and with him also *Sauary Malleon*, and *Almerick Lusignian*, [e] two Peeres of heroicke valour and great commaund, whom *King Iohn* of his * prisoners, had made by prudent and louely vsage his trusty *friends*. The *French King* fuming to see his vniust intrusions thus preiudiced, (especially by *Arthurs* owne *father in law*) was hastning from *Chinon* into *Britaine*, to worke reuenge on them, whose exemplar equitie should haue beene his mirrour of amendment; *Englands King* on the other side, was no lesse heartned with this new *confideration*, [g] leuying once again a puissant Army, which he [*] landed at *Rochel*, being the onely noted place, which in all these turmoiles and mutabilities of Fortunes, kept her selfe entire from entrance either of enemy, or of disloiall thought.

(34) The King hauing his Army much augmented [h] with great concurses of his best-affected *Prouincials*, marching confidently forward, subdued a *great portion of that Country*; till comming to *Mount-Alban*, a [i] Castle of much renowne, (as being reputed

[e] *Paris. hist. ma.*
* *Prastita cautione iuratoria, VVestmin.*
[f] *Wit. Arch. Cant.* [g] *VVendou. MS.* [h] *VVestmin.*
[i] *M. Fox* mistaketh saying, it was the next day after *Reginald* went, also *Polydor, Holinsh.* and *Mat* saying, it was not till they heard from Rome.
[k] *In vit. Arch. Cant.*
[l] *Godwins Catal.*
[m] *Paris. hist. ma.*
[n] *Grafton, Hollin.*
[o] *VVend. MS.*
[p] *Mat. VVestm.*
[q] *VVendouer MS*
*Dated 6. Idus Decemb.
[r] *Paris hist. ma.*
[t] *Mat. Paris ma. ad an.*
[u] *Ibidem.*
[x] *Prestitit iuramentum.*
[y] *Mat. Westm.*
[z] *In Cedr. Westmon.*
[a] *Polyd.*
[b] *Holinsh.*
[c] *P. Verg.*
[d] *Paul.*
[e] *Polyd.*
* *They were kept where Mat. Paris was.*
[f] *Polyd.*
[g] *Mat. Paris.*
* *Ild. Ibid.*
[h] *Paris.*
[i] *Armil.*

puted[k] *inexpugnable*, and now the *Rende-vow of his most potent enemies, and all their flower of Chiualry*, hee gaue a terrible assault thereto for 15. dayes together; where at last his[l] *Englishmens valour was so aduenturous in scaling the walles, and both giuing and taking blowes vnportable*, that in those few dayes hee entred Conquerour into that very place,[m] *which Charles the great, could not get with his seuen yeers siedge.* The[a] multitude of *Nobles* therin taken was so great, that hee sent into *England* a bedroll of their names, for a *memoriall* of so great a victory. Which auspicious beginnings he seconded with no lesse expedition, prouidence, and prowesse, in the siege of *Angiers*, where on his first approch, hee[o] gaue present instructions to his maine Army, suddenly to enuiron the whole City, & by assault to seeke entrance at the walles on euery side, whiles himselfe and his selected band, with fire and Engines would assaile the *Gates*; where with great celerity, and no lesse hazard then hardinesse, breaking through, he became *Lord* of his owne. But whatsoeuer were the Citizens demerites, pittious it was, that their offences, and the Conquerours wrath, lay so heauy on those stately walles, as[p] to throw them flatte to the ground; which hasty doome, (it being the[q] *cradle of his birth, and City of his chiefe delight*,) hee as hastily (and very deerly too) repented, when with excessiue expenses hee encircled it againe with a beautie farre beyond the former. These faire successes, humbling all the Country before him, cleared his passage into *Picardy*, whither King *Philip* was now conuerting all his power to oppose himselfe against the violence of this Torrent: which[r] now more facilly hee might stoppe, hauing in his way *by laying secret ambushments*, laid hands vpon Duke *Guido*, *Sauary*, and *Almericke*, *King Iohns* principall hopes, as they were busily aduancing his present affaires: by which surprize, though the *English forces* missing their *Prouincial* aids, were greatly impayred, yet their * great hearts were not much amated, as the *Frenchmen*[s] found, when both the *Armies* neere approaching ouer night, the next morning alacriously they addressed to the fight, and *with great spirits* on each side expected the Signall. Notwithstanding, the day likely to proue dreadfull with expence of bloud, vpon earnest interceeding of[t] forraine Prelates and religious persons, who vndertook equably to compose all things; both Kinges condescended to a two-yeeres * Truce, *King Iohn* chiefly out of affection to his Captiue friends, whose liberty was formost in the conditions.

(35) Hauing thus setled those Countries in farre better termes then last hee found them, he embarked for *England*; where hee laid not aside a carefull (though distastfull) prouidence, for still bettering those his successes: for which ends, whiles from his Subiects (both *Lay* and *Clergy*) he[u] gathered *money*, the *Sinewes of warre*, he lost their affections, *the ioints of Peace*; whereof *Geffry* Archbishoppe of *Yorke* (his *Naturall* and vnnaturall brother) was a principal incentiue; who[x] solemnly cursing all the Kinges receiuers within his Prouince, fled secretly out of the land. Which peruicacie,* a bitter enemie of K. *Iohn*, yet bitterly taxeth, saying,[y] *the English Bishops were farre from that dutifull obseruance towards their Soueraigne, which the French Bishops performed to theirs, at whose commaund they maintained Souldiers in his warres against King Iohn, acknowledging they were so bound to doe, as often as the King pursued the warres in person; though now also they did it, where hee was not in person.* And indeed how hollow-hearted to the *State* those money-murmurers were, their * owne friend bewraieth, shewing, how *with curses they wished, and prayed to God, that these exactions might neuer haue any good successe*, though they knew it was purposelie for preseruing a maine part of the Kingdome. A disloyalty the more vnsufferable by the King, knowing that but a* very little before, the Popes Legate, *Io.* * *Fiorentinus*, nick-named * *Ferentinus*, for *bearing away so much money*,) had[z] gathered of the Clergy *a huge masse of money which in full chests hee conueyed to Rome.* Yet all these domesticke grudges abated not the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which were soone after much augmented by the encouragements of *Othoes Imperiall* presence,[b] who in person arriuing here in *England*, to proiect for his owne and his vncles warres, was with great ioyes met by the King, and conducted through *London* by night, where *all the City was seene in her glory, & all the streetes adorned with richest hangings, beautified all along with the lustre of pendant Crownes, and burning lampes*: who after some dayes of royall entertainements, hence departed not vnfurnished with helpes to defray his warres.

(36) Whiles King *Iohn* is thus busied about his open hostilities, Pope *Innocentius* is plotting his secret Stratagemes against him at Rome: where, like vnto that * other old *Roman*, who, being chosen *vmpere* touching some march-lands betwixt two neighbour Nations, vnpartiall to either,[c] adiudged it from them both to the *Romane State*; so hee now, being *Arbiter* betwixt the *King*, *Bishops*, & *Monks*, concerning their choice, hee means to defeat them all, and * adiudge the right of disposing thereof to his *Romish See*. Therfore, at the * fore-limited day of hearing, his first care was, that the[d] Bishops lippes *for euer* should bee sealed vp, (notwithstanding their * *allegations of Law, Reason, Decrees, and Practise*,) frō intermedling in choice of their *own Primate*. Wil you heare the maine reason? *because himselfe, and some other Popes would haue it so.* Which *definitiue sentence* being[f] sent to the Prelates into *England*, it was thought a point of prudence also, *to*[g] *prepare the King and worke him pliable before hand, to entertaine that which was to follow*: which must be done by amiable lines, and gemmes, *wherewith he knew the King was much delighted.* His *Present*, being 4. gold *Rings*, with foure *precious stones*, an *Emrauld*, *Saphire*, *Ruby*, & *Topaze*, he so vainely & childishly (though * ignorance enstile it eloquence) celebrateth in his * *Epistle*, for their *number*, *forme*, and *colour*, that no man will question whether it were dictated with an Apostolicke Spirite. The Rings *Roundnesse* must remember the King *of Eternity*; the *Quadrat number* of *Constancy*, and of the foure *Cardinall vertues*, *Iustice*, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*; the *Golds price*, of *wisedome*; the *Emraulds greenenesse*, of *Faith*; the *Saphires brightnesse*, of *Hope*; the *Rubies readnesse*, of *Charity*; the *Topazes clearenesse*, of *operatiue Sanctitie &c.* Which, though toyes, were yet accepted as pledges of loue for a while, till at last, the King finding by the sequele, they were but baites to beguile him, esteemed the Popes *Gold as drosse, his Iewels as* * *Iewish fraudes, and his loue as most rancored hatred.* For shortly after came to his notice, the most indignious iniurie, which the Pope meant to obtrude vpon him and his Kingdome, hauing not onely hunted both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holdes, but also imposed vpon him, for the chiefe place and managing of his State, one whome hee reputed a chiefe and dangerous Enemy to himselfe and it: which thus was fetcht about.

(37) The Monkes freed from the Bishops impugning, were hote now in the strife amongst themselues; the[s] one side against *Reyners* election vrged, it wanted *Royall assent*, the *greater* and *sounder* part of Electors, due *solemnities*, due * *time*: the other, against *Norwich*, that *no second election could be validous, vnlesse the former were first annulled.* Both their Reasons pleased well the Pope; who (as pre-possessed Iudges often vse) made shew of[h] *great diligence* in pondering the *Pleadings*, whereas himselfe long before had resolued on his *Sentence*; which was, that by *Apostolicall definitiue dome, neyther of the Elect's should euer bee capable of that See.* So great rubbes hath the Pope with so little breath blowne out of his way. The man whose aduancement al this while hee had aimed at, was now commended to them

a *Mat. West. Mat. Paris. MS.*

b *Idem.*

The Emperours entertainement.

The Popes beginning of wrongs towardes King *Iohn.*

* *Q. Labeo inter Nolan. & Neapolit. arbiter.*

c *Cicer. offic. l. 1.*

* *Hoc decipere est non iudicare ibid.*

* *12. Cal. Ian.*

d *Paris.*

e *Wendouer. M.S.*

f Dated 12. Cal. Ian. *Paris.*

g *Mat. Paris.*

The Popes present and letter to King *Iohn.*

* *Iohn Stow in Annal.*

* *Epist. Innocent. apud Paris.*

* *Gemmas gemitus ib.*

g *Paris.*

* Being by night.

h *Wend. MS.*

them, who must be there presently chosen for their *Primate*, *Stephen de Langton*, a Cardinall, *English* by birth, [i] *French* by *education* and *affection*, one of so [k] transcendent power in the *Romane Court*, *that the Pope was thought not for loue, but for enuy*, (as being himselfe eclypsed by his neerenesse) to haue wished his seruice in some remoter dignity. But the Monks ill apaide with what was done already, and very tremulous to enter[l] matter of new intrications, alleadged against all further courses, that [l] *no Canonicall Election could be there made, they hauing consent neither of King nor Couent*; at which word the Pope snapping them vp, bad them *know, that* [*] *he had there plenitude of power ouer the Church of Canterbury*; and besides, *that no consent of Princes vsed to bee expected in Elections celebrated where the Pope was*: hee therefore charged them *vnder paine of his high curse*, (a terrible bug-bear in those daies) there presently to choose him for their *Primate*, *whom himselfe thought good to nominate vnto them*. Thus trembling vnder the cracke of his *Thunderbolt*, they (all [m] excepting one *Helias de Brantfield* (whose constancy shall perpetuate his memory,) *durst not for feare but elect him, though very vnwillingly, and with murmurations*: whose [*] *Consecration* followed by the Popes owne handes at *Viterbium*, and his earnest *recommendation* by the Popes [n] *flattering* letters, to the Kings fauourable acceptance. And this was the vnblessed beginning of those new miseries which brought the King to his ending, and his *Kingdome* to vn-reportable calamities, all which, little did his *Holinesse* or his *Charity* reckon of, so his desperate *Policie* might take effect. Yet not vnduely fell those iudgements on manie Princes of those times, who neglecting the domesticke execution of *Supreme iustice*, suffered their Subiects, at so high a rate both of *expence* and *trauels*, to buy such *arbitrary* and *dangerous* formes of a forraine, and falsly-named *Iustice*.

(38) Two very presumptuous *Lawes* hath [o] one obserued to haue beene first hatched by this lawlesse *Pope*, the one occasioned by King *Iohns* and *Philips* former strife, that *Princes delinquent must bee lyable to correction from the Pope*; the other, vpon the choice of the *Emperour*, that *where in elections voices are equall, or concord wanting, the Pope may gratifie whome hee please*: vnto which wee now may adde a third no lesse arduous & insolent, that *the Pope may strike vp Elections, both where, and of whom, and with, and without what consent him listeth*. Which lewd obtrusion, that it galled the King to the quicke, wee need not maruaile, if wee ballance in one *scale*, the Popes meere *will* and pleasure; in the other, the *dishonour* to the King (thus to be triced out of that, which so vehemently, and with his owne presence hee took care to see effected;) the preiudice to his *Crowne*, to be defeated of *Soueraigne assent*; the hazard to the *State*, to haue his [*] *Enemy* (a *Phillippine*, and *French* fauourite) the [*] *chiefe man* ouer his *English*: besides wrongs more particular; as both the *disgrace* to his best-deseruing *Counsellour*, the *disloyalty* of the Monks, first, to choose without his *licence*, then to mocke him with a second *choice*, next, to beguile him with *oaths*, after to trauaile vpon his excessiue charge, and lastly to doe, and vndoe all, with their *periurie*. With all which so farre the Kings patience surfetted, that he beganne on them to disgorge his wrath, who with him beganne these affronts; proscribing first all those Monkes as [p] Traytors, and afterward writing "his [q] letters to the Pope, with relation of those "great wrongs to Himselfe, and exceptions to "*Langton*; vowing immutably to stand for his own "*Elect*, and to die in defence of the *Liberties of his* "*Crowne*; putting the Pope in mind, that *Rome* "reapt more gaine from *England*, then from all "the Transalpine Regions; threatning also, if he "were now crossed in this, hee would stoppe all "from crossing the Seas to *Rome*, nor would any "longer emendicate their forraine Iustice, sith "his owne *Kingdomes*, so abounded with Bishoppes "and learned men of most accomplished perfection "in all professions.

(39) If, when this Kings Father vttered some such threats to *Gratian* the Popes vassall, hee then replyed [r] *Sir doe not threaten vs, for wee feare no menaces, because wee are of such a Court as vseth to be imperious ouer Emperours and Kings*, (which as a remarkable *Apothegme*, [s] *Baronius* sets forth in greater letters;) we may then guesse, how this great Lord of that *Court* did himselfe brooke such tart salutations. Nay the effects bewray it: when in his sublimed [t] *Reply*, hee snebs the King *for comminatory* "*obraydings, and contumacious malepartnesse*; and "threatens him, that if he do not, by *referring him-* "*selfe wholy to his good pleasure*, seeke to *deserue his* "*Grace*, hee should plunge into those difficulties, "whence hee should hardly euer get forth; intima- "ting, that himselfe (being *vnworthy vicegerent* to "him, vnto whom euery knee in *Heauen, Earth*, & "*Hell* must bow,) must in the end needs haue the "vpper hand; and that to resist him is to oppugne "*God himselfe* and his *Church*, for which glorious "*Becket* spilt his bloud. These were indeed bloody words; to affright the King with expectance of more such blowes, and bloody stripes from *Rome*, as had lighted on his *Father*. And hee threatned no more then he acted; for thereupon, hee [u] sent his doubled *Apostolicall* command, the one general to all the Prelates, for submitting and adhering resolutely to *Langton*, the other, to some [*] particular *Bishops*, for [x] conuenting the King, and *Interdicting* his whole Kingdome, if him they found still *contumaciously rebelling*. Neither was hee more insolent in the command, then they in the execution, whereby (on [y] a day ill suiting so *vnchristian* an Action) this flourishing Church (though the King had sworne their *banishment*, and *confiscation* if they did it) was depriued of the very face of *Christianity* for many ensuing yeeres; as if, not *Innocentius* Christs *Vicar*, but *Iulian* his professed Enemy, had *mured vp the doores* of the Christians *Temples* for despight of their *God*.

(40) But this High-Priest had forgotten what another [*] taught him, and [x] he himsefe sometimes thought, about interdicting *France* for their Kinges offence; *that better it was one should suffer then a whole Nation perish*: whereas now, for the Kings only crossing the *Popes good pleasure*, *God* is censured to loose his worshippe, and all the *People* to hazard their soules, [a] liuing almost like *Infidels*, without *Gods seruice and blessed Sacrament*, yea and dying [*] *like dogges tumbled into euery ditch*. But what? did such wofull effects fasten onely on the Layty? The Clergy bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings iustly incensed wrath did so scorch, that his Dominions were too hote for their abode: for, their [b] *persons* hee proscribed and sent packing to the Pope, their reuenewes, hee confiscated, their *Bishoprickes*, *Abbeyes and Priories*; hee deputed to Laymens *custody*: their *women* (for such as had not wiues, had Lemmans) *were dearely ransomed*: and euery where they suffered wrongs without ordinary protection of *Iustice*. Whereof, though our [*] vulgar perfunctary Writers produce no other reason, but the onely ouerflowing of the Kings gall, as if first stirred by some few delinquent Bishops, through furious reuenge it ouer-whelmed the whole Clergy; yet indeed these were but the due chasticements of their generally disloyall hearts. As (to instance) when the King sent his [c] mandate to S. *Albans*, that *not regarding the Popes commaund in the Interdict, they should continue the celebration of Gods seruice*; the *Abbot* calling his Monkes into the *Chapter-house*, perswaded them to obey God rather then Man (meaning the Pope rather then the King) and to *beare resolutely the Kings anger*, [*] *whom God in due time would bring to an end*. What maruaile then, if the Clergy carried so generally with this streame of a forraine vsurped power, against *Gods* seruice, and their *Soueraignes* god-

i *apud Mat. Par. hist. ma.*
k *Mat. Paris. min. hist. MS.*
l *Mat. West. Paris*
* *Not, Wendouer MS. Westminster* saith *vos* as of the Monkes.
m *Idem,*
* *10 Cal. Jul. Paris 25. Mat. Westmin.*
n *Rog. Wend. MS.*
o *Blondus Decad. 2. l. 6.* Pope *Innocentius* his three strange lawes.
The wrongs offered vnto King *Iohn.*
* *Publicum inimicum; Regi Franc. familiarissimum. Mat. Paris. hist. min. MS.*
* *In regno secundum ibid.*
p *Mat. Westm.*
q *apud Wendouer, & Paris.*

godly desire, and due authority, were likewise generally involued in that reward of their disloialty. And yet, euen in the *Clergy*, many of eminencie detested these cruell and irreligious courses of the *Pope*; [d] *Philip* the Bishoppe of *Duresme*, and his Successor, with the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Winchester*, heartned the King to contemne the *Papall curse*; the [e] *Cisestertian Abbots* (*neglecting the Interdict*) continued their diuine celebrations, till the *Pope* suspended them for their contempt; *Alexander* * Abbot of the *Benedictines*, a Diuine of * exquisite learning [f] published in his Sermons, that their *present calamities were no reproch to their Soueraignes proceedings, but due rewards of the Subiects hainous trespasses, because kings ought to gouerne, yea and strongly bridle all disobedient Subiects whomsoeuer; but as for Popes they ought not to intermedle in the ciuill affaires, and regiment of any Princes ouer their vassals, seeing Peter himselfe receiued no power, but onely in matters appertaining to the Church.* And though the *Pope were reuenged on him for his plaine truth, and some Monkish humors haue aspersed other such men with bitter reproches, yet what may bee thought both of these the Popes courses, & of such his opposers, a late Iesuite (no partiall man to Princes) sheweth, saying, [g] that *many, and godly wise men at that time did wish, that Pope Innocentius had not stood so hard with King Iohn in such a point as this was, for contenting him with a person gratefull vnto him in that See.* And no maruaile they so wished, seeing that was the graund cause of such infinite confusions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying so indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy & Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all *godly wise* men must needes bee gastly and rufull: yet welfare those Anathematizing Bishops, the Instruments of al these euils, who patiently endured vnder the name of Exile, [h] to *liue the while abroad in all varietie of delights.*

(41) Such perplexities in the *People* could not but breed as great hatred and hazards to the *King*; who therefore to preuent the issue of such discontents, (which though causelesse, yet kindling in the multitude proue often vnquenchable,) hee [i] required of his Nobles new *Oathes* of allegiance, *pledges* of such as hee most suspected, and *homage* of all *Freeholders*, [k] euen of twelue yeers old, *whom he dismissed with a kisse of peace.* Misdoubting also the Popes further intent *to absolue his Subiects from their due allegiance*, hee gathered about him (by * example of his Father *Henry* on the like ground) a mighty Armie for all occurrents. The terrour whereof hee first displayed in the *North*, offended (saith [l] one) with * *William* King of *Scotland*, for marrying his daughter to the Earle of *Bulloigne*; for receiuing (saith [m] another) *Fugitiues*, and enemies of his State: for throwing down (saith a [n] third) a Castle built by King *Iohn* against *Barwicke:* but whatsoeuer were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to *York*, where King *Williams* * two daughters were promised to King *Iohns* two sonnes, and [p] deliuered as pledges of vnited loue, with a [q] gift of nine thousand markes. The dread of this his power so glyded out of the North into the West, that vpon his return, the [r] Princes of *Wales*, and others *rich & poor* came to him at *Woodstocke* (*the like thing neuer heard of before*) to doe him homage. But all these linkes of allegiance were soone crackt by another thunderclap (from *Rome*) of *Anathema* on the King by *Name*, with strict iniunction for all men to abandon his presence: [s] which *sentence* being sent to bee diuulged by the Bishoppes and Prelates in *England*, *al of them for feare or fauour of the King*, were content to neglect the *Popes* commaund, and let the *Apostolike processe escape without execution.* The fame yet thereof was in all mens mouthes, but came first (as seemeth) to the Kings *Eares*, [t] by a seruant of his owne Exchequer. *Geffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who secretly perswading his *fellow-officers*, *that they were bound in conscience to relinquish the Kings seruice*, gaue them example himselfe by leauing his duty and charge; for which hote-braine tricke; hee was put in a * *Coole of lead*, the weight whereof (as a punishment of his leuitie) soone hastned his end in prison: but the greater and wiser sort, both of *Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Soueraigns *Court* and *person*, *without* * regard of the censure.*

(42) Those Romish furies thus infesting all at home, gaue also courage & oportunity to il-affected mẽbers further off; some of which in *Ireland* hauing forfeited long of the Kings Indulgence or absence, [x] *beganne now to play the Kings themselues.* The noble spirite of this Prince in his tender yeeres [y] made choice (on bended knees to his Father, in presence of *Heraclius Patriarke of Ierusalem*) rather in *deuotion* to conduct an Army against the Turks, then in *Ambition* to take possession of that goodly Kingdome. But being now possessed thereof, and intending (by a kind of compensation for his losses in *France*) to annexe and assure that Kingdome to the *English* Crowne, hee resolues with a powerfull Army to quell the disturbers, and reforme the disorders, of his first, and long vnuisited charge. Whose approach such fame and dread did forerunne, that * more then twenty *Petty Kings* of that nation hastened to *Dublin*, there to honour his * arriuall with their submissiue attendance, *homage* and *oath* of allegiance; others, eyther vpon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence for their ill desertes, flying his presence, and some of them, the Country. The * two *Lacies* (whose onely prayse was, that they were the sonnes of a nobly-deseruing Father) hauing beene, through *ambition of Soueraignety*, the fountaine of dangerous garboyles, ([a] tyrannizing ouer the *Commons*, and making away such of the Nobles, as stood eyther in their light, or in the Kings fauour) fled into *France*, where they liued in * an Abbey as poore *Gardinars*, vntill the Abbot descrying by their deportment some state aboue their habite, *vpon penitent humility* reconciled them to the King. The Lord *William de Breuse*, (a* Baron lately of great commaund and wealth in the Marches of *Wales*,) shewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace; who, vpon * refusall to deliuer his sonne as a pledge of his fidelitie, spedde into *Ireland* to flie the Kinges wrath, and now, to auoid his pursuit, fledde also into *France*, then the common *Sanctuary* of all trayterous fugitiues; but * sharpe reuenge ouertooke both his *Sonne* and his *Lady* (taken in a strong Castle of *Meth*) whose virulent and rayling * tongue had more exasperated the fury of the King (whom shee immodestly reuiled as a *Tyrant* and *Murtherer*,) then could be pacified by her strange present, [z] * (foure hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onelie the eares, which were redde,) sent vnto the Queene.

(43) But [b] *Catalus*, the vnquiet King of *Connaught*, trusting to his owne Forces, King *Iohn* subdued by strong pursuit: [c] and after all carried him *captiued in triumph*, imprisoned the *English Fugitiues*, tooke pledges both of *English* and *Irish* Inhabitants, punished by death malefactors, turbulent persons by ransomes, established all their *Lawes*, *Coines*, and *Officers*, to the *English* forme, and deputed (which was worth all) a wise, stout and vpright *Gouernour ouer them, the Bishoppe of *Norwich*, *Langtons* competitor: thus setling on that barbarous Iland so noble and ordered a face of gouernement, as was the stay thereof in those tumultuous times, and a patterne euen to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and * speedy conqueſt and *reformation*, hee better merited that Style of *Irelands Lord*, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crowne of * Peacockes feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee inioyed it by his Fathers gift, as his *Broad-Seale* (here not vnfitte to bee annexed) will shew.

(44) The

*Capd Plumbed, Paris.

u Westmin. Ann. 1210.
* Non obstante Sententia, ibidem.

The King setleth the State of Ireland.

x Gyrald. in Pro. em. ad Reg. Iob.
y Idem Hibern. expug. l. 1. c. 16.

z Paris. hist. ma.
* 8 Idus Iulij, Paris.

* Walter & Hugh the sonnes of Hugh. Campians hist. of Ireland.
a Annales Hib. Campians hist. of Ireland.

*S. Taurin.

*Hist. Cambria.

*Wend. MS.

*Famished (some say) in Windsor Castle.

* Paris.

* Old Chron. of Flaunders. Hollin.

b Tyrod. Neust.

c Walsing. Paris. Annales Hiber. Campian. hist. of Ireland.

* Iusticiarium, Paris.

* Redyt 3. Cal. Septemb.

* Walsingham. Tyrrel. So the Pope sent Tyrrel a Phenix feather Cambden. in Hiber.

This Seale is at a Charter granted to *Dublyn*, before *Iohn* was King.

An. 1211. King *Iohn* ſubdueth *Wales*,

(44) The *Bankes* of King *Iohns* eſtate, were not vnlike to thoſe in *Grounds* ill-neighboured with an encroching *Sea*, where before one breach is well made vp, another no leſſe dangerous is laid open: which endles turmoils kept his *Body* ſtill in Action, his *Minde* in paſſions, and his *Proweſſe* in vre. The vaſte expenſes of his *Iriſh* expedition were no ſooner repayred (by a *great taxe charged on all the *Conuentuall houſes*) but *Lewylin* Prince of *North-Wales*, with his great ſpoiles on the *Engliſh* Marchers, made new matter of charge and exploit for the King; [d] hauing, to preuent due reuenge, cauſed his *Wallians* to conuey all their cattell and better ſubſtance to the ſcarce-acceſsible refuges of *Snowdowne Hill*. Theſe difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings reſolution; neither had the vertuall power of the Popes fulmination as yet ſo blaſted his good fortunes, but that hence alſo hee [e] returned in great *Triumph*, as *Conquerour of all Wales*, where, with wonderfull celerity and valour, *hee* [f] *ſubdued all their Princes and Cheefes, whom hee receiued vpon Oath, homage, and hoſtages*, with an abſolute [g] *graunt of all their Inland vnto the King for euer*. Notwithſtanding, perceiuing that [h] very many ſlipt away for dread (at leaſt for colour) of the Popes curſe, from thoſe his *martiall* and other *ciuill* ſeruices, (though [i] hee puniſhed by fine all ſuch Reuolters) whereby his perſon could neuer bee free from danger, nor his State from trouble; hee reſolues (ſeeing the Pope vnflexible, & vnſenſible of ſo many Chriſtians calamitie) at length to relent from his vowed ſtiffenes againſt the Popes Elect, in hope ſo to ſettle his owne and his Subiects tranquility, though with vnſufferable indignity to himſelfe. In his [k] returne from *Wales*, two Nunces from the Pope, *Randulph* a *Subdeacon*, and *Durand* a Knight *Templar*, meete him at *Northampton* to make the attonement: [l] whereto he was ſo propenſe, that hee accorded to aſſure vnder his Seale, that *Archbiſhoppe Langton with the Biſhoppes, Monkes, and others, ſhould bee reſtored both to his fauour, and to their poſſeſsions*; that, *holy Church ſhould haue all the Franchiſes, as in Edward the Confeſſors time:* that *hee would neuer take any thing of holy Church againſt the owners will:* but, becauſe hee [m] *would not* alſo make *full ſatisfaction* for all confiſcations, and other emoluments receiued of the Clergie, (nay, *hee could not* hauing expended all his treaſure in his continuall warres,) the *Cleargy* and their *Factors* (the Legates) more prizing their priuate gaine, then the weale publike of their Natiue Country, contemned the ſweet proffer of peace, & expoſed all to the bane of a reuengeful contention. For hereupon they did not onely [n] denounce the *curſe vpon the King by name* (which the Prelates before durſt not doe) *and vpon all other who conuerſed with him*; but, as if hee had moſt [o] *contumaciouſly contemned quietneſſe*, by their relations they incenſed the Pope (too prone of himſelf to ſet forth his own greatneſſe) to put on him a farre more indignous wrong and contumely then *Interdiction*, by [p] *abſoluing all Kings and People, poore and rich, hauing dependance on him, from all Fealty and Subiection to him.*

(45) This being the third ſteppe, whereby both the *Pope* aſcended to the height of his vſurped *power*, and mercileſſe *reuenge*, and the *Subiects* * daylie deſcended from their loyall obſeruance, made king *Iohn* more circumſpect to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both with an Army no leſſe faithfull then powerfull, & alſo with the loue of his Neighbour-Princes. King *William* of *Scotland*, [q] at this time infeſted with a dangerous rebellion, (ſtirred vp within his Kingdom by one *Gothred*, [r] laying claime, vnder color of ſome antiquated title, to his *Crowne*) being himſelfe infirme with age, ſent his ſonne *Prince Alexander* into *England*, to craue aſſiſtance of King *Iohn*, who (by his owne princely loue and readineſſe, to demerite theirs,) reſoluing with his Army in perſon to chaſtice the diſturbers of his truſty Confederate, before his ſetting forth, did [s] on the Table in a *ſolemne feaſt*, (which hee kept in the *Hoſpitall of Clerken-well*) *adorn Prince Alexander with the belt & Order of Knighthood*; and [t] afterward with his hoaſt vanquiſhing the *Rebels*, aduanced their *Chiefe-leader* farre higher then his owne *Ambition* expected, and left that Kingdome in a ſetled peace. But whiles he is thus kindly carefull in ſuppreſsion of anothers Rebelles, his owne at home are as vnkindly vigilant to vndermine his State; the *Popes Abſolution*, like magicke ſpelles, hauing let looſe many tumultuating *Spirits*, which will not eaſily be laid again. For the * *Chiefes* among the *Wallians*, whom neither breach of their *Oathes*, nor loſſe of their noble hoſtages, (*which ſoone after periſhed for their parents ſinnes) could deterre, ſuddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subiectes with [u] much *ſlaughter of men, burning of Townes, and ſurprizall of Caſtles:* whereof, whiles the King meaning to take ſharpe reuenge, was on his way at *Nottingham* with an vnreſiſtable Armie, letters of great ſpeed and ſecreſie were deliuered to him (as hee ſate at meate) from his faithfull and gratefull friend the *Scottiſh* King, & inſtantly others from his daughter *Ioan*, *Prince Lewylins* Lady, both giuing him intelligence of imminent Treaſons * plotted by ſundry *of his Peeres, who meant eyther to murther him, or betray him to the butchery of his foes*. Which dreadfull notices from ſo true-harted Informers, could not yet affright his manlie heart, till comming to *Cheſter*, hee there vnderſtood by ſundry other Intelligencers, that his *Nobles* held themſelues quite diſcharged from his allegiance; and knowing that they wanting fidelity, he him-

*140000. l. whereby they redeemed their poſſeſſions from Laymens cuſtody, *Lib. S. Alban, MS.*

d *Hiſt. of Cambria.*

e *Ibidem.*

f *Pariſ. hiſt. mi. MS.*

g Hiſt. of *Camb.*

h *Pol. Virgil.*

i *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

k *Rog. de Wend. MS.*

l English Chron. MS. compared with *Paru his min. hiſt. MS:*

The Kings offers reiected.

m *Rog. Wend.* MS.

n English Chro. *MS.*

o *Pariſ. hiſt. ma.*

himselfe could not but want security, hee dismissed his hoast, tooke hostages of his Barons, pursued the detected Conspirators, and * the *three principal* of them flying the land, he prosecuted their persons, demolished their Castles, and confiscated their possessions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behind them, as that * trayterous Act of those Nobles bewrayed, who sent to *Philip* of *France* their *sealed Charter, promising to settle on his head the Crowne of England, if hee would come to receiue it.* And that the mindes of the *vulgar* should not bee vnpossessed with like expectation of *Iohns* vn-crowning, the propheſies of an * *Heremiticall wisard* (foretelling, that on the day of *Ascension, King Iohn* should bee no King) were buzzed into their eares. Whether by *Gods* inspiring, or the *Diuelles*, these were reuealed, * some doe doubt; but hee that considers the quotidian impostures of these times, and the secret machinations of the *Pope*, the *French* King, and the *English Barons*, all for diuers ends, complotting against King *Iohn*, will easily perceiue both what vse there was of suborning such a Prophet, to deterre the popular maynie, from sticking to the King, and to beguile their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and also * that his punishment *by death* as a Traiterous Impostor, was no other then he deserued.

(46) Neither is the Popes reuenge thus appeased, some higher greeces yet remaine, on which his *Greatnesse*, and greatnesse of his holy rage must display it selfe: the vnderprops whereof (a thing almost incredible) were not onely *Englishmen*, but *English* Bishops also. For *Stephen Langton* with the BB. of *London* and *Ely* (thirsting after reuenge though with the destruction of their Country, & blood-shed of innumerable their Compatriots) going to *Rome* with complaints on the King, [y] made *humble supplications to the Lord Pope, that hee would vouchsafe in a touch of pious compassion, to support the English Church, being at the point of ruine.* At whose earnest sollicitation, the tender-hearted Pope (grieuously lamenting the desolation of the Kingdome of *England*,) decreed by solemne sentence: *That King Iohn should bee deposed from his Kingdome, and that the Pope should prouide some other, who should bee deemed worthyer to succeed.* To effectuate the former clause, *Innocentius* eagerly pursued the latter, sending speedy letters to (whom but King *Iohns* most mortall enemy?) *Philip* King of *France*; [z] requiring him *to vndertake the labour of the dethroning King Iohn*, with no lesse reward then *pardon for all his sins, and enioying of the English Crowne to him, and his heires for euer.* A goodly large patent both for a *Spiritual* and *Temporall* Kingdome, which (more like *Mars* his Priest, then Christs Vicar) he meanes to seale, with a deluge of Christians bloud. For not thus yet satiated, hee transmits his *Letters* generall: [a] *To all Potentates, Souldiers, men of warre of all nations, to signe themselues with the Crosse*, and to follow their Captaine *Philip* for the deiection of King *Iohn*, assuring all that their assistance (whether in *Person* or *Contribution*) *shall bee no lesse meritorious, then if they visited our Sauiours Sepulchre.* That this Pope vnder colour of such *Crusadoes*, did formerly *cloake his own Auarice*, his [b] owne Monkes auerre; but here hee cloakes therewith both his *Pride*, and a far more sauage vice, the thirst, not of mens *gold* but of their *bloud*. In which seruice with King *Philip*, hee vsed the same *English Prelates* for his *Negotiators*, which were before his *Solicitors* thereunto; with whom also he sent his Factour *Pandulph*; [c] *giuing him in priuate, secret instructions how to manage euery particular of the whole designe, to the most behoofe of the holy See.*

(47) The *French King* likewise receiuing * from the Archbishoppe and his Associates (in a [d] councel) the *Apostolike sentence*; was very apprehensiue of that imployment, whereto not so much the Papall commaund, as his [e] *owne ancient malignity*, and the *English* Barons traiterous requests, had prepared him; both which he was now [f] *willing to maske with the speous pretext of iustice and deuotion.* Vnder which colors hee had * speedily marshalled an immense Army at *Roan*, & drew a mighty Nauy richly furnished to the mouth of *Seyn*, * *al his Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, & Souldiers being summoned* to the exploit *vnder paine of hie Treason and disherizing*, who therfore both in feare & hope of spoile came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of so great importance, that all Christendom tooke notice of, could not long be hidden from King *Iohn*; whose care, by reason of his now doubled opposition (forrain & domestick) could be no lesse for his *owne* and his *Kingdoms* safety, then was his *Enemies* for impugning both. Wherfore his Summons being * sent to all his officers both for *Sea* and land, for speedy furnishing both of a *Nauie*, & an *Army*, equiualent to encounter so powerfull an Inuasion, such [g] innumerable multitudes swarmed to *Douer*, and other harbours for landing, that the Chiefe-leaders for want of prouision, dismissing the rest, [h] encamped at *Barham-Downes, onely with 60000. choice, valiant, and well appointed men, who, if they had carried all one mind, and true affection towards their King, and safegard of their Country, there breathed not any Prince vnder heauen, whose assault England had not beene able to repell.* And being no worse appointed for a *Sea-fight*, his intent was to graple first with the *French Fleet*, * *making no doubt of sinking them all: so secure and confident was he in expectation of all Inuaders.* In which braue addresse, whiles both shores of the Sea are thus belaid with both those Kings puissant Armies, the one waiting for the Enemy, the other for faire windes, and more forces, behold *Pandulphus* (the Popes Pragmaticke) hauing first desired safe conduct of King *Iohn*, arriues at *Douer*, to put in execution those [i] *secret Instructions which his Lord* (who made his aduantage of the *Foxe-skinne*, as well as of *the Lions*) * *had expresly prescribed.* He there vnfoldes to the King, the *innume-*
"*rable multitude* both of King *Philips* shippes, and of
"his Souldiers *Horse* and *Foote*, (all in readinesse to
"passe, and yet more expected to follow) to be-
"reaue him of his *Kingdome* by Apostolicall autho-
"rity, and to enioy it himselfe with his Heires for
"euer. That with him were also comming all the
"*English* Exiles, both Clergy and Lay, *they*, by his
"forces to repossesse their estates (maugre the king)
"and *hee* from them to receiue allegiance, as from
"his sworne Subiects. That hee had the fealty of
"almost all the *English Peeres* obliged to him by
"their owne *Charters*; which made him distrustlesse
"of attayning easily his wished successe: which ca-
"lamities (the more vnsufferable, because imposed
"by his insulting enemie, and his owne Subiects) he
"might yet euade and retaine his Crowne, which
"by Sentence hee had already lost, if penitently hee
"would submit himselfe to the Churches iudge-
ment. Doubtlesse the straites whereinto the King saw himselfe plunged, were very dreadfull; so many deadly enemies abroad to assault him, so few trustie friends at home to guard him: which droue him into this sad cogitation [k] *that those his perfidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the field, or betray him ouer to the Sword of his Enemies.* Yet not vnlikely other motiues also might forcibly perswade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour *Otho* whom this very Pope (not without foule blot of [l] *Iniustice* and [m] *Lenity*) had both eagerly aduanced, and furiously dis-empyred; the boundlesse furies of the *Crusado* promulged against him, wherewith this Pope [n] vsed to ouerflow, as with a merciless *Ocean*, all such Princes as withstood his will, which once broken in would neuer end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking it better to yeeld to the time, with assurance both [o] of his *Crowne*, and of the [p] *Popes fauour*, then desperatelie to hazard *Life, Crowne* and all, to his immortall foes; hee redeemes his safety on such conditions, as

f *Triuet. MS.*

* *Octauis Paschæ.*

* *Wend. MS.*

King *Iohns* preparation for resistance.

* *3. Martij. Paris.*

g *Wendo. MS.*

h *Paris hist. ma.*

* *Wend. Paris.*

Ibidem.

i *Mat. Paris.*

* *Papa formam cuidenter expressit Paris.*

Pandulphus perswasion to King *Iohn.*

k *Reg. de Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.*

l *Paris. hist. ma.*
m *Mat. West.*
n *As Serres* sheweth in *Ludou. 8.* touching the *Albegois*, and *Paris* touching *Otho*, &c.

o *Wendouer. MS.*
p *Mat. West.*

Neceſſity and the *Pope* (both which haue *no law*) liſted to impoſe; and ſo preſently ſwore to ſubmit *in all things* * *to the iudgement of the Church.* By vertue of which farre-ſtretching Oath, *Pandulphus* afterwards exacteth his ſubſcription to a * *Forme of Peace preſcribed by the Pope*, wherein King *Iohn*, *though* q *with an vnwilling, yea a bleeding heart, and weeping eyes, yet will he, nill he,* muſt acknowledge r *that touching all thinges for which hee was excommunicated, hee had abſolutely ſworn* x *to ſtand to whatſoeuer the Pope ſhould command.* Secondly, *that the Archbiſhop, Biſhoppes and Monkes, with all the reſt of that liſt, ſhould (with ſatisfaction alſo for all damages) bee reſtored both to their poſſeſſions and the Kings fauour, ſo that they alſo would ſweare not to attempt any thing againſt the Kings Perſon and Crowne.* Wherein wee ſee that King *Iohn* in ſwearing to *obey the iudgement of the Church*, was concluded to haue ſworne performance of *whatſoeuer the Pope commanded*; and how great matters the Pope can commaund, King *Iohn*, with much more * *bleeding amaritude of ſpirit*, ſhall quicklie ſee and feele. For two dayes after (being the * period of the Hermits propheſie) the King at the houſe of the *Knights Templars*, in *Douer*, [f] *by the Popes commaund* in his [t] *preordination at Rome, taking off his Crowne from his head, ſurrendred it into the Popes handes by his Atturney Pandulphus* (at whoſe feet hee [u] alſo laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword and Ring, the Royall Enſignes;) ſubſcribed alſo to another x *Charter*, whereby hee *reſigned his Kingdomes to the Pope*, profeſſing hee did it * *neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the common Councell of his Barons, as hauing no other way to make ſatisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thence-forward he would hold his Crown as Feodary to the Pope, paying a penſion annuall of* 1000. *Marks for both the Kingdoms of England & Ireland:* whereupon doing *homage* and ſwearing *fealty* to the Pope, hee did withall deliuer ſome money (as the earneſt of his ſubiection) vnto *Pandulph*, y who throwing it to the ground, did thereon *trample with his feet*, to manifeſt his Maſters greatneſſe. That theſe things were done in preſence of ſome Peeres, who gaue no conſent thereto, appeares by *Henry* Archbiſhoppe of *Dublin* (the very principall man in that Aſſembly) who [z] both *inwardly grieued thereat, and openly diſclaimed* and gaine-ſayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended he ſought [a] *nothing more then Iohns repentance*, and [b] *grieued at nothing ſo much as Englands deſolation*: but theſe his circumuentions bewray he ſought ſomewhat elſe, which bred both *repentance* and *deſolation* to King *Iohn* and his Succeſſors long after. Which fact cannot bee liuelyer paralleled, then by another doleful accident of the former yeare, [c] when a dreadfull fire in *Southwarke*, conſuming the Church & buildings neere *London Bridge*, ſuddenly (whiles numberles people flockt on the Bridge, either to bring ſuccour or ſeeke ſafetie) the fire by a wind ſeized alſo on the hither end of the Bridge; wherewith * multitudes thus encompaſſed on both ſides, miſerably periſhed; where at length ſome bringing their *Barges* to ſaue the reſt, their crowde was ſo great, that the veſſels ſinking, more periſhed in the *water*, then by *fire*. King *Iohn*, like thoſe, was in the middeſt of two ineuitable flames, on this ſide, his faithleſſe Nobles, on that, his mercileſſe foes; when the Pope thus proffering him *S. Peters Boat*, for a ſafegard frō both, drencht him into as great miſery, certainly greater Ignominy then both the other. Wherin yet the Pope doth not want his ſhare and ſhame; amongſt his owne fauourites, ſome accurſing that his *preſcribed Charter*, as [d] *lamentable and deteſtable*; [e] ſome, denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that K. *Iohn* had long before made a *vow of deuotion*, that if God ſetled him in thoſe Kingdomes he would dedicate them both, and make them tributary to the See Apoſtolicke. But ſome other (great *pillars* of the *Papacy*) ſtepping further, [f] auow it to be vtterly *vntrue, that King Iohn did make his Realmes thus tributary to the Pope*; or [g] *that euer ſuch penſions were paide to Rome*; or [h] if hee ſo did, or any other *Engliſh* King ſhould ſo doe, ſuch an Act *to bee of no validity at all*; or if it were of any force; [i] *it ought onely to lie on King Iohn, who ſo offended, and not on any his Succeſſors.* Doubtleſſe, if the *Papall Sword* had power to cut off King *Iohns* regality for any offence, his Crowne was to haue deſcended to the next Heire (whether *Henry* his ſonne, or *Eleanour Arthurs* ſiſter, then a liue) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, ſo neither conſenting to the reſignement. Some therefore haue imagined, that [k] *ſuch Inſtruments might happily then bee motioned and drawne, and yet die vnratified, though the copies ſtand recorded*; but whatſoeuer were then done, that the Pope himſelfe (not onelie thoſe his friends) were thereof aſhamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles *Pandulphus* is thus chaffering about the Crowne for his Maſter the *Pope*, *Philip* is fitting his head to weare it, and was now ſetting forth his Nauy to winne it, for himſelfe; which made the Legate (hauing after [l] fiue dayes ſeyſin redeliuered the *Crowne*, but [m] not yet releaſed the *Cenſures*, till conditions were performed) to haſten into *France*, carrying with him eight thouſand pound, as part of reſtitution to the exiled Biſhops; where, comming to King *Philip*, hee aduiſed him to diſmiſſe his *hoaſt*, & enterpriſe againſt King *Iohn*, as being now an *obedient and reconciled Sonne to the Church.* But *Philip* who was of the Popes mind, not caring for *Iohns* repentance, but for his *Kingdome*, which now hee loſt before he had gotten it, [n] *fretting exceedingly* to ſee himſelfe not onely ſet vp for a ſtale, and made to the *World an obiect of ſcoffe, by the Nunces guilefull colluſions*, but alſo by the [o] *Popes owne inticements*, plunged into ſo exceſſiue a dammage, (hauing ſpent, beſide his great trauaile in this preparation, 60000. *Crowns, wherewith hee purchaſed nought but ſcoffes*; reſolued, and *profeſſed, that ſith the Pope himſelfe, had ſo farre thruſt him on, his Legates ſuggeſtions* ([p] *no nor his threats of excommunication,*) *ſhould not draw him backe* from his intendment. In which reſolution [q] calling his Peeres and Nobles into a conſultation at *Sueſſouns*, all the reſt approuing the courſe, *Ferdinand* Earle of *Flaunders* (*part of whoſe Country Philip by force detained*) told him tartly, that [r] as the attempt was both *vniuſt*, and *impoſsible*, ſo [ſ] *it was fitter, euery mans right ſhould at home be reſtored, and iuſtice imbraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad.* And, that he [t] *ought rather to thinke, of making reſtitution to King Iohn of thoſe tranſmarine Countries, which hee withheld vniuſtly, then of inuading his Realm, wherto hee had no right at all.* With which vnexpected reclamation, [u] the chiefe Peeres beganne to wauer, & *Philip* enraged, *bidding him defiance, forbad him his Court.* The like rough vſage (not * long before) found [x] *Reginald the moſt valorous* Earle of *Bulloigne* (though his *daughter was married to Philips younger ſonne*,) whom the *French* King perceiuing to wiſh well to *King Iohn*, [y] *droue him vniuſtly out of his Earledome*; but King *Iohn*, receiuing him with honourable compenſation of [x] fayre reuenewes in *England*, held both with him and Earle *Ferdinand*, a ſure (though ſecret) confederacy: So that now *Philips* rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, if ſeeking anothers, hee ſhould leaue ſo neere an Enemy at his backe, diuerts the courſe of his *Ambition* into the ſtreame of his *Reuenge*, and reſoluing firſt to ſubdue the Earle, (after which ſucceſſe hee might more ſafelie paſſe into *England*,) hee commands his mighty prepared *Nauy* to ſet foorth from the mouth of *Seyne* towards *Flaunders*, where himſelfe with his forces (meaning to ſubdue the country in their way) would meet them by land. Whereof King *Iohn* hauing ſpeedy intelligence from the Earle (who, knowing his meanes too ſlender to beare off the Kinges ſo long prepared power, deſired his preſent aide) without delay diſpatched his * Fleet, to purſue them who intended to purſue him, vnder the conduct of [a] *three*

* Iudicio Eccleſiæ priturum. Paris.
* Dated at Douer, 13. May an. reg. 14. Paris. Wendo.
q Mat. Paris. hiſt. min. MS.
r See Wendouer. Paris. Weſtmin. Triuet. Walſingh.
* Stare mandatis Domini Papæ.
* Vſque ad Spiritus intimi cruentam amaritudinem Paris hiſt. min. MS.
* In vigilia Aſcenſionis, May 15. Paris.
[f] Perinde, ac Innocentius mandauit, Polydor.
[t] Iuxta quod fuerat Romæ Sententiatum. Wend. MS.
[u] Iohde Serret. in Phil. Auguſto.
x See Wend. & Paris.
* The Pope commaunds the king to auerre vntruthes.
y Paris hiſt. ma.
z Mat. Paris.
a Nihil ſibi iucundum. Polid.
b Graui mœrore confectus, Paris.
c Ex Record. S. Mariæ de South. Paris. hiſt. min. MS.
* Wil. Packington writeth that 3000 were found dead and halfe burnt, beſides thoſe who were quite conſumed.
The Romaniſts cenſures touching the Popes thus dealing.
d Lugubrem, deteſtabilem. Mat. Weſtm. Paris, & alij.
e Sabellicus Aenead. 9. l. 5.
f Sir Thomas More in the ſupplication of Soules.
g Conc. ad Lat. 3. Sect. 7.
h Ref. Ann. Sect. 3. Sect. Thom. Edm. Campian. Polyd.
i Polyd.
k Edmund Campian Hiſt. Ireland. Lib.
l P. Amil. Phil. 2.
m Paris. MS.
n Mat. Par.
o Mat. Par. min. hiſt. & malij.
p Idde Serret. in Phil. Aug. Tyrol. Paul. Æmil. Phil.
q Paul. Æmil. in Philippo.
r Serres.
s Aimoin. Serres ſupp. Ferdinand. Reginald. at one time but our Writers, Triuet, &c. the contrary.
x Paul. Æmil. Mat. Paris.
y Roy. Writers.
z Paris. Triuet. Librarii non.
King Philip great Nauy ſcatred by Engliſh.
* Of ſome Mat. Par.

[a] *three braue Generals*, his brother *William* Earle of *Saresbury*, *William* Duke of *Holland*, and *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*; [b] who with happy gales surprizing the *French Navy* at the port of *Damme*, (whiles most of the *French Souldiers* were on land, dispoiling the Earles Country,) seized on them all; [c] *three hundred of which Shippes*, laden with prouision, Armes, and other costly fraught (*for whatsoeuer the King and all his Nobles held dearest was therein*,) they sent for *England* (whither at first they were bound) and *aboue one hundreth* other they burnt, or sunke for *France*.

(51) This Nauall victory produced effectes in the two Kings so opposite as were their affections; the [d] one, *with anguish of his irreparable losse and ignominy*, hasting backe into *France*, to preuent further danger; and [e] the other (ioyfull of his own successe and his confederates) dismissing his power, as secure of any *French* attempts in haste. Wherefore now, with full purpose to find him worke at home, who so busily sought it abroad, hee forthwith sent (with large rewards to hir *Flaunders Army*) [f] instructions also to the Earles, how to infest *Philip* on that side of *France*, whiles himself entring *Poictou*, would the like on the contrary side, and *Otho the Emperour on a third part*. A dangerous plot and league, if the issue had beene answerable to the designes. For prosecution whereof, [g] King *Iohn* attending at *Portsmouth* with a noble Army, in hope now that all true *English*, would gladly embrace so fayre an opportunity, to recouer their hereditary Prouinces from the false *French*; his *Barons* restles themselues in procuring his vnrest, and enuying that his forrain vexations being thus passed, he should want domesticke, flatly oppose themselues both to his commaund and their Countries good, [h] denying him (*vntill hee were assoyled of his excommunication*,) their attendance in so behouefull a seruice. Those men in the heate of his former troubles with the Pope, thinking such troubled waters most aduantageous for their fishing, [i] recommenced their contention with the King for their long-desired *Liberties*, wherin because they found him still as immoueable, as themselues were immoderate, it seemeth, though the cloake of their now-refusall were *Religion*, yet their spurre was *Reuenge*; hauing withall an eye to the good of the king of *France*, whom so well they had before loued, as to wish him *King of England*. But *King Iohn*, being no lesse earnest to further the present generall cause, then they their particular ends, delayed not their desires; and [k] despeeding his Charters and safe-conducts to the Archbishop and his fellow-Exiles, hee as speedily [*] arriued: [l] *at whose presence the earth* is said *to haue trembled*; but (doubtlesse) *King Iohn* did; who hearing of his comming towardes him (then at *Winchester*) went to meete him and those other Bishops; at whose sight [m] *hee fell downe at their feet with flouds of teares, intreating them to commiserate His, and his Kingdomes miseries*. Vpon which [n] *great humility in a King* (*mouing them likewise to bedew their eyes*,) they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each Arme to the dore of the *Cathedrall Church* (where, at rehearsall of the 50. psalme, all his Nobles and others wept for ioy,) after in the *Chapter-house* they did absolue him; but with such guilefull Appendices of Oathes imposed on him, that this assoilement was not so much the *Epilogue* of his old, as the *Prologue* of his new Tragicall vexations.

(52) For the *Prelates*, whose best abettors the disloyall Barons had formerlie beene, meaning now to bee the like to them, amongst other *Oathes* then taken of the king (to [o] defend *holy Church* & *Churchmen*; to make due *restitutions* to the Clergy; to beare *fealty* to the *See of Rome*,) cunningly also inserted this, [p] *to establish the good Lawes of his Predecessors, & to abolish all bad, proceeding with all his Subiects according to the iust iudgements of his Courts*: out of which generalities, what good stuffe the *Prelates* & *Barons* can picke, sequels will shew. Now all exceptions seeming to bee taken away, which might hinder the Kings designe for *France*, hee once againe at *Portsmouth* hastens to embarke his hoast; where, at the point of passage new impediments are pretended, [q] that the *people hauing spent their money with long attendance could not be fitted for the seruice except the King would doe it out of his Treasure*; which moued the King in anger, with a small traine of his owne attendants, to set forth to sea, and his *Barons* (*Philips* true friendes) *to depart home, leauing the king* (*who at Gersey expected their comming*) *destitute of their seruice*. With these so often trecherous delusions, what maruaile, or blame, if a King, and in so important an Action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due reuenge? On which purpose the King thus [r] *enforced to returne*, resoluing to chastice those *rebellious Spirits* (the causes thereof) *and to reclaime them to due obedience by force of Arms*, the Archbishoppe (resolute to bee as tough a *Bridle* to the *Regall power*, as euer *Hubert* his predecessor was,) came vnto him, to diuert him with Argument, that *it was a breach of his Oath, for him to take Armes against any man whomsoeuer, without the iudgement of his Court*. But the [s] next day, seeing he could not thus preuaile with reasons (the King forbidding him *to intermeddle in matters of lay-iudgements*, and [t] *swearing that hee would not forbeare for one* * *Clerkes pleasure to tame his owne vassals*) hee followed the King (who was on his way earnestly following his intendment) deterring him with threates, and vowing, [u] *if out of hand he did not desist* from his purpose, he would *excommunicate all* (except the King himselfe) *who durst take Armes against any whomsoeuer, till the Interdict were quite released*. So quickly did this Prelate on his comming into *England*, shew himselfe not onely a faithfull *Philippine*, (as the King foresaw,) and a faithlesse *Baronist* (as these his darings proue) but euen another Pope, to threaten and persecute the King, sith *Innocentius* had left to doe it.

(53) But these threates of *sacred Censure*, though they dash the whole course of Regale gouernment, may seeme the more excusable, hee hauing some colour (though but a colour) thereof by reason of his *vocation* and *place*: the courses which soone after he pursued, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This *English Pope*, hauing in a [x] *promiscuous Synode of Clergy men and Barons*, granted by Indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both *Conuentuals and Seculars*, might in their Churches celebrate diuine seruice, *so it were with a very low voice*; singled out the *Barons into a* [y] *very priuate conference*, (more cordiall perhaps to them then seruing of God,) relating with much ostentation, what an *Oath* at his assoiling the King, hee [*] *compelled him to take, for restoring good lawes, and antiquating bad; to which end, a Charter of King Henry the first being lately found* (which there hee shewed and caused to bee read) *by it, they might, if themselues would reduce, to the pristine estate, those Liberties which long they had lost*. Both *Charter* and *Counsell* being receiued with [*] *great applause and ioy*, a [z] *Confederacy was stricken betwixt the* they all *swearing to him to striue for those liberties to the spending of their liues, and hee promising them his most faithfull and vttermost assistance*. Amongst so many false to the State, probable it is, that some were false among themselues, by whome these *secrecies* might come to the Kings eares; who finding himselfe by both Clergy and Lay-Peeres combining against him, vnable to reuenge his forraine, or represse such domesticke indignities, knew no surer way to ouertop them all, then by that high Hand, by which himselfe was first subiected to them all. How this must be fetcht about, because it concernes his Holinesse, a *learned Monke* shall relate in his owne Language. [a] *The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the Pope, both for Ambition, and Pride, went beyond all other mortall men: So likewise, he was in his greedy desire of riches so vnsatiable,*

The King againe deluded by fresh shifts.
[q] *Mat. Paris, hist. ma.*

The Barons leaue the king.

The king returneth for want of his Subiects aide, [r] *Paris.*

[s] *Rog. de Wend. MS.*

[t] *Paris. hist. min. M.S.*

[*] *Propter vnum Clericastrum. ib.*

[u] *Paris. hist. ma.*

The Archbishops conspiring against the king.

[x] *Apud Templum S. Pauli Londin. Mat. Paris*

[y] *Rog. de Wend.*

[*] *Iuraro compulerim. ib.*

[*] *Gauisi sunt gaudio magno.*

[z] *Paris.*

The kings plot to ouermaster both Prelates and Barons.

[a] *Matheus Paris.* The vertues of Pope Innocentius.

tiable, that with money eyther paid or promiſed, hee might be wrought like waxe and made pliable to all wicked actions. Thus hauing the true length of the Popes foot, he fittes him accordingly with rich preſents, and golden promiſes, crauing (by ſuch mouing Rhetoricke) not his aide onely, but his *Curſe* alſo againſt the Archbiſhoppe and Barons, who ſo vnceſſantly diſtreſſed him. But *Innocentius* (forward of himſelfe without any Motiues, to put in vre thoſe his Papall vertues, and the execution of his late-vſurped power,) vpon the firſt gladſome newes of *Englands Vaſſallage* to his See, had preſently diſpatched for *England* an Agent of greater port then *Pandulph*, a *Subdeacon*, *Nicholas* Biſhoppe of *Tuſculum*, with no meaner credence and inſtructions for preſeruing what the Pope had guilefully gotten, then *Pandulph* had to purchaſe, what hee ambitiouſly gaped for: by whoſe [b] arriuall the King ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of thoſe his deſires, before his golden letters arriued at *Rome* to craue them.

The Popes Legate commeth into *England*.

[b] *Circa feſtum S. Michaelis. Reg. Wend.* MS.

(54) For this *Legate* was infected with the like itches ([c] *Ambition* and *Auarice*) as his Maſter, and therefore King *Iohn* knew how to demerite his faſtneſſe and loue, by ſupplying him with like [d] ointments; whereby the Archbiſhop and Barons ſoone perceiued, that the *Legate* was [e] wholy *Regall*, and the King *Papall*; which icalouſie made both their Actions more diſtaſtfull. The Ouert and profeſſed end of his comming, being to releaſe the *Interdict*, hee firſt tampered a little to accord the King and Prelates vpon couenantes of *Reſtitution*; towardes which, though the king offered ten thouſand marks, yet the Prelates ([f] repining at the Legates * *partiality* to the King in approuing that offer,) [g] choſe rather to ſuffer the whole land to grone vnder that vnchriſtian, and truly-ſtyled *Curſe*, * then to defalcate any iot of their couetous demaunds. Vnder which colour, the Popes Agent, (a fitte *helue* for ſuch a *hatchet*,) brake his mind to the King of a more ſecret & principall cauſe of his *Legacie*, which was [h] for the contriuing of a more validous and vnexceptionable conueyance of his Kingdomes to the yoake of *Romiſh* Soueraignety; pretending doubtleſſe, (as *Pandulph* had done) that [i] *hee could neuer be ſafe or quiet, but vnder the powerfull protection of the Popes winges*. What iuſt exceptions the World might take to the former Graunt, his *Holineſſe* was not ignorant; it being an Act in the King, both of manifeſt * *Periurie* againſt his oath at his Coronation, and alſo of * *Conſtraint*, * *Circumuention*, and * *Feare*; hee being driuen thereto by the Pope himſelfe, who had ſet vp both the *French* power, and his owne Barons againſt him; an Act of one * actually *excommunicate*, as alſo were the * *Witneſſes* conuerſing with him in that action, whereto, as neither the * next *Heyres*, nor the * *Clergy*, nor * *Body* of the Kingdome, gaue any conſent, ſo an * *open diſclaime* thereof was made by the very [k] *Principall man* there preſent, in the name (as is likely) of all the reſt: and that all was ingroſſed with ſo many *groſſe* * *vntruthes*, as if done *moſt voluntarily*; without *any feare* or *force*; in a general *Aſſembly of the Barons*; onely by a *diuine inſpiration*, and becauſe *the King had nothing fitte to pacifie God for his ſinnes, but the giuing away of his Kingdomes:* Well might the Pope bluſh at theſe ſhameleſſe abuſions; and therefore if now the *King*, ſtanding on calmer termes, can be wrought to ratifie his *former Graunt*, though the dealing bee more fraudulent, yet the Act will ſeeme more colourable, becauſe ſauouring of leſſe conſtraint, and more *free deuotion*. But if we looke with an vnpartiall Eye, wee ſhall ſee both the plight of King *Iohn*, and the action of *Innocentius*, ſtill like it ſelfe: the *Interdiction* ſtill burthening his land; his *Barons* more moleſtious to him then forraine foes; his *Prelates* greedily grating on him to empouerish his meanes; his Archbiſhop ſtopping all proceedings againſt *forraine* or *home-bred* enemies; and if hee had thwarted the Popes commaund hercin, hee foreſaw farre greater ſtormes at hand, then hee had hitherto eſcaped. Thus in deſire to ſettle his *Kingdomes* quiet for his owne time, and in hope, perchance, that his *Succeſſors* would (as ſince by diuine bleſſing they haue) vindicate it againe from ſuch an enforced ſlauery, hee condeſcended to renue his * *Charter of Subiection*, knowing belike that his expreſſe * *reſeruation to himſelfe and his Heires, of all due adminiſtration of Iuſtice, all Liberties, and Regalties*, (as being excepted out of the Graunt,) was forcible of it ſelfe to make it vnforceable. For how hath hee his wonted *power of Iuſtice*, who was *ſupreme*, and is made *ſubordinate*? how his wonted *liberties*, who was *abſolute*, & is made *Homager* and *Penſioner*? how his fore-vſed *Regalities*, whom another may name, and command as his *vaſſall*? Yet this *Charter*, adorned with a *Golden Bull*, (fitte for the *Roman* * *Phalaru*, whereas the former was but ſealed with *wax*) was at a meeting in Saint *Paules Cathedrall Church* ([l] pretended for other buſineſſes about the *Interdict*) preſented for more authenticke ſolemnity at the High-Altar, where, in the *King* and *Legates* preſence, the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, himſelf alſo both a Cardinal and a Legat (in this, acting the office of a ſtout *Patriote*, and noble *Prelate*, as the *Archbiſhop* of *Dublein* had done at the firſt *Graunt*,) ſtept forth, and in the * name of the whole *Clergy* and *Kingdome*, [m] *boldly and earneſtly* preſented [n] *at the ſame Altar in ſolemne manner, his Appeales againſt that Charter ſo execrable to the whole world*, as likewiſe *formerly* [o] *he had vſed all poſſible endeuor to diuert the kings hart frō that ſubiection to the Pope and Court of Rome*. That the *Peeres* of the *land* accorded with the Archbiſhop in the *Appeale*, (and more then in *Appeales*) both the *Kings* owne [p] *letters* to the Pope ſaying, *they openly profeſſed, that they forcibly made head againſt him, becauſe hee had ſo enſlaued his land*, and their owne bitter *exclamations* againſt it, ſo frequently in [q] Authors reiterated, doe demonſtrate: and yet both the *Archbiſhop* and other *Barons*, are ſo cunningly named in the Popes [r] *Tranſcript*, as if they had not onely beene preſent and *witneſſes* at the doing, but alſo *approuers* of the deed. What comfort then had *Innocentius* of renouncing his *old Charter*, and thus ſhuffling for a *new*? Surely but little, it ſeemeth; eſpecially when he ſaw both his owne *Creatures* in *England* thus oppugne it, and *Chriſtian Princes* abroad; yea King *Iohns* * mortall *enemies*, who not onely denied, that *England* (notwithſtanding this Tranſaction) [s] *was any patrimony of S. Peter*, and condemned the Pope for *holding an errour ſo pernicious to all Kingdomes*; but alſo vowed *to die before they would yeeld, that any King can of his owne will, make his Kingdom Tributary, and his Nobles ſlaues to others*. By which vniuerſall deteſtation, of this the Popes vſurping, it is not improbable (though for the preſent hee flouriſhed the *Tranſcript* thereof, which hee ſent into *England*, with the [t] Preface of *Chriſt, and Melchiſedech being Kings and Prieſts, and that therefore in one perſon of Chriſts Vicar, as the Soule and the Body, ſo both Kingdome and Prieſthoode did now concurre*,) that yet ere long hee was no leſſe aſhamed of this *latter*, then of his *former Charter*. Whereto well ſuteth his teſtimony, who writes that a [u] *Parliament was held at London the yeere* 1214. *Where the Archbiſhop ſate as Preſident with all the Clergy and Layty: wherein by commandement of the Pope, the Charter, Fealty, and homage by which the King was* obliged to the Pope, *was abſolutely releaſed on the* 7 *day of Iuly*: which if bee true, no maruaile if the *Court of Rome* cannot produce, though often challenged thereto, this *Charter* whereof ſo much they vaunt. Notwithſtanding ſome vnquiet Spirits, aſpiring long after to the *Papacy*, though pretending (perhaps) the [x] *Originall Charter was conſumed at Lyons* (where the [y] Pope cauſing, ſome ſay, *his owne Conclaue to bee ſet on fire, ſo haue a pretence to extort a contribution from the Prelates there in councell, the fire went farther then* * *hee meant it ſhould*) they made ſome flouriſh to [z] renew their claime of *homage* and *pen-*

[c] *Ambition* and *Auarice*.

[d] *Donatiua preciosa, ibid.*

[e] *Summo opere regi placere, &c. ibidem.*

[f] *Mat. Paris MS.*

* *Plus æquo parti regiæ, &c. ibid.*

[g] *Nic. Triuet. MS.*

* *Clero interdictū relaxari nolente, vsque ſatisfactum eſſet ad plenum. ib.*

[h] *Wend. MS.*

[i] *VVeſtmin. Triuet. MS.*

Exceptions to the firſt graunt,
1.
2.
3. 4.
5.
6.
7.
8. 9.
10.

[k] Archbiſhoppe of *Dublyne*.

11.

Groſſe vntruthes preſcribed by the Pope in that graunt.

The Pope renounceth his firſt Charter, & ſeeks a new.

King *Iohns* preſent condition.

penſion, till in a Generall Parliament, the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, *ſeuerally* and *ioyntly* [a] *enabled*, that *for ſomuch as neither King Iohn, nor any other King, could bring his Realme and people to ſuch thraldom, but by common aſſent of Parliament, (the which was neuer done,) and that in ſo doing hee did againſt his Oath at his Coronation; beſides many other cauſes of iuſt exception; if therefore the Pope thence forward ſhould attempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subiects ſhould with all their Forces and powers reſiſt the ſame, and rather hazard all their liues and liuelyhood, then endure that vſurpation.* If Pope *Paſchall* (in the [b] time of King *Iohns* grandfather) hauing *with much ſolemnity* made ſome graunts to the Emperour *Henry*, and confirmed them with an [c] *Anathema*, with the [d] *oathes* of thirteene Cardinals, and with [e] religious receyuing of the *bleſſed Sacrament*; yet, becauſe ſuch grants were thought preiudiciall to his *See*, [f] ſolemnly diſclaimed his owne Act, and ſuch his doing was aproued by a *Clergy Councel*, as pretended to be done [g] *by feare*: how much more iuſtly might *King Iohns Succeſſors* and his *State*, by ſuch approbation of their grand Councel, free themſelues of thoſe ſeruitudes wherewith by anothers *vniuſt, forced, vnwarrantable* Act, they were ſuppoſed to be enfettered?

(55) Though the Archbiſhoppe were ſo vnkind againſt the Pope (the Aduancer of his Fortunes,) as to giue by his appeale ſo fatall a blow to his deſired Crowne, yet the Pope was not ſo ingrate as to die in his debt; as quickly hee found in [h] another Appeale which hee made to the Pope againſt his *Legate*, for that he, relying on [i] *Apoſtolicall indulgence*, not onely diſpoſed of all Spirituall dignities to [k] *ſuch as beſt liked the King*, but alſo to his owne [l] *Italians, and Kinſmen, though abſent, vnknowne, vnſufficient, vnworthy, yea, and ſome* [m] *vnborne*. Which *Legatine* * *Tyranny* vnſufferable in a Chriſtian State, though *Simon Langton* (the Archbiſhops brother and Proctor) vrged earneſtly before the Pope, yet the Legates Agent *Pandulphus*, ſo diſplayed both the Archbiſhoppes feruentnes *in vſing ſuch eager perſwaſions and appellation againſt the Kings ſubiection*, and the Prelates [n] auarice, *in their vnreaſonable exactions for reſtitution from the King*; being the moſt *benigne, modeſt, and humble Prince that his eyes euer beheld*; that his Holines not onely conceiued [o] *exceeding hatred* againſt the Archbiſhop and his cauſe, but ſent alſo his Authenticke Letters for repealing the *Interdict*, vpon reſtitution onely of 13000. Markes * more to the *Prelates* (the King before had voluntarily offered them 100000) and that but by equall portions of [p] fiue yeeres payment. But the King, who knew the Popes pleaſure before theſe letters came to impart it, hauing found that his *French* affaires had ſuſtained vnreparable impeachments by his hitherto enforced delayes, [p] entruſting his Kingdome to the *Legate* and *Earle Marſhals* cuſtody, was with his Forces paſſed into *Poictou*, (whiles in his abſence, the relaxation of the *Interdict*, after [q] more then ſixe yeeres continuance, was by the Legate in a Parliament ſolemnly promulged) where his Succeſſes were ſo fortunate, that [r] *it being powerfully ſubdued*, great hope was conceiued the other Prouinces would follow. Whence breaking with [s] like victories into *Britaine*, being there at the point to giue [t] battle to *Lewis* the *Dolphine*, his euer-faithleſſe *Poictouins* ſodainely [u] forſooke him, and made him forſake his purpoſe. But a greater impayrement of thoſe his hopes, was the [x] defeature of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperour, at the renowned *Battle of* * *Bouines*, where King [y] *Philip*, ſtricken from his horſe by the hand of *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*, had there with his *life* ended the *quarrell*, if a faithful Souldier had not couered him with his own Body, and brauely ſacrificed his *life*, to ſaue his *Soueraignes*; who thereupon recouered both his footing, and the *victory*. The heauy newes whereof, concurring with his Barons outrages at home, droue King *Iohn* on [z] deare conditions, to capitulate on a *fiue yeeres Truce*, and return to bridle them at home, whoſe attempts hee euer found moſt dangerous, when hee was moſt buſied abroad. For vnder a * *pretext* of *Deuotion* (the vſuall maske for Treachery) the Barons aſſembling at Saint *Edmunds* [a] *did euery man on the high Altar ſeuerally ſweare, to renounce their ſworne fealty to the King, and purſue him by Armes, till they had enforced his conſent to the Charter of liberties formerly by the Archbiſhop recommended to them.* Which when [b] afterward they came in perſon to challenge of the King, as a part of his *Oath* taken at his Abſolution; hee [c] *ſeeing both their forces and affections addreſſed for violence*, was enforced with *gentle language* and *promiſed ſatisfactions*, to deſire, till after *Eaſter*, *mature deliberation on ſo important a matter*; in which breathing time, both in *pollicie*, hee tooke new oath of loyalty through all the land, and [d] *in deuotion*, vndertooke the *Vow* and *Signe* of the *holy Warres*, chooſing belike to die againſt faithles *Turks*, rather then to liue amongſt ſuch vnfaithfull Subiects. But neither *Oathes*, nor *holy vowes* * (*then eſteemed the ſupreme priuiledge of protection*) could bee ſufficient *Bucklers* to protect againſt ſuch deſperate attempters; who at the prefixed weeke of Eaſter, preparing themſelues not for a *Conference*, as with their Prince, but for a *Battle*, as againſt ſome hoſtile power, trouped together at *Stanford*, with [f] an *Army ineſtimable for number, whoſe* * *very principall Abetter and conſpirer was Stephen the Archbiſhoppe*, the more pernicious perſon, becauſe (to hide his falſe entendementes) moſt aſſiduous in attendance about the King. And [g] him the King ſelecting to ſend to the *Barons Army* (who were come on as farre as *Brackley*, not farre from the King, reſiding now in *Oxford*) to know the contents of their deſires; hee brought a [h] *Schedule of their claimed liberties*, with a meſſage of their reſolutions, *if preſently hee ſealed not a Charter thereof vnto them, they would compell him thereto by forcible entrance on all his poſſeſſions.* Whereat his great heart * *highly diſdaining*, hee demanded, *why they alſo demanded not his Kingdome? thoſe their exactions being grounded on no colour of reaſon*, and ſwearing neuer *to enſlaue himſelfe to them by ſuch a conceſſion*, hee diſmiſſed his *Archbiſhop* to return them his peremptory anſwere.

(56) Neither were the *Barons* leſſe reſolute in performance of their *vow* and *meſſage*, appointing for *Head* vnto that huge and heady rout, *Robert Fitzwalter*, whom they enſtyled [i] *The Marſhall of Gods Army and holy Church*: who firſt aſſayling *Northampton* Caſtle, after fifteene dayes fruitleſſe fury, departed to *Bedford*, whoſe * Caſtelan being a Confederate gaue them eaſie entrance; but the *Londoners* (diſpleaſed with the King for burthening them with taxes) not onely admitted them, but [l] *inuited* them by requeſt, to enter their *City* by night: where hauing that Key (as it were) *of the land* in their diſpoſe, they by their [m] *threatfull letters* not onely drew moſt of the Nobles from the King, but alſo had almoſt lockt him out of his Regall Seat. To preuent which outrage, by gentle meſſages intreating of the Barons a *place* and *day* of meeting, who thereto deſigned * *Runingmead*, ([n] ſince called *Counſel-mead, for ſuch conſultations of State*,) they thither came [o] *with armed multitudes out of all the Kingdome beyond all number*, that the King, [p] *ſeeing his power far inferiour vnto theirs*, was conſtrained to * grant them their vttermoſt deſires, not onely for *Liberties*, (ſpecified in * *Magna Charta, and Charta foreſtæ*,) but alſo for a kind of ſway in the *Gouernment*, by *twenty fiue ſelected Peeres*, to whoſe commaunds all the other Barons alſo were *bound by oath* to bee obſequious. Thus one of the greateſt *Soueraignes* of *Chriſtendome*, was now becom the [q] *twenty ſixth petty king in his owne Dominions*; as appeared that very night, when all the reſt following the pompous ſtreame of the new *vpſtart-Kings*, left their *Soueraigne* * onelie with ſeuen Gentlemen to attend him. What maruaile, if high diſdain herof pierced his ſwelling heart,

The Barons new diſloyalties.

* *Orationis grauis. Wendouer, MS.*

a *Mat. Paris, hiſt. ma.*

An. 1215. b *Wend. MS.*

c *Mat. Paris.*

d *Idem.*

e *Litera Innocentij apud Wend. & Paris.*

f *Paris. Wend. MS.*

* *Coniurati principalem conſtitutionem habuerunt Stephanum, ibid.*

g *Idem.*

h *Rog. de Wend. MS.*

* *Cum maxima indignatione, ibidem.*

The Barons in open rebellion.

i *Rog. Wend. MS.*

* *Will. de Belle-Campo.*

k *Mat. Weſt.*

l *Miſſis nuncijs. Paris.*

m *Wendouer, MS.*

* Berwixt *Windſor & Stanes.*

n *Glouer Catalogue of honor. p. 954. but Mat. Weſt. ſaith quod interpretatur Pratum conſilij.*

o *Rog. de Wend. MS.*

p *Paris. hiſt. ma.*

* *15. Kal. Iunij. Paris.*

* *See theſe Charters at large in Wend. & Paris.*

q *Paris.*

* *vix 7. Equitibus. Wendou. MS.*

and filled his mind with reuoluing thoughts, how to vnwind himselfe out of those seruile fetters? And so he did: [r] sending his letters ouernight vnto certaine his trustiest *Castellans*, strongly to fortifie and victuall their *Castles*; and the [s] *next morning before breake of day*, very secretly retyring into the *Isle of Wight*; (whence seeking redresse both by the [t] *spirituall and temporall sword*) hee sent *Messengers*, both to the *Pope*, and other his *forraine friends*, to craue the *Censures* of the one, and succours of the other, against such outragious *Rebels*. In both which, his *Agents* were so sedulous, and his *Friends* so compassionate, that at [u] *Rome by definitiue sentence, the Barons Charters were speedily cancelled*, the *King* and *Barons* [x] *accursed, if eyther of them obserued the composition*, (which *Excommunication* was soone after vpon their continued rebellion put in execution, for that [y] *the Pope, Fortunes wheele being turned, did mortally persecute them whome himselfe had first whetted and incensed against the King*,) [z] and from *Flaunders*, *Gascoyne*, *Brabant* and other parts, such competent aids came in, as encouraged the *King* (after [a] *three monethes* secrecy and retyring,) to shew himselfe in the face of his enemies. His suddaine comming, with so vnexpected attendance, to the siege of *Rochester Castle*, so amated both the * *Captaine* thereof, and all the *Barons* ([b] *who had sworne to assist him against any siege*,) that the one not daring to approch to his rescue, the other was enforced to yeeld vp his charge; and all his company had receiued, * what they deserued, had not *Sauary de Malleon* entreated for their liues. The *Gales* of King *Iohns* fortunes seemed from this time, to blow frō some happier Angle; & [c] diuiding his great hoast into two parts, with the one, conducted by himself *Northward*, he* *euery where from the Southern to the Scotish Sea*, victoriously subdued his *Rebels*, as likewise did the Earle of *Salisbury* with the other forrainers *Southward*. In which most deplored state of this land, all things were in confusion, & all men set on mischiefe, [d] *Fathers against their Sons, Brother against Brother, Kinsmen and Allies, against their neerest friends*, by *assailing, surprising, pursuing, burning, spoiling, disherizing, tormenting, murthering*; all the Kingdome, by the combustion of so vniuersall a Rebellion, becomming like a generall *shambles*, or place of Infernall torture. And yet, as witnesseth one who then liued, [e] *the Fathers and aged men* (likely to bee the wiser, and better affected,) *stood on the Kings part, but the yonger on the contrary; though some againe forsooke the King for loue of their kindred, and other like respects*.

(57) Which certaine miseries, and vncertain sydings, in *ciuill warres*, are not so strange, as is the sauage madnesse of disloyall dispositions, who to attaine a shadow of *seeming Liberties*, immerge themselues and their abetters into bottomlesse seruitudes and distresses. Yet more strange it is, that those *Barons*, & their adhering impugners of the king, whose pretext formerly was, that they durst not obey the King because of the *Papall Curse*, being now themselues by vertue of the same [f] *commanded to obey and assist him*, could without any scruple *contemn both it, and him*, [g] pretending, it concerned them not, *because particularly they were not named*. Yea the Archbishop himselfe, who with his rufflings had made the *World* beleeue, that the *Popes censure*, (yea and his [h] owne too,) were of vertue to depriue the king of all Soueraigne commaund ouer his Subiects, now being [i] *by name*, and vnder *that fearfull penaltie*, required *by the Pope to denounce the same, against those perturbers of the Kings peace*; hee esteeming thereof, but as a *visard* to affright children, told the Popes messengers, [k] *he would not doe it for any cause whatsoeuer, till himselfe had in person conferred with the Pope*; for which enormious contempt, the Bishop of *Winton* and *Pandulph*, [l] *solemnly denouncing the curse themselues against the Barons, did likewise suspend him from all Episcopall authority*. *Stephen* thus comming to *Rome* (for *Innocentius* had then called a *Generall*

[r] *Paris. hist. ma.*

[s] *Rog. de Wend. MS.*

[t] *Paris hist. ma.*

[u] *Paris. hist. min. MS.*

[x] *Bulla Innocent. dat. 9 Cal Sept. apud Mat. Paris.*

[y] *Paris hist. min. MS.*

[z] *Mat. West. Triuet. MS. Wendouer. MS.*

[a] *Mat. Paris.*

* *Wilde Albineto.*

[b] *Rog. de VVend.*

* *Suspendio, &c. Mat. Paris. MS.*

[c] *Mat. VVestm.*

* *A mare Australi vsque ad mare Scoticum. Paris.*

[d] *Lib. S. Alban. in vita Wil. Abbat.*

[e] *Rog. Houed. MS. cited by Fox. in Martyr.*

The Popes Censures contemned.

By the Barons.

[f] *VVendouer MS.*

[g] *Paris. hist. maior.* By the Archbishoppe.

[h] *Vide supra.*

[i] *Bulla Innocentij, apud Paris.*

[k] *Paris hist. ma.*

[l] *Idem.*

[m] *Crowned*, and therin [n] *excommunicated all eyther French or English who impugned King Iohn*) was in that great assembly ([o] of 61. Archbishops, 412. Bishoppes, 800. Abbots and Priors,) accused and conuict of [p] *treason against the King, and contempt against the Pope and Churches censures*; for which the Pope [q] *fully resoluing to depose him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earnest intercession for him* (*as being their Brother-Cardinall*) was intreated to deale somewhat milder; but yet there by * *publike sentence confirmed his suspension*, commanding by his [r] letters *all his Suffragane Bishops to withdraw their obedience from him*. And for a farther reuenge, whereas *Simon Langton* (his brother,) by his procurement had beene elected to the See of *Yorke*, (a strange example to [s] *haue a whole Kingdome ruled by two Brethren* of so turbulent humors) the Pope not onely did [t] cassate *his Election*, and made him *incapable* of any *Episcopall Dignitie*, but also placed in that *See*, *Walter Grey*, [u] (a trustie friend to the King, and a professed enemy to the *Langtons*) whose [x] *Pall* cost him no lesse then a thousand pound. By the like couetous grating at the breaking vp of the *Councell*, the Pope [y] *exterted of euery Prelate there, an infinite masse of Money* [z] *before he would giue them leaue to depart home*; amongst whom *William* Abbot of Saint *Albans* was one, [a] who "*comming to take his leaue of the Pope without any pre-*
"*sent*; *what?* (saith he) *Art thou the Abbot of Saint*
"*Albons to which place so often fauours haue been done*
"*by our See*; *and doth it become thee, to go hence with-*
"*out respect to me who am Pope?* *whereupon he offering*
"*fifty Markes, was checkt and enforced before hee went*
"*out of the Popes Chamber*, (*which hee repented hee*
"*euer entred*) *to pay an hundred Markes*: *which yet*
"*hee brooked the better, because the Pope so handled all*
"*all other Prelates*; *the fashion being, for euery man*
"*to lay downe his money ready told before the Popes*
"*feet*, and so to take a [b] *deare bought Benediction and*
"*be gone*: *but if any wanted present cash, the Popes*
"*Merchants, that is his Vsurers, were at hand, but on ve-*
"*ry hard conditions to supply them.*

(58) But how euer the *Clergy* fared, King *Iohn* had cause of contentment in the Popes proceedings in that *Councell*; especially for that now his disloyall Barons were [c] *all excommuned by Name, & all their lands together with the City of London, Interdicted*: which, though it gaue a deadly blow to the Barons faction, & made their case plainly desperate, yet they standing on their guard still in *London*, * *held those censures in so high contempt, that they decreed, neither themselues or Citizens should obserue them, nor*
"*the Prelates denounce them*, alleadging, [d] that *they*
"*were on false suggestions procured*; *but chiefly, for that*
"*it appertained not to the Pope to deale in secular af-*
"*faires, sith Peter receiued of our Sauiour onely a Power*
"*of matters Ecclesiasticke*; *And what should the Roman*
"*insatiable auarice extend it selfe hither to vs? What had*
"*Prelates to intermeddle with Warres? Such are Con-*
"*stantines Successors not Peters, whom as they repre-*
"*sent not in good Actions, so neither doe they in au-*
"*thoritie. Fie on such * rascall ribaulds, who knowing*
"*little of Armes or ingenious courses, being but base*
"*Vsurers and Simoniackes, will now by their Excommu-*
"*nications dominere ouer the whole world: Oh how vn-*
"*like are they to Peter, who now vsurpe Peters place?* The Barons (the causers themselues, of what they so detested) had leasure thus to reason, for now they had neere lost all; and therefore [e] *cursing both the Pope* (who cursed them, and endeuoured [f] *to draw all into the bottomlesse gulfe of the Romane auarice*,) and the King, [g] *betwixt whom like two milstones, they were now grounded to peeces*; *being hopelesse* (by reason of their disloyalties) *to find any fauour of their Prince, if they should submit themselues vnto him*, [h] *in these straites*, they resolue on a proiect, (sutable indeed to their former designes, but otherwise so execrable, as well may iustifie King *Iohns* exorbitances,) for betraying the Crowne of *England* vnto *Lewis* the *Dolphin* of *France*. In which vngodly message sending the

[m] *Mar-*

[a] *Marshall of Gods Armie*, and some others, with their letters of allegiance, sirmed with [b] all the *Barons Seales*, to implore King [b] *Philips* fauour for sending his Sonne; and his Sonnes, for the acceptance of the Crowne; they receiue ([1] vpon deliuery of fifty *English* hostages) a [*] present supply of *French* Gallants, with speedy expectance of their new *French-English King*.

(59) *Lewis* not so void of *Ambition*, as to loose a *Crowne* for want of fetching, was not long behind them; though the Pope (vpon notice of the design) had purposely sent his Legate Cardinall *Gualo*, *with* [m] *Apostolicall commands to Philip, to stay his Sonne from entring on Saint Peters patrimony*; [n] who declared the *Great curse in the Councell* on all men combining with those persons excommunicate, against king *Iohn*. Vpon which speech, *Philip* replyed, that *England was no* [o] *patrimony of Saint Peter, no King hauing power of himselfe to alienate his Kingdome, King Iohn especiallie, who* [p] *being neuer lawfull King, had no power to dispose thereof*, and that it was *an Errour, and a pernicious example in the Pope, and an* [q] *itching lust after a new kind of domination*: his Peeres sware, [r] *by Christs death they would spend their liues rather then suffer that a King should of himselfe, or with a few flatterers, passe ouer his Crowne, and enthrall his Nobles, especially to the Pope, who should follow Saint Peters steppes to winne soules, and not to meddle with warres and murther of mens bodies*: and *Lewis* himselfe [s] hee beseecht his father, not to hinder him from that, which hee had not giuen him, and for which hee was now resolued to spend his bloud, and [t] *would choose rather to bee excommunicated by the Pope, then to falsifie his promise to the English Barons*. With which [*] slender respect & scorne to his Holinesse, the Legate, [u] seeing such sterne lookes, and *fearing also they would presentlie haue done him some mischiefe, got thence in hast*; and *Lewis* as speedily set forth for *England*, with his Fleet of sixe hundred Shippes, and fourescore [x] boates, (*Eustachius* an [y] *Apostata te Monke* thereof being chiefe,) wherewith [*] arriuing first in the Isle of [x] *Thanet*, and afterward at [a] *Sandwich*, thither came the *Barons* and ioyned with him. King *Iohn* (whose great Nauy, [x] wherewith hee meant to encounter him, was driuen downe Southward by a sodaine tempest,) lying then at *Douer*, [y] with an Armie *consisting most of stipendary Forrainers, better affected* (*as afterwards appeared, to Lewis a forraine Prince, then vnto him*, hee deemed it a point as of necessity, so of greater wisedome, to diuert towards *Winchester*, and [z] *for a time to forbeare battle, rather then commit his whole fortunes to the hazard of their suddaine defection. Lewis* hereby had free scope to take in all those parts (*Douer* Castle onely excepted, which King *Iohn* committed to the most valiant *Hubert de Burgo*,) till he came to *London*, where [*] entring *with solemne Procession*, and [*] *incredible applause* of all, hee tooke in *Paules Church* (*whither hee went to pray*) oaths of the Citizens, and after at *Westminster*, of the *Barons*, himselfe [a] swearing *to restore all men their right, and to recouer to the Crowne, whatsoeuer had beene lost by King Iohn*. There hee [b] chose for his Lord *Chancellour*, *Simon Langton* (so lately disgraced by the Pope,) by [c] *whose preaching, the Citizens of London and Barons, though being all excommunicated, did celebrate diuine seruice, and drew on Lewis to doe the like*; all which, (*Lewis* and his *Chancellour* especially, and *by name*,) *Gualo* the *Legate* (being now with King *Iohn*) did solemnely [d] accurse, and caused to bee so denounced throughout the whole land; making great aduantage thereof, by* [e] *conuerting the profits of all their Church liuings to his owne, and his Chaplens vses*. But both *French* and *English* had now experimentally learned, that the Popes *Curse* was no such deadly and dreadfull *Hagge*, as in former times they deemed it; nor could it so fascinate the *Lewysians*, and their successes, but that all these parts were soon humbled before him; though some where not without resistance, as at *Odiam* Castle, [f] wherin 13. *English* men alone, not onely braued *Lewis* and his whole *Army* fifteene dayes, but also sallying foorth vpon them, *euery one made his enemy*, and so carried them to the Castle, and after with great admiration of the *French*, and honourable conditions surrendred the Castle. *Douer*, with a few other Castles onely now stood out; where [g] whiles *Lewis* imploies incredible *cost* and *toyle* in a furious but bootlesse siege, ([h] whither *Alexander* King of *Scots* in amity repayred to him, but soone returned,) & his Confederates doe the like at *Windsor* Castle; King *Iohn* and his *mighty hoast*, breaking forth with a suddain violence like a furious tempest, ouerrunneth the Country all about, [i] to the ruining of the Barons Castles, and possessions euery where. Thus setting forth from *Linne* in *Norfolke* (where for their faithfull seruices hee [k] bestowed large *Franchises* and his *own Sword*, and a *Guilt Bole*, for restification of his affection,) with a full [l] *resolution to addresse his mightie Army for to giue Lewis battle*, as hee was passing the *Washes* with his *Army* and rich *carriages* toward *Lincolnshire*, in those sands (by reason of the often-changeable channell, euer dangerous,) all his [m] *Carriages, treasure, and prouision*, (himselfe and his Army hardly escaping) were irrecouerably lost.

(70) Many likewise were the greeuances into which the *Barons*, the meane while were plunged; to see their *Native Country* by their owne wilfulnesse thus horribly massacred, their owne *Castles* and possessions ruined and rifled by the King; and which bred in them most anxietie, [n] their faithfull *seruices* (in this their faithlesse adherence) not so respected by *Lewis*, as he, and their owne fore-running hopes had promised them, whiles hee conferred onely on his *French* all such *Territories* and *Castles*, as the hand of Victory had lent vnto him. But their distresses were yet farre greater, then those their iealousies could comprehend, [o] till a *Noble Frenchman* (*Vicount de Melun*) a man of great esteeme with *Lewis*, hauing his soule in his *sicknes* deadly wounded with the sins of his *health*, desired priuate conference on his death-bed in *London*, with those *English Barons*, to whome *Lewis* had committed the custody of that City. To them hee imparted what *lamentable desolations and vnsuspected ruines* hung ouer their heads, for that *Lewis with sixteene other his chiefe Earles and Barons*, *whereof himselfe was one*, (auerring it *on the Saluation of his now departing soule*,) *had taken an Oath, if euer Englands Crowne were setled on his head, to condemne vnto perpetuall exile all such as now adhered to him against K. Iohn, as Traitors to their Soueraigne, and all their kindred in the land vtterly to extirpate*. So counselling them *timely to preuent their miseries*, and to locke vp his words *vnder the Seale of Secresie*, presently his penitent Soule being thus in peace with men, went to rest with God. What strange amazements so rufull a relation might worke in the hearers, wee may imagine, but onely men in like perplexed estate can fully and sensibly conceiue. The operatiue power whereof was such, that though many of the Barons then doubted, [p] *whether, if they returned to their Soueraignes due allegiance, he* (*whose hatred against them with so many indignities they had prouoked*) *would accept them vpon their repentance*, [q] yet presently sortie of them addressed their letters of submissiue suite vnto the King, in hope that true [r] *kingly bloud is euer ready to yeeld mercy, to such as are ready to yeeld themselues prostrate*.

(71) But these Sollicitors for mercy came too late, either to receiue, or yeeld any contentment, by their submission to the King, himselfe (now at *Newarke*) lying at the *mercy* of a higher Soueraigne, and by the stroke of death neere to some rest, which in his life hee had seldome attained: vexations being commonly the attendants of *Crownes*, but *quiet* and *content* the Priuiledges of more priuate States. On deathes approch, with penitent [t] *confession of his sinnes and great deuotion he receiued the blessed Eucharist*, hauing the Abbot of [*] *Croxton* for his phy-

[1] *Walsingham, Windsor, Bristol, &c.*

[a] *M.S. Wes. Paris, hist. ma.*

[b] *Paris, hist. min. MS.*

[l] *Reg. de Wend. MS.*

[k] *Cambden Brit. in Norfol.*

[l] *Nich. Trin. MS. Walsing. Tpod.*

[m] *Mat. Paris.*

[n] *Wendouer, MS.*

[o] *Mat. Paris, hist. ma.*

Vicount *Melun* bewraieth the *Frenchmens* treacherous intents.

The Barons determine to returne to the King.

[p] *Reg. Wend. MS.*

[q] *Paris, hist. ma.*

[r] *Paris, hist. min. MS.*

The king sicknath and dyeth.

[t] *Paris min. MS.*

[*] To which Ab-

sitian

sitian both bodily & ghostly: and not onely *forgaue gladly all his mortall persecuters* (holding that a mater, *though very difficult* to flesh and bloud, yet *salutary to the Soule*) but also *sent commaund to Henry* his sonne to doe the same: to whom hee caused all ptesent, *to* [t] *sweare fealty*, as *to* the *Heyre of his Crowne*, and sent *his* letters *to all his Officers abroad*, exhorting them to assist him. And [u] *thus hee commended his Soule to God, and his Body to bee buried in Worcester Church*, where the Bishop solemnly interred it, by the Kings appointment, neere the Body of *Wolstan*, a saincted Bishoppe, renowned for constant fidelity to his Prince against the rebellious Nobles of * his time: with which kind of men, King *Iohns* gouernment had beene miserably encombred.

(62) This, being the *Catastrophe* of his *Tragicall* Raigne, might also haue beene the close of his *Story*, had not the suddenty of his *death*, exacted some search into the cause of his sickneſse. Such *Authors* as touch the matter but in generall, content themselues with saying, he dyed of a [a] *griefe*, or a [b] *feauer*, or a [c] *flux*, or a [d] *surfet*; but those who haue entred into the particulars, insist on such a *Surfet*, as whereof both *griefe*, *feauer*, and *flux* were most probable effects and *Symptomes*. For comming (say [e] they) from the *Washes* to *Swinshed Abbey*, (being of the *Cisteaux Order*, which of old he had much incensed) hee added new matter of offence, as he sate at meat, when, in speech [f] *of his enemies too large prouision*, hee sware, if hee liued but halfe a yeere longer, he would make one halfe-penny loafe as deare as * twelue: which to preuent, a Monke of that holy habit, whither in loue to *Lewis*, or hate to the *King*, or pitty on the *Land*, presenting him with an enuenomed Cup, (whereof the King commanded him to bee his *Taster*) became the Diabolical Instrument of his own and his *Soueraignes* destruction. This relation, deliuered by *Monkes*, and men of *Monkish* humour, as a thing so vndenyable, that they auow (at what time they wrote this) [g] *fiue Monkes in that Abbey did sing for this their Brothers soule specially, and so should whiles the Abbey stood*, which if it had beene forged euery Child might easily haue refuted; and the rehearsall of all circumstances thereof, (of the *Kings* speeches, of the *Monkes* conference with his *Abbot*, of his preparing the drinke with a *Toade* in the garden, of his dying in the *Firmary*) might deserue credite with the greatest Patrones of *Monkery*; yet [h] one of them (as if by acquiting *Simon* of *Swinshed*, all * other of such Orders were cleared from assasinating of *Princes*) striueth eagerly, to asperse some late * Relaters hereof, with the blots both of *malice* & *forgery*. Wherein is the *malice*? in adding to the narration, *Pictures also of the fact, so to moue hatred to Monkes and their Religion*; whereas of truth, either *Monkes*, or men of that Religion, were the very first, who not onely so depictured, but also liuely and richly depainted it in their [i] *goodliest Manuscripts*. Wherein then the Forgery? in adding to *Caxton*, that [k] *his Abbot gaue him absolution for the same before hand, there being no such matter at all, nor any mention thereof in the story*? No? let the very story speake; [l] *The Monke went to the Abbot, and was striuen of him, and told the Abbot all the King had said; and prayd his Abbot to assoile him, for hee would giue the King such a drinke that all England should be glad thereof and ioyfull: tho yode the Monke into the Garden*, &c. Yea farther, [n] one Monk alleadgeth, an inducement for the *Abbots* assent therto, for that the King had sent for the *Abbots* sister (a faire *Prioresse*) with purpose to haue deflowred her. Yea, but the *Story* it self is charged with [o] *noueltie, the first author thereof being but An.* 1483. *and all other former Writers making no mention of it*. This if true, were somewhat, and doubtlesse, it is as true as the former: for how could hee bee the *first Author*, when not onelie [p] *Ranulph* the Monke of *Chester*, [q] *Iohn of Tynmouth*, and [r] *Thomas Otterbourne* the *Franciscan Fryer*, recorded it as * *a fame generally receiued*; but sundry other ancient stories, as *Iohn of Lichfield*, the *Monke of Leicester*, & *Scala Mundi* (to omit other [s] nameleſse Authors before Ann. 1483,) so confidently auouch his poisoning at *Swinshead*, that vnpartiall after-Writers, though friends to *Monkery*, made no scruple to beleeue it. And why should they not, sith an * *Author*, more ancient and vnexceptionable then all the rest, (euen king *Iohns* Sonne and Successor in his Kingdome) auerred it, [u] when, the *Prior of Clerken-well* saucily telling him (being then in that house) *that as soone as hee ceast to doe Iustice towards his Prelates, hee should cease to be a King*; the King enraged with his trayterous threat, replyed; What? *meane you to turne mee out of my Kingdome, and afterward to murder me, as my father was dealt with*?

(63) But not to trouble our selues with refuting a *Gooses* gagling against *Foxes* true relation; easie it is to obserue the hatred of *Monks* against that King, both in thus procuring his death then, and his dishonour (a second death) in their slanderous inuentions euer since. For, whereas he [x] writ by some of his *Bishops* to certaine forraine Princes, for aides against his *faithlesse Rebels*; the *Monkes* charge him, that hee *counterfeited his Bishoppes Seales, and writ abroad, that all Englishmen were become Infidels and Apostates from Christs faith, and therefore such should come to subdue them and take their possessions*: [y] when he said, a *Stag* which hee kild, had neuer the lesse fatte, though he neuer heard a *Masse*; they charged him *hee doubted of the Resurrection of the dead*; [z] and in saying, *hee neuer sped well after his yeelding to the Pope*, that hee said hee was vnfortunate *since hee was reconciled vnto God*: that, [a] when hee gaue leaue to a seruant of his owne, *to enter any religious Order*, he gaue him leaue to bee of what Religion and Faith hee list. That moreouer, [b] hee offered his Kingdome to a *Sarazen*, and would embrace the Turkish faith, though this tale were told by one *Robert of London* (a [c] wicked Masse-Priest, or rather a *Monster*, [d] hauing *a face like a Iew, with one arme long, and another short, his fingers deformedly growing together two and two*,) with such senseles improbabilities, as, [e] *that hee found that Moorish King reading of Saint Paules Epistles*, and that hee refused the Kingdom of *England* being offered him, with the like. That lastly [f] it was reuealed to a Monke, King *Iohn* was in Hell; though a Poet for so saying, is by *M.P.* (a who *made no doubt of King Iohns saluation*) censured for a * *Reprobate*. These all are demonstrations of so incredible hatred, as should rather alleuiate their *Authors* credite, then the Kings; whose Raigne had it not fallen in the time of so turbulent a *Pope*, so ambitious Neighbour-*Princes*, so disloyall Subiects, nor his Story into the handes of exasperated Writers, hee had appeared a King of as great renowne, as misfortunes. His works of deuotion inferiour to none; as his Foundations declare at [h] *Beauley*, [i] *Farrington*, [k] *Malmsbury*, and [l] *Dublin*, and that other for *Nunnes*, at *Godstow* by *Oxford*, [m] for which, some haue interpreted that Prophesie of *Merlin* as meant of him; *Sith Virgin giftes to Maids he gaue, 'Mong st blessed Saints God will him saue*. His Acts and Orders for the *Weale-publike* were beyond most: hee being eyther the *first*, or the *chiefest*, who appointed those noble *Formes* of Ciuill gouernment in [o] *London*, and [p] most *Cities*, and Incorporate *Townes* of *England*, endowing them also with their greatest *Franchises*; The [q] *first* who caused Sterling money to bee here coyned; The [r] *first*, who ordayned the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of *Earles*; The *first*, who [s] setled the *Rates* and *Measures* for *Wine*, *Bread*, *Cloth*, and such like Necessaries of Commerce; The [t] *first*, who planted *English Lawes* and *Officers* in *Ireland*, and both annexed that *Kingdome*, and fastned *wales* to the Crowne of *England*, therby making amends for his losses in *France*. Whose whole course of life and actions, wee cannot shut vp with any truer *Euloge*, then that which [u] an ancient *Author* hath conferred on him: *Princeps quidem*

[b] ey he gaue a Legacy, *Decem Libras ad terra Partis*.

[t] *Idem*.

[u] *Ibidem*.

He died on S. *Lukes* night, 14. *Cal. Nou.* *Godwins* Catalog of BB.

* In the Raigne of *William Rufus*.

The manner and cause of King *Iohns* sickneſse.

[a] *Joh. de Wallingf.* [b] *Polydor.* [c] *Tho. Otterborne* [d] *Mat. West.* [e] Chronicle of S. *Albans*, MS. Sundry English Chronicles, MS. *Caxtons* Chron.

[f] *English* Chron. MS.

* As deare as 12. ob. *Lecestrensis*. as 12. d. *Otterborn* as 20. d. *Polychrō*. as 20. s. *Caxton*.

[g] Chron. of S. *Albans*, MS. *Caxton & alij*.

[h] *Parsons* in his Warn-word, *Enc. 2. cap. 15*

* Yet *Iacobus Clemens* a Monke did kill *Henry* 3. of *France*.

* M. *Fox* his Martyrolog; Sir *Francis Hastings* his Ward-word *Parsons* censure of *Foxes* pictures in his Mart.

[i] Where the king is limmed with his *Crowne* and rich roabes, sitting at a banquet and foure Monks in their habites comming to him, whereof one presents him with the poysoned cuppe. *Vide* MS. of S. *Albans*. in *Bibliotheca Archiep. Cant.*

[k] *Parsons ibidem*.

[l] *Caxtons Chron.*

[n] *Lecestrensis*.

[o] By *Parsons loco Citat.*

[p] Borne in the raigne of *Henr.* 3.

[q] *Clarust. A.* 1336

[r] He ended his story An. 1420.

* *Fama vulgata*.

[s] *Paris A.*

[g] *Ideman Iohan.*

* *Reprinted at Paris.* in K. *Iames* defens.

[t] *Vide Ad. Par. Abbr.*

[u] *Ibid.*

[x] *Reg. de M.*

[y] *Mat. Par.*

[z] *P. Forr.*

[a] *In Iesu London.*

[b] *Mat. Par.*

[c] *Lib. S. MS. in Abbr.*

[d] *M. Par.*

[e] *Ibid.*

His Acts [illegible] uotion.

[h] *Nic. Trin.*

[i] *Camd.*

Berkshire.

[k] *Camd.*

Wiltshire

[l] *Camd.*

Ireland.

[m] *Trivet.*

Wallingf.

His cruell

[o] *Hemin. Polydor. Stow.*

[p] *Ex Iesu Chron. Camd.*

[q] *Camd.*

Stow.

[r] *Camd.*

Ordinatio

[s] *Hamel. Vit. Ad. in Rich.*

[t] *Ware Paris.*

[u] *Reg. Brit. Cit. ex Trin. Glou. &*

dem Magnus erat, sed minus felix; atque vt Marius, vtramque fortunam expertus; Doubtlesse, he was a Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Marius, had tried both sides of Fortunes wheele.

His Wiues.

(64) *Alice*, the first wife of King *Iohn*, was the eldest of the two daughters, and heires apparant at that time of *Humbert* the second, Earle of *Maurien*; now called *Sauoy*: her *Mother* was *Clemence* daughter of *Berthold* the fourth, Duke of *Leringen*, who had been the diuorced wife of *Henry the Lyon*, Duke of *Saxonie*. This marriage was in their childhoode cõcluded by their *Parents* at *Mountferrant* in *Auerne*, in February, Anno, 1173; he should haue had with her, her Fathers *Earledome*, but all altered by her vntimely death; and after ensued the death of her *Mother*, the new marriage of her *Father*, and issue male of the same, whereof the *Dukes of Saxonie* are descended.

(65) *Isabel*, his second wife (by * some called *Hawisia* or *Auis*) though the * youngest of the three Sisters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the sole *Heire* of *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, sonne of Earle *Robert*, the *Naturall* sonne of *King Henry the first*; her *Mother* was *Hawis* the daughter of *Robert Bossu Earle of Leiceſter*. Shee was married vnto him when hee was *Earle of Mortaine*, in the first yeere of his brother *Richards* raigne: and after ten yeeres hauing no issue by him, was (the first yeere of his Raigne) diuorced from him, vnder pretence of *Consanguinity*, and married to *Geffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Essex*, and lastly, to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, but died without any Issue by them.

(66) *Isabel* also his last wife, was daughter and heire of *Aymer Earle of Angoleſme*; her *Mother* was *Alice* daughter of *Peter*, Lord of *Courteney*, fifth son of *Lewis the Grosse*, King of *France*. Shee was married vnto him in the first yeere of his Raigne, & crowned by *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, 8. Id. *Octob. Anno* 1200. and surviuing him, was married to *Hugh Brun* Earle of *March*, and Lord of *Lusignian* and *Valence* in *Poytou*, to whom first she should haue beene married, but yet (as seemeth) continued her affection to him till now. By him shee had diuers Children, (greatly aduanced by the King, *Henry* 3. their halfe brother, and as greatly maligned by his Subiects) *Hugh* Earle of *March* and *Angoleſme*, *Guy* of *Lusignian*, slain in the battell at *Lewise*, *William* of *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Aymer* of *Valence* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, *Geffrey* of *Lusignian* L. of *Hastings*.

His Issue.

(67) *Henry*, the eldest Sonne of King *Iohn*, and *Isabell* his last wife, was borne at *Winchester*, 1. *October*, 10. of his Fathers Raigne, Anno, 1208. K. *Iohn* dying at *Newarke*, (*whither hee was brought in a Horselitter from *Swynshead*,) the Barons malice was ended, their offence amended, *Lewis* of *France* reiected, and the yong Prince seated on his Fathers throne.

(68) *Richard*, his second son by the same Queene, was borne the next yeere after *Henry*; by whom afterward hee was made Knight, created Earle of *Cornwall*, and appointed Earle of *Poytou*. After the death of *William* Earle of *Holland*, Emperour of the West, hee was by the *Electours* chosen to succeed him in the *Empire*, and crowned King of *Romanes*, & of *Almayn* at the City of *Acon* in *Germany*, by *Conrade* Archbishoppe of *Coleyne*, *Maij* 27. being the Ascention day, Anno 1257. deceasing at the Castle of *Berkhamsted*, April 20. Ann. 1271. the 13. yeere of his *Empire*, his body was buried in his Monastery of *Hayles* in *Glouceſterſhire*, but * his *Heart* at *Oxford* in *Reuly Abbey* (founded by him) vnder a *Pyramis of admirable worke*. Hee had three wiues, the first was *Isabel* daughter of *william Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, widdow of *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*; by whom hee had issue, *Henry* slaine at *Viterbo* in *Italy*, and *Iohn*, both dying without Issue. His second wife was *Strachez*, (daughter of *Raimond* Earle of *Prouince*, & sister to Queene *Eleanor* his brothers wife) who was crowned with him at *Acon*, and had issue by him *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, and others. His last wife was *Beatrice*, *Niece* to the Archbishoppe of *Coleyne*, who seemeth to haue surviued him, and to haue no Issue by him.

* Rosa Vvarinecanus.

(69) *Ioane*, the eldest Daughter and Child of K. *Iohn* and Queene *Isabel* his last wife; was the first wife of *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*, married vnto him in *Yorke*, *Iunij* 25. Anno 1221. who returning into *England* to visite her Brother, deceased at *London*, and was buried in the *Nunnery* at *Tarent* in *Dorsetshire*, 4. *Martij*, in the 21. yeare of her Brother king *Henries* raigne in *England*, and the 23. of king *Alexander* her husbands in *Scotland*, Anno 1236.

(70) *Eleanor* their second daughter, was first married to *William Marshall* the yonger, Earle of *Pembroke*: and after his decease without issue, and seuen yeeres Widow-hood remarried to *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, (sonne of *Simon* Earle *Montfort* in *France*, by *Amice* Daughter of *Robert Blanchman* Earle of *Leiceſter*) who maintaining the Barons warres against King *Henry* her brother, was slaine at the battaile of *Euesham*, in the 19. yeere of her brothers raigne, 1265; after whose death, shee and her Children were forced to forsake *England*; she died in the *Nunnery* at *Montarges* in *France*. *Henry* her eldest sonne, was slaine with his father at *Euesham*: *Simon*, the second, was Earle of *Bigorre*, and ancestor to a Family of *Mountfords* in those parts of *France*. *Almaricke*, her third sonne, was first a Priest, and Treasurer of the Cathedrall Church in *Yorke*, and after a Knight, and a valiant seruitour in sundrie warres beyond the Seas. *Guy* the fourth Sonne was Earle of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*, and of the Earles of *Campobachi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* the fift sonne, remained priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *wellesborne*, was ancestor of the family of *Wellesbornes* in *England*. She had also a daughter named *Eleanor*, borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, and married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewellen ap Griffith*.

(71) *Isabel*, their yongest daughter, was born, An. 1214; when shee was 21. yeeres of age, shee was married (being the 6. and last wife) to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, at the City of *Wormes* in *Germany*, 20. of Iuly, 1235. Shee had issue by him, *Henry* appointed to bee King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgraue of Thurin*: shee was Empresse 6. yeeres, and died in Childbed, *Decemb.* 1. of her husbands Empire 31. of her brothers raign 38. Anno, 1241.

(72) *Iane*, or *Ione* the daughter naturall of King *Iohn* (by *Agatha* Daughter of *Robert Ferrers*, Earle of *Darby*) marryed to *Lewis* Prince of *Wales*. Anno 1204. her Father gaue with her the Castle & Lordshippe of *Elinsmore* in the Marches of *Southwales*; she (like a most louing Child) gaue her Father secret intelligence of the Treasons intended against him by the *Welsh* and *English*.

(73) *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy*, a base son, who transported some Souldiers into *France*, when Archbishoppe *Hubert* forbad the King his father to goe thither.

(74) *Richard*, who married the daughter & heire of *Fulbert de Dover*, who built *Chilham* Castle in *Kent*, which Castle hee had with her, and had Issue by her, of which som families of good esteem are descended.

Monarch 46

HENRIE THE THIRD, LORD OF IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

A.D. 12

CHAPTER IX.

HENRIE, the eldest Son of King *Iohn*, was when his Father dyed about *ten yeeres of age: which state of Child-hood, being most vnfit to succeed in so troublous a state, (the furious waues whereof seemed far from being appeased) God Almighty, in fauour and pitty of his Innocency, strengthned with the seruice of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of *England* was gratiously preserued from *French* seruilitie; from whose Continent as it was naturally disparted with a Sea, so could it as badly haue endured to be ioyned therto by subiectiue gouernement. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor sleight, which did at first empeach this happy preseruation, though they did not hinder it long; for, * *hee disposing the matter, who ordaineth all things wisely, and moderates them sweetely, faire weather was restored after stormes, and quiet being established through the Kingdome, the peaceable seruants of God had space to breath in.*

* Ypod. Neust.

The succours of King *Henries* Childhood.

(2) To effect so great a benefite, *Wallo* the Popes Legate stood wholy for aduancement of *Henry*, and expulsion of the *French*; the authority of whose perswasions, ioyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates so farre, that (although their lands and goods were therefore spoyled) they would not doe any homage to *Lewis*; as likewise the loyall care of *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembrooke*, did gaine (in time) and settle the hearts of the secular Lords. Great was the wisdom, courage and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in so broken and ieopardous estate; for he, knowing that the maine hopes of his Country rested in the safety of their persons, in whom the right of Succession was

was, he first of all secured them within the Citie of *Glouceſter*, which was at *Henries* ſeruice: There were with the young King, his mother Queene *Iſabel*, his brother *Richard* (afterward King of *Romans*,) his ſiſters, the ſaid Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all ſortes; who vpon perfect notice of King *Iohns* death, repaired thither to their young Prince, with a purpoſe to conſult and concur in one, for the re-union of minds and bodies to the obedience of the true borne king. The Earle of *Pembrooke* therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the aſſembled States, is reported for the pleaſing of all ſides, to haue vſed words to this effect. *Albeit the father of this Prince whom here you ſee before you, for his euill demeanours hath worthily vndergone our perſecution, yet this young Child as he is in yeeres tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from thoſe his Fathers doings: Wherefore, ſith euery man is to be charged with the burthen of his owne tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the Child (as Scriptures teach vs,) beare the iniquitie of his Father: we ought of duty and conſcience, beare our ſelues milder towards this tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age. And forſomuch as he is the Kings * lawfull and eldeſt Sonne, and ought to be our Souereigne, and his Succeſſor, let vs with one ioint aſſiſtance appoint him our King and Gouernour; let vs remoue from vs this Lewis the French Kings ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people, which are a confuſion and ſhame to our Nation, and the yoakes of their ſeruitude let vs caſt off from our ſhoulders.*

(3) The entertaining of perſwaſions among the wiſe, is an effect of *Truth*, not of painted Phraſes; and theſe plaine wordes of the Earle, (the young Kings Brother in Law) were receiued with generall applauſe of all that were preſent, ſo that *Henry* was immediately proclaimed, and ſpeedily crowned (vpon the day of SS. *Simon* & *Iude*) in the preſence both of *Wallo* the Popes Legate, (who impoſed on his vnexperienced yeeres ſome vndue Oathes of ſeruice to the Romane See,) and of Queene *Iſabel*, with many of the Lords Spirituall and Secular, and ſtore of all other ſorts of People. The ſpeede of which roiall Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King *Iohns* death) was not greater then the neceſsity of the State required: for his Enemy (nor onely his, but the enemy of the *Engliſh* name, Prince *Lewis*) had (as yet) *London*, the chiefe ſeate of the Empire, at his deuotion, many potent Earles, Barons, and martiall malecontents, ſubiect to his command, and an Armie in the field with which he ſought to conſtraine that mirrour of conſtant loyalty, *Hubert de Burgh*, to render him the moſt important Caſtle in *England*, that of *Douer*, committed to his much-approued truſt: The young King on the other ſide was enuironed with many difficulties, want of money not the leaſt, the moſt part of his Fathers treaſures being drowned. To encounter all which miſchiefes, the ſaid Earle of *Pembrooke* was by common aſſent of *Prelates* and *Peeres* conſtituted Guardian of the young Kings perſon, and Vice-Gouernour of the Kingdome.

(4) Letters hereupon iſſuing in the new Kinges name, and for his affaires, to all ſuch as had charge in the common-weale, (with many promiſes of reward and fauour,) were accordingly in moſt places obeyed: for the euill will borne to King *Iohn*, ſeeming to die with him, and to bee buried in the ſame graue, the loyall bloud waxt warme about the coldeſt hearts, rekindling in them the honeſt deſire of ſhewing themſelues true *Engliſtmen*. It was alſo a great helpe to the Kings party, that Prince *Lewis* his followers and abettours, were, on euery Sonday and Holiday, pronounced to ſtand accurſt and excommunicated. *Lewis* perceiuing (contrary to his expectation) that King *Iohns* death was to him nothing auaileable, but rather detrimentall, dwels no longer about *Douer Caſtle*, but raiſing his ſiege, enters *London*, and prouides the beſt hee can for his tottering eſtate, which hee ſought to ſupport, by putting *French Garriſons* into Caſtles; The * Tower of *London* being rendred to him; hee beſiegeth *Hertford Caſtle*, which after the ſlaughter of many *French*, being deliuered vpon faire compoſition, the cuſtody of that Peice was demanded by *Richard Fitz-Walter*, as by ancient right belonging to him; but *Lewis* put him off with this anſwere, *that he ſhould haue patience, till hee had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would reſtore their rights to euery one.* The ſecret reaſon which moued *Lewis* to giue this anſwere, was: for that, conſulting with his *French* vpon *Fitz-Walters* demaund, they gaue it for their common opinion: *That the Engliſh were not worthy to haue ſuch places entruſted to their charge, who were betrayers of their naturall Lord.* A iuſt reaſon to moue *Lewis* ſo to anſwere, but a farre better to teach others to continue loyall. The Caſtle of *Berkhamſted* (whoſe Captaine was one *Waleran* a valiant Dutch Knight) hopeleſſe of ſuccours was likewiſe rendred, which as the reſt, hee ſtuffed with *French Garriſons*, wherein, howſoeuer hee prouided for his owne Nation during that preſent, hee tooke no wiſe courſe for the maine of his enterpriſe: for ſo apparant iealouſies (ſeconding & confirming the Vicount *Melunes* predictions) could not but vtterly vnſettle the affections of ſuch great ones as had called him in. His next March being to Saint *Albans*, where he would haue conſtrained the Abbot to doe him homage, he was encountred with this honeſt anſwere: *That he would doe him no homage, vnleſſe hee were abſolued from the homage which hee had made to the King of England:* yet to purchaſe reſpite of homage, or rather his, and the Towns peace till Candlemas, hee was forced to vſe the mediation both of his * purſe, and of his noble friends.

(5) But thoſe inteſtine cauſes for which the Barons had called *Lewis* in, falling now to the ground by the death of King *Iohn*, and the *French* by their naturall inſolence, ſuſpitions and vanity, miniſtring new reaſons of auerſion, were all of them ſtrong motiues to diſpoſe the mindes of the *Engliſh Lewiſians* to returne to due obedience; yet finding themſelues bound in honour, not ſo to leaue him ſodainely deſtitute, (who vpon affiance of their oathes and hoſtages had put himſelfe among them) that he ſhould thereby fall into *Henries* hands; they deſire therefore his abſence, but not his deſtruction. The more handſomely to compaſſe the reſt, an abſtinence from warre was (for a time) concluded betweene the King and *Lewis*; the rather for that *Lewis* had intelligence from *Rome*, that the curſe which *Wallo* had denounced againſt him, ſhould ſhortly bee confirmed by the Pope, vnleſſe hee left *England*. As this Truce gaue *Lewis* liberty to ſayle backe to *France* for new ſupplies from his Father, (who greatly deſired to conferre with him;) ſo his abſence gaue opportunity to his *Engliſh*, to conſult more freely of their beſt way; that from thence forth *Lewis* was neuer potent in their affections, but * preſently loſt many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true *Engliſh*.

(6) *Lewis* vpon his ſpeedie returne out of *France*, minding to make a ſpeedy diſpatch, ſets out of *London* his Army of more then twenty thouſand Souldiers, with a purpoſe not onely to free * *Mont-Sorrel* (then beſieged by his enemies) but to ſubdue the whole country adioining. Odious and grieuous to the Countries was this paſſage of the *French*, which reach as farre as *Lincolne*, there were among them ſo many ragged raſcals, the * verie ſcumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whoſe beggery was ſo baſe that they had not cloathes to hang on their backes, to ſupply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of *Pembrooke* Gouernour of the King * by the Counſell of *Wallo*, and the Biſhoppe of *wincheſter* reſoluing to ſet the cauſe vpon God, and the fortune of a field, is now with the young King and his Aſſiſtant

* *Tpod. Neuſt.*

The iudgement of the *French* touching the *English* Barons.

* *Lib. Monaſt. S. Albani. MS.*

Mat. Paris.
* He paid 80. markes to *Lewis*.

Motiues and helpes for King *Henries* behoofe.

Paul. Emil. in Phil. Auguſt.

Mat. Paris. Hollinſh. p. 199.

Lewis goeth into *France* but ſoone returneth.

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *In Leiceſterſhire*

The *French* Souldiers braue marching.

* *Mat. Paris.*

The King gathers an hoſt to fight with the *French*

Mat. Paris.

stant Lords, at *Newarke*, where the Generall assembly for that seruice was appointed. The whole Army after the Musters, rested there some dayes, which they spent not in vanities, but in deuotions & receit of the Sacrament, humbling themselues before the offended Maiestie of God; and so all of them (saith *Paris*) being prepared, resolue eyther to return victorious, or to die in defence of their country, their Soueraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and possessions, all which seemed now to lie at stake. To giue them the greater edge and spirite,

Lewis and his followers accursed.

Wallo with great solemnity accurseth *Lewis* and his Coadiutors; and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Lewisians* there in siege of the Castle: the King himselfe being left with a strong guard at *Stow* (about eight miles short of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Wallo* and others, there without perill of his person to attend Gods pleasure, in the euent of the enterprise.

Holinsh.

(7) Vpon their approch, if the Counsell of* some *English* Lords had beene followed, the *Lewisian* Army had issued forth of the City, & giuen them battle in the opē field; but the Earle of *Perch* (the *French* Generall) thinking the Kings party to bee greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Bannerets thereof had each of them two *Ensignes*, the one born with themselues, the other aduanced among the Carriages, which doubled the shew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that course, closed the Gates of the City, and plyed their endeauours against the Castle more fiercely then before.

* *Saer de Quincy & Robert Fitz-Walter.*

The policy of K. *Henries* friends in their march.

The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore lets *Falcasius* slip in at the Castle-posterne with his *Arbalasters*, whiles others breake vp the South-gate of the *City*, at which the Kings Army most couragiously entring, and they of the Castle sallying out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, scattered and vtterly defeated the *Lewisians*. The Earle of *Perch their Generall*, being enuironed with the Royalists, and willed to render himselfe, sware that hee would neuer become Prisoner to any *English:* vpon which refusall he was run through the sight of his helmet into the braines, and so dyed without speaking any word. In this conflict (being on Saturday in Whitson-weeke) the force of naturall propension was apparent; for notwithstanding the fierie resolutions of the Kings People, yet when they saw the faces of their kinsmen, friends & countrimen on the other side, that fury relented so strōgly, that the most part of the reuenge fell vpon the Horses, and not vpon the Horsemen, whom onelie they laboured to make their Captiues. The whole riches of the *Lewisian* Campe, & of the City of *Lincolne*, became the booty and spoile of the Kings Armie, whereupon this discomfiture was called *Lewis Fair*; Neither did the *Clergy* of the place escape, for the Popes Legate had commaunded that they also should be rifled to a penny, as persons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The Chase was but coldly & fainedly followed vpon the flying Barons, otherwise not a man could haue escaped; wherein yet the chiefest Barons were taken, with about * 400. Knights, besides Esquiers, and of other sorts without note or number; though * some say that this number of Knights were slaine, & matrons and women of the towne flying by boate, which they had no skill to gouerne, were drowned. Such as escaped the fight were not therefore past the danger; for the Country people fell vpon them as they fledde, killing great numbers, so that almost all the footmen tooke vp their last lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marshal* of *France*, the *Chastellan* of *Arras*, and about two hundreth Knights came safely thither, but were not otherwise then sowerly welcome of the Prince, who laid vpon their cowardise the losse of all the rest. His feare of being taken Prisoner iustly encreasing, hee fortifies *London* by the best meanes hee can, and dispatcheth Posts into *France* for more reliefe. This great victory was much the stranger, if (as * some write the fame went) that onely three were slaine vpon both sides, the Earle of *Perch*, one of *Du-Brents* Knights, and an obscure fellow belonging to some, or other of the Barons.

Roy. de Wend. M.S.

Mat. Paris.
Walsingham.
Ypodig. Neust.

The fearefull end of the Earle of *Perch.*

The Kings Armyhath a strange victory, called *Lewis Fair.*

(8) The Kings Gouernour after the victory rode presently with the gladsome tidings in the heighth of speed to the King and Legate, who with teares of ioy gaue God thankes. But the noble Earle not leauing his worke imperfect, seekes to embarre *Lewis* from forraging about *London*. Meane while by the diligence of Lady *Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, *Eustace* the ruffianly *Apostata*, (who of a Monke becomming a * *Demoniacke*) was now vpon the Sea with a fresh supply of men and munition bound for *London*; But God was no better pleased with these, then with the other scatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the *English* Naute, hauing the wind of the *French*, sunke diuers of their shippes by tilting at them with the yron Prowes or Beakes of their Gallies; vsing also vnslaked lime in dust or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their sight: so were the hopes of *Lewis* for any present succours absolutely frustrated. *Eustace* himselfe, found after long search, and drawne out from the bottome of the Pumpe in a *French* shippe, at *Doner* had his head cut off, though * some say hee was slaine by *Richard*, a base-sonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which successe being brought to the King, did not more reioice him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the losse was not onely great in men, but in all sorts of riches and prouisions. To giue now no rest to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mighty Army besieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, aswell by *Water* as by *Land*; seeking to driue him by penurie to render the City. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the Riuer of *Thames*, not farre from *Stanes*, the *King*, *Wallo* the Legate, and *William Marshall* the Kings Gouernour, met with *Lewis* & the Barons to finish the Peace: for *Lewis* had promised to doe as *Wallo* and the Earle would deuise, so that it might not tend to his dishonour or scandall: Heades or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* sware vpon the Gospell to performe, were, 1. *That Lewis, the Barons, and other his partakers should stand to the iudgement of the Church (whose censures they had now some yeeres contemned) and from thenceforth bee and remaine true to the same.* 2. *That he and his should forthwith depart the land, neuer to return again with a purpose to doe harme.* 3 *That he should doe his best to draw his Father to make restitution of all such things in France as belonged to the King of England, and that Lewis when himselfe was King should quietly part with them.* 4. *That Lewis should immediately render to King Henry all holdes and places taken in the warre.* On the other part, the *King*, the *Legate* and the *Earle* sware; 1 *That the King should restore to the Barons and others, all their rights and inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father.* 2. *That none (of the Layty) should suffer dammage or reproch for taking part on either side.* 3. *That Prisoners should bee released, &c.* Whereupon *Lewis* with his adherents was formally by *Wallo* absolued from the sentence of *Excommunication*, and so they ranne on all sides into embracements, and parted in the kisse of Peace. The * *Welsh*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Conclusion, being thereby laid open to spoile. Thus was *Lewis* * driuen out of *England*, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-side, and the Realme was cleared.

Wend. MS. Paris hist.

The perillous estate of *Lewis.*

(9) There are* who write how that *Lewis* had a great summe of money paide him for restoring the Hostages; but *Mat. Paris* whom * some cite to that purpose, affirms no such matter in any printed Copy. Reason surelie is vtterly against it; for when euen the life of *Lewis* was after a sort in King *Henries* hand, with what sense can it stand that the King should set all the *French* free without ransoms and yet himselfe pay money for the Hostages? which also were not his, but the Hostages of his enemies

mies the Barons; so that, if money were due, it must haue come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profite was rather obliged to the contrarie. Writers of that very time doe in plain words say, *The Pouerty of Lewis was such, that he was compelled to borrow fiue thousand pounds of the Londoners, to set him out of England*: and therfore that other seemes nothing else but a vaine gloze to salue the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainly driuen out of *England*, after so high hopes with losse, sorrow, and *eternall disgrace*, which the *French* are so sensible of, that they scarse seeme to write of the whole action, otherwise then * laying the misfortune of *Lewis* vpon the Barons mutability.

(10) The Realme of *England* purged of those forraine dregges, was not therfore presently freed from other manifold encombrances, such as after so great a tossing of all lawes and things diuine, and humane, doe ordinarily flote vp and downe, like the froth & working of a troubled Sea. For diuers men presuming vpon their former seruices to the State, or thinking the old bad world would either continue still, or soone returne, if iustice grew confident against Trespassors, or for what other corrupt motiues soeuer, did dare intollerable things. The *principall Lords of this misrule, were *William* Earle of *Aumarl*, *Falcasius de Brent* with his Garrison Souldiers, *Robert de Veipont*, with others, who hauing had the Castles and possessions of certaine Bishops and Great men, either to keepe in trust, or otherwise by iniquity of the times conuerted violentlie to their vses; did still with-hold the same, both against the minds of their lawfull owners, and the Kings expresse Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaugi* defended the Castle of *Newarke* (being the Fee of the Bishoppe of *Lincolne*, as was also the town it self) against the Kings Armie, conducted by the * Great *Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight dayes, and did not first yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Bishoppe paid to *Gaugi* one hundreth pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetuall care to conclude things without bloud-shedde, wherein shined his Christian piety and morall wisdome, there being no other so safe way to settle disordered humors. The greater was his losse both to the King and State by his death * soone after ensuing, whose * monument yet remaining, doth not so much eternize his memory, as that well-deserued * Epitaph, the *Epitome* of his noble vertues;

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Irelands Saturn, Englands Sunne am I,
The Mars of France, and Normans Mercurie.

He left behind him fiue Sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* successiuely, and dying without issue; his fiue Daughters aduanced by great marriages, brought as great aduantage to their husbands issue, by the inheritances of their issueless brethren.

(11) The King (gouerned after *Marshals* death, by *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and such * other, whom the Bishoppe had procured to ioyne in administration of publik affairs) seeming now to haue a setled and calme estate, resolues (for good hopes sake) to bee crowned againe; which was performed by *Stephen* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* at *Westminster* with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and People. Vpon the * Saturday before his Coronation, the * new worke of the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, (*Paris* calles it the Chappell of our Lady,) was begunne, whereof the King himselfe in person laid the first stone, as if hee ment the world should know, his intention was to consecrate his future actions to raise the glory of God. This calme but new beginning, was almost as speedily distempered and disturbed by sodaine stormes; by reason that, while the King kept his Christmas with great royalty at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Aumarl*, incited by *Falcasius de Brent*, and the like riotous Gentlemen, sodainely departed frō the Court without leaue, & (whither it were vpon discontentment, because the King had against the Earles will the last yeere taken some Castles into his hands, or out of an euill ignorance how to liue in quiet) he mannes the Castle of *Biham*, victuals it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, spoiles the Towne of *Deeping*, and vnder shew of repayring to the Parliament, seiseth on the Castle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious riots in contempt of the King, and breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle comming in vnder the conduct of *Walter* Archbishop of *Yorke*, was at the suite of *Pandulph* (who succeeded *Wallo* in the place of *Legate*) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King (in regard belike of some former better deserts) set free without punishment or ransome. And to preuent any further disturbances of that nature, *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integrity and fidelity (approued in all King *Iohns* troubles) was also made gouernour of the Kings Person, and *Chiefe Iustitiar* of *England*, with the generall allowance of all the *States*. What need the land then had of a seuere proceeding, wee may iudge by this, that *Foulk de Brent* held the Earledomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Castles and Holds; *Philip de Mare*, the Castles of *Peke* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamshire* and *Darbishire*; and others detained other portions, without any other right, then that which the iniquity of the late tumults gaue.

(12) It was no small addition to the troublesomnesse of this time, that certaine * Lords of *Wales*, and (as * some say) Prince *Lewelin* himselfe, desirous to ridde their Marches of the *English*, rose in Armes, & laide siege to the Castle of *Buelt*, which inuited king *Henry* to draw thither with an Armie; but the worke was made easie by the voluntary departure of the *Welsh*; vpon the fame of the Kings approch: which appearances of some ensuing stirres, moued the king to thinke of strengthning himselfe with faithfull alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *Yorke*, (who in the yeere * before had met King *Henry* at the same place) and there tooke to wife the Lady *Ioan* King *Henries* sister; and *Hubert de Burgh*, in presence of both the Kings married the Lady * *Margaret* sister to *Alexander*; *Boetius* * saith, that two great Lords of *England* married two sisters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time, * *Isabel* Queen Dowager of *England*, without the leaue of her sonne the King, or of his Councell, croft the seas, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The young King supposing his estate at home now somewhat setled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-sighted by the benefite of experience, forgets not to looke about his affaires abroad; and first sends * *Sauarie de Malleon* to bee his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the *English* held the greater part, and dispatcheth Ambassadors to *Philip* King of *France*, for restitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto answere was made that nothing ought to bee restored which by right of warre had beene atchieued; but (as it seemes) there was a Truce for * fowre yeeres agreed vpon betweene the two Monarches, concerning the County of *Poictou*.

(13) The State both of Church and Commonwealth in those troubled daies, seeme to haue much resemblance; euery man daring to attempt in either, what his own audaciousnes would suggest, or others conniuency permit. But *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who himselfe was lately the ring-leader of disorders both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his *Prouinciall Synode* at *Ox-*

* Ro. Wend. MS. Mat. Paris. hist. ma.

* Tpsdig. Neust.

Mat. Westm.

* D. Pem. hist. Camb.
* Mat. Paris.

* Ro. Wend. MS. Mat. Paris. hist. ma.

* Polyd. Vergil. * Hist. Scot. 13.

* Tho. Walsing. in Tpod. Neust.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 16. Hollinsh. p. 203.

Reg. Wend. and Mat. Par. place this Ambassage at An. D. 1223.

* Tpod. Neust.

An. 1222.

*The Wals in Tpod. Neuſt. Ranul. Ceſtr. Mon. l. 7. c. 34.

ford, *about reformation of the Clergie; where alſo was conuented before him an execrable *Impoſtor*, who ſeeing how current all groſſeſt deluſions paſſed in thoſe dayes of blindneſſe, was emboldned to ſuffer himſelfe to be wounded in his *hands, feete*, and *ſide*, (an horrour to thinke) that by the reſemblance of thoſe bloudy impreſſions, he might perſwade the people (apt to beleeue any thing) that hee was their verie Sauiour: whoſe deſerued puniſhment was by *immuring* betweene two walles, as a monſter too impious and vnworthie to die by anie humaine hand. There was immured with him a curſed ould Beaſt, who pretēded to be *Mary* the mother of this Chriſt, and well might bee, if their manners bee compared; * ſome adde a third alſo, who named her ſelfe *Mary Magdalen*. The puniſhment by Crucifixion which * ſome thinke was executed vpon the man at *Arborbery*, is neither ſo credible nor tollerable, as in which Chriſtianity it ſelfe might ſeem to ſuſtaine reproach; it being alſo againſt the * ancient law of *Conſtantine*, the firſt famous Chriſtian Emperour, that any ſhould from thence forth die by crucifixion; but it may be, that it was firſt ſo iudged (which might cauſe the relators errour,) though afterward vpon ſounder deliberation changed into a more fitting cenſure. But ſtrange it is, that this man deſeruing (as hee did) ſo ſeuere a iudgement at *Oxford*, Saint *Francis*, whoſe fiction and impoſture was the very ſame (for the *wounds*, though not for the *name*, of Chriſt) *ſo ſoon after deſerued for it to be canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monſter had been at *Rome*, hee had beene likewiſe *Sainted*, or if Saint *Francis* had beene at *Oxford*, he had been likewiſe immured.

A Pſeudo-Chriſt diſcouered and immured.

* Ioh. Stowes Annal. Tpod. Neuſt.

Death by immuration.

Antiquit. Brit. in vit. Steph.

*M. Paru. vit. Archiep. Cant. in Steph.

* Euſ. bius in vita Conſtan. Ranul. Ceſt.

(14) In the State of the *Common-wealth* incredible darings (though of inferiour quality to that former) were not wanting, againſt the maieſty of the King; as appeared by *Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a Citizen of *London*: who vpon colour of a popular tumult, by him purpoſely cheriſhed, (which roſe at paſtimes of wreſtling, and like maſteries betweene the *Citizens* of *London*, and others of the *Suburbes*,) attempted to ſet vp a *Lewis* againe, and in the heat of the ſedition, he traiterouſly cried, * *Mount-Ioy, Mount-Ioy, God for vs and our Lord Lewis.* Though the * Lord *Maior*, a diſcreet man, earneſtly perſwaded dutifull behauiours, yet *Conſtantine* had made the people incapable of good Counſell with his ſeditious *Proclamations*, which hee there cauſed to bee * publiſhed. The ſecret of this conſpiracy was * reuealed by * another Citizen, and without queſtion was farther ſpred then the compaſſe of one City, euen as farre as into the hearts of all ſuch turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *Quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Iuſticiar* hearing of theſe matters, with forces aſſembled, entred * the *Tower*, whither hee commaunded the principall men of the City to come, who eaſily put off the blame from themſelues vpon *Fitz-Arnulf*: But hee as reſolute in his anſwere, as deſperate in the ſedition, complained of himſelfe in the hearing of all, *that he had done leſſe therein then hee ought*; yet fifteene thouſand Markes ſterling hee offered for his life, when hee ſaw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Cryer*, and his *Nephew* the next day hee was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand of Iuſtice. It is ſaid, that he ſo confidently anſwered, vpon truſt of the Articles and Oath between the King and *Lewis*, that the partakers of *Lewis* ſhould not be troubled; and that, vpon this occaſion, *Lewis* denied reſtitution of ſuch things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had herein broken firſt his faith, and thereby made the whole contract fruſtrate. Execution thus done without noiſe, or the *Londoners* priuity, the *Iuſticiar* accompanied with *Falcaſius* and his armed troupes, enters *London*, apprehends ſuch others as were culpable, and for a terrour to the reſt, cauſeth their * hands or feet to be cut off, and then ſet them at liberty. The King

* Mat. Paris, in Hen. 3.

* An. 1217 apud Mat. Paru.

The treaſonable vprore of Conſtantine Fitz-Arnulf.

* Pariſ. hiſt.

* Robert Serle then L. Maior.

*This was done 16. Aug.

* Fabian.

*By one Walt. Boketel.

* Reg. de VVend. MS.

Conſtantine and his Cryer hanged

* Mat. Park.

Hands and feet of offenders cut off.

*VVendouer MS. Paru.

depoſed the Magiſtrates, though ſome write that the tumult was appeaſed by the *Maior*; but when the King found, that onely the * baſer ſort were intereſſed in the diſorder, he was reconciled to the Citie, hauing firſt thus weeded this chiefe *Garden* of the *Engliſh Empire*, and pluckt vp by the rootes the *maſter bramble*.

* Pol. Virg. lib. 16. Fabian.

(15) This dangerous beginning might haue had farre worſe proceedings, if the King, though in yeeres tender, yet had not beene ſo prouident, as to haue foreſeen it, and ſo, with patient conniuence at ſome particular indignities, preuented a publike diſquiet. For the Barons, ſtill minding their long deſired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who, at the concluded peace with *Lewis* had ſworne thereto; *William Briwere*, one of the Kings Councell anſwered; that *the liberties which they demaund ought not to bee obſerued, becauſe they were violently extorted.* But wordes growing hereupon, and Archbiſhoppe *Stephen* (the Barons ancient abettour) kindling thereat, the yong King prudently ſhut vp the whole ſtrife with this ſpeech; *All of vs haue ſworne to thoſe Liberties, and that which wee haue ſworne, all of vs are bound to obſerue.* His *Deed* immediately ſealed his *Word*, (for hee ſaw hee durſt doe no other,) and *Writs* were ſent foorth, to enquire vpon Oathes, what Liberties or free cuſtomes were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grandfather: by which act, all mens hopes were raiſed to expect the full concluſion of all thoſe grieuous contentions, which had ſo long encombred the Kingdome. The like hope was conceiued of better ſucceſſes then before, in forrain affaires, vpon newes of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, the euer-deadly (and now-dead) Enemy of *Englands* welfare; which moued the King to ſend the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and three other Biſhops to *Lewis*, now crowned King of *France*, there to demand the *Dutchie of Normandy*, and ſuch other Lands on that ſide of the ſea, as before his departure out of *England* hee had ſworne to reſtore: but his anſwere was; 1. *That hi held thoſe poſſeſſions by a iuſt title, as hee was ready to ſhew King Henry, if he would come to his Court to make his demaund*; 2. *that the King of England had violated his Oath, for that ſuch as were taken at Lincolne were grieuouſly fined*; 3. *that ſuch Liberties of England, for which the warre was firſt moued, & had beene granted at his departure, and ſince confirmed by oath, were not onely not obſerued, but the old wicked ones reduced, and generally farre worſe ordained in their place.* With which ſolutions to their demand, the *Ambaſſadors* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as he could.

An. 1223. Libertie demanded.

King Philip of France dieth.

King Henry demaunds his Signiories of Lewis.

Lewis preſſes care of Engliſh libertie.

(16) The king well perceiuing, how vnable hee ſhould be either to recouer thoſe his Tranſmarine Dominions, or almoſt to maintaine his owne royall eſtate at home, if ſuch, as by the vnrulynes of former times hauing gotten poſſeſſion of Crowne-lands might ſtill with-hold them, reſolued to reſume them; by aduiſe principally of *Stephen* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* and *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, who thereby drew vpon themſelues no ſmall loads of enuie. Which recouery of ſuch parcells of the royall Patrimony, though it were no leſſe needfull then lawfull; yet by reaſon the intereſſed were ſo many (and ſuch as wanted no will to toſſe the whole Kingdom, rather then forgoe their holdings,) they wiſely vſed all the ſtrengthes which Religion or humane policy could giue. Firſt therefore * there was procured a Briefe from the Pope, by which both the King was declared to bee at libertie to chooſe his owne *Councell*, and gouerne by himſelfe, (which, who doubteth but hee might haue done without the Popes Bull?) and all men commanded vnder pain of *Cenſures* to reſtore ſuch things as againſt law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the intereſſed into a will to raiſe Armes; meeting for that purpoſe at *Leiceſter*, where the *Ceſtrian* Earle and his * Confederates conſult, how they (vnder

An. 1224. The politike courſe vſed by the King to conuer his Lands from the Lords without warre.

* Wend. MS. Mat. Paru.

Excommunications vſed to ſtrengthen a ſecular matter.

Falcaſius & others.

der the ſpecious pretext of remouing the Earle of *Kent*, as one whoſe predominating greatnes, and euill offices againſt them, were not to be by them endured) might deteine the Caſtle and other poſſeſsions demanded. But vpon notice, that (if forthwith they did not render backe what they vniuſtly held) they ſhould by name bee preſently excommunicated; and that the King (now at *Northampton*) had with him not onely an honeſter cauſe, * *but a greater number of Souldiers* (which they much more feared then all their flaſhes of Excommunication) they following a* wiſer courſe, repaired forthwith to the King, rendring vppe into his handes all that belonged to the Crowne; but did not lay downe their diſpleaſure, for that, on their petition, the King would not put from him his chiefe *Iuſtitiar*, the obiect of their Enuie.

(17) Meane while *Lewis* King of *France* not contented to deny the demaunded reſtitution vpon his alleaged pretexts, inuades ſuch other parts as * King *Henry* peaceably held in *Poictou* and *Xainctoing*; the beſt colour and reaſon giuen for it, * is, *That whereas Aquitain* (whereof *Xainctoing* and *Poictou* were part) *was holden of the Crown of France by homage, the King of England, being not hindred by ſickneſſe nor other neceſſity was not preſent at the Coronation of Lewis, nor excuſed his abſence by Ambaſſadors.* In proſecution of which pretence hee tooke * *Rochel* (the principall Port of *Xainctoing*) with other places, and ouerthrew in a Battle, *Sauarie de Malleon* alſo, Lieutenant for king *Henry* in *Aquitaine*: vpon which ouerthrow the loſſe of thoſe foreſaid Townes with the whole Countrey of *Poictou* (as * one ſaith) enſued. Withall, the king loſt the ſeruice of the ſaid *Sauarie*, a valiant commaunder, who for ſome indignity offered vnto him by *William Longſpe* Earle of *Salisbury*, (* ſent ouer by King *Henry*, vpon ſome diſtaſte of *Sauaries* doings, with commiſsion to oueruiew his courſes,) ſodainely turned *French*, among whom hee had great credit and preferment. King *Henry* ill brooking ſo great a defalcation of his forraine eſtates, determined to haue recourſe to the generall aide of his people, for meanes to recouer his loſſes, but while (for that purpoſe) hee held a * Parliament, the whole aſſembly was ſodainely troubled with iuſt complaints of an vnſufferable outrage.

(18) For *Henry de Braibrocke*, a *Iuſtice Itinerant*, who with other held the *Aſsiſes* at *Dunſtaple*, was ſodainely ſurpriſed (and impriſoned vnder ſtrong Garriſon in *Bedford* Caſtle) by the commandement of *Falcaſius*, enraged, for that thirty verdicts had there paſſed againſt him, vpon trials of title for lands which hee had forceably entred. The Iudges wife with her teares ſo moued the whole Parliament to indignation and pitty, that all other buſineſſes ſet a part, the Clergy aſwell as the Laity forthwith attended the King to the ſiege. *Falcaſius* himſelfe flying into *Wales*, there to contriue a greater body of rebellion, did leaue his brother, Lieutenant in the Caſtle with a deſperate crew, hauing victuals and munition for an whole yeeres reſiſtance. Yet after two Moneths ſiege the Caſtle being taken, the Iudge was enlarged, the Lieutenant and his whole retinue hanged, the pile it ſelfe (as a denne of theeues) demoliſhed; and an example giuen what others ſhould truſt vnto, who did not in due time ſubmit themſelues to their Soueraigne. This * *Falcaſius* was a *Norman* by birth and a baſtard, who comming ouer in poore ſort vnder King *Iohn*, ſo behaued himſelfe in the Kings ſeruices, that in regard of his al-daring forwardneſſe, *Bedford* was giuen him to defend againſt the Barons; where by rapine and violence hee had drawne together the ſhew of a great fortune, beſides that which he had in marriage with *Margaret de Riparijs* a great inheritrix, whom King *Iohn*, to her no leſſe diſcontentment, then diſparagement had beſtowed vpon him. But now when this Caſtle, beyond his imagination was thus beaten to the earth, and all other his poſſeſsions ſeized by the King, he procures *Alexander* Biſhoppe of *Conentree* to ſafe conduct him to *Bedford*, where hee throwes himſelfe at the Kinges feet, imploring mercy for his former good ſeruices. Hee was, after pardon of life hardly gotten, ſent into perpetuall * baniſhment; at which time he with teares deſired the Earle of *warren*, (who had in charge to ſee him ſhipt away) *That hee would commend him to the King, and let him know* (a ſecret fitte for the king to take notice of) *that all the troubles which hee had raiſed in the Realme, were by the onely inſtigation of the Barons.* Notwithſtanding the king was ſo incenſed for the keeping this Caſtle againſt him, that hee commaunded all * Strangers to depart the Realme within a time there limited vnder great penalty.

(19) The interrupted Counſels of Parliament, and purpoſes of the King for recouerie of his *Poictouine* inheritances, were now againe reſumed; yet the King could not there (but vpon condition * that he ſhould graunt their *Liberties*, the ſtring which was euer harped on,) obtaine a fifteenth, nor the good will of the States to furniſh him in his *French* hoſtilities: Thus the king, * drawne *with deſire of money* (whereof his want was very vrgent) grants thoſe his *Charters* vnder his Seale, and was ſo further wrought on, that oathes were (by royall commaundement) taken, to tie all men to the obſeruation of the ſaid Graunts, according to the very letter, if that bee the meaning of * *literatorium iuramentum*, and not ſomthing elſe. Vpon the ſtrength of this money (whoſe dayly expenſe, like vitall nouriſhment, keepes all great actions aliue,) *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings brother, *William Longſpe* Earle of *Salisburie*, and aboue threeſcore Knights with competent forces were ſent into *Gaſcoign* in the Spring; where they ſafely arriued at *Burdeaux*, and were honourably entertained. This timely arriuall had good effects, for it confirmed the well-diſpoſed, ſetled the irreſolute, and reduced much which had beene extorted by the *French*. *Hugh* Earle of the Marches of *Poictou*, comming by the *French* Kings direction to remoue Earle *Richard* and the *Engliſh* from the ſiege of the *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted * by an *Ambuſcado*, and diſcomfited with no ſmall loſſe of men, munition and carriages. All ſides were in the end * contented to pauſe without parliance, and the *Engliſh* held *Aquitaine* deſpite their force or practiſes. But *William Longſpe* the Kings vncle ſuruiued not long his good ſeruices in thoſe parts; who returning (vpon buſines of State) into *England*, ſoone ended his dayes at his Caſtle of *Salisburie*, with ſo great humility and pietie, that at point of death hee would not receiue the *holy Euchariſt* in his Bed (which deuotion is alſo reported of King *Henry* the eight) but vpon his bare knees on the ground, which hee moiſtned with abundance of penitent teares. Vpon which great *Earle* this Epitaph was made:

Flos Comitum Vilielmus obit, ſtirps regia; * Longus Enſis, *vaginam cæpit habere breuem.*

Royal-born William, Flower of Earles lies here;
A ſheath thus ſhort, doth Long-Sword *ſerue to bear.*

(20) About theſe times the Pope (ſay* his Monks) *ſent abroad into the world his Nuncei, requiring euerie where vndue exactions*, with purpoſe to ſettle a certainty of contribution to his See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedrall and conuentuall Churches in Chriſtendome; alleadging, * that hee did it *to wipe away from that See, that ancient ſcandall of Auarice and Briberie, which otherwiſe their penury muſt ſtill enforce them to vſe.* Neuertheleſſe, aſwell the Meſſenger, as the Meſſage found but ſlender welcome here. For (by procurement of the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*) the Popes Agent *Otto*, receiued letters from *Rome*, commaunding him preſently to returne: *Otto*

* He died afterward in *Rome*, in extreame penury and ſorrow. *Paru. Polydor.*

* *Lang. Chro.*

An. 1225.

* *Rog. Wend. M.S.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris*, who A.D. 1227. doth vſe Literatorie nunciare, to ſignifie by letter: ſo this may be an *Oath in writing*, which they were to ſwear vnto word for word, or a written oath ſigned or ſealed by them. *Tho. Walſingham.*

Polyd. Verg. l. 16. cals him Earle of *Champaign*, and might be both.

* *Rog. Wend. MS Math. Paris. Polyd. Verg. Fa. l. Æmil. in Ludo. 8.*

An. 1226.

Polyd. Verg. lib. 16

* *Longspet* or *Long-Sword.*

* *Mat. Paris, hiſt. ma.*

* *Litera Papæ, apud Mat. Paris.*

to, in rage of this vnexpected reuocation, like a braue *Romane* threw the Popes letters into the fire, yet durſt not diſobey the Contents. And whereas the meſſage it ſelfe had beene ſcanned and ſifted to the very branne, both here and in * *France, and iudged to ſauour of ſo vniuerſall an oppreſsion, as might cauſe a generall diſceſsion from the Church of Rome*; the *King* in preſence of his Prelates and Peeres, turned off the Popes couetous demaund with this thrifty anſwere: *The things which the Pope would perſwade vs vnto, doe ſtretch themſelues as farre as the Chriſtian world is wide, and becauſe England is but an Out-Angle thereof, therefore when we ſee other Kingdomes giue vs an example, hee ſhall then finde vs the more forward to obey.*

* *In Concilio Eitriacenſi. Mat. Paris.*

The King puts off the popes demaunds. *Mat. Paris.*

(21) That difficultie ſo auoided; the King was earneſtly bent to make a voyage in perſon to the aide of his brother Earle *Richard*, who purſued the affaires of *Gaſcoigne*; which though by the late Earle of *Sarisburies* death it receiued ſome maime; yet by the fortitude and counſell of other noble perſons, it did ſtill proſper. This intention and deſire was ſtaide by the receit of letters out of *France*, which declared the Earle his brothers health, and the good ſucceſſe of affaires. The King (ſome ſay) among his Counſellors of State, had one *William de Perepound* a great Aſtrologer, who fortold that *Lewis* King of *France* ſhould not preuaile; and this affirmation did the rather withhold him at that preſent. There is who* writes, that King *Henry* (vpon the Popes letters) forbare to attempt any thing in *France* at that time, leſt he ſhould hinder *Lewis*, who was then vpon an enterpriſe againſt the remaines of the *Albigenſes* in *Languedoc, Prouince*, and the parts about. Theſe men were traduced for *Heretikes*, and ſo condemned by the See of *Rome*; but what their *Hereſie* was, a * Fryer (who writes againſt them,) reports, ſaying, *they were of all other the moſt pernicious Sect; for antiquity, ſome holding they were from the Apoſtles time; for generality, there ſcarſe being any Nation where they are not; and laſtly, for ſhew of piety, in that they liue iuſtly before men, and beleeue all things touching God aright, & all the articles of the Creed, * only they blaſpheme and hate the Church of Rome.* No maruail if this horrible *hereſie* did trouble his *Holineſſe*; and therefore, whereas his Predeceſſor, and himſelfe had kept much adoe in *Chriſtendome*, to excite men to take the *Signe* of the *Croſſe*, and warre againſt the *Turke*, (which the Fryers did perſwade men vnto, teaching, that * *whoſoeuer were polluted with any hainous offence, as Parricide, Inceſt, Sacrilege, hee was preſently acquited both from the ſinne, and the puniſhment of it, if hee thus tooke the Croſſe vpon him,*) now, becauſe the Earle of *Tholous*, and his people entertained the foreſaid *Hereſie*, the *Croſſe*, and *holie warres* were by the Pope denounced againſt them. Of which Earle yet let vs heare the iudgement of another * Fryer then liuing. *Thoſe* (ſaith hee) *who 'us tooke the warres and Croſſe againſt him, did it more for feare of the French King, and the Popes Legate, then for zeale of Iuſtice; it ſeeming to many a wrong thus to infeſt a faithfull Chriſtian man, and one who with many teares deſired the Legate to examine the faith of euerie one of his Cities, and if any one held againſt the Catholike faith, hee would puniſh him, according to the iudgement of the Church, and if any City ſhould reſiſt him, hee would enforce it to make ſatisfaction. As for himſelfe, hee offered to bee examined by the Legate touching his faith, and if hee were faulty, hee would make ſatiſfaction to God and the Church. But all theſe things the Legate ſcorned, nor could that Catholike Earle find anie fauour, vnleſſe hee would forſake his Inheritance, and abiure it both for himſelfe, and his heires for euer.* Theſe were the Heretikes againſt which *Lewis* was now imployed by the Pope, and King *Henry* the while * commanded to ſurceaſe from impeaching his holy enterprize. Wherein *Lewis* had ſpent a moneth in the ſiege of *Auinion*, and endured (for all his ſacred *Croſsings*) maruailous loſſes, by a terrible plague deuouring his Army, by a ſtrange kind of venemous flies, diſpatching many, by a ſodaine drowning of a great part of his Armie; and laſtly, by being himſelfe * poyſoned by * one of his Earles (an vnchaſt Riuall of his Bedde) *though it was giuen forth of him* (as * of his late Enemy King *Iohn*, whom ſome thinke that *Lewis* his friends did make away) *that hee died onely of a Flux.*

* *Poly. Vergil. Li6. Mat. Patis.*

What kind of Heretikes the Albigenſes of Waldenſes were. *Frater Raynerius, de Valdenſibus.*

*The Maſter hereſie of the Albigenſes.

*Apud Autiſiodorum.

The holy warres denounced againſt Chriſtian Princes.

*Math. Paris.

*Math. Paris.

(22) The newes of the *French* Kings death ſeconded with ſure relations of ſundry diſcontentments, and open factions vnder the young King (who was but * about twelue yeeres of age) bred an hope in King *Henries* mind, that now the time was come, wherein hee might recouer thoſe ancient inheritances which his Forefathers held in *France*: and to aduance his hopes, he had his mother Queene *Iſabel* (wife to the Earle of *March* in thoſe parts,) an earneſt ſollicitor. *Peter* Duke of *Britaine* was the principall man who tooke offence that himſelfe had not a chiefe hand in directing the young King *Lewis*; but his prudent mother Queene *Blanch* * weakned his party by drawing his brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* from him; and albeit the Duke had repaired the breach, by affinitie with the Earle of *Champain*, (one of the twelue Peeres of that Realme, to whom the Duke marrieth the Ladie *Blanda* his daughter and heire,) yet was the Earle driuen by a ſhort warre to continue quiet. The Duke hereupon caſtes himſelfe vpon King *Henrie*; *Sed ſera auxilia Anglica, the Engliſh aides come ſlowlie* ſaith *Æmylius*. Theſe and the like inducements moued the King to ſend *Walter* Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*, with others, to the chiefe men of *Normandie*, *Angiou* and *Poictou*, that by large promiſes they might procure them to acknowledge *Henrie* for their King, or by partakings, facilitate their reduction to the Engliſh Souercigntie; who accordinglie proſecuted their emploiment.

* *Paul. Æmylius.*

(23) Theſe opportunities for that deſigne, moued the King to bethinke how to gather money, to furniſh ſo chargefull an enterprize; whereby while he ſought to prouide to recouer that which was loſt, he miniſtreth occaſion to hazard that which he had. The onely great man in Court now was *Hubert de Burgh*: For the King proteſting himſelfe of age to gouerne without a Tutor or Protector, did principally conferre with him about all his moſt weightie affaires. Hence grew more enuy againſt *Hubert*, and perill to the King. From * the Londoners (beſides the granted aides of a fifteenth, which all degrees were ſubiect vnto) he wrung fiue thouſand Markes, for that they had (as was alleaged) to his preiudice, giuen *Lewis* the like ſumme. In the Parliament at *Oxford*, by aduice of *Hubert* his *Lord Chiefe Iuſtice*, he reuokes the *Charters of Liberties*, which now for about two yeeres had been practiſed through the Realme: pretending, that at *the time of their Grant the King was vnder age, and had then no liberty either of his perſon or Signature*; though otherwiſe, the royall power of the Engliſh Monarchie neuer pleads pupillage or minoritie. It ſerued the turne for the time, and all men were faine to pay, what *Huberts* * pleaſure was to aſſeſſe, for obteining the new *Seale*. The fortune of ſuch Arts, whereby they were wont to fill Princes *Treaſuries*, was not alwaies without repentance to the *Authors*, and *Authoriſers*. The *Clergie* was compelled (vnder paine of Papall Cenſures) to pay the *Fifteenth*, not only for their temporall goods, but alſo for their Eccleſiaſticall; and yet in the end, (after ſo much toſſing of the People,) the Kings Ambaſſadors returne out of *France*, without hauing effected that which they went about, ſo that the whole enterprize quailed. For *Queene Blanch* by ſweet and prudent courſes, ſo preuailed among the factious, that there was left no place for *Henrie* to take ſure hold vpon. The Duke of *Britain* (who expected the Engliſh ſuccours not till the Spring,) was ſo neerely preſt, and almoſt oppreſt, with a winter war, that he thought himſelfe beholding to his brother

* *Mat. Paris*

ther *Robert* Earle of *Dreux*, for procuring his peace though it were with such a condition, as euer after, left vpon him, the by-name of *Manclerk* or *Maledoctus*. He* *acknowledged the Dutchie of Britain to be the Fee of the Crowne of France, and that by right it ought to hold thereof*; this acknowledgment, because against all apparant truth and Record, procured to him that *By-name*. Such conclusion at this present had King *Henries* French designes. Our* auncient *Authors* write, that this dishonourable homage was done long after, and with an halter about his necke, at such time as the King of *England* refused to goe in person to his succours, but offered foure Earles, and other competent Forces, which hee refused, as harbouring a reuolt in his bosome, and turned Pyrate.

(24) The euill will which the other great Lords secretly harboured against *Hubert*, (whose Enuy the Kings fauour in* creating him Earle of *Kent* had lately encreased,) now openly discouered it selfe, vpon this occasion. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, the Kings brother, (lately returned with honor out of *Gascoigne*,) had seized into his hands a certaine Manour, then in the tenure of one *Waleran* a *Dutch*-Gentleman, (to whom King *Iohn*, for his good seruices had formerly giuen it,) which hee alleaged was parcell of his Earledome of *Cornwall*. The King hereupon directs his letters to his brother, commanding him to come immediately, and shew a reason of his fact. He doth so, and without any pleaders helpe defended, as iust, the seisure which he had made, concluding, among other words, *that hee was ready to stand to the iudgement of the Kings Court, and Peeres of the Realm*. When the King, and the *Chiefe Iustitiar* heard him name the *Peeres of the Realme*, they (suspecting his bent that way) were exceedingly offended; *and* (said the King) *eyther restore the Manour to Waleran, or thou shalt depart out of the Kingdome, neuer to returne*: at which peremptory sentence, the Earle boldly (but too rashly) answered; *that hee neither would giue his right to Waleran, nor without the iudgement of the Peeres depart the Realme*. The *Earle in this heate returnes to his lodging; thence (vpon surmise that *Hubert* had perswaded the King to lay hold on him) he posts to *Marlebourgh*, where finding *William Marshal* the young Earle of *Pembroke*, hee enters into a fast confederacy, ratified by oath; and *Ranulf* Earle of *Chester* is easily drawn to make another. Letters thence flying about to all their friends, at *Stanford* there assembled vnto them, the Earles of *Gloucester*, of *Warrenn*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwicke*, Earle *Ferrars*, many Barons, and an huge multitude of armed men. Their strengthes being in likelyhood able to beare out their darings, they addresse a bold message to the King, by which they require him in lofty Phrase, *to make preset amends to his Brother for the wrong hee had done; the fault whereof they imputed not to him, but to the chiefe Iustitiar: and that if he did not without delay restore the Charters of Liberties, which hee had cancelled at Oxford, they would driue him by dint of sword to giue them therein competent satisfaction*. The King seeing it no safe time to deny their requests, appoints to meet at *Northampton* in *August* next; where the Earle of *Cornwall* (vpon his *Associates* resolute demaund of the King) had large amends of any iniury sustained, his Patrimony being augmented with large accessions. The moderation and equanimity of the King (terrified by his Fathers example) peaceably finished this contention (the matter of the Charters being for the time husht, as seemeth) which might otherwise haue cost many thousand liues, and haue hazarded the ruine both of King and kingdome.

(25) That daunger was not a little augmented by the insurrections of the *Welsh*. The King had giuen the Castle of *Mountgomery* to his most trusty Counsellor *Hubert de Burgh*; the Garrison of which place, issuing out, meant to stocke vp the Trees, and shrubbes, which grew neere vpon an high-way leading through a great wood of* fiue leagues long; that trauailers (ordinarily there spoiled) might passe more safely. The *welsh* not suffering that waste, violently assayled the Workemen, and not without slaughter on both sides, draue them into the Castle; which drew the King (who euen in litle matters vsed to make one) to come thither in person; who, with a competent strength, giues not ouer, till hee had with fire, and other force, consumed the whole Forrest. From whence hee peirceth farther into *Wales*, and consumes with fire a place called * *Cridia*; where whiles the King is building a *Castle* to bridle them, * *Lewelin* drew thither his forces, where many were slaine on both sides, and a man of speciall worth *William de* *Braosa* (or *de Bruse*) by the *Welsh* intercepted, as he went to forrage in the Country; * *many great persons there in the Kings Armie being secretly confederated with Lewelin*. By which trecherous practise, victualles grew so scarce, that the king was compelled to yeeld to a very dishonourable peace, the conditions whereof were: *that the King should raze to the ground the new Fort now almost finished; that* William de Bruce should still remaine Prisoner till the Welsh thought good; that Lewelin should giue the King toward his expenses three thousand Markes.*

(26) These home-bredde garboyles thus appeased; whereas Ambassadors had formerly repayred to the king out of *Gascoigne*, *Poictou*, and *Normandie*, to offer him their seruices for recouery of those his inheritances, if himself would com in person with a royall Armie, hee about *Michaelmas* is now ready at *Portsmouth* for the exploit; whither all his Nobles were come with so great a multitude, not onely out of *England*, but out of *Ireland*, *Wales* and *Galloway*, as none of his ancestors euer had. Many were the motiues which encouraged the king to this attempt, but none greater then the busie workings of Queen *Dowager* his mother. *Lewis* king of *France* had created his brother *Alfonse* Duke of *Poictou*, commaunding the Lords of that Country to doe their homages to him; one of these was *Hugh* Earle of *March*, now husband to Queene *Isabel*, who because shee had once beene the *Wife* of a King, and now the *Mother*, disdained that euen her present husband, though but an Earle, should doe homage to a *Subiect*, and thereby her selfe (bearing the stile of a Queene) seeme inferiour to the Lady *Ioan*, wife of Duke *Alfonse*. The Earle was hereupon drawne to a refusall of homage; and the like spirit shee had breathed into the hearts of the princely family of *Lusinian*, whose Ancestors had been Kings of *Ierusalem* and *Cyprus*. Nor thus contented to haue plotted a party, for her Sonne among the *French*, she is charged to haue sought by poyson to make riddance of *Lewis* himselfe, and that her Agents for that purpose were discouered, and executed. But *Æmylius* shall pardon vs, if we herein credit not his iudgement, as also in thinking her the Author of suborning *Assasines* to murther the King; for that wee find him singular therein, the * receiued opinion being, that they were sent vnder-hand by the *Sarazens* out of *Asia*, to take away the daunger which they foresaw was comming, in regard King *Lewis* was so deuoutly addicted to Christian piety, and the hatred of *Mahomets* Infidelity. There were also at the same time great Diuisions among the *French* Nobility; but the *English* (saith *Æmylius* himselfe) wrought not by treachery, but after the manner of faire warre, which they first by defiance denounced, and then did openly prosecute with sword in hand.

(27) The King of *England* being thus prouided of men, munition, and other necessaries fit for the field, and now ready to embarke; there was not shipping sufficient to transport halfe the Company. Which enraged the King so farre, that turning himselfe to Earle *Hubert*, (vpon whom hee charged the blame,) he called him *ranke old Traitor*, affirming, that

* *Quamquam Leucestrum. Mat. Paris.*

* *Reg. Wend. MS. Math. Paris. Ceri saith D. Powel in Hist. Cambr.*
* *Mat. Paris.*
* *Hist. Cambr.*

* *Reg. Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.*

* This *William* was afterward hanged by *Lewelin* for lying with his wife, as is reported in *Mat. Paris. ad An.* 1230. though elsewhere he saith it was by reason of *Hubert de Burghs* letters to *Lewelin*. *Mat. Paris. ad An.* 1232.

Queene *Isabels* practiles for her Sonne against the *French*.

Queene *Isabel* falsly charged.

* *Nich. Guillet Chr. Regn.*

The noble form of warre among the old English praysed by strangers.

Earle *Hubert* in the Kings displeasure.

that hee had of purpose beene slacke herein, as in other things, in regard of fiue thousand Marks, with which the Queene Dowager of France had (as he said) embribed him, and withall ranne at him in great fury with his drawne sword, but *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester* and others stept betweene, and saued the King from so foule a blemish, who soone after receiued him into grace againe. But that assembly was dispersed by the arriuall of a * great man out of *Britaine*, a principal confederate with the *English* against *Lewis*, who shewed the vnseasonable time of the yeare, and other reasons; and the enterprize thereupon adiourned to the Spring. So after Easter hee transports from *Portsmouth* with a full Armie into *Britaine*. The * same day in which hee set saile from *England*, himselfe did in person, *visite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refusing to kisse the sicke and leprous.* The successe of this voyage is so diuersly reported, that without preiudice to an obseruant Reader, it might be all left out. Much certainely was not done. The King of *Englands* purpose* was to haue marched through *Britaine* (where many receiued him) into *Poicton*; and as * some write hee did so, and tooke homagein *Gascoigne*. To empeach this passage, the King of *France* lay with a great Armie at *Angiers*, and the King of *England* at *Nants* in *Britaine*, expecting the repaire of more force. *Fulk Paganel* a noble *Norman*, with about * sixty valiant Knights perswaded the King of *England*, it was easie for him to reduce *Normandie* to his obedience; but *Hubert de Burgh* diuerted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an ill iourney and an vnlucky, for * they preuailed not with King *Henry*, and for their conspiracy were dispeiséd at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by losse in battle (wherin, if any battle were at all, some say the * *French* had the better, taking about foure thousand of the *English*,) or otherwise, this is agreede on, that after the wast of infinite Treasures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of *England* returned * without accomplishment of his purpose; leauing for the defence of *Britaine*, the three great Earles of *Chester*, *Pembroke* and *Aumarl*, with forces answerable.

(28) It is not vnlikely that the dangerous rebellion of the *Irish*, hastned his returne; for the King of *Connaught* and his *Irish*, seeing the King and the Earle of *Pembroke* (who as Heire to the great *Strangbaw* had goodly possessions in those parts) wholie embusied in the enterprise of *Britaine*, had inuaded the Kings people, with a purpose and hope, vtterlie to expell and amoue our Nation from among them: but their deuises proued mischieuous to themselues, that rebellious King himselfe being taken Prisoner, not without the losse of many thousands of the *Irish*. The *Welsh* also soone after brake out againe, whose Prince *Lewelin*, (in reuenge of those *Welshmens* heads, which *Hubert de Burgh* had cruelly caused to bee strucken off in cold bloud, and presented to the King,) had burnt certaine Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at * *Oxford* in the presence of the King, all the Nobility, and Clergy, hee was solemnly excommunicated; and the King there gathering a great Army, in person went to represse the *Welsh*, though not without losse.

(29) Another Garboyle thereafter no lesse disturbed the whole land, the * *Insolency of the Romans* (who were charged to *haue wrought innumerable confusions and infinite grieuances to the King, his Kingdome, Peeres and People*) stirring vp multitudes through the Land, by a *common consent*, to seeke by force to shake off the importable yoke of their oppressions. It was alleadged by these reformers, *that they had vnder hand the Kings *Letters Patents*, the *Lord Chiefe Iustices* assent, the *Bishop of Londons* countenance, and the *Shiriffes* aide in sundry Shires, wherby the armed troupes took heart euery where, violently to seize on the *Romanes* Corne, and their other wealth; which booties they imployed to * *good purposes, and for reliefe of the poore*, the *Romans* the while hiding their heades, for feare of loosing them. And though the King, on the Popes complaint thereof, seemed to mislike the outrage, yet had the King himselfe no lesse cause to bee moued with the *insolency* of the *Pope*, then were his subiects of those Popelings. For that very time the *See of Canterbury* being void, *Ralph Newill* Bishop of *Norwich* was elected by the *Monkes*, and gladly approued by the *King*, whose * *most faithfull Chancelour hee was, an vnshaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without delayes, especially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left.* But *the Pope* being told he was a Royalist, and *one that would ioine with the King and whole Kingdome (who now all strugled to shake off the Popes seruitude,) and would to the death sticke to that law, and those Appeales, which Stephen Langton solemnly before the Altar in Saint Paules Church vrged against King Iohns submission to the See of Rome*; his Election (as being a person very dangerous) was presently pronounced void. Whereupon the *Monkes* choose a second, and him the Pope misliked, for beeing too old, and soft spirited, then a third was *elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the Vniuersity of Oxford*, and him also the Pope reiected; neuer resting till they had chosen *Edmund* of *Abington*, a man more pleasing to the *Romane* palate. But the King seeing the *Great Emperour Fredericke*, euen this very time whiles hee was winning the *Kingdom* of *Ierusalem* from *Infidels*, so Turkishly in his absence deposed from his owne *Empire* by the Pope, vpon a priuate spleene; no maruaile, if in this his vnripe age, and distracted gouernment, hee feared to draw on himselfe by any opposition, so mercilesse an enemy. So that for the time these indignities were winked at in these parts: in *France* also by the wisedome of * Queen *Blanch*, and mediation of the Archbishoppe of *Reims*, and *Philip* Earle of *Bollein* of one part, and the Earles of *Britaine* and *Chester* on the other, a three yeeres cessation from mutuall hostilities was ratified by oath, betweene the *French* and *English*.

(30) *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, *Chiefe Iusticiar* of *England*, hauing with few rubbes hitherto, enioyed the most inward loue and fauour aswell of this King, as of King *Iohn*, seemes now to haue run the Stage of his best fortunes. For the King (vpon occasion of such inrodes and spoiles, as the Prince *Lewelin* continually made in the Marches of *Wales*) being aduertised by *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to giue an end to those braues and insolencies of the *Welsh*, complained; *that hee was not able, in regard of his wants*; saying, *that his Treasurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequor would doe no more then scarce maintaine apparrell, houshold and ordinary Almes-deedes.* This was not vnknowne to the Bishop, and the rest of that faction, who watched this opportunity of purpose to lift the Earle of *Kent* out of fauour: wherefore they boldly answered the King: *that if he were poore hee might thanke himselfe, who gaue away to others such Honours, Custodies, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his estate; that hee was onely to be called a King in name, rather then for any riches which he had; that his Ancestors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all sorts of worldly glorie, and wealth, heaped to themselues inestimable treasures, out of no other meanes, but the Rents and Profites of the Kingdom.*

(31) The King stung with this iust reprehension, beganne (by their instructions) to call the Sheriffes of Shires, Baylifes, and other his Officers to a strait account, for all such receites, as appertained to the Exchequor, thrusting some out of their places, and wringing out of all their full * spunges, store of coine, till hee satisfied himselfe both for the arrerages and interest. Out of *Ralph Britton* * Treasurer of his Chamber hee screwzed a thousand pounds, and

* *Mat. Paris* calls him *Henrie* Earle of *Britain*, *Walsing.* *Peter* Duke of *Britaine*.

Ann. 1230.

* The great humility and charity of K. *Henry*. *Ypod. Neust.*

* *Roger. de Wend. MS.*

* *Polyd. Vergil. li 16. Lib. Statut. ad A. R. 10. Hen. 3*

* *Polyd. Vergil. l. 16.* saith but forty.

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Paul. Aemil.*

* *Roger Wend. M.S. Math. Paris. Walsingham. in Ypodig. Neust.*

The Irish attempting to recouer their Country from the English, miscarry.

An. 1231.

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Math. Paris.*

* *Idem ibid.*

and also put him from his place, into which (by the Bishoppe of *Winchesters* suggestion, who now predominated in Court) hee substituted *Peter de Orinail* a * *Poictouine*, the Bishoppes * Nephew or Sonne, if *Paris* say true; and so, saith hee, *the Kings coffers otherwise empty and leane, were by these meanes stuffed againe, though not to their full surfet.* For these were but preparatiues to a farther scrutinie and ransacke, intended against the Earle of *Kent*, whom (vpon the * Bishoppes suggestion) the King remoued from the * *Proto-Iustitiarishippe* (or high office of his *Chiefe Iustice*) and put in his place Sir *Stephen Segraue* a Knight onely in name. Then is a strict and captious account demaunded of the Earle of *Kent*, for all such things as he was in any sort chargeable with; as, 1. For such receipts or debts, as were due to King *Iohn*, or to this King *Henry* himselfe; 2. For the meane profites of such lands, as the King was seised of, from the day of the death of the first great *William*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his Iustitiar and Marshall, whither those lands were in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, or *Poictou*: 3. For such Liberties or free Customes which the King had in Forrests, Warrens, Counties and else where, and how they were kept or alienated. 4. For such things as the King lost by *Huberts* negligence: 5. For the wronges and dammages offered to the *Romane*, and *Italian* Clerks, and to the Popes *Nuncios* against the Kings will by authority of *Hubert*, who would take no order to correct the misdoers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged: 6. For the many escuages comming by Carrucages, gifts and presents, or for the rents of Custodies belonging to the Crowne.

(32) To all which heades, the Earle answered, that hee had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which hee was freed from giuing any account eyther for things passed, or to come, and that hee had *giuen such proofe of his fidelity vnto King Iohn, as he would not endure to heare him make an account.* Peter Bishoppe of *Winchester* replyed hereunto, that *such a Charter after the death of King Iohn had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, and graunt of Priuilege, was no reason why he should not stand accountant to the Sonne.* This defence for *money* dangers in this sort trauersed or auoyded, they labored to draw him in for his head, by charging him with sundry Articles sounding treasonable; as, 1. That *Hubert* had disswaded the Duke of *Austria* from matching his Daughter with the King who sought it; 2. that he had hindred the King from entring vpon forrain lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and People consumed their Treasures vainely: 3. that hee had enticed the Daughter of the King of *Scots* (whom King *Iohn* had entrusted to his custody, meaning himselfe to marry her) & traiterously defiled the noble yong Lady, whom he married in hope to bee King of *Scotland* in her right, if shee suruiued her Brother: 4. that hee had stolne out of his Iewel-house a precious stone of wonderfull value, whose vertue was to make him who had it, inuincible in Battle, & that he gaue that stone to *Lewelin* prince of *Wales*, the Kings enemie: 5. that he by his letters had caused *Lewelin* to hang *William de Breuse*.

(33) The Earle much perplexed with these accusations (whither true or false) could hardly obtaine a short respite to make his answere: *Thus*; that *Hubert* (say * the Monkes) *who for loue of the King, and defence of the Kingdome, had prouoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being forsaken of the King, is left sole and solitarie, without friends or comfort.* Onely *Luke* Archbishoppe of *Dublin*, neuer forsooke him, but with prayers and teares besought the King on his behalfe, but could not bee heard against so great opposites, on so great pretenses. When the cry was thus vp, and that the world saw it was no superficiall displeasure, into which the Earle was faln with the mutable King, there rise forth many accusations (sauouring of much malignity) round about, vpon hope to oppresse & bury *Hubert* vnder them for euer; as, 1 *that he had poisoned the two noble Earles of Salisbury and Pembroke*; 2. *that hee had also procured Falcasius de Brent, and Richard Archbishop of Canterbury to be made away*; 3. *that by Sorceries and Enchantments, hee had diuerse the King to fauour him aboue all other*; 4. *that in the victory gotten against the French by Sea, hee forceably tooke many Prisoners from the Kings Sailers, and made his benefite of their ransoms, contrary to right, and that hee had spoiled and disinherited many*; 5. *that hee had without triall vniustly put to death Constantine, for which excesse the Citizens of London required iustice against the said Hubert.* The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the City, that all such as could charge *Hubert* with any wrong; should repaire to Court, and there receiue immediate redresse. This strange course of proceeding did so appale and terrifie the Earle, that hee forthwith fled to the Priorie Church of *Merton* in *Surrey*, where among the Chanons, hee sheltered his head for a time.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at *Lambeth*, at the * day appointed for *Huberts* answere, hee (being made to beleeue that the King would put him to a most foule death) durst not appeare, or peepe forth of his sacred refuge. The *Londoners* were assembled in Armes (by the Kinges commaund) to the number of about twenty thousand vnder banners displayed to dragge the Earle out of Sanctuary: but vpon the Earle of *Chesters* wiser Counsell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a bloudy multitude (who mortally hated him for *Constantines* death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbishoppe of *Dublin* still performing the office of a true friend, ouerslips not this occasion, and by his importunity obtayned day for *Hubert*, till about Twelfe-tide then next ensuing, and the King for his assurance, during the *Interim*, giues him letters Patents. *Hubert* thinking himselfe secure for the present, is now vpon his way toward his wife at the Abbey of Saint *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, but his enemies so preuailed by their suggestions, that Sir *Godfrey de Crancumb* Knight, with three hundred armed men, was sent to apprehend the Earle in *Essex*. Hee hauing intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at * *Brentwood*, which adioyned to his lodging; from whence those rough Souldiers haled him (hee holding in one *hand a Crucifix, and in the other the Sacrament) and sent for a Smith to make for him shackels of yron. But when the Smith vnderstood, that it was for *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, he refused, vttering such words (if *Mathew Paris* doe not Poetize) as did well shew that honourable thoughts are sometimes found in the hearts of men, whose fortunes are farre from honour; for hauing first drawne a deepe sigh, hee said; * *Doe with mee what yee please, and God haue mercy on my soule; but as sure as the Lord liues, I will neuer make yron shackles for him, but will rather die the worst death that is. For is not this that most loyall and couragious Hubert, who so often hath preserued England from being destroyed by strangers, & restored England to England? He who faithfully and constantly serued his Soueraigne Lord King Iohn in Gascoigne, Normandy, and else where, that he was compelled to eate the flesh of horses, whose high courage euen Enemies admired? he, that so long defended Douer Castle, the Key of England, against all the exquisite slegat of the French, and by vanquishing them at Sea, brought safety to the Kingdome? what need I rehearse his excellent doings at Lincolne and Bedford? Let God be iudge between him and you, for vsing him so vniustly and inhumanely, repaying good with euill, nay, requiting his most excellent deserts with the worst recompence that can be.* But Sir *Godfrey*, and his blacke band regarded not such speeches, but otherwise binding the Earle hard, they set him on horseback, and so conuayed him to the Tower of *London*.

(35) This

Other malicious Articles obiected.

The hanging of *Constantine* obiected.

The Earle of Kent takes Sanctuary.

* On *Holyrood* day, 14. Sept.

The Earle again takes Sanctuary.

* *Fab. Lond. MS.*

* *Rog. Wend. M.S. Mat. Paris.*

The honest and noble mind of a poore Artificer.

* *Addit. M. Par. ad Wendou.*

A pithy speech of that Artificer.

The Earle restored to the Sanctuary from whence hee was taken.

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made knowne to *Roger* Bishoppe of *London*(whose Diocesse it was) he confidently tels the King, that if the Earle were not restored to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authors of that outrage. The Earle is accordingly restored: but the Sheriffes of *Essex* and *Hertford*, at the Kings commandement, with the powers of their counties besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they hauing cast a Trench about it that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth and render himselfe, bearing all things with an equall mind, *as one that had a cleare conscience before God*, which hee professed to haue. While the Chappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbad all men once to make mention of *Hubert* in his hearing. No maruaile then if it bee said, that *the Princes indignation is death.* The Archbishoppe of *Dublin* neuertheless was not deiected, but with praiers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, *Huberts* enemies possessing his soule and senses. *Hubert* therefore is againe imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemes could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of gold, and other riches, which the *Knights Templars* had in their custodie vpon trust, & without *Huberts* consent refused to deliuer. *Hubert* therefore willingly yeelds; which when the *Depositaries* did giue vp, the value seemed incredible. This hoording perhaps was *Huberts* crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recouer out of these deadly pangs and conuulsions of fortune, and himselfe to bee made capable of curing. Well, the king obtains this precious booty, but his enemies would haue his bloud also; saying, *sith hee was conuicted of theft and fraud, it was meet he should die a most shamefull death.* It seemes, they thought, that the verie finding of so much treasure was a conuiction of fraud in the getting, and that the King must bee interpreted to haue lost, whatsoeuer the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden balme, for hee answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I haue heard) faithfully enough serued my vncle King Richard, and my Father King Iohn, and if he haue done ill towards me, hee shall neuer therefore die an euill death. For I had rather be reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruell Tyrant, or a bloudy man toward him, who hath long serued mee and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his euill deedes, which are not as yet manifest, nor proued true, then all his good deeds, which are plainelie knowne to the Realme, and to vs all.* Hereupon *Hubert* had all such lands granted vnto him, as eyther King *Iohn* had giuen, or himselfe had purchased. There vndertooke for him to the King(as sureties) the Earles of *Cornwall*, and *Warrenn*, *Marshal* & *Ferrars*, and himselfe was committed to the **Castle of Deuises*, there to abide in free Prison, vnder the Custody of foure Knights, belonging each of them to one of these foure Earles. This *Court-storme* thus in part ouerblowne, let vs take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

* *Rs.Wend. M.S. Mat.Paris.*

The Archbishop of *Dublin* a faithfull friend to *Hubert*.

The Earles treasure deliuered to the King.

* *In Wiltshire.*

An. 1233. *An.reg.17.*

(36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe vpon some one mans counsell, was now wholy swayde by *Peter de Rupibus* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, who had therefore wrought the Earle out of grace, that hee might soly raigne, and predominate in the gentle King. Which the better to effect, the Bishoppe procures him to displace the * *English* Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate *Poictouines* and *Britons*; who comming ouer to the number of about two thousand, he stuffes his Castles with them; and(in briefe) did as it were wholy entrust himselfe, his *treasures*, *strengthes*, and the *Realme* to them. *So that* * *Iudgements were committed to the vniust, Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Iustice to wrong-doers.* Such as would haue praied redresse for these abuses, were interrupted, and put off by the *Bishoppe of Winchester*. Among them who were remoued from their places in Court, was one *Sir William de Redune* a Knight, and Deputy Marshall to *Richard* Earle of *Pembroke*. This was to the Earle very displeasant, which ioyned with a consideration of the publike cause and danger, he associates vnto him certaine of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, vpon euery discontent,) and in the Company of them aduanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many hee reproueth; *for that he had, through sinister aduise, called in the Poictouins, to the oppression of the Realme, of his naturall subiects, of their Lawes and Liberties: humblie therefore hee beseecheth him that hee would spedily reforme such abuses, which threatned the imminent subuersion both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if hee did not, himselfe and other Lordes, would so long withdraw their attendance, as he entertained Strangers.* The Bishoppe hereunto makes answere; *That the King might well and lawfully call in what Strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might be able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience.* When the Oracle would speake no otherwise, they departed from Court greatly discontented; firmely promising one to the other, that in such a cause which did so touch them all, they would like men stand together while anie breath was in their bodies.

The King relenteth towards the Earle, and will not take his life.

* *Wend.MS.*

* *Math.Paris ex Reg. VVend. Iudicia committuntur iniustis, leges ex legibus, pax discordantibus, iustitia iniriosis.*

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle *Marshall*, but counting it a part of their strengthes, to vse the regall power toward the weakning of the *English*, nourish in the King his auersion. The minds of men sufficientlie inclining of themselues, to doubt the worst vpon such diuisions, had their feare increased by sundrie prodigies of strange thunders and raines, but especially of foure redde *Parhelions* (or resemblances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing about the parts of *Hereford* and *Worcester*) from morning till night in the Skies: and indeed much trouble immediatly ensued aswell in *England* as *Wales*, & *Ireland*. The *Poictouins*, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guarded with troupes of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings commaund summoned to another Parliament at *Oxford*, refused to come. While the King was there, one * *Robert Bacon*, who vsed there to preach before the King and Prelates, freelie *told him, that if hee did not remoue from him Peter Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Riuallis, he could neuer be in quiet.* The King did hereupon a little come to himself, & *Roger Bacon a Clergy-man* also of a pleasant wit, did second *Roberts* aduise, telling the King that * *Petra* and *Rupes* were most daungerous things at sea, alluding to the Bishoppes name, *Petrus de Rupibus.* The King therefore(as he had the happines in his mutability, to change for his more security) taking that good aduise of *Schollers*, which he would not of his Peeres, summons a Parliament to be holden at * *Westminster*, giuing the world to know withall, that his purpose was *to amend by their aduise, whatsoeuer ought to be amended.*

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arriued sundry strangers, men of warre with Horse and Armour, and not trusting the *Poictouine* faith, came not, but presumed to send this traiterous message to the king, that if out of hand hee *remoued not Peter Bishop of Winchester, and the Poictouines out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the kingdom, would driue him, & his wicked Counsellors together out of it, and consult about creating a new Soueraigne.* The king (whom his fathers example made more timerous,) could easily haue beene drawne, to haue redeemed the loue of his naturall Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishoppe of *Winchester* and his friends infused more

more spirite into him. Whereon, to all those whom hee suspected, the King sets downe a * day, within which they should deliuer sufficient pledges to secure him of their loialty. Against that day the Lords in great numbers make repaire to *London*, but the Earle Marshall (admonished of danger, by his sister the Countesse of *Cornwall*) flies backe to *Wales*, and chiefly for want of his * presence nothing was concluded. The King not long after is at *Gloster* with an Armie, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refused, the King therefore burns their Mannors, and giues away their inheritances to the *Poictouines*.

(39) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but tooke strength rather by weight then number: the known Actors were the *Earle Marshal*, the *Lord Gilbert Basset*, and many other of the inferiour Nobles. The Bishoppes Arts had pluckt from him, the *Kings Brother*, and the two *Earles of Chester and Lincolne*, (who dishonourably sold their loue * for a thousand Markes,) and otherwise, as it seemed, secured the rest: neuertheless, these may well bee thought, not to haue borne any euill will to their now forsaken confederate, the *Earle Marshall*, who tooke himselfe to handle the common cause; certainely hee handled his owne safety but ill, as the euent shall demonstrate. The Earle hearing these things, contracts strict amity with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whose powers thus knit together, by aduantages of the Mountaines, were able to counterpeize any ordinary inuasion. To the Kings aide, *Baldwin de Gisnes* with many Souldiers came out of *Flanders*. The King now at *Hereford* in the midst of his Forces, sends from thence (by *winchesters* counsell) the Bishoppe of Saint *Davids*, to defie the Earle Marshall; how farre soeuer this word *defie* extends it selfe, sure it seems that the Earle hereupon vnderstoode himselfe discharged of that obligation, by which hee was tied vnto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithstanding after some small attempts, and better considerations, did promise and assume, that by aduise of his Councell *all that was amisse should (at a * day appointed) bee rectified and amended*. About which time, *Hubert de Burgo*, hauing intelligence that the *Bishoppe of Winchester* (who was a *Poictouine*) * plotted his death, escaped out of the Castle of *Deuises* (where he was prisoner) to a neighbour Church, but was haled from thence by the *Castle-Keepers*. The Bishop of *Sarisbury* (in whose Dioceese it happened) caused him to bee safe-restored to the same place, from whence by the Earle Marshall, and a * troupe of armed men his friends, hee was rescued and carried into *Wales*.

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed, holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary passage of speech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Bishoppe of *Winchester*. For, when the English Bishops and Barons humbly besought the King, *for the honour of Almighty God to take into grace his naturall Subiects, whom (without any triall by their Peeres) hee called Traitors*: the Bishoppe (offended it seems, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and answeres; *That there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of France, and that therefore the King of England, by such Iusticiars as himselfe pleaseth to ordaine, may banish offenders out of the Realme, and by iudiciall processe condemne them*. The English Bishops relished his speech so harshly, that with one voice *they threatned to excommunicate and accurse by name the Kings principall wicked Counsellors*; but *Winchester* appealed; then they accursed all such as alienated the heart of the king from his naturall subiects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

(41) The Earle Marshall, this while had by force resumed a Castle, which he had a little before surrendred to the King, which stirred the King to gather his forces at Glocester, and thence to aduance towards Wales. But the Earle had politickly barred the Country of all Prouisions, for man and beast, that the King was faine to strike aside to *Grosmont* Castle; where the Earle, with his Confederats and the * power of *Wales*, so awaited their time, that assailing the Kings Campe vnawares, there were taken about fiue hundreth horse, with the Sumpters, riches, and carriages of the Armie; vpon which losse (his men also greatly scattered) the King leauing * two noble Gentlemen with the *Poictouins*, to make good the Marches against the *Welsh*, returned more empty and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behind; and (as hee was a man of no lesse courage then deepe witte,) whereas *Baldwin de Gisnes* (the valiant *Flemish* knight) with a thousand Horsemen, thought to haue surprized him, who hauing but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Castle of *Monmouth*; the Earle alone defended himselfe against twelue of his enemies; and when his horse was cowardly slaine by them, he pitcht one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, neuer giuing ground till his Armie came to the rescue, and obtained a faire victorie, with the slaughter and captiuation of many *Poictouines* and others. His other exploits in and about *wales*, were not few nor vnfortunate; if it were not onely in this, (as what indeed could be more grieuous or vnglorious to a noble mind?) for that his Soueraigne was vpon the contrary side.

(42) The King about this time, to strengthen his life and State, with the prayers of *Beneficiaries*, and other deuoted affections, founded the * house of *Converts*, where such as forsooke the Iudaicall Superstitions, had prouisions for maintenance vnder a sober rule and ruler; he also erected and endowed a * *famous Hospitall at Oxford*, both for the entertainement of Forrainers and Pilgrimes, (who thither much frequented,) and for reliefe also of such as were diseased: So that *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, (the Earles chiefe Confederate) when hee was threatned sore, if hee would not liue in quiet, did not speake more magnificently of *charity*, then honourably of the *King*; *I more feare* (quoth hee) *the Almesdeedes which the King dooth, then all the men of warre which hee hath, and the whole Clergy, put together*.

(43) The Earle *Marshall* encreasing in strength and hatred against such as were the Kings reputed Seducers, makes spoile and booty on their possessions, and ioyning with the power of *Leoline*, puts all to fire and sword, as farre as *Shrewsburie*, part whereof they burnt to Ashes, and sackt the residue. The * King then at *Gloster* for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieued) to *Winchester*, abandoning those other parts as it were to wast and ruine. It therefore seemes, that he was not growne stronger or richer, by the displacing of *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, and the rest, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and sucke hard till they haue glutted themselues, (if at leastwise there be any satietie in auarice) whereas the old officers, hauing prouided in a sort for the maine chance, haue the lesse reason to be grieuous.

(44) Therefore the Lions skin not being large enough for the *Bishoppe of Winchester*, and his factious purposes, they piece them out with the Foxes case; an inequitable stratageme is deuised. The Earle *Marshall* had in *Ireland* all the ample Patrimonies of his Grandfather, the famous *Strangbow*. To make that member of his strengthes improfitable, if not also pernicious, they deuise certain letters directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (Deputie Iustice of *Ireland*) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they signifie, *that Richard, once Marshall to the King of England, was for manifest treason by the iudgement of the Kings Court, banished the*

* *Dos. Pow. hist. Cambr. p. 289.*

* *Viz. Iob. de Monmouth. Ralph. de Thorney.*

The Earles great courage and agility.

* Now the *Rolles* in Chancery Lane, *Stowes Survay*.

* Saint *Iohns* Hospital by *Magdalene* Colledge, the first stone whereof was laid by the king himselfe *Rossus Leolines* opinion of K. Henries Almesdeedes. *Mat. Paris, D. Powel hist. Camb. pag. 292.*

An. 1234. An. reg. 18.

* *Reg. Wend.*

The King giues way to the fury of the rebellious.

A practise to ruine the Earle Marshal.

The peſtilent tenour of the letters.

Realme, his Lands, townes and Tenements conſumed with fire; other his Hereditaments deſtroyed, and himſelfe for euer diſinherited; that if vpon his comming thither, they did take him either aliue or dead, the King did giue them all the Earles lands there, which now were forfeited by vertue of his Attainture; and for aſſurance that the ſaid gift ſhould continue firme and good, they, by whoſe aduiſe the King and Kingdome were gouerned, faithfully vndertooke. To theſe letters (which the Monkes call *bloudy*) they cauſed the King to ſet his Seale, as they themſelues alſo (being eleuen) did theirs; vpon receite of which lines, the parties ſignifie backe *vnder the ſeale of ſecreſie*, that if the Contents of thoſe letters were confirmed by the Kings *Letters Patents*, they would performe that which was deſired. The Letters patents bee made accordingly, and *hauing fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from *Hugh* Biſhoppe of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Chancellour*, who knew not thereof, they make them authentike with the impreſſion.

* *Rs Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.*

Alexander Biſhop of *Chicheſter* cleareth himſelf from diſloyaltie.

(45) The Kings mind therefore being ſtill exulcerated towards the Earle *Marſhall*, hee grieuouſly charged *Alexander* Biſhoppe of *Cheſter*, that he had too much familiarity with the Earle, affirming that *they ſought to thruſt him from his throne*; the Biſhop to cleare himſelfe from ſo hainous a ſcandall, puts on his Epiſcopall habite, and ſolemnly pronounceth all thoſe accurſt, *who did but imagine a wickednes of ſo foule a nature, againſt the Maieſty or perſon of the King*: and thereupon by the interceſsion of other Prelates, hee was receiued into grace. The King was then at *Weſtminſter*; where *Edmund* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* elect, with other his Suffragan Biſhops, bewailing the eſtate of the kingdome, preſent themſelues before him, telling him, as his loyal Liegemen, "*that the Counſell of Peter Biſhop of winchester, and his* "*Complices, which now he had, and vſed, was not ſound* "*nor ſafe, but cruell and perillous to himſelfe and* "*his Realme. Firſt, for that they hated and deſpiſed the* "*Engliſh, calling them Traitours, turning the Kinges* "*heart from the loue of his people, and the hearts of the* "*people from him; as in the Earle Marſhall, whom (be-* "*ing one of the worthieſt men of the land) by ſowing falſe* "*tales they draue into diſcontentment; 2. that by the* "*Counſell of the ſame Peter, his Father King Iohn* "*firſt loſt the hearts of his people, then Normandie, then* "*other lands; and finally, waſted all his treaſure, and* "*almoſt England it ſelfe, and neuer after had quiet; 3.* "*that if the Subiects had now beene handled according* "*to Iuſtice and law, and not by their vngodly counſels,* "*thoſe preſent troubles had not hapned, but the Kinges* "*lands had remained vndeſtroyed, his treaſures vnex-* "*hauſted; 4. that the Kings Councell is not the Coun-* "*cell of Peace, but of perturbation; becauſe they who can-* "*not riſe by Peace, will raiſe themſelues by the trouble,* "*and diſinheriſon of others; 5. that they had the treaſure,* "*Caſtles, Wardſhips, and ſtrengthes of the Kingdome in* "*their hands, which they inſolently abuſed to the great* "*hazard of the whole eſtate, for that they, made no con-* "*ſcience of an Oth, Law, Iuſtice, or the Churches cenſures.* "*Therefore we, ô King* (ſaid they) *ſpeake theſe things* "*faithfully vnto you; and in the preſence both of God and* "*man, doe counſell, beſeech, and admoniſh you, to remoue* "*ſuch a Councell from about you, and (as it is the vſage* "*in other Realmes) gouerne yours by the faithfull and* "*ſworne Children thereof.* The King in briefe anſwered hereunto, that hee could not ſodainely put off his *Councell*, and therefore prayed a ſhort reſpite, till their accounts were audited. Meanwhile the behauiours of the *Marſhalline* faction (hauing this backing at Court) grew more and more intolerable: for while the King was at *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet* and others, ſet fire vpon *Aleckmundbury*, a Towne belonging to *Stephen de Segraue*, the flames whereof were ſeene of the owner, being then with the King at *Huntingdon*. They alſo tooke priſoners vpon the *Welſh Marches*, and according to the *Law of VVarre* (which, ſaith one, is *lawleſſe*) did put them to their *ranſomes*.

The Engliſh Biſhops deale with the King about redreſſe of the common euils.

Obiections againſt the Biſhop of Winton and the Poictouines.

The outrages of the Marſhalline faction.

* *Qua exlex eſt. Matth. Paris.*

(46) Nothing had hitherto preſerued the King more, then that hee could, without great griefe forgoe any fauourites, if hee were neerely preſſed; the contrary quality whereof hath beene the cauſe of finall deſolation to ſo many Princes. For albeit the choice of *Counſellors* ought to bee free, yet by common intendment, they ſhould bee *good*; or howſoeuer they are, or are not, it is madneſſe to hazard a Crowne, or leeſe the loue of an whole Nation, rather then to relinquiſh or diminiſh a particular dependant. The rights of amity ought neuertheleſſe to remaine inuiolable, but in ſuch diſtance, that the publike be not peruerted, nor interuerted for a priuate. The King therefore, in this point not vnfortunate, commaunded Biſhop *Peter* to betake himſelfe to his reſidence at *VVinton*, without once medling in affaires of State; but againſt *Peter Riuallis* his *Treaſurer*, hee was ſo vehement, that he ſware, hee would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reuerence of *holy Orders*; commaunding alſo their *Poictouines* to depart the *Realme*, neuer to ſee his face more.

(47) Then are the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* with the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and *Rocheſter* ſent into *Wales* to pacifie things there. But the inuincible Earle *Marſhall* had now croſt the Seas into *Ireland*, to take reuenge for the ſpoiles and diſſeiſures, which his hired enemies had made in his lands there; by whoſe plots, according to that ſecret agreement, hee was finally taken, and died of a wound giuen him in the backe, as hee with admirable manhood defended himſelfe. His *Body* was buried in *Kilkennie*, (which pleaſantly-ſituated Towne our Soueraigne, King *Iames* erected into a City,) where himſelfe in his life had appointed, in the *Oratorie* of the *Minorites*: in which Town, as yet ſome ſmall tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the Eaſt window of the Abbey-Church of S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, and in the Abbey of S. *Dominicke*, the ancient Armories of **Marſhal, Lord of Kilkenny*, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was ſhared by the Contractors according to the purport of the Letters patents: but when the King heard of his death, hee (to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the loſſe of ſo braue a Knight, affirming *that he had left no Peere behind him in the Kingdome*. A bleſſed King, ſaith *Paris*, *to loue euen thoſe who had offended him*.

(48) The Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* with the other Biſhoppes, repaired to the King at *Gloceſter*, vpon their returne from *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, who pretended hee could not conclude, till the King had receiued into grace ſuch of the baniſhed Nobility, with whom himſelfe had beene confederated during the late diſpleaſures. The King hereupon moued with Pittie, ſends forth his Proclamations, that all ſuch as were outlawed or proſcribed, ſhould bee at *Glouceſter* vpon a certaine day, there to be receiued into the Kings fauour againe, and to haue reſtitution of their inheritances; but leſt they might ſuſpect any euill meaſure, it was ordered that they ſhould bee in the Churches protection, and come vnder the ſafe-conduct of the Archbiſhoppe and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* (and lately chiefe Iuſticiar of *England*) repaire; vpon whom, by mediation of the *Biſhops*, the compaſsionate King looks gratiouſly, receiuing him in his Armes with the kiſſe of peace; in like ſort was the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and all others of that fellowſhippe, receiued into fauour, their ſeuerall liuings and rights fully reſtored; and both *Hubert* and *Baſſet* admitted to bee of his Councell. And, that nothing might bee wanting to make the ioy vniuerſall; *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earle *Marſhall*, had the whole Earldome conferred vpon him with all the lands and rights thereof whereſoeuer, notwithſtanding the foreſaid treacherous conueyance; whom alſo the King made *Knight* at *VVorceſter*, and deliuered into his hands the

the *Rod of the Marſhalſhip*, according to the cuſtom. Howbeit in all theſe points the King may ſeeme but to haue temporized (as thereto driuen by ouerbearing inducements) or elſe greatly afterward to haue changed his iudgement, becauſe hee openly at one time * called the ſaid *Richard a bloudy Traitour*, and cauſed this *Gilbert* to bee forcibly kept out of the *Court* vpon a *Chriſtmas day*.

(49) Vpon this reconcilement the practiſe, by which the late great *Marſhall* was deſtroyed, and his poſſeſsions diſmembred, came to light; the copy of the letters, which had beene ſent into *Ireland*, being by commandement of the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, openly read in the preſence of the King, the Prelates, Earles and Barons. It moued teares in all of them; the King with an *Oath* affirming that hee knew not the contents of the ſaid letters, though by the vrging of the Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*, *Riuallis*, *Segraue*, *Paſſeleu*, with other of his Councell, hee had cauſed his Seale to bee put vnto them. At the ſound of Summons to make their ſeuerall appearances, the Malefactors take *Sanctuary*, the *Biſhop* and *Peter de Riuallis* in *Wincheſter* Church, *Segraue* in *Leiceſter Abbey*, *Paſſeleu* in the *new Temple*, and others otherwhere. In the end, vpon the interceſsion of *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, who piouſly endeauoured to extinguiſh all occaſions of further diſſention in the Kingdome, and vndertooke they ſhould haue a lawfull triall, the delinquents appeared at *Weſtminſter* before the King; *who * ſate in perſon with his Iuſticiars vpon the Bench. Peter de Riuallis* was firſt called (for the Biſhop came not,) whom the King ſhot through with an angrie eye, ſaying; *O thou Traitour, by thy wicked aduiſe, I was drawne to ſet my Seale to theſe treacherous letters for the deſtruction of the Earle Marſhall, the Contents whereof were to mee vnknowne; and by thine and ſuch like counſell, I baniſhed my naturall Subiects, and turned their minds and hearts from me. By thy bad counſel, & thy Complices, I was moued to make warre vpon them to my irreparable loſſe, and the diſhonour of my Realme, in which enterprize I waſted my treaſure, and loſt many worthie perſons, together with much of my royall reſpect. Therefore I exact of thee an account aſwell of my treaſure, as of the cuſtodies of wardes, together with many other profites and eſcheates belonging to my Crowne.* *Peter* denying none of the accuſations, but falling to the ground, thus beſought him. *My Soueraigne Lord and King, I haue beene nouriſhed by you, and made rich in worldly ſubſtance, confound not your own Creature, but at leaſtwiſe grant mee a time of deliberation, that I may render a competent reaſon for ſuch points as I am charged with. Thou ſhalt* (ſaid the King) *be carried to the Tower of London, there to deliber ate till I am ſatiſfied.* He was ſo, *Stephen de Segraue*, the Lord *Chiefe Iuſtice* (whom the King alſo called *moſt wicked Traitour*) had time till *Michaelmas* to make his accounts, at the Archbiſhops and other Biſhops humble entreaty; and for other matters, he ſhifted them off from himſelfe, by laying the blame vpon ſuch as were higher in place then hee: into whoſe office of Chiefe Iuſtice, *Hugh de Pateſhull* is aduanced. The like euaſion *Robert Paſlew* had, by leauing the fault vpon *Walter* Biſhoppe of *Carleil*, who was aboue him in the Exchequer: and thus were theſe ciuill enormities reformed, not without reducing ſtore of Coine to the King.

(50) As thoſe continuall turmoiles, and *plagues of the Sword*, much afflicted the land, ſo this was the third yeere, wherein God inflicted alſo for ſin, the *plague of famine*, whereby the poore did miſerably periſh, there being no *Samaritan* to pay for their harbouring, or to annoint their wounds with the oyle of conſolation. Our Authors, to make manifeſt, how odious the mercileſſe heart is in the ſight of God, relate a ſtorie of that time with proteſtation, that they doe it, leſt ſo memorable an example ſhould be in time forgotten. Certain * poore, while as yet the Corne was greene, pluckt the eares in the common fields, to ſuſtaine their liues; whereupon the Owners call on the Prieſt, to curſe all ſuch as had ſo done: but one in their company adiured the Prieſt in the name of God to exempt his corne from the ſentence, ſaying, *it pleaſed him well, that the poore driuen with famine, had taken his corne*, and ſo commended that which they had left to God. The Prieſt, compelled by importunity of the reſt, was entred into the ſentence, when by a terrible interrupting tempeſt of thunder, lightning, wind, haile, and raine, all the corne-fieldes about were deſolated, as if they had beene troden downe with Horſe and Cartes; that no kind of beaſt or fowle would feed vpon the corne thus laid. But (as ſay our Authors out of the * Scripture) ſeeing * *they who are pitteous find mercy*, that honeſt and compaſsionate hearted man, found all his corne and grounds (though interlaced with theirs,) altogether vntoucht and vnharmd. Wherupon (ſay they) *it is more cleare then any light, that as glory to God on high is ſung of Angels, ſo there is peace on Earth to men who are of goodwill.* This dearth was in * *France* and *Gaſcoigne* aſwell as in *England*. A *Iewiſh impiety* may well be annexed to want of *Chriſtian Charity*. There were brought before the King at *Weſtminſter* ſeuen Iewes, who circumciſed a Child, and purpoſed in contempt of Chriſt and Chriſtianity) to haue crucified him in Eaſter at *Norwich*.

(51) Theſe now calmer times, were made more happy, by the marriage of the Emperour *Fredericke* with the Lady *Iſabel*, the King of *Englands* ſiſter, a beauteous young Lady about twenty yeeres of age. The meſſengers arriued in *March* with the Emperours letters, cloſed vnder a Seale of gold; and there were ſent to conduct her ouer, the Archbiſhoppe of *Colein*, and the Duke of *Louain*. The King brought her to *Sandwich* with about three thouſand horſe in his traine; and being imperially furniſhed with all worldly abundance, ſhee tooke ſhipping in May, and in one dayes and one nights ſpace arriued at *Antwerpe*, a City of the Empire, & was euery where moſt magnificently entertained; her ſweet humility, and excellent beauty, drawing all to loue and honour her. At the ſolemnitie of her * marriage were preſent three * Kings, eleuen Dukes, thirty Marqueſſes & Earles, beſides the number of great *Prelates*. On whether ſuperſtition, or obſeruation, of the Emperour is noted at this marriage, that he forbare the Empreſſes company, till a certaine howre, which his *Viſards* or *Aſtrologers* had aſsigned, and in the morning hee cauſed her to bee carefully tended as a woman with child, and ſent word to his brother the King of *England*, that hee ſhould haue a ſonne, ſo skilfull or confident hee was; and God did fauour his iudgement, for it proued ſo. This Imperiall affinity gaue a * worthy Hiſtorian occaſion here to diſplay and emblazon the Maieſty and glory of the Engliſh Princes; but amongſt them all, none were higher aduanced then the Children of King *Iohn*, one of whoſe ſons was now a * King, the other afterward choſen to be an * Emperour, and one of his daughters a * Queen, this other (here mentioned) an * *Empreſſe*. And here doth *Vvendouer* end his hiſtory, to whom we haue hitherto been beholding for his labours, ſorry wee can enioy his good company no longer.

(52) There were ſpread through *England* about this time certaine *Romane Vſurers* called * *Caurſini*, who had entangled the King himſelfe, moſt of the great men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of *Rome*, in their cunning ſnares. Their firſt entrance into *England* was ſome few yeeres paſt, when the Pope requiring the * *tenth of all moueable goods in England, Ireland and Wales*, towards his wars againſt the Emperour *Fredericke*, ſent *Stephen* his Nunce hither to collect it, * who brought with him that race of deuouring-Monſters vnder humane ſhape, called the * *Popes Marchants*, vnder colour of

A miraculous confuſion of hard heartedneſſe toward poore Chriſtians.

* Mat. 5. 7.
* God hath a care of the liberall.

*An. 1235. An. reg. 19.

The Iewes conſpire to crucifie a child.

The Emperour marrieth the kings ſiſter.

The magnificence of the Nuptials.

* At *Worms* in Auguſt.
* *Roy. de Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.*

Marriage conſſimated by calculation of the Stars.

* *Roy Wendouer in his MS. in Biblioth. D. Roberti Cotton. Baronetti.*

* K. *Henry* 3 of
* *Richard* king of the *Romans*.
* *Joan* Queen of *Scots*.
* *Iſabel*.

* *Quaſi Capientes vrſi*, deuouring Beares, *quoth Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

* *Idem ad An.* 1237

* *Ibidem.*

of supplying with money such as wanted present pay. The * *Popes continuall angariations and extortions*, vnder colour also of the Turkish warres, kept these men (if men) still in vse here in *England*, to the * *extreeme beggering of infinite numbers, who were inueigled (either by perswasion, or crauing, or commanding or comminating, or excommunicating,)* to giue way to the Popes *vnsufferable extortions, all men wondering into what bottomlesse gulfe that huge Masse was put, which the Popes Factors had gathered.* Wherewith all mens hearts were *deeply wounded, for that all this vnualuable treasure neuer was imployed to any publike vse, or honour of the Church.* *Roger* Bishop of *London* (a learned and religious Prelate) burning with zeale of Christian charity, seeing the numbers and mischiefs of these execrable *Vsurers*, thus still to encrease, first admonished them (whom he reputed no better then Schismatickes) to repent, and leaue that wicked trade of life. But when he found them deafe to all aduise, armed with the weapons of spirituall iustice, he openly pronounceth them accursed, precisely commanding them to packe out of LONDON, WHICH TIL-THAT TIME KNEW NOT WHAT SVCH A PLAGVE MEANT, *least his flocks should be infected therewith.* But so Apostolicall and holie a remedie tooke not such effect as it deserued; for they *swelling with pride and presumption on the Popes patrociny, easily procured from the Court of Rome, that the old sickly Bishoppe should be peremptorily cited to appeare in the remote parts beyond the Sea, there to answere for that iniury which he had offered the Popes Merchants.*

(53) The King being now in the best strength of his yeeres, tooke to wife the Ladie *Elenor*, second daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*, which hee had by the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*. A Ladie about twelue or thirteene yeers of age, and altogether as beautifull and princely, as shee was yong. Her father, by * reason of warres which hee had with the *Cittizens* of *Massilia* his subiects (who vpon pretence they were oppresst, sought to driue him out of all his territories) was but a poore Prince. Neuertheless it was the happinesse of his foure daughters (whose Parentage adorned with rare beautie, and fashioned with excellently-vertuous education, made them fit Brides for any Princes in the world) that each of them had * a King to her Husband. The Eldest was married to *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*; *Elenor* to the King of *England*; *Santia* (or *Cynthia*) to *Richard* his brother King of *Romans*; *Beatrix* to *Charles* the *French* Kings brother, King of *Sicilia*. The Nuptials were accomplished at * *Westminster*; where also shee was crowned Queene with incredible state and splendor, the King himselfe wearing his Crowne also. The *Citizens* of *London* are noted of much seruiceable forwardnes and magnificence at this royall feast. The Citie was adorned with silkes, banners, Crownes, Pals, Tapers, Lamps, and with * certaine *wonders of witte* and strange showes; the *Citizens* richly attired and well mounted, met the King on horsebacke. At the Nuptiall dinner, the Trumpets sounding before them, they came in, carrying three hundreth and threescore Cups of gold and siluer, to serue the King and that noble Company with wine, according to their duties at Coronations. The King had twice or thrice before attempted to marrie, but God ordained otherwise till now; and it was a match made principally after the manner of honest priuate persons, for loue; and not as heads of publike Bodies vse to do, for seeming worldly strengths and profits. It was also begun and concluded without the priuitie of the States. The Emperour soone after requested the King to send him his brother *Richard*, Earle of *Cornwall*, to make him *Generall* against the *French*, whereby the *English* also might recouer their right: but the *Emperour* was desired to choose any other; for him the *States* of his *Realme*, (which were assembled to consult thereupon) would not forgoe, because he was but yong, and next heire to the Crowne, if the King should die without children. This answere was giuen to the Emperours Ambassadors at *Merton* neere *London*; where also the Statutes, called of Merton, were at the same time enacted.

(54) The humorous Lords began now againe to relapse into their wonted gyddinesse, taking it in great in dignity, that the King was so much ruled by his wiues vncle, *William de Valentia*; in so much that the King withdrawing himselfe into the *Tower of London*, thither none of the Lords would come. Vpon better aduice therefore hee returnes to his Palace; where some great Officers and others were put from the *Priuie Councell* and their places, not without the admiration of many. But the Bishop of *Chichester*, chosen Lord *Chancellor* in the Kings minority, being required by the King to deliuer vp the *Seale*, refused; alleaging more stoutly then loyally, that *as he had receiued it with the publike allowance of the Parliament, so without the same assent he would not resigne it.* Which thwartings of his Peeres and Prelates, incited the King (it seemeth) to resume againe into his fauour some of those his Counsellers which he had formerly dis-courted, as *Peter de Rimallis*, and *Stephen de Segraue*. But (whether on discontent hereof or no) *Richard* the Kings brother (whose seruice was formerly denied to the Emperour,) the Earles *Marshall*, *Chester*, * *Lincolne*, and *Sarisberie* with many other honourable Souldiers assumed the vow to fight in *Palestine* against Gods enemies, for accomplishment whereof they departed thither * the second yeere after. Meane-while the King to secure himselfe from dangers neerer home, trauails toward *Yorke* to settle a peace betweene himself and *Alexander* King of *Scots*; who, the rather vpon Confidence of *Leolins* amitie, (which toward the *English* was but * shadowie and alwaies suspected) demanded *Northumberland*. Neuertheles by the wisdome of friends, & moderation of both the Princes, they parted in peace, the King of *England* being elsewhere to lay out lands to a certaine * value, least he should dismember his kingdome by forgoing so great and necessary a frontire. The *Scottish* King claimed that County from King *Iohn*, who by his deed enfeoffed him thereof, as in portion with his daughter which King *Alexander* had married.

(55) *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* (remoued formerly from Court by the working of the *English* Bishops and Lords) being crased and sicke in bodie returned about Michaelmas from forreine parts; soone after which (as if that Bishoppe had brought them with him) *Paris* notes, there ensued great raines, and extraordinary land-floods: Though * indeed he was a man of great wisdome, and dexterity in handling weightiest affaires: he also built sundrie Monasteries, and besides other his worthy deedes, he left his Bishopricke so furnished at his * death (a president which few of his successours haue followed) *that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his entrance, as the verie* * *Cattle which serued to draw the plough.*

(56) The King whose treasures were exhausted with paiment of his sisters portion (* thirtie thousand Markes) to the Emperour, and otherwise, called a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obteine any * supplies from the States, but vpon * *confirmation of the Nationall Priuiledges of England formerly granted, and vpon acceptance of the Earles of Warren and Ferrars, and Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey* into his most inward Counsels; whom the King (meerely enforced to satisfie his People) caused to sweare to giue faithfull Counsell, and to forsweare all corruption or sale of *Iustice*; and finally hee conditioneth, *to relie wholly vpon his naturall Subiects for aduise, leaning all others.* The *money* gathered (the seuerest and most mistrustfull point of all,) was not to be paid into the *Eschecquer*, but to be deposited in some religious house, or fortresse of euery *Countie*, to

* *Parisiens. an.* 1234.

* *Mat. Paris.*

Azealous course to represse cruell Vsurie.

A time when Londoners were not Vsurers. *Mat. Par.*

Paris.

An. 1236. An. reg. 20.

The King marrieth.

Ypod. Neust. Mat. Paris.

* *Paul. Aemil. in Lud. 9.*

The Queenes other three Sisters had Kings to their Husbands.

* *Io. Til. Cron.*

* *Ypod. Neust.*

Westminster in *London*. *Mat. Paris.*

* *Prodigiosa ingenijs & pertenuia.*

to bee expended in the generall seruices of the Kingdome, as occasion required; so that if the king failed to performe his part, euery man should haue backe what hee had disbursed. One great and ordinary cause of waste, seemed now taken away, for that *Leoline* (who had * first taken homage of all his owne Barons) did * voluntarily yeeld to hold his whole Principality of the *Kings of England*; moued thereunto (though with much mislike of the *Welsh*) to strengthen himselfe against his son *Griffin*, who greatly infested him, being also assayled with a pallie.

(57) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaint of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (saith he) was becom the ordinarie prey, sometime of one sort of strangers, and sometime of another, Poictouins, Italians, Alemaines, and Prouincois. Indeed the *Genius*, and common humour of a Nation, is not easily alterable: and our *Misoxenie* (or hatred to Strangers) was no new quality, for * *Horace* noted it before or about Christs birth: and Englishmen can hardly see when they are well to keepe them so. But no kind of *Strangers* at that time more infested *England* (saith our * Monk) then the Romans, of which here swarmed three sorts, *Vsurers, which were the Popes Merchants, Italian Clerks, most vile and illiterate persons, which armed with the Popes Bulles possessed themselues (against all right of Priuiledges) of spirituall reuenues, and if any withstood them, they were by the Popes owne warrant excommunicated; lastly, the * Farmers and Proctors for the Romans, who cunningly scraping together whatsoeuer was of price in the Land, sent it ouer Sea to the Masters, who there lined in deliciousnes on the Patrimony of him that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods.* Insomuch, that *holy men with heart-breakings, teares, and * deadly grones*, professed it *was better for them to die, then to see those miseries on their Nation and holy men.* So that *the daughter of Sion was become like an impudent Harlot.* And as these Papall Engines dealt here in *England*, so did they with others * at *Rome*, *the Gouernours of that Church not seeking to winne mens soules, but their money, oppressing the religious by punishments, vsuries, & Simonie, without any care of iustice and honesty. Which made the Greeke Church at this time to fall quite away, and oppose it selfe against the Romane.* Doubtlesse *England* had no lesse cause so to doe, then had the Greekes; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* fast, was to hold close with the King; so the King also saw no way to strengthen himselfe against his Barons, but by holding in with the Pope, though with so many vnsufferable mischiefes. And for some such purpose of the Kings, newly now arriued Cardinall *Otto*, the Popes Legate, *greatly against the liking both of the Peeres, and of the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, who not onely reproued the King thereof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdome*, but soone after also tooke his iourney to *Rome*, to make some complaints, neither *would he stay, though the Legate recalled him by his authoritie, which euer after caused much hatred betwixt them.* Yet sundry good offices were at first performed by the Legate. The treatie of peace begun betweene the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *Yorke*, was again resumed in the same City, where *Otto* interposed himselfe toward making a finall agreement, which ensued. There were also assembled the Earles and Barons, who by the princely offices * of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the *King* their *Soueraigne*, if this be the time which *Boetius* meanes, and not the next yeere. *Otto* had formerly accorded many of them among themselues, whose disagreements had emperild the State of the Realme, so that for a time nothing but calmnesse and amity appeared. Yet soone after they stormed to see the King so * *addicted to the will of the Romans, especially the Legate*, for which, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* reproued him, as carrying himselfe *more like the Popes Pensioner then a King.* Notwithstanding the King was so prouident of his State, that the Legate calling his * *Nationall Counsel*, thither came from the King, *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey*, & *William de Kele* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the *Legate* on the behalfe of the King and Kingdome, *not to attempt any thing against the Crowne or royall dignitie.*

* At Paul in anno 11. E. Martini.

The king forbids him to touch the rights of the Crowne.

(58) *Simon de Montfort* (afterward created Earle of *Leicester*) had now wrought himselfe into such fauour, that the *King* with his owne hand secretlie gaue *Elienor*, (widdow of the last *William Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*) to him in marriage, notwithstanding that she had vowed herselfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and the angry Lords, they all took such snuffe thereat, because they were not first consulted with, in regard the King had promised to doe no weighty matter without thē, that none but *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent* adhered to the forsaken King. The head of this defection was the Earle of *Cornwall*, of whom men generally *had hope, that he would now free the Land from the miserable oppressions both of Romans and other Strangers.* Him therefore the *Legate* vndertakes, but found him stiffe and vntractable at first. For when hee truely and fatherly told him: *That if all the people of the land rose against the King, yet he being his own brother ought alwayes to stand fast with him against the whole world, and not to make himselfe Captain of the enemies, &c.* The Earle roundly replied; * *That none ought to marualle, if hee being the onely Heire apparent, had a care of the Kingdomes state, when there was no treasure in the publik coffers for defence thereof, though it were enuironed with enemies: That it was moreouer wondred at, for somuch as the King his brother did most stand in need of helpe; and good discretion, that he would not take example by such as were wise; as neither of the Emperour, who hauing married their sister, retained her with him, but sent backe all that attended her, not giuing to any of them either lands or money, although himselfe did abound in both; nor the example of the King of France, who tooke the same course though he married the eldest sister of the English Queene, &c.* The Legate vpon these and many other shrewde sharpe speeches, takes with him *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and deales with the King, who required time to answere; which the Lords granted, and met at *London* stronglie appointed vpon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in suspense, *Simon de Montfort* had with money, faire wordes, and much entreaty of Mediators, reconciled himselfe to the fierce young Earles, and so also had *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, another marke of the publike enuie. This practise (which Earle *Richard* entertained without his Confederates priuity) had profitable effects; for the controlling Lords lost thereby their *Generall*, and hee greatlie weakened himselfe in the opinion of the *Lords* and *People*; both which were points of aduantage and safety for the King. But *Simon* feeling himselfe as yet vpon no sure ground, left his wife with child at *Kenilworth*, not ceasing, till by the fauour of the Emperours letters and * *excessiue bribes, (by which iustice was ouercome, and made captiue to the Romane auarice)* hee had obtained at *Rome* a dispensation for that marriage, which yet was * doubted, whether it could bee lawfull, because shee had taken the * ring, though neither the *habit* of a Nunne, nor the *vaile*. Howsoeuer, the King did afterward sodainely breake with him, obiecting that *Montford* had * first corrupted her, and hee to couer his Sisters shame, was content to giue her in Mariage.

An. 1238.

Tpodig. Neust. ad An. D. 1239.

The Earle of Kent onely stands for the King.

* Mat. Paris. p. 451. & 453.

(59) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodstocke*, a Traitour was apprehended, who vpon examination, confest that others had vowed the same, and that hee was sent out of *Ireland* from *William* the sonne of *Geoffrey de Marisco* (one of those Patentees, which hoped to share in the lands

The combination of the Lords broken.

* So said the king himselfe of that dispensation *Paris.*

* *William de Abendun, & Peter Lombar, apud Mat. Paris.*

* *Hollinsh. p. 222. colum. 1.*

* *Mat. Paris. p. 480.*

The King in danger to haue bin murthered.

of *Richard* late Earle Marshall) to commit that * assassinate vpon him. This execrable wretch having beene a Courtier, and one of the Kings * Knights, supposing to haue found the King in his owne retiring Bed, had about midnight gotten in at the Chamber window; but God (in whose special protection, the liues of Princes are) disappointed him, for the King was elsewhere in bed with his Queen. Neuertheless he gaue not ouer, but with naked knife in hand, sought vp and downe in some other Chambers. One of the Queenes * gentlewomen (sitting late and very deuoutly at her booke by candle-light,) at sight of the furious villaine, with her shriking noise wakened the Kings seruants, who starting out of their Bed, laid hands vpon him; & afterward he was drawne in peeces with horses at Couentree. And worthily: for (as * a vulgar Chronicler hereupon saith truly,) *in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traitor is guilty of homicide, of parricide, of * Christicide, nay of * Deicide. William de Marisco*, who was saide to bee the instigator of this Treason, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate & fortified the Isle of *Lundey* in *Seuern*, where hee did much mischiefe, the situation of that little Iland being * inexpugnable. At length hee was surprised therein, and sixteene of his Complices, who all of them after conuiction were put to death at *London*. *William* to the last gaspe denying his priuity to the former treasonous attempt of killing the King. About the time of the Kings danger at *Woodstocke*, the Legate was in very little better case at *Oxford*, where being at first *honourably by the Vniuersity entertained in Ousney Abbey*, the pride of his Romans there proued so intollerable, that a troupe of the yonger *Students*, prouoked therewith to arme themselues, not onely slew the *Legates owne brother*, but would haue done the like with the Legate himselfe, whom they termed an *Vsurer, Symonist, Rentraker, Money-thirster, peruerter of the King, subuerter of the Kingdome, enriching strangers with spoiles of the English; but hee lurking in the Belfrey, at midnight escaped ouer the riuer (not without danger of drowning) and fled to the King for his protection.* For which outrage, the King sending the Earle of *Warren* with an armed band, * imprisoned about 30. of the offenders, and the *Legate* interdicted the Vniuersity, till *all the Bishops of England (purposely * meeting in a Synode) pleaded for the Vniuersity, as being the second of Christendome*: to whose importunity the proud Legate would not condiscend, vnlesse all the *Bishops would yeeld to goe on foot with the Students from Paules Church to the Legates house, (which was about a mile,) who there vngowned and vnshod, should humbly craue absolution; which accordingly they performed.*

(60) The Legate was (not long after) called home by the Pope, * *vpon notice of the scandall daylie giuen in England, by the vnsatiable auarice of the Romanes*; but by the earnest workings of the King, who feared lest his great ones would rise against him, hee was detained as a necessary euill to establish the good of *Peace*. For it was in a manner taken vp for a fashion among the Lords, to glorifie themselues with the senseless multitude, by seditiously disparaging and taxing the Kings discretion and gouernment, being farre too gentle and amiable for spirites so peruerse and insolent; which might well force his louing nature, to seeke kindnesse and aduise among strangers, seeing he could not haue it for any his deserts among the homeborne. A great reason why (perhaps) he did some few things rashly and passionately enough: it being a thing forceable to distemper a very wise man, to haue so many imperious censors to obserue his actions, and few to humble their abilities to obsequious seruices, all bearing themselues rather like Tutors or Controllers, then like Subiects or Counsellors. About which time, one *William* an ordinary Calumniator, and accuser of great men to the King, was for that impious practise condemned to die; though hee sought to peece out his dayes by the helpe of new appeachments and false criminations; but that being discouered, he was hanged vpon a Gibbet in *London*. Now also the King beganne to smell out the vndirect and false dealing of his beloued *Legate*, whose familiar friend (*Peter Saracen*) being taken Captiue by the Emperour, and to pay 10000 l. Sterling for his ransome; the shamelesse *Legate* counselled the king to *bind himselfe and his Crown for that payment. Whereby the King perceiuing what toiles were laid to entrap him, (the Romanes not caring what losse happened to the Kingdome, so they might be gainers) (were in great rage, that it repented him he had euer admitted the Legate into the land, to dissipate the wealth thereof.* But the Bishoppes of the land meeting in Councell at *London, to redresse the oppressions of the English Church*, tolde the Legate flatly, *that the Romanes importunity had so long exhausted their Church-goods, that they would no longer endure it.* These English repentances seeme somewhat too late; but that prouidence which the King of *Scotland* soone after vsed, was, as more tempestiue, so more commendable, when meeting the same Legate (for now into *Scotland* he is going to gather coine) *he denied him entrance into his Kingdome, telling him, he was the first Legate which euer entred that Kingdome; yet by intreatie to saue the Legates credite*, hee was permitted; first making a declaration, that his entrance should neuer goe for a President of any after; whereto the Legate should put his Seale at his departure; but hauing gotten what hee came for, he sodainly stole away *without leaue of the King, and carried his writing with him.* By all which vile and indigne vsages, a man might thinke the Church of *Rome* did purposely striue to draw the hatred of all nations against her; especially, sith (as we shewed) the Greekes were fallen from the *Romane vnion*, so now the Church of *Antioch* had both *excommunicated the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome*, and challenged *the Primacie aboue the Pope and the Romane Church*, as being *an ancienter See*, wherin *S. Peter first sate Bishoppe for seuen yeeres; and more excellent and deare, sith there Peter liued with loue and reuerence, whereas both he and Saint Paul were continually persecuted in Rome; which Church was now also defiled with Simonie, Vsurie, Auarice, and other haineous offences.*

(61) But (doubtlesse) it was worthy of reproofe in the King; that after so manifold trials of faith and constancy in *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, hee should now againe afflict his honourable old-age with reuiuall of accusations, when hee rather ought to haue tendred him as a Father. Among other the Articles (engines of vexation) which the King bent against him, these were 3. new ones, by which any reasonable man may take a scantling of the rest. 1 *That Hubert had taken the money out of the barrels which were sent for the reliefe of Rochel and Poicton, and stuffed them with sand.* 2. *That to dissuade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had said the King was a squint-eyd foole, a lewd man, and a kind of leper, deceitful, periured, more faint-hearted then a woman, only terrible to his owne friends; and vtterly vnfit for any faire or noble Ladies company.* 3. *That at Wodstocke, when the King was alone, he rusht in with a naked knife to murder him*: Which and many other accusations the Earle did modestly and cleerely refute. But with the last (being most wicked of all) he was so greeued, that making low obeisance to the King, he could not forbeare to say, that *hee was [illegible] to his father, nor to him, which by Gods grace did wel appeare in the King*: as if he should haue said, (quoth *Paris*) *That if the Earle would haue beene a Traitor, the King had neuer obtained the Crowne.* This seemes to haue beene a publike triall, vpon a Suit or Action of trespasse, brought against the Earle by the King in the *Kings Bench*, at which triall the King him-

* *Math Paris* vseth this word.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.* *Armiger quidam literatus*, saith *Paris*, but pag. 566 the same *M. Paris* saith his name was *Clement*, and a Clerke.

* *Margaret Riset.*

The Traitor drawne in sunder with horses.

* *Holinsh.* p. 123.

* Because Kings are annointed. * Because in holy Scriptures they are called Gods.

* *Mat. Paris.* ad A.D. 1242.

Paris.

Idem.

* *In Wallingford* Castle.

* *16 Iunij, Londini. Paris.*

Ann. 1239. * *Mat. Paris.*

Great faults in the Lords towards the King.

himselfe was also present. But howsoeuer the Earle answered, hee was condemned to giue to the King * foure his *deerest Castles, *Blanch Castle, Grosmount* in *wales, Skenesrith* and *Hasild*; and then also (as it seemes) hee was * depriued of his Title of *Earle*.

(62) After so many mischiefes patiently brooked, at last the King vpon receipt of letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law, hee was loth to offend,) commanded *Otho* the Popes Legate, in regard of the great enmities betweene the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of *England*. There was also strait commandement giuen to the *Italian Vsurers*, to leaue the most * *pure earth* of his Realme (meaning that his owne people was most innocent and free from such a sinne,) but (saith * one, who durst write any thing hee thought) *by giuing the King money, which is too much vsed to iustifie the wicked*, they for a great part *remained still, as loth to forsake such fat pastures*. And the *Legat* himselfe also staied so long, till the Pope by wily inducements and * *forged calumniations* had drawne the King, both to relinquish the Emperour his brother in law, and to suffer the Papall Excommunication to passe here against him, and money also to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taste of all the Popes proceedings against this glorious Emperour, we may take from the *Nobilitie* of *France*, who (when the Pope offered the Empire vnto *Robert* the *French* Kings brother) in their grand Councell refused to accept it, *charging the Pope with the Spirit of audacious rashnesse, for deposing the Emperour, not conuicted of any fault*, and whom a *Generall Councell onely ought to censure, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be giuen, being his Capitall Enemie. For that themselues knew he was a vertuous and victorious Emperor, and one who had in him more religion then the Pope had.* Our Legat *Ottho* (who now at length is gone) was no sooner departed, but *Peter* of *Sauoy* the Queens Vncle arriued, to whō the King gaue the *Earldome* of *Richmōd*, and entertained otherwise most magnificently. This and the like largesse to strangers, drew on the King much euill will, who also in fauour of his Queene, procured her Vncle *Bonifacius* to be chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury* in place of * *Edmunde*, who *weary of his life in England, by reason* that he could not redresse the Popes *detestable exactions and oppressions*, made choise of a voluntarie Exile at *Pountney* in *France*, where he died with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

(63) The Kings imploiments hitherto haue (almost wholly) been taken vp either in the impatiencie of ciuill disturbations, or in the too-patient sufferance of some forraine greeuances, nourished within his Kingdome; which gaue him perhaps little leasure, minde, or meanes, to pursue any transmarine designe. But now better prouided with money, then with men, (and yet not sufficiently, with money) he takes shippe immediatly after *Easter* towards *Poictou*, where the Earle of *March* (now husband to Queene *Isabell* his mother) expected his arriuall. Hee committed the Gouernment of the Realme in his absence to the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*. Thirtie Hogsheads or Barrels fraught with sterling money were shipt for that seruice. There also went with him *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, (who was returned with much honour out of the Holy-land not long before) and seauen other Earles with about three hundreth Knights, besides other Souldiers. To resist the English, the King of *France* (who had giuen *Poictou* to his brother *Alfonse*) assembled an Armie royall of foure thousand men of Armes, excellently wel appointed, and about twenty thousand choise Souldiers; with a thousand Carts to carrie their other necessaries. King *Henrie* vnderstanding that the King of *France* lay before *Frontenay*, (a Castle belonging to the Earle of *March*,) seeking to force it by assaults, sent a messenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. *Lewis* a most iust and valiant Prince, denied that euer hee brake the truce, but *that the King of England by maintenance of his Rebels, did rather seeme to infringe the Peace*. Neuertheless hee offered (so as the *English* would not protect his enemies the Earle of *March* and others) to giue him *Poictou*, and a great part of *Normandy*, in satisfaction of his * *Fathers Oath*, and moreouer, *to enlarge the last truce with a longer terme of yeeres*. These so honourable, safe, and profitable conditions, by the practise of the *Poictouines* (who feared the *French* Kings indignation would proue too heauie for them to beare, if the *English* abandoned their cause) were vnfortunately refused.

(64) When the *French* King heard hereof, it repented him that he had humbled himselfe so farre; telling his Lords, that he neither feared his Cosen of *England*, nor all his forces, but onely that *Oath*, (for restoring of the lands in *France*) which his father made when hee was in *England*. This scruple did so trouble the Kings mind, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort till one of his Lords told him, that the King of *England*, by putting *Constantine Fitz-Arnold* to death, for hauing spoken some words in honour of King *Lewis* (his Father) had first broken the truce. This satisfied the *French*. That whole businesse is thus concluded by * *Tilius*; *Hugh Earle of March ouercome with the pride and perswasions of his wife Isabel, would not doe homage to Alfonse the French Kings brother: for shee was a cause to draw the English thither, where things thriuing on his part but meanely, Hugh is constrained in the end to doe both homage and fealty vnto Alfonse.* This onely must be added, that he did vnfaithfully prouide for his priuate safety without the knowledge of the King of *England*, at such time as he * pretended otherwise.

(65) This treacherie lost the King all *Poictou*, for whereas he principally tooke care for money, presuming vpon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not onely not prouided, but sware by the throat of God, *he neuer promised any such matter, and denied he had set his Seale to any writing concerning such promises, and that if any such sealed writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of Cornwall affirmed) their mother his wife had forged it.* They were now in sight of the *French* Host before *Tailbourg* in *Xainctoing* when this improuident expostulation was made. The King of *England* manifestly seeing his perill, and hauing by his brother Earle *Richards* mediation (whom many of the *French* did greatly honour because he had by composition been a meane at his arriuall to free them from the *Saracens* in the holy-land,) raised his camp by night, and retreated with much more haste then good speed. Not long after this, the faire Citie of *Xainctes* in *Xainctoing*, vpon displeasure conceiued by the Cittizens against the King, because he had giuen the same to the Lord *Hugh* his halfe-brother (sonne to the Earle of *March*) first contriued a perfidious reuolt so closelie, that if first the said Lord *Hugh*, and then *Guy de Lusinian* his elder brother, had not in good time signified the danger, the King and all the *English* had been surprized by the *French*. There was none (among all the mutable *Poictouins*) found respectiue of honor and loyaltie, but onely one called *Hertold*, Captaine of the famous Castle of *Mirabell*, who in great sorrow repaired to the King of *England*, praying counsell and assistance, where the King with a downecast looke gaue him this answere: *Thou dost see (ô Hertold) that my forces are source sufficient to defend my selfe. Our Lord and Sauiour was betraied by his Disciple Iudas, and therefore who shall be safe? Behold the Earle of March, whom I tooke and reuerenced as my Father, hath giuen a pernicious president. I haue trusted in a staffe of reed, and the splinters thereof haue wounded my hand. Thou art the only man who hast behaued thy selfe honestly: whatsoeuer therefore thou dost possesse of mine by any iust title, take it to thee as thine owne, I giue it thee: Prouide otherwise*

* *Vide supra* de his departing from England.

A most Christian feare of the Christian King.

* *Tilius, Chron.*

*Math. Paris.

Isabel Queene Dowager forgeth writings to draw her sonne the King into *France Mat. Par. p. 570*

Poictou lost by the *English*.

Xainctes also and *Xainctoing*

The *French* Earle of *March* compared by the King to *Iudas*. *Hertold* an example of loyalty.

wise for thy selfe, as thou dost thinke it most expedient. The King of *France*, in whom all magnanimitie, bountie, and Christian vertues did shine, hearing what *Hertold* had said and done, commended the man, and manner so highly, that, saying, *He lowed and allowed such as hee.* The Castle was entrusted backe to the same Captaine, when with many teares and other signes of sorrowe, he had surrendred himselfe and it to *Lewis*. The farther prosecution of that warre was empeached by sicknesse and penurie which sore afflicted the *French* armie. An ouerture therefore for fiue yeeres truce being made, *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Henrie* to his City of *Burdeaux* in *Gascoigne*, where his Queene *Elianor* (who bare him Prince * *Edward* about two yeeres before) bare to him a daughter called *Beatrix*.

The great Lords return and leaue the King.

*Prince *Edward* borne at *VVestminster*, An. 1239. in July.

An. 1243.

An. reg. 27.

(66) Meane while the King looking carefullie into the double dealings of the *Poictouins*, who were the limitanie or border-subiects of the English dominions in *Aquitaine*, and by a nature proper to free March-men which lie betweene the hammer and the Anuill, are enured to all sorts of deuices how to saue themselues and delude others, wiselie withdrawes his * large Pensions, which they by deep dissimulations and improfitable shewes of assistance had shared among them, for which they repayed nothing but secret scoffes of their Patron and Pay-master. The Earle of *March* whatsoeuer his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made but an euill bargaine in the end: for, besides that the *French* King tooke from him no small portion of his Estate, hee was openlie appeached of Treason in the *French* Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to proue the truth of his accusation by Battel. *Isabell*, whom the *French* in passion called *Iezabell*, because her pride and turbulent practises had procured all those euils, fled vpon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her husband being aged, by the diligence & care of friends auoided the Combat, and was suffered to returne home. The king (whose comming had beene long expected in *England*) hauing ordained one Sir *Nicholas de Molis* his * Leifetenant in *Aquitain*, is now vnder Saile, although the *Gascoigns*, because his presence was greatly beneficiall, had sought all the waies they could to detaine him longer. Being returned, by reason of that vnaduised and lossefull voiage into *France*, hee was compelled to be burthenous to his Subiects, aswell by the leuie of Escuage, as of loanes and otherwise. The Iewes also felt the gripe of his wants so farre, that euen Christians commiserated: whose gold hee receiued with his owne hands, but their siluer by others. These and other importunate corrasions, were not made onely to fill vp such breaches as the *French* affaires had produced, but also to spend in entertainments and showes.

*9000 l sterling besides the Earle of Marches huge summes.

The *Poictouins* policy in this last warre to deceiue the king of his money.

*The King lands at *Portsmouth* in October.

The prodigality of kings ends in the rapine and spoile of the Subiect.

(67) Neither will the Maiesty and honour of the Kingdome permit, that such kindes of expense should bee wanting, when publike occasions do require; in which respects they are not onely vsefull, but absolutely necessary, because Common-weales are partly founded vpon the opinion which Subiects and neighbours haue of their power and riches, and their estimate is commonly made by that which is outwardly seene at such times. This care, besides the great loue hee bare to his wiues kindred and Countrimen, made him purucy for money in this manner; for in December the Lady *Beatrix* Countesse of *Prouince* * mother to the Queenes of *England* and *France*, hauing with her the Lady *Cincia*, *Cynthia*, or *Scientia* (for by all those names shee is called in Authors) and a princely traine in all points excellently well furnished, landed at *Douer*, where innumerable of the best sorts gaue her welcome and attendance. *London* was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to *Westminster*. This noble young Lady *Cincia*, was brought hither to bee married to *Richard* the Kings brother Earle of *Cornwall*: At whose Nuptiall feast, there were thirty thousand * Messes prouided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plenty. All which notwithstanding did manifestly proue (as *Paris* saith most truly) *that the world is but a very Iugler, and the pompe thereof but an idle shadow, seeing the next morrow blew away the whole varietie of so great preparations, like as if it had beene a Cloude.* Nor much vnlike is the life euen of greatest Princes, which hangeth on very vntrusty termes, as *Griffin*, eldest brother of *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* did find, when hoping by a chaine of Blankets, and such like stuffe to escape out of the *Tower of London*, where the King had emprisoned him, the line breaking, hee pitcht vpon his head, which the weight of his great body draue (as it were) into his shoulders, and miserably slew him. The King therefore punishing the Keepers for their sloth, commanded that the Sonne of *Griffith* (prisoner with his father) should from thenceforth bee more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, *Dauid* Prince of *Wales* prouoked by wronges, (chiefly done by the * Earle of *Hereford*) inuaded the *English Marches*, whom the Earles of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, and other mighty men in those parts, hauing the Kings consent and assistance, did withstand; yet fighting but with variable fortune. It was Prince *Dauids* purpose to haue freed himselfe from the obedience or tenure which hee had acknowledged to the King; for which purpose he exhibited his * complaint to the Pope, pretending that the King of *England* compelled him vniustly to hold his Principality and Lands of him. But the Kings credite, cause, and workings, easily ouerweighed the Prince of *Wales*, and preuailed.

*Stow in his Surucy, p. 367. saith she was mother to 5 Queenes, adding to the 4 forementioned, *Ioan* married to *Philip* king of *Nauarr*. *Richard* the kings brother marrieth the Queenes sister.

(68) The States of the Realme were in those dayes nothing supple, when the King sought to handle them for money: for hee about this time labouring to draw some from them, vpon faithfull promise to keepe and obserue the liberties, vnto which *he had sworn at his Coronation, and whereof he had granted his Charter*, they besought him to remember, *how often hee had wrung from his faithfull liege people (whom hee ought to cherish, not vtterly empouerish) without performing his promise.* That forth- "with after the taking of *Bedford*, hee had *Carru-* "*cage*, that is, two shillings vpon euery Plough- "land; the next yeere after, a *fifteenth* of all their "Moueables: vpon his passage into *Britain*, *no small* "*summes of money* from the Prelates, Religious or- "ders, Burgesses and Iewes: after his returne, hee "had Escuage, that is, vpon euery Shield (or knights "Fee) three markes: then a fortieth part of all their "Moueables: within a while after a thirtieth part; "By and by, for the marriage of the Lady *Isabell* "to the Emperour, two Marks vpon euery Plough- "land; at his Sonnes birth, hee by *Presents* heaped "vp no small store of money. Againe, when hee "went into *Gascoigne*, hee raised almost infinite "heapes of money from all sorts of Subiects: vpon "his returne, where hee had beene deluded and "dishonoured, hee fleeced all manner of Subiects. They now also (vnder the name of aide for the marriage of his eldest daughter) granted him vpon euery Knights Fee, which held of the King in chiefe, twenty shillings, the one halfe to bee paide at Easter, the other at Michaelmasse. *But* (say they) *how well the King will keepe and fulfill his vndertakings and promises, in requitall of the past and present contributions, he onely knowes to whom nothing is vnknowne.* But such as trauelled to strengthen the Popes designes, with collections of money among the English Clergy, found a stern and constant opposition, not onely for that they were vnwilling, but also for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phrase, that if hee suffered any such matter, hee would not faile in grieuous sort to punish all the English hee could get, in reuenge of that partiality.

(69) About

(69) About which time many ſeditious perſons were in the Court of *England*, which * hoped that warre with *Scotland* would bring them this commodity, that the oppreſsions they did to the people ſhould reſt vnpuniſhed; *for Lawes and Iuſtice haue no place in time of battell.* Their hope thus tooke beginning. *Alexander* King of *Scots* had married the Lady *Mary*, a goodly Gentlewoman daughter to the Lord *Ingelram de Cowcie*, who (as all *Frenchmen*) being a deadly enemy to the King of *England*, had laboured to weaken that ſtrength of amity, which was betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scots*, as a point neceſſarie or profitable for the tranquilitie of *France*. Their hope thus had ending; the ſaid *Ingelram* by the ſtumbling of his horſe in a Foord, being caſt out of his Saddle, and pitcht into the depth of the riuer, while his foot hung faſt in the ſtirrop, his ſword at the ſame time falling out of his ſheath, and running him through, did moſt ſtrangely end his life by a triple death, with whom it ſeemed the humour of battel between the two ſiſter-Nations likewiſe died: for not long after, (notwithſtanding the great preparations on both ſides) all quarrels were abſolutely * concluded, with relation to ſuch *Articles* as had been formerly made betweene them at *Yorke*. The King of *England* had with him fiue thouſand horſemen moſt fairely armed and appointed; beſides a moſt puiſſant number of ſeruiceable men on foot. The *Welſhmen* feared and expected that vpon this agreement, the King would turne all his forces againſt them; but hee knowing it needleſſe to vſe ſuch numbers for that ſeruice, ſent onely three hundreth men of Armes, vnder the conduct of Sir *Hubert Fitz-Mathew*, to repreſſe their attempts, but through their own raſhnes, & the Welſhmens valiancie, hee and his people were with loſſe at that time ſcattered. The newes of this bad ſucceſſe troubled the King neerely, for finall remedy whereof, hee reſolued to lead a full Armie thither. But when, to furniſh this deſigne hee prayed more Subſidie of the States of his Realme, they *with one voice and with one mind contradicted*; though alſo his debts to Merchant-ſtrangers for wines, and other neceſſaries, were ſo many and ſo continually called for, as hee could ſcarce paſſe abroad without their clamors. Neuertheleſſe, the newes which he receyued out of *Aquitaine*, where his *Seneſchall Nicholas de Molis* had wonne the day in a battell againſt the King of *Nauarre*, did ſomewhat mitigate the ſowreneſſe of theſe ouerthwarts; and for repleniſhment of Coffers, *Robert Paſſelew* ſo ordered the matter, by fining ſuch as had encroched vpon the Kings Forreſts, that hee vnexpectedly beganne again to make them ouerflow.

(70) The great helps which the King found by the new ſupply of his Treaſure, made him dayly conſider, how to augment the ſame, and how to ſtoppe all vndue Outlets, by which it was ordinarily impaired. Vpon the departure of *Ottho* the Popes Legate, who had well ſtuffed his owne and his Maſters Coffers, (and had no leſſe filled the Peoples heartes with repinings, and their mouthes with curſes of him) there was ſome hope the Romiſh *Horſe-leaches* would for a while haue left ſucking the beſt iuyce of the land; but it proued otherwiſe, new Agents, Legats, & Factors, ſtill comming ouer, *as if England had bin a wel which could neuer be drawne drie, and Rome a bottomleſſe gulfe which could neuer bee filled full.* Whereupon, before this, the King writ his letters both to this Pope, and to his Predeceſſor *Gregory* 9. deſiring them to *ſurceaſſe from thus afflicting England with their exactions; but neither one nor other of them would vouchſafe to bridle their owne wilfull motions, as if God and Saint Peter (whoſe ſteps they follow not) had euen bent their bowes againſt that Church of Rome.* With which contempt the King had the more reaſon to bee incenſed, becauſe the Pope had endeauoured to free *Dauid Prince of Wales* from his homage made to King *Henry*, pretending that *if it were done by feare or force, it was of no force but vtterlie void.* Notwithſtanding the Pope ſeeing the King and State reſolued to the contrary, was deſirous not onely to hold faſt the Kings good-will, but alſo to come into *England*; *to which purpoſe he cauſed his Cardinals to write their perſuaſory letters to the King, as a thing tending much to his ſafety, and to his Kingdomes immortall glory, to enioy the Lord Popes preſence, who did long to ſee the delicacies of Weſtminſter, and the riches of London*: but the kings Councel told him, that *the Romans rapines and Simonies had enough ſtained Englands purity, though the Pope himſelf came not perſonally to ſpoile & prey vpon the wealth of this Church and Kingdom.* The like denyal of entrance he had found both in *France* and *Arragon*, it being ſaid, that *the Pope was but like a mouſe in a ſacchel, or a ſnake in ones boſome, who did but ill repay their Hoſtes for their lodging, & the infamies of the Popes Court deſerued no other whoſe filth* (ſaith our Monk) *ſent forth a ſteme & ſtench as hie as the very Clouds.* The Pope, though hee could not come himſelfe, yet hee had his pipes & conducts to conuay this ſtench into this land, and the wealth of it backe in lieu thereof. Which was now ſo factoured by his Chaplaine *Martin*, that *certaine of the Peeres commiſerating the inceſſant depredation of the land*, tooke order for ſtrict watch at all the Ports in *England*, that all letters comming dayly from the Pope to picke mens purſes, ſhould be ſtopt. But ſoone after a more generall redreſſe was intended againſt ſo vnmercifull tyranny: the King finding by *diligent inquirie in euery Shire that the annuall reuenues here, wherewith the Court of Rome had fraudulently and violently enriched Italians, amounted to threeſcore thouſand Markes, to the great both wonder and anger of the King; which made him now beginne to deteſt the inſatiable greedineſſe of the Court of Rome.* Hereupon, for that the Pope had now ſummoned a Generall Councell at *Lions*, Embaſſadors were thither ſent, *there publikelie in the name of the whole Kingdome, both to complaine and craue redreſſe of* the Popes too long ſuffered extortions, (which were particularly there rehearſed, and *which as being deteſtable to God and man, they would no longer endure*;) and to diſauow all ſubiection vniuſtlie pretended from King *Iohn*, *as whereunto both the then Archbiſhoppe openly contradicted, and the Nobles and State neuer conſented nor euer would.* The Pope (aſhamed belike to bee ſo taxed in ſo great an aſſembly) is noted to haue ſate *long ſilent, not ſo much as lifting vp his eyes from the ground*, till at length hee cut off their importunity with this briefe anſwere, *that ſo difficult a matter would aske longer deliberation*; which vaine delay ſo enraged Earle *Bigod, and the reſt of the Kings Agents, that with threats and terrible oaths*, they ſware to remedy that themſelues, which the Pope would not. And indeed the *Nobles* at home had already begunne ſo to doe; hauing commanded *Martin* (the *Popes Agent*) *to depart out of hand, for if hee ſtayed, hee and all his company ſhould bee cut in peeces*; who preſently packing away, (*the King alſo wiſhing the Diuell to take him, hauing thus preyed vpon his land*) ſo enraged the Pope with tidings of this vſage, that his *Holineſſe* ſaid; *it is high time that we make a quicke end with the Emperour, that ſo we may cruſh theſe petty Kings* (*meaning the Engliſh and French, who both denied him entrance into their land*) *who ſpurne againſt vs; for the great Dragon being once cruſhed, thoſe leſſer poore ſnakes will ſoone bee troden vnder.*

(71) The Welſh affaires by reaſon of the caſuall death of *Fitz-Mathew* growing dayly leſſe tractable then other, the King againe prepares to repreſſe their inſolencies in perſon. Before he ſets forward, hee came into *London* to the Church of Saint *Paul*, to the intent that before his departure hee might take his leaue of the Citizens in a popular and louing manner. And becauſe neither warre nor

Then by the Popes owne rule K. Iohns ſubmiſſion was of no force.

The Pope deſireth to come into England.

Mat. Paris.

Idem.

Mat. Weſt. Mat. Paris.

The King preparing to inuade Wales, viſeth the Londoners familiarly.

want could make him forget his magnificence, and bountie, hee causèd the East-part of the great Church at *Westminster* to bee taken downe, and by aduise of expert Workmen newly to bee builded and ioyned to the West. The effect of the Kings expedition into *Wales* was, that after he had fortified the Castle of *Gannocke* in *North-Wales*, vpon the passage into *Anglesey*, and by the *Irishmen* wasted that fertile Iland, hee was himselfe enforced by sharpenesse of the weather, and for want of victuals to returne about the end of *October*, hauing taken all courses hee could to serue the Welsh, forbidding the Irish vpon pain of death to bring any reliefe into Wales; and lest that they of *Cheshire*, or the neighbour parts should giue them any succour, hee so spoiled them of all their prouisions, that they were scarse able to feed themselues; and if the Welsh compelled by famine ventred out of their strengthes or fastnesses, in or about *Snowdon*, the Garrison Souldiers of *Gannocke* were ready to intercept and kill them; and on the other side the Lords of *Brumfield* and *Powys*, though Welshmen, *held with the King, so that they were miserably straitned. The King pawnd his Iewels to his brother *Richard* at this iourney for 3000. Markes, which holpe to piece out the charge thereof. *Paris* hath a long list of great names, which dying about this time, left neither name, nor issue to preserue the memory of their Greatnes; but none so strange as of the Marshals, fiue brethren of them successiuely Earles of *Pembroke*, and all dying issuelesse; which he attributeth to the iudgement of God, for the iniquity of their Father, and of themselues, who would neuer restore certaine Manours, which their Father in warre-time had taken in *Ireland* from the Bishoppe of *Ferns*, an holy *Irish* man, who often required restitution, and for want thereof, did put them vnder Gods curse and his. *One doth indeed obserue, that the *Irish Saints* are vindicatiue; but certainely the examples of punishments for *Sacrilege*, and violent extortions are terrible in *holy Scripture*; and most fearefull was the sentence it selfe which Gods Prophet pronounced against *Ahab* for *Naboths* vineyard; agreeing with the very plague which this yeare fell vpon the house of *Marshall*.

The effect of the kings iourny into Wales.

*Hist. Camb.

A iudgement of God on a withholder of church lands.

*Gyrald. Cambren.

*3. Reg. cap. 1. vers. 21.

An. 1246. A. reg. 30.

(72) The Popes furie was now so much inflamed against King *Henry* and the *English*, for so disgracing him publikely in the Generall Councell, * that hee *vsed lofty threats, if once the Emperour were quelled, to tame England also; and whetted on the French King, to enter on the land, promising him all the helpes of the Church and Papall power.* But the iust King, not only refused so vniust an offer, (*as hauing no title to England, themselues also knit by kindred, and by truce, their Queenes being sisters, the attempt bloody for Christians, &c.*) but further ratified the former truce, and enlarged it with the addition of more yeers, because King *Lewis* was prepared to make warre against the *Infidels*, which voyage King *Henrie* would not hinder, but aduance. And that nothing might disturbe the peacefull life, with which the King of *England* was most delighted, *Dauid Prince of Wales departed out of the vale of the dying, (as Paris eleganly saith) into the vale of the dead.* The King seeing all things quiet and safe about him, doth now conuert his whole cares to the reformation of the inward maladies of his dominions, calling the estates of the land together for that purpose. To whom he there deliuered in writing, sundrie * *Articles of the greeuances and oppressions of his Kingdome and the Church.* 1. *that the Pope extorts great Contributions of the Clergy, without the Kings assent, against the rightes and liberties of the Kingdome.* 2. *that Patrons cannot bestow Church liuings on fit men; but the Pope giues them to his Romans, who can speake no English, (nor celebrate diuine seruice, nor preach, nor keepe hospitalitie, nor care for soules, &c.) but only beggar the Land with carrying away the Coine.* 3. *that the Popes Promisions and Pensions are vnsufferable.* 4. *that Englishmen are drawne forth of the Land to end their causes.* 5. *that the Pope by his* non obstante *ouerthrowes Oathes, Customs, Charters, Graunts, Statutes, Priuiledges, Rights, &c.* whereupon, the *King, Bishops, Nobles, Abbots*, and *Priors*, did all write *their seuerall complaints to the Pope, requiring speedie redresse of those infinite wrongs to the *King, the Kingdome, the Clergie, the Nobles, and the People, who would rather die, then thus daily endure those oppressions.* Notwithstanding sundry Prelates (either out of ambition or feare) vnderhand furthered the Popes desires, when secretly he craued an annuall tallage of the Clergie for maintenance of his Souldiers; and that the State should take no notice thereof, the Pope causèd his Agents to make them* *swear not to reueale this their Contribution to any man liuing for the space of halfe a yeere.* Yet the King came to the knowledge thereof; and sent forth his writs, *forbidding vnder great penaltie that the money should be carried forth of the Land.* This the Kings displeasure was much augmented vpon the returne of his messengers from the Councell of *Lyons*, who related *how proudlie the Pope reiected the iust complaints of the State, saying, the King himselfe did Frederize, and holding his People as Schismaticks.* Which incensed the King to publish his Proclamation in Euery Citie and Towne, *that none of his subiects should dare to contribute any money to the Pope:* but it came to no effect, for that some * *Popizing Bishops and ambitious Clerks (of his Councell) fearing the Papall threats, where no cause of feare was, drew him to leaue his purpose womanly, which he manfully vndertooke.*

The French King reiecteth the Popes motion as vnchristian.

Dauid Prince of Wales.

* *Articuli super Grauamin. apud Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

(73) The Bishop of *worcester* (a principall worker herein) was said to * *haue had authoritie from the Pope to interdict the land*, which perhaps was it which the King so greatly feared, and which the Monke said, was not worth the fearing. The Earle of *Cornwall* also with others (who fauoured not the Emperour *Fredericks* cause) laboured to change the Kings minde, so that the wonted extortions were as current as euer; insomuch that a * Cardinall truely told the Pope, that *England was to the Pope as Balaams Asse, which being so often wronged, spurgalled, and cudgeld, it was no maruaile, if at length shee opened her mouth to complaine: and for themselues and their Romane Court, they were like Ismael, *euerie mans hand against them, and theirs against euery man.* But if we should so often insist on the relation of this Kingdomes distresses, as the popes endlesse Corrasions from yere to yeere, and the States remedilesse complaints giue vs occasion, wee should but cloy the Reader with rufull matter, which * Monks themselues haue mournefully and copiously endited vnto vs, and set forth the too seruile affections of our owne Ancestors, who still entred new consultations about the disease, but neuer brought the medicine vnto a perfect receipt. For vpon fresh angariations from *Rome*, the King *againe assembles his State to thinke of redresse, * the common-wealth, as well of Laity as Clergie, being brought to the point of vtter desolation, as the like was neuer heard in any age*, whereof they againe made *their lamentable complaint to the King, whose duety it was to protect the land from such wrongs and dangers.* Their only remedy was, againe to write letters to the Pope, which slender meanes he could as slightly put off; and though (to stop the clamour for the present) he promised neuer to send any Legats into *England*, but on entreaty of the State, yet daily did he send his raking Clerks, *with the power, though not the Title, and Ensignes of Legates*, both into *England* and *Ireland*, so to delude the King, and still purloine his Subiects.

(74) The State of the Kingdome still requiring reformation, there assembled againe at *London* certaine Prelats, Earles and others, at the Kings commandement, where after so much purloyning by others, now the Kings owne errand and affaires was to get money for himselfe. But they (who gaue such way to the Popes collections) were now all close-

close-handed, and open mouthed; for, besides their vndutifull vpbrayding the King with some ouersights, they vntruly and seditiously charged him to haue done contrarie to the example of his magnificent Predecessors, *in that his chiefe Iustice, Chancellour and Treasurer were of his owne choosing, and not by the Common Councell of the Realme, as they ought.* The King inwardly touched herewith, yet seeing no other helpe, promiseth redresse and change for the better. Whereunto they answered; that *they would expect a while with patience, and as the King shall carrie himselfe toward them, so will they performe their obeysance to him.* So the meeting was adiourned from that Candlemas till Midsommer; at which time also there was nothing done, but all parts rose discontented. The cause of that discontentment was, for that the King, in stead of satisfying their audacious demands, answered them, *That they sought to bridle him at their surlie pleasures, proudlie forbidding that in him, which was lawfull for themselues. For that euerie priuate man may vse, what, and whose Counsell he list; euerie master of a familie preferre or remoue what officers in his house he list; which yet they saucily denied vnto him, their Lord and Soueraigne, as if Seruants and Vassals were to rule their Lords; whereas indeed he is no King but a seruant, who must bow at others becke. That therefore he would neither place nor displace either Chancellour, Iusticiar, or Treasurer as they thought good. Neuerthelesse hee required money at their hands, to recouer such forreine lands as concerned him as well as them, to see it done.* Hereupon the Parliament brake vp, and the King was left to furnish himselfe otherwise so well as hee could, euen by sale of his Iewels, Plate and other precious stuffe, after a dishonourable manner.

(75) The affaires of *Gascoign* (which one *Guasto de Biard* had greatly troubled) by the manhood and wit of *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* were now brought into better quiet, which made his presence (being returned, as it seemeth for more supplies, which went againe with him) very acceptable in the Court of *England*. The King intending to furnish that enterprise afresh against the comming spring time, left no meanes vnthought of, which either by Art or strong entreatie he could vse, to repleniish his exhausted Coffers. In which he embased too much the Royall name and dignity, telling some (and perhaps truely) whose bountie he craued, *that it was more almes to ayde him with money, then one that went begging from dore to dore.* Meanewhile the king neglects not his administration of Iustice; for, whereas the whole Countie of *Hampshire* swarmed with felons and murtherous robbers, himselfe so ordered the matter, sitting in person in *Winchester* Castle, that the infamie and danger of those places were cleared by hanging the Offendors; many of which were very wealthie, and some the kings owne seruants. *Walter de Clifford* also (a Baron of the *Marches* of *Wales*) for enforcing an officer (whom he had otherwise handled badly) to eat the kings writ, waxe and all, ran so farre into the kings displeasure thereby, that while he liued, he was made the lesse able to feed himselfe; paying to the king a very great sum of money, and hardlie escaping without confiscation of his whole patrimonie. The king desirous to be friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had beene ouer-hard, publikely reconciled himselfe vnto them, whom for that cause he had commanded to appeare at *Westminster*, and there immediatly receiued the badge of the Crosse at the hand of *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterburie*; but whatsoeuer his intention was, it neuer came into action on his part. In the meane time contrarie to his Fore-fathers example, he so much abridged the expences of his house, and his Almes, that he vnderwent some dishonourable imputation. Neuerthelesse he wisely wound himselfe out of many a Merchãts debt; whereto he wrung great helps from the *Iewes*, (as the ordinary Clippers and defacers of his Coyne,) and the forgers of seales and Charters;

from one of whom hee had at times drawne thirtie thousand markes Sterling, besides two hundreth markes in gold.

Thirtie thousand markes wrung from one Iew in a few yeeres.

(76) It seemeth an inseparable qualitie in his nature, to bee extreamly violent, in doing whatsoeuer hee had a mind to doe, and that sometime without the due respect to secular Maiestie; as in the Course hee tooke for aduancing his halfe-brother *Æthelmare* to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. For not contenting himselfe to haue sent his messengers to the Couent by them to worke the election, hee came thither in person, where the *Chapter* being set in the Cathedrall Church, hee entred, and placing himselfe in the *Presidents* seat, makes to them a speech in the nature of a *Sermon*, taking for his Theme those words of *Dauid*: *Iustice and Peace kisse each other.* Whereon hee shewed them, *That, whereas Iustice belonged to him, and to such as had the rule of Nations, and to the Clergy calmnesse and Peace, both these should that day kisse together, if they elected his brother for their Bishop*: For which he gaue them many reasons, but concluded, if they did otherwise, they should feele his Princely displeasure. When therefore they published to the King their Choise, they did it with this reseruation (because *Æthelmare* was to remaine vnder the title of the Elect of *Winchester*, for that he was not a Priest) *if such an election might stand by law, or lawfull fauour.* But the Pope, who meant to make his aduantage hereof, as well as the King, exacted of him for confirmation of the same election, fiue hundreth Markes of Church reuenewes, to be passed ouer vnto the Earle of *Burgundits* sonne a childe; which makes * the Monke to breake forth into this bitter lamentation; *O Pope, the Chiefe of Fathers, why dost thou suffer thus the Christian world to be defiled? worthily, worthily, therefore art thou * driuen out of thy owne Citie and See, and like a runnagate and another Cham, art inforced to wander vp and downe. ô God, thou God of iust reuenge, when wilt thou draw forth thy sword to imbrue it in the blood of such oppressors?* Though in these vniuersall abuses, the Pope would neither redresse himselfe nor others, yet God raised vp a stout and learned Prelate, *Robert Grosteste*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, who vndertooke to reforme the Monks and Friars; but they (who knew *Rome* was from the beginning* *Asylum Latronum*) appealed to the Pope. Whereupon the aged Bishop going to his holinesse, *tolde him that all offenders escaped, by his opening his bosome to such as brought him bribes*; who snapping him vp with angrie Countenance and speech, sent him home with reproach. The Pope was at this time at *Lyons*, where not long after the Coũcel breaking vp, Cardinal *Hugo* made *a Sermon of farewell to the Citizens; wherein, amongst other benefites which the Popes lying in their City had brought them, he told them this was a * Principall, that whereas at their comming there were three or foure Whore-houses in the Lyons, now at their departing they left but one, but indeed that reached from the East-Gate of the City to the West.* Whereby wee see, *France* had some part of the *Popes Almes*, as well as *England*.

*Paris.

*Linlo.

* He calles it a profitable Almsdeed. *Paris.*

(77) The King now wholly intent vpon encrease of treasure, neither gaue any rich presents according to the ancient Custome of *England*, and also shorteneth yet more the allowances of his Household and entertainements, without any regard to Maiestie or rumor. And to spare his owne charge the rather, he inuites himself sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where contenting himselfe with his diet & hospitage, vnlesse both he, his Queene & sonne *Edward*, yea and chiefe fauourites in Court, were presented with great and costly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courtesie, but as due. This was the vnhonourable face of the Kings estate at that time. But in the depth of his wants and rigour of his Patrimonie, he could not shut vp himselfe against the suites and aduancement of his *Familiers* and *Frenchmen*, so that it was become a common murmur in *England*, *Our inheritance is conuerted*

An. 1251. A strange description of the Kings parsimony or poverty.

uerted to aliens, and our houſes to ſtrangers. The matter ſeemed the more grieuous, for that their pride and violence were intollerable. About this time the clauſe *Non obſtante* (brought in firſt by the Pope) was taken vp in *England* by the King, in his grants and other writings, as* *Non obſtante priore mandato, Non obſtante* antiqua libertate, &c. This our ancient Author cals an *odious and deteſtable clauſe:* and *Roger de Thurkeby* Iuſtitiar, fetching a deepe ſigh at the ſight thereof, cried out both of the times and it, ſaying, * *it was a ſtreame deriued from that ſulphureous fountain of the Clergie.*

* Notwithſtanding any former commandement.
* Or former priuiledge.

* *Mat. Paris.*

(78) Another of the Kings Iuſticiars, and a learned Knight, Sir *Henry de Bath*, (whoſe Lady, becauſe herſelfe was well deſcended, filled him with pride,) was ſo confidently greedy, the better to ſatisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, hee appropriated to himſelfe aboue two hundreth pound lands. Corruption in Iuſtice (*which muſt needs be ſuſpected to be there, where exceſſiue wealth is gotten by the Officers of Iuſtice*) is but a ſandie ground-worke of a vainely-hoped greatneſſe, and may well bee reputed in the number of *crying ſinnes*; and this moued a Knight, Sir *Philip de Arci*, to appeach him before the King, both for vnfaithfulneſſe in his office, and treaſon againſt the King. The King had no hold of himſelfe, after hee was once throughly kindled. *Bath* knowes it, and therefore writes to his wiues friends to come ſtrong in his defence, that the King ſhould not dare to call him to his triall; yet withall hee ſeekes all ſecret meanes how to appeaſe the King; who vnderſtanding of this combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle of *Cornwall* his brother could not appeaſe him; no, not though hee knit vp his interceſſions with theſe minatorie words; *Wee muſt not forſake Gentlemen in their right, nor in preſeruing the peace of the tottering Kingdome.* In March there was holden a Parliament at *London*; there the King cauſed *Bath* to bee ſharpely proſecuted. Thither Sir *Henry Bath* repairs, ſtrongly attended with Knights and Gentlemen of his owne friends, and his wiues, to daunt the edge of Iuſtice, which he deſeruedly feared. The accuſations were many, (for all mē were called to ſay what they could againſt him,) and among all, theſe two, moſt hainous: *that he troubled the whole Realme, and ſtirred all the Barons thereof againſt the King, ſo that a generall rebellion was to be feared*, (which one of his fellow-Iuſticiars did openly teſtifie:) *that hee had for reward diſcharged a conuicted Malefactor out of priſon without puniſhment, in preiudice of the King, and to the perill of his aſſociate Iuſticiars.* The King was ſo enraged herewith, that ſeeing no other way to puniſh him, being ſo ſtrongly backed, hee mounted into an higher place then before, and cries out, *Whoſoeuer kils Henrie de Bath ſhall be quit of his death, and I here doe acquit him*; and preſently departs. Neuertheleſſe, although hee left behind him many men, who would haue readily executed the Kings terrible doome; yet by the wiſdome of *Sir Iohn Manſel*, (one of the Kings priuate Councellors) they were reſtrained. His wordes are worthy to bee remembred; *Gentlemen, and friends, it is not neceſſary for vs to put that preſently in execution which the King hath in his anger commanded. It may bee when his wrath is ouerblowne, hee will bee ſorry hee ſaid it. Moreouer, if any outrage be done to Bath, loe here are his friends who will take all ſorts of reuenge.* Sir *Henry* eſcaping thus from ſo preſent a danger, found meanes vpon promiſe of* money and great mediation of friends, to obtain his peace & ſafety; for at this time, Iuſtice and all things grew ſaleable. The North-Eaſt part of Wales was committed to *Alan de Zouch*, who had it in Farme for eleuen hundreth Markes yeerely, whereas *Iohn de Gray* (whom he ſupplanted in the place) paid but fiue hundreth: *ſo* miſerable Wales was let out to ſuch as would giue moſt.*

Sir *Philip Darcy* appeacheth Sir *Henry Bath* a bribing Iudge of treaſon.

The diſorderly weake and violent cariage of trials.

The King proſcribes Sir *Henry Bath.*

Sir *Iohn Manſel* ſtayes the Kings ſeruants from killing *Bath.*

* Two thouſand Marks.

* *Additam. ad Math. Paris.*

(79) *Alexander* the third, ſucceeding his Father in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, comming in Chriſ-

An. 1252.

mas to *Yorke*, there eſpouſed, though very young, the *Lady Margaret*, daughter to King *Henry*. There were preſent the two Kings in perſon, with a moſt choice multitude of either Nation, the Engliſh being in number aboue a thouſand Knightes, beſide greater States, as Prelates, Earles and Barons, and of the Scots about ſixe hundreth Knights and Gentlemen, all of them well appointed. There was alſo two Queenes, the Mother of the Bride, (who was to be Queene) and the widow or Queen *Dowager* of *Scotland*, who for that cauſe was returned out of *France*, attended vpon in royall manner with many Lords and Gentlemen of *France*. The Scots were lodged in one place of the City by themſelues. Vpon Chriſtmas day the King of *England* gaue the order of Knight-hood to the King of *Scots*, and at the ſame time to twenty others richly apparrelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple were eſpouſed. Take a ſcantling of the cheere and multitude of gueſts by this. The Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne parts (and the common hoſt of all that moſt noble fellowſhippe, which coſt him about foure thouſand marks) gaue toward that feaſt ſix hundreth fat oxen, all which were ſpent in the firſt generall ſeruice; and whatſoeuer the *vaine* Stage-play of the world* might afford eyther for pompe or delight, was there all enioyed. More worthy to bee remembred, then that magnificent gluttonie, (the natural vice of theſe our Nations) was the orderly [illegible] no childiſh action of the young *Bridegroome*, in reconciling *Philip Louell* (whom King *Henry* had latelie fined and diſcourted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. K. *Alexander* vndertaking the buſineſſe, and finding a fitte time, preſents himſelfe to the King of *England* vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, neither would hee riſe, though earneſtly requeſted, but with a geſture which ſeemed to draw teares of ioy and loue from the eyes of ſuch as * ſate round about, proſecuting his intent, ſaith; *My Lord King, your Maieſty knowes, that though I my ſelfe am a king, and through your goodneſſe honored with the girdle of Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Child, aſwell in age as in knowledge, and alſo an Orphan, my father being dead, and my mother leauing mee, though at your ſending for, ſhe is now pleaſed to bee preſent; therefore from henceforth, and for euer after, I here doe take you, both for Father and Mother, that you may ſupply both their wants, and with your paternall care help & protect all mine inſufficiencies.* The King ſcarſe able to refraine from tender teares, or to hold down his throbbings, ſaid no more but onely this one word, *Willingly.* The princely Child replied thereupon: *I will make experiment of that, and know it by proofe; ſeeing you haue graciouſly heard mee hitherto, in trying whether I ſhall reape the effect of my firſt ſuit.* Then hee declared his requeſt, and had it; ſo that *Louell* was afterward Treaſurer.

(80) The State and fidelity of the *Gaſcoignes* was ſo deſperately ſhaken and plunged by the reuenges which *Simon de Montford* (to whom the king had giuen the gouernment of their Country for ſixe yeeres,) had exerciſed vpon them, for that they had accuſed him to the King of tyrannous & proditorious dealing, and affirmed, *that his name ought rather to bee Sinon then Simon*, that but for the vent of their wines, (in which reſpect their ſubiection to *England* was verie beneficiall to their Common-weale) it was thought they would generally haue reuolted. But the King though readie thus to leeſe *Gaſcoigne*, would yet needs hope to obtaine *Normandie*, and his other lands in *France* without blowes. The King of *France* (whoſe conſcience was wonderfully tender and ſincere) had indeed written out of *Paleſtine* to that purpoſe, as thinking King *Henries* title was better then his owne: but the *French*, among whom their Kings miſfortunes in the loſſe of *Damiata* in *Ægypt*, (which was wholy * aſcribed *to the Popes auarice, who*

for

for money releaſed thoſe who ſhould haue aided him,) had brought him into leſſe regard then his excellent vertues merited, did vniuerſally and conſtantly refuſe, adding, *that before the King of England ſhould haue any more land among them, hee muſt paſſe through a thouſand ſharpe Lances, and a thouſand bloudy Swords when the Lances were burſt.* On the other ſide, the King of *England* was but in little credit with his people: for, whereas (by an agreement betweene the Pope and him,) the *Tenths* of the Clergie through *England* during three yeeres ſhould haue beene receiued toward his charges in his pretended iourney to the Holy-Land, yet in a generall aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* very few were drawne to giue their names to that ſeruice, notwithſtanding that two Biſhops and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* laboured in their Sermons all they could to ſtirre the people to that martiall Pilgrimage, and though the King himſelfe in all their view took a moſt ſolemn oth, that within three yeere he would ſet forward; the onlie reaſon of their vnwillingnes growing vpon ſuſpition, *that he onely ſought* (as the Pope had giuen him example) *to draw by this colour the treaſure of the Realme into his hands.* This their diffidence of ſinceritie in him, made him the rather incline to foſter and fauour ſtrangers, & that with a kind of peruicacie, though himſelfe by manifold neglects of his word, had worthilie bred that diffidence.

(81) The King could more hardlie find followers in ſuch an enterpriſe, for that his people had no conceit of his valour, but ſaid: *What reaſon encourageth him, who was neuer trained vp in Martiall diſcipline, nor hath managed an horſe, nor drawn a ſword, nor charged a ſtaffe, nor ſhooke a Target; to hope for a triumph ouer the Sarazens, againſt whom the Chiualrie of France hath miſcarried? or wherefore dreames hee of recouery of more land, who could not keepe that which he had in forraine parts? concluding, that he was a man onely borne to draine their purſes, to empty his own, and to multiplie debts.* This was the opinion of men, & behind his backe; but not onely of men, for *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel*, widow of *Henry* Earle of *Arundel*, a young Lady receiuing the repulſe at the Kings hands in a matter which ſhee allcadged to be hers in equity, durſt ſay thus to his face: *O my Lord King; why doe you turne away from iuſtice? we cannot now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are placed as a mean between God and vs, but you neither gouerne vs, nor your ſelfe, neither dread you to vexe the Church diuerſly, as it hath not onely felt in preſent, but often heretofore. Moreouer you doubt not manifoldlie to afflict the Nobles of the Kingdome.* The King fired at ſo free a ſpeech, with a ſcornefull and angry countenance, anſwered with a loud voice; *O my Lady Counteſſe? What? haue the Lords of England, becauſe you haue tongue at will, made a Charter, and hyred you to bee their Orator and Aduocate?* whereunto the Counteſſe replied: *Not ſo my Lord, for they haue made to mee no Charter, but that Charter which your Father made, and which your ſelfe confirmed, ſwearing to keepe the ſame inuiolably and conſtantly, and often extorting money, vpon promiſe that the Liberties therein contained ſhould be faithfully obſerued, you haue not kept, but without regard to honour or conſcience broken. Therefore are you found to be a manifeſt violator of your faith and oath. For where are the Liberties of England ſo often fairely engroſt in writing? ſo often granted? ſo often bought? I therfore though a woman, and all the naturall loyall people of the Land, appeale againſt you to the Tribunal of the fearefull Iudge, and Heauen and Earth ſhall beare vs witneſſe, that wee are vſed vniuſtly, and God the Lord of reuenges right vs.* The King abaſhed at theſe words asked her, *if ſhee did not looke to obtaine her ſuite vpon fauour, in regard ſhee was his Kinſwoman?* whereunto ſhee anſwered: *That ſeeing hee had denied that which the Law gaue, how could ſhee hope to obtain her ſuit by fauour? Therefore* (ſaid ſhee) *I doe appeale to the preſence of Chriſt, againſt alſo thoſe your Counſellors, who bewitch and dull your iudgement, and draw you out of the path of truth, gaping onely after their own commodity.* But the King (ſaith *Paris*) remained incorrigible, and the Lady loſt both her charges, hopes and trauell.

(82) Thus harſh were the former yeeres to the King and Kingdome: let vs ſee what more gentle or rougher accidents riſe vnto vs in the next. But it then the firſt little better appeares; for the King hauing bought out the time which *Simon de Montfort* had in the gouernment of *Gaſcoigne* (which now he giues to Prince *Edward*) was truely aduertiſed, that *Guaſto de Biard* was turned *Spaniſh*, and labored by all the meanes hee could to plucke that part from the *Engliſh* obedience. *Alfonſe* K. of *Spaine*, claimed the ſame by vertue of a Charter made therof by *Henry* the ſecond, confirmed by *Richard* and *John* Kings of *England*. *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* thus diſplaced, to let the world ſee that hee would not for any preferment incurre the ſuſpition of diſloialty, refuſed moſt honorable offers, which, (after the death of Lady *Blanch*, Queene *Dowager*, and Rectrix of *France*,) the *French Nobility* made him, if he would with his counſell and Force helpe to ſuſtaine that Monarchie, while *Lewis* their king was abſent. In the meane time the king of *England* (all old matters being buried in obliuion, vpon hope of future amendment) for aduancement of his martiall Pilgrimage had large aides granted him in Parliament; but vpon condition that hee ſhould now at laſt, once for all, ſubmit himſelfe to gouerne by a Law, not at his pleaſure, confirming the Charters of Liberties, againſt the breakers whereof a moſt ſolemne curſe was pronounced by the kings aſſent. The Archbiſhoppe, Biſhoppe, and the reſt of the Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that curſe with Tapers burning, which when they had throwne away vpon the pauement, where they lay extinguiſhed and ſmoking, the King (hauing laid his hand on his breaſt all the while,) ſware to keepe all Liberties vpon pain of that execratory ſentence; *as he was a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, and a King annointed and crowned.* The buſineſſes of *Gaſcoigne* ſoone after called him to a neerer warre, whether vpon his promiſe made to the *Gaſcoigns*, he ſet ſaile, leauing his ſonne Prince *Edward*, and his kingdome to the gouernment of his Brother, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Queene his wife: his arriuall there giuing a light and ſtay to all the affaires therof. Such Holds as held againſt him hee reduced to obedience, but with too faulty a Clemency ſparing moſt open Traitors, whereas if an Engliſhman had offended, he was ſure to ſmart for it, and that rather more then leſſe.

(83) His feare now was, leſt the *Gaſcoigns* ſhould draw in the *Spaniards*, and relinquiſh his Soueraignty. To preuent this, hee verie prudently and ſeaſonably ſent Ambaſſadors to *Alfonſe* King of *Spain* and *Caſtile*, to deſire that the Lady *Elianor* his ſiſter, might be giuen in marriage to Prince *Edward*. The motion was well approued, and beſides that they brought Letters Patents from the King of *Spaine*, in which, among all other Clauſes it was contained, that the *King of Spaine did quit his claime and whole right, whichby vertue of any Grants from Henry, Richard and Iohn Kings of England, he had, or ought to haue.* Hereupon hee ſends both for his Sonne (whom the king of *Spaine* deſired might be conuaied to him, onely with a noble intent to ſee and doe him honour) and for his wife the Queene. Among other Acts of ſincerity and loue, *Alfonſo* ſent to the King of *England* good aduiſe: that, *after the example of good Kings and Princes, he ſhould be a Lambe toward his Subiects, and Seruitours, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels.* *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* with a gallant Troupe of Souldiers offered his ſeruice to the King, who admiring the Earles charity, receiued him with all ioy poſſible: at which reconciliation

An. 1253. An. reg. 37.

The king of *Spaine* claimes *Gaſcoign.*

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* refuſeth high honour in *France* to auoid the ſuſpition of diſloialty to *England.*

Magna Charta confirmed, helps the king to mony.

The kings oath to obſerue that confirmation.

The king requeſteth the king of *Spaines* ſiſter to be giuen for wife to his ſonne *Edward.*

The King of Spaine quitteth his claime to Gaſcoigne.

The king of Spaines aduiſe to the king of *England.*

*Mat. Paris. *Stillatim ib.

the *Gascoignes** who feared him like lightning, were so appalled, that they came* droppinglie in, and became good Subiects. That valorous Earle was thereunto moued by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Grosted*, called *the* Maull of the Romans*, as being a great curbe in those dayes of the Popes vngodly courses towards his State of *England*; against which hee writ a* famous letter to his Holinesse, learnedlie prouing, *that his detestable, abhominable, soule-murdering actions, did euince him to be an Heretike, worthy of death, to be Antichrist, and to sit in the Chaire of pestilence, as next to Lucifer himselfe, and that he had no power to excommunicate such as resisted those his actions.* With which Catholike Letter, *the Pope was besides himselfe for rage, swearing by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, that he could find in his heart to make that doting Prelate a mirrour of confusion to all the world for his sawcinesse.* But some wiser Cardinals *aduised him from any sharper* course against him; telling the *Pope that all was true he said of their Courts abuses; that he was holier then any of themselues, and one who had no Peere amongst all other Prelates for sanctity or learning; and therefore it were best to hush the matter, for feare of stirring coales, especially sith it was knowne, that at length there would bee a departure from their Church.* This noble Prelate dyed this very yeare, with opinion of a Saint (in despite of the Pope, *who would haue had his bones throwne out of the Church*) leauing this* *Prophetical farewell at his verie last gaspe; that the Church would neuer bee set free from such her Egyptian seruitude, but by the dint of bloudy sword.*

* Romanorum malleus & contemptor. Paris.

*This letter is verbatim in Paris.

* Mat. Paris.

Ann. 1254. Prince *Edward* married the king of *Spaines* sister.

(84) Soone after the Queenes arriuing in *Gascoigne*, when all things were rightly prepared, Prince *Edward* was thence sent into *Spaine*, where, at the City of *Burgos* hee married the Lady *Eleanor*, sister to the King with great honour, hauing first receiued Knight-hood at his hand; which done, hee returnes with his Bride to *Burdeaux*, from whence they all together came safe through *France* into *England*. What treasure this noble young Princesse brought in portion to her husband, wee cannot say; but the King forthwith gaue his sonne *Gascoigne*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. He had drawne vpon himselfe a debt, in this and other his actions of aboue three hundred thousand Marks; the King of *France* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gaue them both safe-conduct in their passage, and did to him, & his whole noble company all the honor which the wit of man, or the most goodly kingdome of *France* could afforde. There were at *Paris* in this entertainment *Beatrix* the Countesse of *Prouince*, and foure Queenes her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Houshold traine, a thousand choice & excellent horse, beside Carriages, Sumpters, and Coursers. Hee was lodged in the Pallace of the olde Temple, being an house almost capable of an Armie, where the next morning hee commanded that all sorts of poore should be relieued with his charity and Almes. The magnificence of the great Feast of the Kings, at the King of *England's* charge, shall bee expressed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Assuerus*, *Arthur*, *Charles* the Great, had neuer any such. After dinner, the King sent to the *French* Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall presents. The King of *England* sate at the Table on the right hand of the *French* King, and the king of *Nauarre* on the left. But the *French* King contended much in curtesie to the contrary, till K. *Henry* obstinately refused saying, *the King of France was his Lord, & should be, for there was reason*, meaning, because hee held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the most iust and gracious King *Lewis* with a soft voice answered; *Would to God euery one had his right without offence*, meaning such other lands as the *English* Crowne had right vnto. At another time he gaue the reason, why the Peeres of *France* would not consent to the restitution of *Normandy*, for *that the Normans would neuer learne to keepe their Borders in quiet.* The *English* King did to himselfe, and to the *English* name great honour, in his whole behauiour and carriage, which was full of *Charity* towards the poore (a vertue for which in those dayes Kings chiefly sought to be commended) of *Maiesty*, *Magnificence*, and all sorts of royall liberality and gentlenesse. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole daies iourny vpon the way. He staide a while *at Boloigne* for a wind, but returned safe, hauing peaceably measured a way through *France*, out of *Gascoigne*, which his martiall Nephews kings of *England* trode afterward in another maner, drawing lines of bloud and fire ouer all *France*, the most pleasant, rich, and spacious realm of Christendome.

The estate which the king gaue him in present.

The kings debt.

The king of *England* most honourably entertained in *France*.

(85) *Elenor* Prince *Edwards* wife landed at *Douer* in great State. On the other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a *Ring*, which the Pope sent (so to ingage King *Henry* in his warres against *Manfredus*, the sonne of the late Emperour *Fredericke*) was solemnly inuested in the kingdom of *Sicilie*. The Ambassador was a Bishoppe, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in shew glorious, but in truth both delusory and vnprofitable, aswell because the King had already vnreasonably interessed himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope hauing changed his vow against the Turkes, into this against Christians,) as also, for that the *Romane Armie* which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge; was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) vtterly ouerthrown, before this ayrie honour could bee setled in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father (whose credulity the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inueigled, by drawing him into obligations of *two hundreth and fifty thousand pounds) openly tearmed and vsed as the *King of Sicily*, (for which also he vsed this anexed Seale) highly pleasing himself in the varietie of a wastfull Title to his owne, and *his whole Kingdomes* extreme impouerishment.*

*Paris

*Iustin. extorsiones flumabile.

Edmund King of *Sicil.*

A.D. 1256. A. reg. 40.

(86) The Calamities of the Kingdome, in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenanced by the King, who should haue repelled them. But the Pope hauing no so easie way to be supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King were well accorded to grinde the people each for the others vses; the King to satisfie the Popes Auarice; the Pope to aduance the Kings Ambition. The gayning of the Kingdome of *Sicilie* must bee the colour, for which the King was resolued to goe in person; and therefore *Rustandus* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the Tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes vse and the kings, indifferently, had called

called a great Councel the former yeere, and adiourned it * till this; where he also required all the Prelates to binde themselues to the Popes marchants, as hauing receiued of them a great sum of money, which was imploied to the vse of their Churches. At which guilefull and vntrue deuise the Prelates replyed they would rather die then suffer such oppression, and that they held it a manifester Martyrdome to die in such a cause, then was the death of *Thomas Becket*. The Nobles also peremptorily refused either to recouer *Sicilie*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impossible; the one for the strength of *Manfredus*, the other for the present pouertie of *England*. And indeed soone after the Pope and *Manfrede* were made friends, and so King *Henrie* and King *Edmund* beguiled one of his great expenses, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a sweete dreame wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leaue to either of his sons a kingdome; though neither so he rested quiet till he had almost throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irrecouerable debts and vsurie. The yong King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to visite their best friends, the King and Queene of this Kingdome, which lay wholy open to their honor and vses. The King to let his sonne in law see how welcome he was, did bestow vpon him the Earledome of *Huntingdon*; They and their Queenes with almost all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodstocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was vnwilling to denie his sonne in law and daughter any thing, for at their earnest suite he pardoned Sir *Willi de Lile*, Knight Sheriffe of *Northamptonshire*, who was proued to haue practised by most foule suborned treacherie to spoile another Gentleman of his estate: for which the said *Lile* had died a shameful, but a worthy death, by drawing and hanging, had not his wiues teares and praiers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their intercessors. Thus the yong Princes returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

(87) The King much the fresher to vndergoe serious affaires, by reason of the late comfort he had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, bestirres himselfe, and comes in person into the *Exchequer* among the Barons therof, when the Court was set, and made sharpe orders against all Sheriffes and Bayliues of Towns incorporate, who did not yeerely appeare at the Eschecquer, to pay such money of the Kings as was come to their handes. At the same time all the Sherifs of *England* were amerced, because they had not distreined all those which had such estates in land, as the law limiteth to take the order of Knighthood, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could say now, that the King would not proue a good husband? Howbeit the case of the people seemed nothing relecued, for (saith *Paris*) there were so many petty Tyrants by the negligence or conniuence of one, that the ancient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, seemed to be brought in againe.

(88) Occasions of expence like the heads of Hydra daily encreased. The Welsh (oppresst by *Geoffrey de Langley* an officer vpon the Marches) rose in armes, and ministred one of those occasions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had giuen *Wales*, was left therein to himselfe, for his Father could spare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes some thousands of markes of his vncle *Richard*, and with his owne and them wageth Souldiers; his seruants behaued themselues most violētly euery where, taking without paiment, or paying with blowes; and it was the humor also of their young Master, who had store of martiall and stirring fire in his bosome. The Welsh therefore would not for any perswasions be drawne to lay downe weapons, but hauing about ten thousand of their countrey horsemen, and many more on foote, tooke a solemne Oath, *that they would stand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to liue a wretched life in shame and seruitude.* And indeed they did great things vnder Prince *Lewelyn ap Gruffith*, by whose meanes they valiantly recouered all the Inland-countrey of *Northwales*, with other places; and in one fight slew aboue two thousand Englishmen, and draue the rest out of the field. They also spoiled the land to the very * gates of *Chester*. This they had the greater opportunitie to doe, for that the King, while he built Kingdomes in the Clouds, and plunged himself into the Abysses of Vsury, suffered some few, his sonne, his brother, the Earle of *Gloecster*, and his halfe-brothers with their families to trample right and reason vnderfoot, and with his hatred to enrich themselues, his owne meanes daily consuming, and mens mindes more and more alienated from him, as men that despaired of redresse and iustice. The Welsh also persisting in their enterprise, made Prince *Edward* retire in a battaile, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: *what is that to me? the land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy strengths at first, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may stand in feare of thee. As for me I haue somewhat else to doe.*

The high and noble resolution of the Welsh.

* Matth. Paris.

(89) The greatest worldly forrein honour that (since *Constantine*) euer fell vpon anie *English* subiect, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, deriued and tendred to *Richard*, Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to the King, to whom was sent an honorable Ambassage out of *Germanie*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire had elected him King of *Romans*, beseeching him to accept of that their common choise. In testimonie whereof the Archbishop of *Colon*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Almaine* had sent their writings vnder seale, affirming, *That neuer was anie one with so generall consent and vniuersall good liking elected to that place as he, his name carrying it clearely without anie contradiction among them.* Vpon receipt of this most honourable inuitation and offer, there was much debatement in the Chappell where they sate vpon the Earles behalfe, whether he should accept therof or no; but while all of thē stood in doubt the king puts in a deciding voice, saying: *Lest my brother be thought faint harted, my opiniō & request is, that he wold not refuse to accept this honor, which God & man haue tēdered vnto him.* This made the squadron of the negatiues to giue way, and at leastwise to become Neutrals, till all obiections were answered, as they were all of them by one or other, concluding in their speeches to the Earle; *That hee should bee warned, and withall stirred vp to the seruice of God, in acceptance of this highest place, by the example of Robert Curthose Duke of Normandie (eldest sonne of William the first, King of England) to whom the Kingdome of Ierusalem, for the entent to rule the inheritance of Christ, was offred, which he refusing to accept, did afterward feele the grieuous wrath of God, and neuer had happy daies after.* To these and many other reasons, the King, his halfe brothers, and speciallie the Elect of *Winchester* encouraged him with one voice, affirming, *that this honour would exalt the English name for euer:* The Earle therefore putting on the man with a free and cheerefull voice answered: *And I relying vpon the goodnesse of Almightie God, though I am insufficient, & vnworthy, to auoide the note of faintnesse, doe thankefully accept this burthen and honour, which Heauen (I hope) hath put into my hands.* And then turning himselfe to the Bishops who were present, among which *Richard* Bishop of *Bangor* (from whose mouth our * author wrote those things) was one, hee concluded and said. *Let me before I depart out of this Chappell, die, and sodainely be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or auarice; but onlie to restore the Empire (which God grant)*

A.D. 1257.

The Earle accepts the election.

* Mat. Paris. who had also many hundred all diuers from the King himselfe. pag. [illegible] 1684.

to

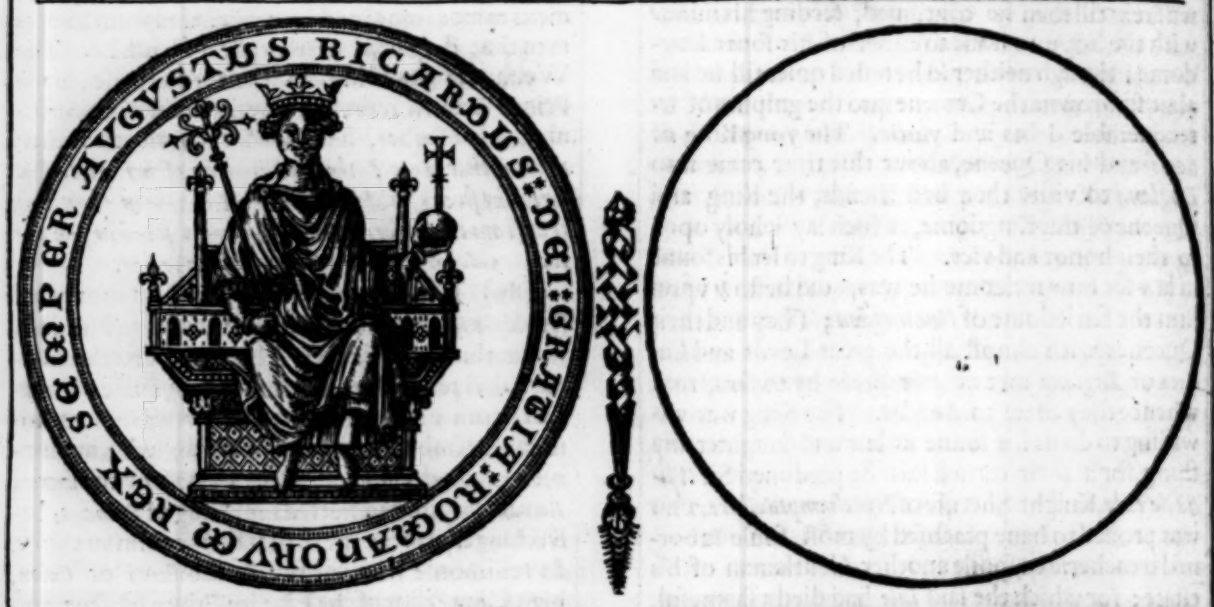
His moſt noble proteſtation.

to a better eſtate, and to gouerne them, who haue willingly elected me for their Lord, in modeſt, iuſt and honourable maner. Theſe words exhaled ioyfull teares from off many of the hearers, and the Ambaſſadors returned to deliuer the newes of this acceptance, who from thenceforth was King of *Romans*, that is Emperour elect, which title is vſed till they receiue the Crowne imperiall; though to all other purpoſes he is Emperour, ſo that King of *Romans* ſeemes to anſwere to the Title of *Caſar*, which vnder the ancient *Roman* Emperours was giuen to the heire apparent of the Empire or Coadiutors. After the *German* Ambaſſadors were gone, the King permitteth his brother to ſend ſome ouer to ſound the truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which (in regard the *Engliſh* were originally *Germans*, and by late affinitie incorporated, and for that *Engliſh* (ſaith *Paris*) was in a ſort agreeable to the *Almain* tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude returne. The King of *England* hereby ſeemed to haue his deſignes for recouery of *Normandy*, greatlie ſtrengthned, the *Almaines* and *French* hardlie brooking one the other; but howſoeuer, ſure it is that his brother the new King, had occaſion to ſpend the golden Oyle, which was ſo long in gathering, to maintain the light of this Imperiall lampe; and without queſtion hee might bee liberall, for he was reputed to poſſeſſe ſo much ready coine, as would euery day for tenne yeeres afforde him an hundreth marks vpon the maine ſtocke, without reckoning his rents & reuenues in *Germany*, and the Engliſh dominions. The Earl * was ſoon after crowned King of the Romans, at *Aquiſgraue*, by *Conrade* Archbiſhop of *Colein*, with great pompe & ſolēnity.

The king of Romans what and who.

The Engliſh tongue in the dayes of *Matthew Paris* agreeable to the Dutch.

The large ſ of ready … which … King of … had of … at his … * 6. Cal. … After …



(90) In the meane time, while his brothers royall preparations were in hand, the King being for a weekes ſpace at the Abbey of S. *Albans*, certaine maſters of *Oxford* brought a great complaint againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, for ſome encroachments vpon the * ancient liberties of that *Vniuerſitie*, to whom the King was gratious and aſſigned a day; & *Matthew Paris*, whom the King in honor of his learned paines, admitted euery day to his table, and Chamber, ſaid to him vpon this Complaint; * *My Liege, for Gods loue haue a care of the ſhaken State of the Church. The Vniuerſity of Paris (the Nurſe, and mother of ſo many holy Prelates) is not a little diſquieted. If at the ſame time the Vniuerſity of Oxford ſhould be diſturbed, which is the ſecond Schoole of the Church, yea the fundamental baſe thereof, it is greatly to be feared, leaſt the whole Church do fall to ruine.* Whereunto the King made anſwere, *God forbid that ſhould happen at all; but chiefely in his daies.* Which the Parliament then at hand, he accordinglie prouided for, to their contentation. The memory of the King ſeemes by this to haue beene excellent, for beſide that hee recounted to *Paris* all the Kings of *England* which had beene Canonized Saints, all the Princes Electors, and great Princes of *Germany* and *France*, he called to minde the names of about two hundreth and fifty Baronies in *England*.

* *Contra antiqua ſtatuta & libertates. Paris.*

* *Mat. Paris. in hiſt: maiori.* The Vniuerſity of *Oxford* the ſecond Schoole of the Church next *Paris*. protected by the king

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding great) holden at *London*, the King in ſight and view of all the people, brings forth his younger ſonne *Edmund* attired like an *Italian* of *Apulia*, (which Country is a member of the Kingdome of *Sicilia*) and vſed this ſpeech: *Behold here good people, my Sonne Edmund, whom God of his gracious goodneſſe hath called to the excellencie of kingly dignity; how comely and well worthy he is of all your fauors, and how cruell and tyrannicall they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectuall and timely helpe, both with aduice and money.* The ſumme of all was to draw a vaſt contribution from the Clergie for atchieuement of this ſhadow (it prooued no better) into his Coffers. Neuertheleſſe he obtained a grant of aboue fiftie thouſand Marks, vpon couenant that the liberties of the Realme ſhould be really and finally once for euer eſtabliſhed: which was done. There were preſent in this Parliament ſix Archbiſhops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, *Dublin*, *Colin*, *Meſſana* in *Sicilia*, and *Tarentum* in *Apulia*. The politike *Germans* knew what they did in chooſing *Richard* their King, for they ſaw a cloud of gold and ſiluer would diſſolue it ſelfe into ſhowres among them at his arriuall; and all elections of ſtrangers turne to their profit, becauſe none is choſen that relies wholly vpon the rents of the Empire.

The King commends the cauſe of his ſonne Edmund for the kingdome of Sicilia.

Note that by this it appeares *Edmund* was not deformed as *Hen.* 4. did afterward alleage.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when by the prouiſion of his brother *Richard* King of *Romans*, there arriued in the riuer of *Thames* fiftie ſaile of *German* Ships, laden with corne to relieue the great dearth, which then raigned through the Land, he cauſed proclamation to be made, *That no Citizen of London ſhould buy any of that corne to ſtore vp, which they were wont to doe, to the intent they might ſell it the dearer afterward, to ſuch as wanted.* But no warning, praiers, aduiſes, nor ſenſe of wants were able to make him frugall of his expenſe; whereby he was miſerably ſtreightned, neither would the Laitie in Parliament contribute any thing, but (hammering ſome great attempts in their thoughts) in plaine words concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure ſuch (they called them) extorſions.* Moreouer they there vttered many greeuances, and *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* complained of the diſhonor and iniury done him by *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; ſo that againſt the Seſſion to be holden vpon prorogation, he, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and Marſhall, confederated themſelues and (pretending the feare of ſtrangers the Kings fauorites,) determined to come ſtrong to *Oxford* at Saint *Barnabas* day. They alſo ſent meſſengers to the King of *France*, praying at leaſt ſo much aſſiſtance, as that he would not hinder the good purpoſe which they held of or-

A.Do. … Arc. …

The pa… Londo… exprſſ… forbidd… king.

The Ba… cousins.

ordeining and ſeding the troubled eſtate of *England*. They had alſo taken order to watch the * Ports againſt ſtrangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as it ſeemed) or baniſh the loftineſſe and inſolencie of *Poictouines* and of other Forteiners, by whom the King was powerfully lead, for they deſpaired of redreſſe at his hands, who like another *Proteus* (as *Paris* ſaith) tooke all ſhapes vpon him to ſerue his turnes, and then ſlipt out at his pleaſure, no promiſes, or ties being ſtrong enough to hold him. Theſe were the beginnings of bloody euils, and the ſeede-ſparks of thoſe factious fires which afterward brake forth, from the ſight and ſenſe whereof, many thouſands were taken by death, whoſe mortall ſtroake of peſtilence raged ouer *England*, ſpecially among the poore through ſcarcity of food.

(93) When the time appointed for the Parliament at *Oxford* was come, the ſeditious Earles and Barons (with whom * ſundry *Biſhops had taken Counſell againſt the King the Lords annointed*) repaired thither, and ſternely propounded ſundry trayterous Articles to the King, to which they required his aſſent. The chiefe points were, *That the King would vnfainedly keepe and obſerue the Charter of liberties, which he had ſo often granted, and ſworn to maintaine inuiolable; That ſuch a one ſhould be in the place of Chiefe Iuſtitiar who would iudge according to right, without reſpect to poore or rich, &c.* Then they renewed their confederacie, ſolemnely ſwearing, *That neither for life nor death, nor loue nor hate, they would be drawne to relent in their purpoſe, till they had cleared England (in which themſelues and their Forefathers were borne) from vpſtarts and aliens, and had procured laudable Statutes.* Thoſe turbulent Nobles had yet a further plot, then all this; which was firſt broached (ſaith *Mat: weſtminſter*) by the diſloyall *Biſhops*, which was, *that 24. perſons ſhould there be choſen, to haue the whole adminiſtration of the King and State, and yeerely appointment of all great Officers, reſeruing onely to the King the* * *higheſt place at meetings and ſalutations of honour in publike places.* And becauſe they would not be croſſed in their purpoſes, they * *came exquiſitely armed and appointed, that ſo the King and his Aliens ſhould be enforced, if they would not willingly aſſent.* To al theſe *their ordinations the King and Prince Edward was enforced to ſweare, for feare of perpetuall impriſonment, the traiterous Lords hauing by an Edict, threatned death to all that reſiſted.* Whereupon all the Peeres and Prelates tooke their Corporall Oath *to be faithfull in this their infidelitie, and made all who would abide in the Kingdome, to ſweare they would ſtand to the tryall of their Peeres:* the Archbiſhops *and Biſhops ſolemnelie accurſing all that ſhould rebell againſt it.* The * Monkes themſelues deteſting this impudent treaſon, aſke *with what forehead, eſpeciallie Prelats, durſt thus impaire the Kinglie Maieſtie, expreſſe againſt their ſworne fidelitie to him?* This coniuration they ſo proſecuted, that when *William de Valence* the Kings halfe-brother, denied with Oathes to render vp any Caſtle which was giuen him, the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the reſt of the Barons anſwered, *they would either haue his Caſtles or his head.* This violent proceeding ſo terrified the *Poictouines*, that ſodeinely they left *Oxford*, and ſhortly fled into *France*, where alſo the Barons had made them odious. *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marſhall, was made chiefe Iuſtitiar. The people, ſeemed wholy theirs, which made the Barons ſo rough and peremptory in all their conferences, that when the Lord *Henrie* ſonne to the King of *Almain*, refuſed to combine or take their oath, without his Fathers conſent, they roundly bad him know, *That if his father himſelfe would not hold with the Baronage of England, he ſhould not haue a furrowre of earth among them.* And leaſt anie thing which might tend to their ſecuritie, ſhould ſeeme to be omitted, they vſing the Kings name, commanded *London* to ſtand vpon her guard, by keeping their Cities gates carefully ſhut, & by maintaining ſtrong watches night by night, vpon pretence of danger to the Realme through the practiſes of ſtrangers; and after they diſpatched thither certaine fit Agents, who in the Guilde-hall made known their commiſſion, which was directly to vnderſtand, *whether they would immutably adhere to the Barons and obey their conſtitutions, by manfully aiding and effectually ſupplying them in the common cauſe.* Whereunto the Citizens condeſcended, binding themſelues thereunto vnder the publike ſeale of *London*.

The City of London ioines with the Barons to redreſſe the kingdome.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbeare to declare, what thoſe reformatorie Prouiſions ſhould be, becauſe the Earle of *Glouceſter* (a principall man among them) was in danger of death; whoſe ſickneſſe did perplex & ſuſpend their proceedings, & the maner of his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne ſafeties, making them grow in diſtruſt of their Cooks, their butlers, and ſewers, for the Earle his body breaking out into *puſtules*, and his haire, nailes, teeth and ſkinne it ſelfe, falling away, was (as many others, of which ſome died) thought to be poiſoned. But whither they were or no, the *Poictouines* and ſtrangers had the blame laid vpon them, to make them the more odious to the Commons. But the Earle partly recouered his health in time by the benefit of medicines and diligent attendance. The * poiſons were ſaid to haue beene tempered in the houſe of *Elias* a Iew afterward baptized. The King himſelfe perhaps would not haue beene ſorry, if that he, *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* and ſome few others of the Barons had beene with God, for howſoeuer his body was among them, yet his heart was not at quiet, which in this wiſe well appeared. For being in the moneth of *Iune* vpon the riuer of *Thames* in his barge, the aier ſodeinly grew darke, and there enſued a terrible ſhower with thunder and lightning, of which the king impatient commands himſelfe to be ſet on land at the next place which was Durham houſe, whereas then, the Earle of *Leiceſter* lay. The Earle being thereof certified came out to entertaine him, ſaying, Sir *why are you afraid? the tempeſt is now paſt*: whereunto he anſwered with a ſeuere looke: *I feare thunder and lightning aboue meaſure, but by the head of God, I doe more feare thee then all the thunder and lightning of the world.* Whereunto the Earle replied: *My liege, it is iniurious and incredible, that you ſhould ſtand in feare of me, who haue alwaies beene loyall both to you and your Realme, whereas you ought to feare your enemies, ſuch as deſtroy the Realme and abuſe you with bad Counſels.* The Barons therefore remaining firme in their firſt purpoſe, ſend meſſengers abroad to will all ſuch as had beene wronged by the Kings halfe-brothers and other *Poictouines* and ſtrangers to preſent their greeuances to the Barons, and to proſecute them. Moreouer (becauſe ſundry other petty-tyrants of the Engliſh nation, enconraged by their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppreſſing their inferiours) they procured the King to appoint foure *Knights Commiſsioners* in euerie ſhire, to enquire of all ſuch iniuries, and certifie the ſame vnder their ſeales within a certaine time limitted.

* *Mat. Paris p. 951.*

The King feares the Earle of *Leiceſter* more then thunder and lightning.

Commiſſioners to certifie what oppreſſions in euery Countie.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglect not their enterprize, at whoſe inſtance (principally of *Hugh Bigod* the new chiefe Iuſtitiar) *Philip Louel* the Kings Treaſurer, for abuſes committed in the Kings Forreſts and game about *Stony-Stratford*, and many Officers of the Exchecquer, were likewiſe remoued, to giue roome to ſuch as the Barons better liked. The Sherifs likewiſe of Shires, their practiſes, and extortions, were diligentlie ſeene into, and it was ordeined, that aswell the giuers as takers of bribes ſhould be ſeuerely puniſht. The welſh ſeeing theſe round proceedings in *England*, the peace & reflouriſhment whereof they feared, labored for reconciliation but could not then obteine it.

Officers put from their places.

The abuſes of Sheriffes noted and prouided againſt.

A. Do. 1259
A. reg. 43.

(96) *Richard* King of *Romans*, hauing a deſire to ſee the King his brother, and his lands in *England*, not without a purpoſe to bring an Armie, or ſuch a number of men as might greatly ſtrengthen the King againſt the Barons, as they ſuſpected, was aduertiſed

The King of *Romans* ſuſpected of the Barons, arriues in *England* & takes an oath.

that they prouided for his resistance aswell by land as sea. This made him, his wife, and sonne, to lay aside that purpose, and to arriue in a priuate manner at *Douer* with a small traine, in which there were onely two Earles, and about nine Knights. The king met him with great congratulation at the Sea side, but nor King, nor hee could bee suffered to enter into *Douer* Castle, because (forsooth) it was the principall Key of *England*; for the safegard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at *Canterburie* in this manner. The holy Gospels being laide vpon the Pulpet in the Chapter-house of *Canterbury*, the Barons reuerently brought in thither the Kings of *England* and of *Almaine*; then *Richard* Earle of *Gloucester* (for *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* was gone with others into *France*, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetuall league) standing in the midst openly, and in humble sort cals *Richard* King of *Romans* vnto him, by the name onely of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, who obeyed accordingly, to whom hee distinctly ministred the Oath following: *Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall sweare vpon the holy Gospels, to bee faithfull and forward to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an effectuall Coadiutor to expell the* * *Rebels and troubles of the Realme, from out the same. This oath will I obserue vpon paine to forfeit all the lands I haue in England.* On the other side (had the King known how to vse it) there fell out such dissention between the Earles of *Glouceſter* and *Leiceſter*, that *Leiceſter* departed from *England* discontented, saying, he tooke no ioy to liue among men so mutable and deceitfull. Neuertheleſſe such meanes were vsed, that these two chiefe Captaines of the Barons, brake not forth into any farther diuision. Thus whiles the Barons vsing the Kings name, disposed of all things, and *Simon de Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, was gone with others to transact with the *French* about an indissoluble league; the King himselfe through desire not to* be interrupted with forraine matters, if warre should rise at home, or through want of money or better aduise, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and setled quiet.

The King not suffered to enter his own Castles.

* Then the Barons too.

*Polyd. Vergil. lib. 16.

(97) For (the affaires of the realm thus strangely managed) the King in person sailes ouer into *France*, there to demand a peaceable restitution of such Signiories as *Philip* & *Lewis* (Father of this *Lewis*) had iniuriously withdrawne from his father King *Iohn*. The *French* replied, that no restitution was due for many respects, specially, because the * ancient grant made to *Rollo* the first Duke of *Normandy*, was not voluntary, but extorted by feare and force of Armes, in the dayes of the weake state of *France*. The King hauing * no disposition to recouer his claimes by battell, and destitute of money wherewith to wage an Armie, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people stood on their guard against him, did *vnwillingly ratifie a conclusion; the Articles whereof were, that the King of *France* should quietly hold the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and Earledome of *Angiou* (*Main* also, *Tourain* and *Poictou*) for * three hundreth thousand small pounds of *Tourain*, and vpon promise to receiue other lands to the yeerely value of twenty thousand pounds. *Polydor* saith, that the reputed limits of the *English* Pale in *France*, were from thenceforth the riuer of *Charent* in *Xanctoing*, and the mountaines *Pyrenæi*; and that hee should peaceably haue *Angoumois*, *Quercy*, and *Limain*, being Countries marching vpon *Gascoigne*, in lieu of the rest, yet so as the King of *England* should *hold them of the Crowne of *France* by homage and fealtie. Vpon these Articles the king acquitted, and for euer renounced all his challenge to *Normandy* & the other lands, and thenceforth abridged his Stile, and changed his Seale, vsing a Scepter in place of a *Sword*: whereon these Monkish and mockish verses were written.

Est M.CCLIX. vtinam concordia felix,
Andeganis, Pictauis, Neustria, gente relicta
Anglorum, dantur tibi France, Sigilla nouantur,
Nomina tolluntur, fugit Ensis, Sceptra geruntur.

M CCLIX, God grant firme peace thou fiue,
Poictou, Angiou, Normans, to France range you,
New Seales are made, old Styles forsaken,
Downe laid the Blade, Scepters vp taken.

A.D. 1260. A.reg.44.

(98) The King (at these vnworthy rates) hauing secured himselfe from the *French*, labours to vindicate the Regall power out of the vsurping Barons hands (whose ouer-toppings at home had driuen him to those forraine indignities,) alleadging, that the *Oath* which his sonne and hee had taken at *Oxford*, was voide, in regard it was compulsorie, that the Barons also, who pretended the profite of the Realme, sought onely their owne honour and gain, contrary to their decrees. For his more security * he takes the Tower of *London*, preparing force by the helpe of his brother King of *Romans*. There followed a grieuous perturbation of the Realm, although at this time it brake not forth into the extremity, Armes being laid downe for a little space. *Edward* the Kings eldest sonne would not trauerse the oath he had made at *Oxford*, but held with the * Barons for the present. The King, the Queene, and his selected friends, still remaine vpon their guard in the Tower; where hee (in the yeere before) had burst vp the locks of the ancient *Depositum*, or dead stocke of the Crown, to employ against the Barons. Peace

Ann. 1261. An. Reg. 45. * Polyd. Vergil. l. 16.

was

was notwithstanding brought about againe by the Queenes speciall diligence; and *Douer* and *Rochester* Castles (whither hee went in person) are deliuered vnto him. This makes him resolue to pursue the Barons; the rather also for that the *French* King (who much condemned the Barons vniust courses) had promised his assistance. *Henry* therefore thrusts out the Barons Chancellor, & Chiefe Iusticiar, placing *Walter Merton* & *Philip Basset*, men of much more loyall affections in their roomes. The Barons hearing of this, hasten in Armes to *Winchester*, where the King was, who (hauing intelligence by his faithfull Clerk, Sir *Iohn Mansel*) got back into the Tower of *London*. The King of *France* was made Vmpire in the quarrell. The * cause was heard at *Amiens*, where hee gaue iudgement with the King of *England* against the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford*, to bee vtterly void: prouided neuertheless, that the Charter of Liberties which King *Iohn* had made to the *English* nation, should in no sort bee thereby infringed. This proviso animated *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, and the Barons, to maintaine all the Statutes of *Oxford*, (because they were pretendedly founded vpon that Charter) notwithstanding that iust iudgement which King *Lewis* had giuen. The secret confederacy with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, ministred to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time wasted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*. This iudgement of the *French* King did much disaduantage the Barons, of whom diuers being drawne with perswasions, gifts, and promises, reuolted from *Simon Montfort*. There was now a taking of Townes and Prisoners on all hands. Prince *Edward* (who now was wholy for his Father in despite of the Barons) takes the Castel of *Bristol*, and fines the City at a thousand pounds. *Simon Montfort* executeth his greatest reuenges vpon the Queenes friends which were Aliens, not sparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recouers *Glocester* Castell, enters *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*; lastly, surpriseth the Ile of *Ely*, subduing that fastnesse or fenny strength to the Barons vse. Sir *Iohn Mansel* the Kings Councellour, fearing the euent of things, flies secretly from the Tower where the King was. *Henry* sonne to the King of *Almain*, was after this taken by the Barons. Meanewhile Prince *Edward* fortifies *windsor* Castle with strangers. Mutuall wearinesse at length begat a desire of peace, and the * King had yeelded that the *Statutes of Oxford* should stand: but the Queene was vtterly against it, not without cause; for it did enfeeble the arbitration which the *French* King had made. The Queenes opposition in this point was knowne to the *Londoners*; which put the baser sort into so lewd a rage, that shee being to shoot the Bridge from the Tower toward *windsor*, they with durt and stones and villanous words forced her to returne. Prince *Edward* vnder the conduct of the Bishoppe of *Worcester*, came from the Castle of *Bristol* (by reason of quarrell betweene his men of warre and the Burgers) and contrary to his promise entred into *Windsor* Castle; but afterward going forth to meet *Simon Montfort* at *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, with purpose to offer peace, the said *Simon* got *Windsor* Castle, & would not permit him to depart. At *London* yet in a Parliament, matters were pieced againe, and the Kings side grew stronger dayly.

(99) There were with him his brother King of *Romans*, his sonne *Edward*, *William de Valence* (whom Prince *Edward* had brought out of *France*) *Iohn Comyn* of *Scotland* with a multitude of valiant *Scots*, (whose King was *Henries* sonne in law,) *Iohn de Balioll* Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert de Brus*, *&c.* with whom hee marcheth from *London* to *Oxford*, where the Rendeuou of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was giuen him) his chiefe seat to consult for remedies, dismissed thence all the Students, by reason of their multitude, * being *about* 15000 (saith *William Rishanger* who then liued) *of those only whose names were entred into the Matriculation booke*, amongst whom being so many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might bee affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to *Northampton*, where then the Barons were strong; and thither the King comming with his hoast, and breaking in at the Towne-walles vpon *Passion Sunday*, encountred his enemies, amongst whom the * *Students of Oxford had a Banner by themselues aduanced right against the King, and they did more annoy him in the fight, then the rest of the Barons*: which the King (who at length preuayled) had vowed sharpely to reuenge, but that *his Councellors told him, those Students were the sonnes and kindred of the Great-men of the Land, whom if hee punished, euen the Nobles who now stood for him, would take Armes against him.* The King there tooke *Simon Montfort* the younger, and foureteene other principall Barons and * Knightes Banerets, forty other Knights, besides Esquiers, &c. Encouraged with this successe, hee aduanceth the Standard royall toward *Nottingham*, burning and wasting the Barons lands whersoeuer hee came. To diuert this tempest, *Simon Montfort* hasteneth to *London*, and attemptes the taking of *Rochester* Castle, which *Iohn* Earle of *Warren* defended for the King: who comming to raise the siege, takes *Kingston* Castle, which belonged to the Earle of *Glouncester*; then vnexpectedly falling vpon such as maintained the siege of *Rochester*, while *Simon* was absent, kils verie many, and scatters the rest. Then seiseth hee the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and therein the Countesse of *Glouncester*, whom, notwithstanding he nobly set at large, as professing not to warre against Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne vpon the winges of indignation, speedes to *Winchelsea*, and receiues the Cinque-Portmen to grace, setling at last in *Lewis*, where himselfe rested in the Priorie, and his sonne in the Castle, whither the Barons sent letters to him, protesting *their loyall obseruance to his person, but all hostility to their enemies which were about him.*

(100) But the King flaming with desire of reuenge, sets slight by these vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returnes a full defiance *as to Traitors, professing that hee takes the wrong of his friends as his owne, and their enemies as his.* The King of *Almaine*, Prince *Edward*, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, sent their like letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and vnkind triall of steele, (though they then encamped about sixe miles from *Lewis*,) not acquitting themselues in this repulse, iterate their message, with an offer to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, in satisfaction of such hurts as their people had done through the Realme; so *as the Statutes of Oxford might stand.* The king of *Almaine* (whose honour they had touched, and spoild part of his inheritances) hindred all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a battel; wherein *Simon de Montford* commands his traiterous Army to *weare white Crosses on breast and backe, to shew they fought for Iustice*; great was the effusion of bloud on both parts; chiefly of the *Scots* vpon the Kings side, & of the *Londoners* vpon the Earles side; whose Battalion, (lead by the Lord *Segraue*,) Prince *Edward* most furiously charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which he pursued the more bloudily, in reuenge of the extreame disgrace which they had offered vpon *London Bridge* to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garrison of *Tunbridge* followes, and slew many at *Croydon*. But while the Prince spent himself in that reuenge, his Father (who, hauing his Horse slain vnder him, had yeelded himself prisoner to *Simon de Montfort*) his vncle the king of *Romans*, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day lost. There fell in all on both sides, about fiue thousand. Prince *Edward* returning from the slaughter of the *Londoners*, would

* *M. Risbager MS. in Bibliotheca D. Rob. Cotton Baronetti.*

* *Chron. M. S. Pat. in Martyrolog. Hollinsh.*

* *Milites vexillo-feros.*

The Barons letters.

The kings letters.

The king of Almaines letter, & Prince *Edwards*.

The Barons send the second time.

Simon Earle of *Leicester* takes the kings of *England* and of *Almaine* in the battel at *Lewis*.

Prince *Edward* and *Henry* ſonne to the King of *Romans* yeeld by compoſition.

would haue reenforced the Battaile, but the Barons offered peace; which vpon the next day was concluded for the preſent, ſo that Prince *Edward* and *Henry* ſonne to the king of *Romans*, ſhould alſo render them ſelues priſoners, and the two kings, till ſuch time as all quarrels might receiue an happier concluſion by calme deliberation. Thus was *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of both the kings and of their elder ſonnes; ſo fortunate may Treaſon and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it ſpeeds as it deſerues.

An. 1265. An.reg.49. The Earle of *Leiceſter* carries the King about till he had gotten all the chiefe ſtrengths of the Realme.

(102) By this aduantage this Kingly Rebell got all the cheif Caſtles of the Kingdõe into his hand, leading his Soueraigne as his Priſoner about the Country (yet with all outward reſpect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet ſurrender. The King of *Romans* hee impriſoned in the Tower, Prince Edward and the Lord *Henry* in *Douer*. The Earle feeling now his owne greatneſſe, began to be leſſe tractable; neither could the Popes authority interpoſing it ſelfe for the King, preuaile. For as the Pope by *Apoſtolike ſentence* before *had abſolued the King and others from his Oath to the Prouiſions of Oxford*, ſo now he ſent his * *Cardinall Legate to excommunicate all th· Fauourers of thoſe Acts, & impugners of the King*; but theſe men **hauing the material ſword to truſt vnto, made no reckning of the Spirituall*, pretending *they appealed to the Pope, or to better times, or a generall Councell, or to God himſelfe*: ſo great account made theſe croſſed ſouldiers of the Popes curſe. Notwithſtanding the loyall blood of *Roger de Mortimer*, and many other high ſpirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings ſo baſe vſage and dangerous eſtate, but make head, in vaine. For *Simon* treacherouſly combines himſelfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, and with their ioint forces takes *Hereford* Caſtle; thether they remoue Prince *Edward* from *Douer*. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliuer hoſtages. ô the fearefull point, to which *England* was brought at this preſent, but God (in whoſe protection it was) deliuered it. *Simon* and the Earle of *Gloceſter* fall at debate about their *Diuidend* and ſhares in the ſpoiles, (for what euer they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatnes and gaine was the motiue,) and ſomewhat alſo the vnequall altitude of his ſaid partner the Earle of *Leiceſter*, together with the perill of his Country moued him. Who thereupon confederates, with *Roger Mortimer* and his aſſociates, to whom not long after, *Iohn* Earle of *Warren*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, and *William de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke* with others are ioyned; and not long after, Prince *Edward* by eſcape from the Caſtle of *Hereford*, commeth in ſafetie to *Wigmore*. There were that laboured to attone the two Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, but offence and indignation had taken too deepe roote. Meanewhile thou, ô *Henrie* art ſhewed vp and down by the Arch-rebellious Earle of *Leiceſter*, to countenance thine owne deſtruction.

* *Epiſcopum Sabinenſem.*
* *Mat. Weſt.*

Prince *Edward* hauing eſcaped, ioines with the Earle of *Gloceſter*.

The Earles of *Leiceſter* & *Gloceſter* fall at debate in a good time.

(103) The Prince therefore ſeeing that he muſt reſolutely ſtand for the liberty of the Realme and of his Father, friends and poſterity, raiſeth an Armie, confederates himſelfe with the people and Counties of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſter*. *Gloceſter* hee enters by force, and driues the defendants into the Caſtle, which after yeelds. *Simon Montfort* with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, doe in the meane time ſpoile their enemies lãds in * *Mõmouth & Glamorganſhires*, the King in perſon, not in ſpirit being preſent. Prince *Edward*, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* on the other ſide, ſpeed to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, kept againſt them by *Simon*, ſonne of the Earle of *Leiceſter*; there they intercept the Earle of *Oxford* with about thirteene Knights Bannerets before they could reach the Caſtle, whither they were haſtning. Newes came then that the Earle of *Leiceſter* was returned with the King in his companie out of *Southwales*, neere to *Worceſter*. Thither the Prince aduanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at *Eueſham* with his whole power. Vpon the third of *Auguſt* the noble *Edward* ſets out of *Worceſter*, and

* *Nic. Triuet. apud Holinſhead.*

ſtrikes betweene *Simon Montfort* and his way to *Kenelworth*, and the next day turnes backe toward *Eueſham*; the *Earle of Gloceſter* with his force, and *Roger de Mortimer* (as they had agreed) with his battalion, drawing thither by two other waies; ſo that *Simon* thus ſhut vp and encloſed, muſt either fight or yeeld. They ioine in battaile in a goodly large field before the Towne of *Eueſham*; where the Earles hoſt being aſſailed on all ſides, was with much ſlaughter (of the *Welſh* eſpeciallie) vtterly in the end diſtreſſed and diſcomfited. At the houre of his death it thundered and lightned, and ſo great a darkneſſe ſpread the skie that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was ſent to *Worceſter* Caſtle to the Ladie *Mortimer*) his hands, and feet, were chopt off. In this cruell Battaile the King himſelfe (being wounded vnawares with a Iauelin) was almoſt ſlaine. Let vs now behold how this victorie is vſed. The King being thus reſtored to liberty, cals a Parliament at *Wincheſter*, by authority whereof hee ſeiſeth into his hands the Charters and freedomes of the Citie of *London*, and of many other Townes for their Rebellion. Thoſe that were taken in the battel are committed to ſafe Cuſtody, and all ſuch as had been vpon the Earls ſide were diſinherited, a ratable diſtribution being made of their eſtates to the Kings well deſeruing friends. *Simon* and *Guy de Montfort*, the Earles ſonnes, were chiefe of the attainted; their mother the Counteſſe with all her goods was ſent in ſafetie out of *England* neuer to returne. *Simon* the eldeſt brother ſought to preſerue himſelfe, and the remaines of his Fathers misfortunes in the Ile of *Axholme*.

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of *Romans*, *Ottobon* the Popes Legate, (who was lately arriued) and a puiſſant armie, at *Northampton*, with purpoſe to oppreſſe him by warre. *Simon* had friends about the King, but the Earle of *Gloceſter* maligning his reſtitution to full grace, it was concluded (vpon his ſubmiſſion) that he ſhould liue in exile, and for his maintainance receiue onely fiue hundreth marks by the yeere. But the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yeeld, driuing the King to an halfe yeeres ſiege; who alſo in the end was content to giue the garriſon pardon for life and limme, licenſing it to part with bag and baggage. In the meane while the other outlawes and diſinherited men, made ſundry excurſions out of the *Ile of Elie*. Temperate men, deſirous to pacifie all theſe euils, would gladly haue had the king to pardon thoſe tranſgreſſions, and reſtore their lands vpon reaſonable fines. This propoſition found a ſowre enemie of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the kings gift gotten much of their land; which moued the Earle of *Gloceſter* (who fauoured the other courſe) to indignation and diſtruſt, ſo that he withdrew himſelfe. Not long after which, hee by his meſſengers beſought the king, to remoue ſtrangers from about him, to ſee that the *Statutes of Oxford* were obſerued through the kingdome, and to keepe ſuch promiſes as he had made at *Eueſham*. Otherwiſe the king muſt not marueile, if he did that which himſelfe thought beſt. The Legate Cardinall Ottobon, about the ſame time (to hinder the growth of anie new rebellion) excommunicated the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, *London* and *Chicheſter* for hauing adhered to *Simon Montfort*, and alſo declared that the Clergie were to pay their tenths, for ſeuen yeeres next enſuing, to the king. On the other ſide, all the vndone and diſinherited men (except the ſonnes of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Earle of Derbie*) were offered to be put to ranſome, and for certaine fines to be reſtored to their lands; but they required to haue them without redemption, expoſtulating with the king and Legate many greeuances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince *Edward* beſiege the Ile of *Ely* on all ſides. This being known to the Earle of Gloceſter, who (although hee had vnder his ſeale promiſed neuer to take armes againſt the King and Prince, but only in his owne defence) gathers a force

force in *Wales* in fauour of the diſinherited, marcheth vp to *London* and taketh it, the Citizens fauouring him. Then commands he the Popes Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yeeld vp the ſame; but he, as taking no knowledge of any ſuch matter, repaired quietly to *Pauls*, there, by preaching to ſtirre vp people againſt the enemies of Chriſt in the *Holy-land*. Peace enſued not long after, by mediation of the King of *Romanes*, and the Noble Lord *Philip Baſſet*, the Earle binding himſelfe in ten thouſand markes to the King, neuer to moue any tumult. *Lewelyn* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly ſupported the Earle of *Leiceſters* rebellion, for* thirty two thouſand pounds ſterling was reſtored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the warre, and reconciled.

(105) Domeſtick peace now beginning to ſhine in the Engliſh *Hemiſphere*, Prince *Edward* his brother, the Lord *Edmund*, the Earle of *Glouceſter* with many other Noble men of *England*, *with intent of a more honourable warfare*, take the Croſſe vpon them at *Northampton*, by the deliuery of *Ottobon*, who not long after returned into *Italie*. Then was the Kings peace proclaimed through *England*, al men being vpon paine of death commanded to forbeare to make ſpoiles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accuſtomed. The Prince, ſeeing the Realme thus acquitted, doth the more willingly (hauing his Fathers conſent) yeeld to goe with *Lewis* King of *France*, into the holy land, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirty thouſand markes: for aſſurance whereof the Prince morgageth *Aquitaine* vnto him. But what true ſetled peace may we iudge it, when *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* the Kings halfe-brother (vpon the increaſe of words betweene them) durſt kill *Alan le Louch* the chiefe Iuſtice, with his owne hand in *Weſtminſter* Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of fauorites potencie. That all things yet might not run out of ſquare, the King held a Parliament at *Marlborough* where the Statutes called of *Marlborough* were enacted. The old King and his Queene henceforward enioyed the bleſſing of a quiet eſtate at home, with the more leiſure to pray therein for their ſonnes faire ſucceſſe in *Paleſtine*, whoſe virtues had there raiſed an admiration of him among the *Infidels*. That quiet neuertheleſſe was a little interrupted by an incendiarie outrage at *Norwich*, where the Citizens ſet fire on the *Priorie Church*. The king being kindled with another kind of fire, ſware he would in perſon ſee a reuenge taken; and diſpatching firſt away *Sir Thomas Triuet*, (before whom a great multitude were found guilty, and condemned to be drawne and hanged) himſelfe, hauing in his company one Biſhop and the Earle of *Gloceſter*, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refraine from teares. The Biſhop hauing therefore excommunicated the nocent, and the King condemned the Towne in three thouſand markes, toward the reedification of that Church, as alſo to pay one hundreth pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purpoſed to returne toward *London*. This publike act of zeale to *religion* and *Iuſtice*, was the laſt which he did, as a *King*; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a *mortall man*: At the Abbey of S. *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, he fell greeuouſly ſicke, where while he lay, * he cauſed the Earle of *Gloceſter* to be ſworne to keepe the Realme for his ſonne; the Prelates, Earles, and Barons of the land, being aſſembled to be preſent at his departure. Therefore after hee had in Chriſtian manner prepared his ſoule, by acknowledging his ſinnes, and receiuing fit ſpirituall conſolations, he rendred vp the ſame to his *Redeemer*. His *will* was ſhort, for his *Creditors* and the *Poore* ſhared all his goods. The ſpace of time which he reigned, is almoſt an old mans age, and abſolutely the longeſt number of yeeres, that euer any King of *England* reigned, not excepting *Ethelbert* the firſt *Chriſtian* King, if (which is * written by ſome) he reigned fiftie ſixe yeeres, and as manie daies more, as are between the feaſt of *Simon* & *Iude*, and * Saint *Edmund* the Archbiſhop, which are about twentie. A Prince whoſe * deuotion was greater then his diſcretion, as we ſee in his permitting the depredation of himſelfe and his whole kingdome by Papall ouerſwayings, the errour of whoſe Gouernment, concurring with the tumultuous treaſons of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many miſchiefs, out of which yet God almighty did ſtrangelie deliuer him; for if he had not beene diuinely protected, there is no cauſe for a reaſonable man to doubt, but that his end had proued as headlong, as ſome of his own, and his Barons actions ſeemed to threaten. The royall remaines of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in *Weſtminſter*, the great and ſumptuous new worke whereof he began, but finiſhed not; the deſcription of whoſe life, being full of diuerticles and abrupt paſſages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at laſt hath found a place of reſt for it ſelfe and vs.

*Ranulf. Higd. Polychron. Ypodig. Neuſtr.

*So we call the wodden ſupportes of impotent men, made like a croſſe at the top; and *Crouched Friers* for wearing a *Croſſe*.

His Wife.

(106) *Eleanor* the wife of King *Henry*, was the ſecond of the fiue daughters, of *Raymond* Earle of *Prouince*, ſonne of Earle *Alfonſe*, ſonne of *Alfonſe* the firſt king of *Arragon*; her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*, ſiſter of the Earles *Amee*, and *Peter*, and the Archbiſhop *Boniface* of *Canterbury*. Shee was married to him at *Canterbury*, *Ianuary* 24. An. 1236. regn. 20: Crowned at *Weſtminſter* the 19. of the ſame moneth: was his wife 37. yeere, his widow 19. died a Nun at *Almeſbery*, the 25. of *Iune*, in the 20. yeere of her ſons raigne 1291, and was buried in her monaſtery, the 11. of *September* following.

His Iſſue.

Edward their eldeſt ſonne was borne at *Weſtminſter*, the 28. day of *Iune*, the 24. yere of his Fathers Raign; 1239, hee was ſurnamed *Longſhancke*, of his tall and ſlender body, made knight in *Spaine* of *Alfonſe* king of *Caſtile*, created Earle of *Cheſter* by his Father, after the Iſſue male extinct of the former Earles, and ſucceeded his Father in the kingdome of *England*.

(107) *Edmund* their ſecond ſonne, borne *Ian.* 26. A. 1245. and of his Fathers raigne, 29. was ſurnamed *Crouched-backe*, of bowing in his backe, ſay ſome, but more likely of wearing the ſigne of the Croſſe, (anciently called a * *Crouch*) vpon his backe, which was vſually worne of ſuch as vowed viages to *Ieruſalem*, as he had done. He was inueſted *titulare King* of *Sicilia* and *Apulia*, and created Earle of *Lancaſter*, (on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* was founded) and hauing of the grant of his Father, the lands of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Ferrers*, (diſinherited in the Barons warres) was by vertue of the ſame graunt Earle of *Leiceſter* and *Derby*, and high Steward of *England*. He had two wiues, the firſt was *Auelin*, daughter and heire of *William* Earle of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no iſſue, the ſecond was Queene *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*, (brother of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne*, King of *Nauarre*, and mother of *Ioane* Queene of *France* and *Nauarre*, the wife of *Philip the faire*. By her he had iſſue three *ſons* and one *daughter*. *Thomas* who after his Father was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and hauing married *Alice*, daughter and heire of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without iſſue: *Henry* Lord of Monmouth, who after his brothers death was Earle of *Lancaſter*, and father of *Henry*, the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*: *Iohn*, who died without marriage: and *Mary*, married to *Henry* Lord *Percie*, mother of *Henry*, the firſt Earle of *Northumberland*. This Earle *Edmund* died at *Bayon* in *Gaſcoigne*, *Iune.* 5. An. 1296. and of King *Edward* his brothers raigne 24. when hee had liued fifty yeere, foure moneths and nineteene daies; whoſe body halfe a yeere after his death, was conuaied into *England*, and lieth entomb-

ed at *Weſtminſter* on the Northſide of the high Altar, vnder a faire monument of ſtone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his houſe, and manie noble houſes of that time.

(108) *Richard* the third ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Elenor*, (bearing the name of his vncle *Richard*, King of *Romans Almaign*,) deceaſed in his youth, and lieth at *Weſtminſter*, enterred on the ſouth-ſide of the Quire.

(109) *Iohn* the fourth ſonne of King *Henrie* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *Iohn* his grandfather,) deceaſed yong, and at *Weſtminſter* his bones lie enterred with his brother *Richard*.

(110) *William* the fift ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, (a Prieſt of the monaſtery of *Whitby* in *Yorkeſhire*, who liued in the time of King *Henrie* the ſixt, and wrote a large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their iſſues,) and that he dying in his childhood, was buried within the new Temple, by Fleete-ſtreete in *London*.

(111) *Henry* the ſixt ſonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanour*, is alſo reported by the ſame *Pickering*, to haue died yong, and to be buried at *Weſtminſter*.

(112) *Margaret* the eldeſt daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, borne the twentie ſixt yeere of her Fathers raigne. 1241. was the firſt wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *Yorke*, An. 1251. by whome ſhee had iſſue, *Alexander* and *Dauid*, (who died both before their Father without iſſue,) and *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*, wife of King *Erike*, and mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that died vnmarried: ſhee was Queene twenty two yeeres, liued thirtie three, deceaſed before her husband, in the twenty third yeere of his Raigne, the firſt of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dunferinling* in *Scotland*.

(113) *Beatrice* the ſecond daughter of King *Henrie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Burdeaux* in *Gaſcoigne*, *Iune*. 25. An. 1242. of her Fathers raigne 27. At the age of eighteene yeeres, ſhee was married to *Iohn* the firſt Duke of *Britaine*, (ſonne of *Iohn* the laſt Earle of the ſame,) and had iſſue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny*, *Iohn* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, ſonne of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanour* a Nunne at *Amsbery*, and *Marie* married to *Guy* Earle of Saint *Paul*: when ſhee had beene his wife twelue yeeres, and liued thirty yeeres, ſhee deceaſed in *Britany*, in the firſt yeere of the Raigne of her brother King *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the *Grey Fryers* within Newgate.

(114) *Catherine* the third daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, An. 1252. of her fathers raigne 37. *Nouemb*. 25. being Saint *Katherines* day, whoſe name was therefore giuen vnto her, at the font, by *Boniface* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, her mothers vncle, who chriſtened her, and was her Godfather. Shee died yong and at *Weſtminſter* her bones lie enterred, with her brother *Richard* and *Iohn*, in the ſpace betweene the Chappels of King *Edward* and Saint *Bennet*.

EDVVARD THE FIRST, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SEVENTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 47

CHAPTER X.

1273. EDward, who followed K. *Henry* in wearing the *Engliſh* Crowne, but far out-went him in all regall vertues, was abroad at the time of his fathers death, ſtill purſuing his high deſires for the *Holy Warres*: wherein what he performed, (being yet but a Prince,) againſt the publike enemies of *Chriſtians*, it ſhall not bee impertinent to touch, before wee come to his actions as a *King*; hauing already remembred, with what valour and felicity hee had ſubdued his Fathers domeſticke enemies, ſetled the peace of his Kingdome, and reeſtabliſhed the raines of Soueraignty in his Fathers hands, which thoſe potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(2) King *Lewis* of *France*, whoſe perſwaſions had enflamed this noble-ſpirited Prince to aſſociate him in this glorious quarrell, hauing firſt ſet forth for the enterpriſe, lay now in ſiege of *Tunis* in *Africa*; where Prince *Edward* with all his forces arriuing, the *French King* (greatly reioycing in his wiſhed preſence,) together with the *King of Nauarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meet him, and receiued him in the kiſſe of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reaſon of the ſituation,* it greatly impeached the *Chriſtians* in their paſſages through thoſe Seas; being built out of the ſcattered ribs, and waſted ruines of that mighty and famous City *Carthage*, riual once in *Maieſty* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire* of the World. Therefore to ſecure the Mediterranean Seas, it was thought neceſſary to beginne that enterpriſe for *Aſia*; with this in *Africa*; but not long after *Lewis* yeelding vppe his holy Soule to God at the ſiege, and ſickneſſe (by reaſon of the heates in thoſe Regions, for it was Auguſt) raigning

Prince Edward at Tunis in Africa.

*Paul. Aemyl. in Lud. 9.

Continuatio Mat. Par.

ning in the Christian Campe, *Charles* King of *Sicilie*, whom *Lewis* (before his decease) had sent for, to take charge of the whole enterprise, arriues; and after sharpe reenforcement of the siege, (where *Edward* gaue frequent proofe of his great valour and prudence,) *Charles* is content to forbeare extremity, (to which the *Sarazens* were brought) vpon capitulations with them, contrary to *Edwards* mind, being wholly set to subdue, conuert or root them out.

Prince *Edward* vnwilling to any truce with the Sarazens.

(3) Yet the points of the treaty & truce (though granted for many yeeres) carried shew of honour, being these: 1. that all Christian Captiues should bee set free without ransome: that in the Cities of that Kingdome, the Christian faith might freely be taught: 3. that all such as were willing, might freely receiue sacred Baptisme: 4. that the *Sarazens* should repay to the Christian Kings, their charges: 5. that the King of *Tunis* should remaine tributarie to the King of *Sicilie*. The siege hereupon was raised, to the griefe and indignation of *Edward*, who would not (as is reported) partake nor share in any of the treasure, which by reason of the truce was payed by the *Sarazens*, as accounting it to be wickedly gotten, and contrary to the Tenor of the vow, which for the honour and aduancement of Christian Religion had beene made. The euent also seeming to confirme no lesse; for the wrath of Heauen (saith our * Author) pursued King *Charles*, brother to the late King *Lewis*, and finding him out vpon the sea in his returne toward *Sicilie*, tooke seuere reuenge by terrible weather, aswell vpon him, as almost his whole Army, which perished in the waters, together with the impious treasure brought from *Tunis*, and all other his furniture of State and Houshold. Which when Prince *Edward* vnderstood, hee sware *by the bloud of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes and Countrimen should abandon him, yet hee and Fowin his* * *Lackey alone would enter into* * *Ptolomais, and keepe the vow which he had made, whiles soule and body held together.* A noble resolution, and as faithfully performed; but not with so smal attendance; for the *English* hearing his feruent asseueration, promised with one heart to accompanie him, and that (in all likelyhood) the more willinglie, because it is not obserued, that the tempest had any way dānified *Edward*, or his fellowship. He forthwith therefore sets saile toward *Acon*, into which hee entred safe not aboue four daies before the City should haue beene yeelded to the *Sarazens*, from which precipitation these succours out of *England* withheld it. The Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay about *Acon* with a puissant hoast, and had begun to assault the breaches; hearing this, not long after raised his siege, and without the fruition of his desire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

Paul. Aemyl.

* Continuatio. Mat. Par.

Prince *Edwards* high resolution to hold on his enterprize.

* Custos Palfredi.

* Acon or Acres.

Hee arriueth safe at *Acon*.

(4) *Edward* vndoubtedly was not more tall of personage then stout of courage, and vpon trust thereof, doing some things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reason haue forborne. His vndaunted courage against those *Infidels* may bee gessed by the like against a domesticke Rebell. Among those who were out-lawed for Rebellion & Treason, after the battell of *Euesham* for partaking with *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, was one Sir *Adam Gurdon* a Knight of the parts about *Winchester*, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way betweene *Wilton* and *Farnham*, (which by reason of woods and windings was fitte to shelter enemies) very dangerous for such as meant to passe, but doing most mischiefe to the lands and goods of such as were the Kings friends. *Edward* hearing of this mans singular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes vpon him with a strong band of followers, but he, nothing terrified, prepares himselfe to fight for his life to the last gaspe. The Prince hereupon commands that none of his men should dare to interrupt their Combat, and forthwith with equall courage exchanged mighty blowes without winning ground each of other. *Edward* delighted with the bravery of *Adams* spirit, and proofe of his manhood, *had him yeeld, promising him life, and his lands againe*; who presently throwing away his weapons, enioyed the full benefite of Prince *Edwards* promise. The happinesse of that age, wherin *Sword* and *Shield* were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a priuat Gentleman, hee could hardly haue escaped. But here at *Acon* hee refused no occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

Edwards voluntarie single fight with Sir *Adam Gurdon*.

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Lady, *Elenor*, wife of Prince *Edward*, endure with him an inseparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at *Acon* deliuered of a daughter, baptized there by the name of *Ioan*. But if God had not better prouided for him, shee was not likely to haue enioyed any longer the deare company of her louing Lord and Husband. Amongst that bloody Sect of *Sarazens*, called *Assassini*, who, without feare of torments, vndertake (vpon commaund of their * *Superior*) the murther of any eminent prince, impugning their irreligion, was one *Anzazim*, often vsed by the *Sarazen* Admirall of *Ioppe*, as a Messenger betweene him and *Edward*, whom the *Admiral* pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of mind and body. The desperate wretch by this employment getting credite and accesse, vpon his insinuation of certaine secrets to be imparted, Prince *Edward* commanded all men to voide the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the *Assassine* sodainly with a poisoned knife giues him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the arme-pit; whom *Edward* presently with his foot threw to the earth, wrung the knife from the Traitour, (not without wounding himselfe in the hand,) and with the hest sel of a Table smote out his braines. Then calling in his people, hee commands that the body of the villaine should bee hanged vp ouer the Cities Wall, and a liue dogge with him. The Admirall hearing of this trayterous attempt, is * said to haue sighed for sorrow, for that hee neuer knew thereof, but meant himselfe to haue become a Christian. But when the Christians vnderstood of this cursed assault vpon the person of so renowned a Prince, they ment in reuenge thereof, to haue forthwith inuaded the Pagans wheresoeuer. But the Prince (whose first care was the safety of Christians) said, *I forbid you on the behalfe of God, that none of you yet presume to infest the Pagans Armie, because many of our people are gone to visite the holy Sepulchre, who shall euery one of them bee murthered by the Sarazens, if they shall now sustaine any (though but small) vexation at our hands.* The second care was of his wounds, which by reason of the enuenomed blade were feared to be mortall; wherein the Lady *Elenor* gaue so rare example of coniugall affection, as her immortall memory doth iustly impart glory to that whole Sex. For when no medicine could extract the poison, shee did it with her tongue, licking dayly, while her husband slept, *his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly closed, and yet her selfe receiued no harme; so soueraigne a medicine is a wiues Tongue, annointed with the vertue of lowely affection.*

Edward is deliuered of a daughter at Acon.

* or Sedr.

Prince Edward trayterously wounded by Assassine.

* Cuiusdam Persa.

(6) Thus while *Edward* abode in forraine parts for the generall seruice of Christianity, against the encreasing Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatnesse, wherein our vnhappie times behold them;) his Father king *Henrie* dies, and Prince *Edward* had the defect of his presence supplied by the faith and care of such venerable and noble persons, as his Father left behind him at his death. Therefore *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloucester*, with other the chiefe

chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the land, assembling together at the *New-Temple* in *London*, acknowledged and proclaimed absent *Edward* for their Soueraigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the *Queene Dowager*, prouided for the common affaires of the King, and the good estate of the Kingdome. The first newes of his Fathers death were brought vnto him, when after his return from the Holy-Land (which seruice hee was * enforced to forsake, hauing long in vaine expected the promised aids of Christians, and Tartars,) he rested himselfe in *Sicilia*, with *Charles* the King thereof; where to the immortall commendation of his pietie, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his *Sonne* and Heire, comming first to his eare, and afterward of the King his *Father*, hee much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Sonnes: whereat King *Charles* greatly maruailed, and demanding the reason, had of him this answere; *The losse of Sonnes is but light, because they are multiplied euery day: but the death of Parents is irremediable, because they can neuer bee had againe*.

(7) Now, whether it were the terrour of such reuenge as followed the captiuation of his valiant Predecessor King *Richard*, or his owne wiser carriage, or the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that hee trauelled in great safety and honour ouer land from *Sicilia* to *Rome*, where he was met vpon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable successe of his Cheualrie against the Turkes, his safe returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance Pope *Gregory* * excommunicated the bloudy-handed *Guy Montford* (because * his person could not easily bee gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse, and power) with all his receiuers, and (vntill amends were made) put their whole Dominions vnder interdict, for that the said *Guy*, (sonne to *Simon*, late Earle of *Leicester*, slain at the battel of *Euesham*) in reuenge of his Fathers death (*for which he mortally hated all King *Henries* race,) had most butcherly murthered * *Henry* of *Almaine*, King *Edwards* neere kinsman, vpon his returne toward *England*, in the raigne of the late King *Henry*, as hee was deuoutely seruing God in the Church at *Viterbo* in *Italie*; which horrible act induceth a * iudicious Author to suspect, that *Guy* also had a hand in that *Assassination* on *Edward*, who had slaine his Father. This *Guy* being afterward taken by the Admirall of *Arragon*, to gratifie King *Edward*, was kept in prison, & the death of *Henrie* reuenged *with his. From *Rome* hee iournied through the Cities of *Italy*, where he was generally entertained with exceeding ioy and honour; and as he was * entring into *Sauoy*, at the stoope, or descent of the *Alpes*, very many of the *Prelates*, and *Peeres* of *England* met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safety, and their duties to his Soueraignty. In his passage, hee gaue notable proofe of his great proweesse and strength at a Turnament (or rather * battel) against * the Earle of *Chabloun*, and his Burgundians: for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the sword betweene King *Edward* and him, throwing away his weapon, grasped the King about the gorget, and hung vpon him with the weight of his massie body, in hope to cast him to the earth; but the King, sitting vpright, without any bending, put spurres to his lusty horse, and lifted the Count so hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till hee had forceably shooke him off to the ground, who recouering himselfe, & comming to redeeme his disgrace, had such entertainement, as hee was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerous age, to omit such an atchiuement of a King of *Eng'nd* in his owne person, had beene hainous and *piaculum*. Thus his renowne encreasing with his progresse, hee had magnificent entertainement in *France*, of *Philip* the king, to whom (vpon condition to haue such territories restored, as were promised to his Father King *Henrie*, when he sold *Normandie* to the *French*) hee did homage for such Signiories, as he held of the Crown of *France*.

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation & princely temperance, (*a vertue which makes euery man a King in himselfe, and Kings like to Gods*) as also his reuerence to the Crowne of *France*, whose Homager hee was for his transmarine Dominions, *Guasco de Biern*, a valiant man of Armes, being in actuall rebellion against K. *Edward* in his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*, was admitted to appeale for triall of his pretended causes to the *French King*, as the superior Lord. Many of King *Edwards* friends and Counsellours were vtterly aduerse to this fauour; aswell because the said *Guasco* had drawne the King to no small charge, and labour, as also for that now he was brought by strait siege to such extremities, as that hee could no longer hold out, and himselfe, hauing all that while put his confidence in walles of stone; and the weapons point; there was also little reason to allow him an ordinary ciuill triall of his pretexts for taking arms; and many perhaps, both thought the example preiudicious to King *Edward* and his Successors, by giuing way to such appeales, and distrusted the iustice of the *French* Court: Contrary to all which, the king decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for *Guasco* (not long after) was condemned in *France*, and sent with * an halter about his necke, to prostrate himselfe to iustice, or mercy at King *Edwards* feete in *England*, who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, & (when hee had for certaine yeeres kept him prisoner at *Winchester*) set him at liberty, and sent him backe to his own, who remained for euer after gratefully firme and loyall.

(9) King *Edward* (his transmarine affaires thus being setled) arriued in *England*, where hee was after so long desirings most ioyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of *westminster* (the magnificent newwork of his deceased Father, who had with great cost, and after aboue fifty yeeres spent therein, almost finished the same) he and his deareſt *Elenor* were annointed, and crowned by * *Robert Kylwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. There were present at this solemnity Queen *Elenor* the Kings mother, * *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Britaine*, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one saith) for the more royall celebration of this great feast, and honor of so martiall a King, there were fiue hundreth great Horses let loose, euery one to take them for his own, who could.

(10) The finall abolishment of succession of the *Welsh* bloud in the *Principality*, or chiefedom of *Wales* now ensued: but yet (as great matters vse) not first without some time, and certaine degrees. The originall was this; King *Edward* hauing sent for *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales* to his Coronation, there to doe him homage; he, excusing the same, was againe (for that cause) admonished to repaire to the Kings Parliament at *Westminster*: whither likewise he forbare to come, pretending it was danger to his person, but * directing his excuse to the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, and their *Suffragans*, professed his readinesse, if it would please the King, *either to send a Commission for taking his Oath, and fealty*, (who bare him a deepe displeasure, euer * since *Lewelin* had put him, being then but Earle of *Chester*, to the worse) *or else, to appoint some indifferent place, or giue to him for hostages the * Kings sonne, and Robert Earle of Gloceſter, with Robert Burnell the Kings Chancellour*. But King *Edward* dissembling the arrogancie of the demand for the present, went forward in his Parliament, where the first Statutes, called of *Westminster*, and among them the Statute of *Mortmain* were enacted. But after the Parliament, the King repaired to his City of *Chester*, being very neere to *Wales*, and *Lewelin* foreslowed his comming thither also; wherefore the King, resoluing (for deniall

* *Tyrrel. Neuſt. per Tho. Walſ.*

Mercy well placed.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Heſſ. Boet. tranſl. lib. 13. Ran. Higden. in Polychr. l. 7.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

The Welsh affaires, and destruction of their gouernment.

The Prince of *Wales* summoned to do his homage & seruice.

* *Da. Powel p. 331*

* *Idem pag. 328. in his history of Wales.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*

The statute of *Mortmain* first enacted.

of homage) to ſeize vpon the whole Fee of the ſaid Prince, marcht with an Armie into *Wales*; his good fortune there was accidentally augmẽted by a prize, which foure ſhippes of *Briſtol* tooke about the Iſles of *Sellie*, wherein the daughter of *Simon Montfort* late Earle of *Leiceſter*, (who, according to a ſecret contract betweene their friends, went to be giuen in marriage to *Lewelin*) and *Aimericke* her brother were ſurpriſed, but ſhee found honourable vſage of the King her neere kinſman.

A.D. 1278. * *Alias Camarcijs*

(11) Meanewhile, *Lewelines* affaires, by the manhood and diligence of *Pain de** *Camuſijs*, and others, who had takẽ *Weſt-Wales* in, & broght it to the Kings peace, thriuing but poorely, and the ſaide Prince feeling the foundations of his ſafetie beginning manifeſtly to faile, and ſhrinke from vnder him, * ſued for peace, and had it vpon ſuch termes, which in likely-hood were not (as * *Polydor Virgil* would haue it ſeeme) granted by King *Edward*, *leſt he ſhould leeſe his coſt, and care, by warring againſt bogs and mountaines*. In the conditions of Peace (which was procured * with great difficulty) the moſt remarkeable (as carrying the ſhew of a farre greater riches in the poſſeſsion of the *welſh*, euen at that time, then ſome preiudicated can eaſily beleeue) * were theſe. 1. That the Prince ſhould pay to the King for his peace and goodwill, fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, the * payment whereof, ſhould bee in the Kinges will and grace; that is (as wee conceiue it) how much thereof the Prince ſhould pay or not pay, and when. 2. That the ſaid Prince ſhould haue the Iſle of *Angleſey* in Fee-farme of the King, to him, and to the lawfull iſſue of his body in generall taile, for fiue thouſand Marks readie money, for * *greſſom*, or a fine in hand paid, & the yeerly rent of a thouſand Marks. The reſt of the articles (being about eight,) amounted to ſo much as a plain Conqueſt, or diſſolution of the *Principality of Wales*, after *Lewelins* death, who was to enioy the ſame, during his time vpon conditions.

* *Lanquet in Epit. Chr. ex Tho. Walſing.*
* *Hiſt. Angl. l. 17.*
* *Fabian.*
* *Dauid Powel. Pag. 334. & 335.*
* *Thom. Walſing. in Edw. 1. and in Tpod. Neuſt.*
* Or in *Garſuma*, as ſome vſe the word.

(12) Now whereas the ſaid *Lewelin* had three Brethren, *Dauid* (whom King *Edward* fauoured) *Owen*, and *Rodericke*, it was enioyned to him at this concluſion (made by the Lord *Robert Tiptoft*, and certaine other * Commiſſioners, vpon eyther ſide appointed) that hee ſhould appeaſe and ſatisfie his ſaid Brethren: but becauſe *Dauid* was afterward a principall Actor in the calamities which fell vpon himſelfe, his houſe, and his Country, we muſt not neglect to ſpeake ſomwhat particularly of him. This Gentleman for ſome cauſes, * flying into *England* from his Brother *Lewelin*, for his faithfull ſeruice to the State of *England*, was there honoured (contrary to the manner of his Nation) with the order of *Knighthood*, and receiued alſo, by the bounty of King *Edward*, for his maintenance, the Caſtle of *Denbigh*, with lands to the yeerly value of one thouſand pounds, and the Daughter of the Earle of *Derby* (being then a *Widow*) to wife: *with all which bounty, the King did but entertaine a reuealer of his ſecrets, as* * *ſome* (not improbably) *doe affirme*. The State of *Wales* thus compoſed, and the Caſtle of * *Aberiſtwith* (which ſeemes to bee the ſame, that by * another is ſaid to haue beene built in *Weſt-Wales* at *Lãpader Vaur*) being built by King *Edward* for aſſuring thoſe parts, the King (as he was munificent, and roiall) the more to tie *Lewelins* faith, gaue vnto him the Lady, of whoſe ſurpriſe at Sea we haue mentioned, to be his conſort, honouring the Nuptials with his owne preſence, and his Queens. And whereas *Alexander* King of *Scots* came about the ſame ſeaſon into *England* to treat with *Edward* concerning important affaires, and had formerly ſent to the *Welſh* warres, certaine aides of the *Scots*, the ſaid *Alexander* being iealous (on his Countries behalfe) that thoſe aides might bee interpreted, to haue beene ſent vpon duty, obtained letters teſtimoniall from King *Edward*, declaring *that they were not ſent of duty, or in reſpect of ſeruice due*.

* *Da. Pow. p. 336*
* *Tho. Walſ.*
* *Fabian. in Ed. 1.*
An. 1279.
* *Da. Pow. p. 336.*
* *Tho. VValſ. Fabian.*
Scottiſh aides proteſted not to bee ſent of duty to K. *Edward*, but of loue.
An. 1282.

(13) Though King *Edward* were thus deſirous to gaine the *Welſh*-Nation rather by his largeſſe, then puiſſance, hauing ſo honourably vſed *Lewelin*, hee could not yet retain their hearts; for whether it were (which * ſome, to amoue the note of ingratitude, & turbulency from them, affirme) for that there was partiality vſed by the *Engliſh* officers in diſtribution of iuſtice vpon the Marches, or (which ſeems to ſome as likely) *for that they aſpired in vaine to their ancient liberty (being miſerably ſeduced with certaine * blind propheſies)* the *Welſh* betooke themſelues afreſh to Armes: for *Dauid* himſelfe, whom the King had laden with ſo many benefites and graces, became to them a principall leader, and to giue them full aſſurance of his faſtneſſe to their cauſe (reconciling himſelfe to his brother the Prince) he ſodainely and treacherouſly vpon Palme-Sunday ſeiſed the Caſtle of * *Hawardin*, ſurpriſing *Roger de Clifford*, a noble & famous Knight, whom the King had diſpatched into thoſe parts, as Iuſticiar of all *Wales*, and ſlaying ſuch vnarmed men as offered to reſiſt that violence, whence marching, hee laid ſiege together with the Prince his brother, to the Caſtle of * *Rodolan*, doing many outrages, and killing all ſuch as they could reach, yea ſom (as it is ſaid) whoſe ranſomes * they had taken, though againſt *Lewelins* mind. And while King *Edward* ſpent his Eaſter at the *Viſes* in *Wiltſhire*, and afterward viſited the Queene his mother, who liued in the Nunnerie at *Ambresberie*, the *Welſh*, vnder diuers Captaines, had taken ſundry of the Kings * ſtrengthes and Caſtles in diuers parts. There are extant the * Copies of certaine grieuances, exhibited to *Iohn* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* by the *Welſh*, at ſuch time as of his owne accord (ſo ſay the ſaid Copies) hee interpoſed himſelfe (without the Kings leaue) to ſettle their quiet; which Articles in ſhew, (for the anſweres of the Engliſh are not ſet downe) containe indeed ſundry great abuſes; but the fate of *Wales* had now inuolued them all in a deſolating warre, and made them vncapable of reliefe. For after the Archbiſhoppe had trauelled in perſon to the Prince of *Wales*, being then in * *Snowdon*, and returned without any Concluſion made, * comming vnto *Oxford*, hee there ſent out the lightnings of * excommunication againſt him and his ſeduced adherents: Wee ſay *ſeduced*, becauſe they did capitulate in ſuch ſort, as if they had beene able to make their party good.

* *Da. Pow.*
* *Poly. Virg.*
* *Tho. Wal.*
* *Rishan. Pow pag. 33*
* *Arch. ad apud Da. Pow Pag. 335.*
* *Tho. Wal.*
* *Da. Pow.*
* *Da. Pow.*
* *Tho. Wal.*
* *Annia. Iob. Tit.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*

(14) But though the old *Britiſh* Principality was now to expire, yet it muſt bee confeſſed, that as *Lewelin* had an end vnworthy of his bloud, being rather vnfortunately ſlaine, then otherwiſe, ſo on the other ſide the ſame hapned not without reuenge: for at one encounter in open field, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloſter* loſt *William Valence* (a yonger Coſen of the Kings) ſlaine in the fight, and foure other Knights, though at the ſame time alſo, many of the *welſh* left their bodies dead vpon the earth, together with the victory to the Engliſh: but the day certainely which they had of King *Edward* himſelfe, may not bee forgotten, in which the *Welſh* ſlew the * Lord *William de Audeley*, and the Lord *Roger Clifford* the yonger, and got foureteene Enſignes from the Engliſh Armie, K. *Edward* being enforced to enter into the Caſtle of Hope for his ſafety. Theſe things, though not contemptible, but rather certaine deceitfull fauours, vſuall when the ruine of a Nation is by God decreed, could not vphold the cauſe. For firſt the Prince, hauing vpon ſome occaſion withdrawne himſelfe with ſome few others from his Army, which then was in the land of *Buelth*, was ſet vpon by two principall Gentlemen, *Iohn Giffard*, and *Edmund de Mortimar*, with their Forces, and there by the hand of one * *Adam Francton* was runne through with an Horſemans ſtaffe, who at the firſt being vnknowne, had his head ſtrucken afterward off, and preſented to King *Edward*, at whoſe commandement it was * crowned with Iuie, and ſet vp for a certain time vpon the Tower of *London*.

A.D. 1

(15) This (ſaith the * Hiſtory of *Wales*) was the end

* *Da. Pow.*
* *Annia. Iob. Tit.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*
* *Tho. Wal.*
* *Pag. 33*

end of *Lewelin*, betrayed by the men of *Buelth*, who was the laſt Prince of *Britaines* bloud: and with him (*whom one *Verſifier* calleth *the Captaine, the praiſe, the law, and light of Nations*, and another defaceth with as many ignominious attributes) the liberty of that people did alſo die. For it was not long but that King *Edward* ſubdued in a manner all *Wales*, & reſeruing to himſelfe the Coaſt-Towns & ſtrengths toward the Sea, diſtributed the In-land Countries to the Lords his followers: therein prudently *following the counſell of Auguſtus, who thus vnder pretence of defence for the Prouinces, had the brideling of all their forces at his pleaſure.* Neuertheleſſe the whole flame was not as yet extinguiſhed, for *Dauid* the *Princes* Brother, and * chiefeſt firebrand in this fatall combuſtion, was at large: who being taken & brought to King *Edward* at the Caſtle of *Ruthlan*, could not obtaine admiſſion to his ſight or ſpeech, but was amanded, and ſent Priſoner to *Shrewsburie*. Thither the King, hauing ſetled the State of *Wales*, repairing to a Parliament which he had ſummoned, there to bee kept after Michaelmas, cauſed *Dauid* (hauing firſt had a Legall triall * before certaine Iuſticiars for that cauſe appointed) to bee ſeuerely put to death, by * hanging, heading and quartering, whoſe head was ſet vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure other principall Cities of *England*, to the terrour of all ingratefull and diſloyall perſons. The *Welſh* line thus thruſt from the Principality, King *Edward* vpon *Saint Marks* day had a ſonne borne vnto him in *Wales* at *Caernaruon*, who alſo was called *Edward*, and raigned after him; and that with the birth of a new Lord, the *welſh* might bee inured to new lawes, the King eſtabliſhed (by example of K. *Iohn* his Grandfather in *Ireland*) the Engliſh lawes and offices among them.

(16) But the King that hee might not ſeeme forgetfull of his French affaires, repayred into *France*, where hee obtained ſundry fauours, though they continued not long, and ſate in perſon there with the French King in his Parliament at the City of *Paris*, as a Lord or Peere of that Realme, in reſpect of ſuch lands as hee had in thoſe parts. Nor may here bee forgotten an Act of ſingular munificence, and charity in this renowned King, for the redemption of *Charles* Prince of *Achaia*, ſonne and Heire of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, who had ſome yeers before beene taken in a battell at Sea before *Naples*, by the Gallies of *Sicilia*, fighting on the behalfe of the King of *Arragon*: for whoſe ſpeedier enlargement, K. *Edward* diſburſed thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, and gaue his owne Knights in hoſtage, till *Charles* had ſent in his two ſonnes, *Robert* and *Lewis*, as pledges to *Alfonſe* king of *Arragon*: which done, King *Edward* returned into *Gaſcoigne*, and there tooke vpon him the Croſſe, in full purpoſe to finiſh the iourney which once he had vndertaken, and had in part performed againſt the *Sarazens*.

(17) In the meane time, to purge *England* (whither hee was now returned) from ſuch corruptions, and oppreſſions, as vnder which it groaned, and not neglecting therein his particular gaine, hee baniſhed the Iewes out of the Realme, confiſcating all their goods, leauing them nothing but money to beare their charges. And whereas they by their cruell vſuries had one way eaten his people to the bones, & his Iuſticiars (like another kind of Iewes) had ruined them with delayes in their ſuites, and enriched themſelues with wicked corruptions, hee (like a father of his Country) *put all thoſe from their offices who were found guilty* (and they were *almoſt all) *and puniſhed them otherwiſe in a grieuous manner, being firſt in open Parliament conuicted.* The particulars whereof, by reaſon of the moſt iuſt and commendable example, we will not thinke needleſſe (the order of naming them only changed) to recapitulate here. *Sir Ralph Hengham, Chief Iuſtice of the higher Bench, 7000. marks.*
Sir Iohn Louetot, Iuſtice of the lower Bench, 3000. marks
Sir William Brompton Iuſtice, 6000. *markes.*
S. Salomon Rocheſter, chiefe Iuſtice of Aſſiſes, 4000. *M.*
S. Richard Beyland, 4000. *Marks.*
S. Thomas Sodentone, 2000. *Marks.*
S. Walter de Hopton, 2000. *Marks.*
S. William Saham, Iuſtice, 3000. *Marks.*
Robert Littelburie, Clerk, 1000. *Marks.*
Roger Leiteſter Clerk, 1000. *Marks.*
Adam de Stratton (beſide other riches incredible) 32000. *Markes.* But with one Sir *Thomas Weyland* the Kings * chiefe Iuſtice, (being found belike moſt falſe) he dealt farre more ſternely, for he not only ſeiſed vpon all his moueable goods and Iewels (which he had done to others) but alſo vpon his immoueable, and baniſht him moreouer out of the Kingdome. At which time the King conſtrained all his Iuſtices to ſweare, that from thenceforth they would take no penſion fee or gift of any man, except only a breakfaſt, or the like preſent. *O diuine and ſtill neceſſary ſeuerity, onely able to breake the pernicious combination of men that vnder the profeſſion of law & offices of Iuſtice make merchandize of honor, iuſtice, law, and conſcience, which cannot in the end but bring forth ruine, and confuſion.*

* *Stob in Edw. 1*

(18) That tempeſt now, which * *Thomas Erſilton*, a *Scottiſh* Rimer, is ſaid to haue obſcurely prophecied, alluding to the troubles of *Scotland* by reaſon of King *Alexanders* death; hapned about theſe times; which raiſed ſo great, and bloody contentions, that it had almoſt blowne vp the regalitie of that kingdome by the very rootes. For when, by the violent fall from his horſe, King *Alexander* had moſt vnfortunately loſt his life, that Realme was wofully deſtitute of any apparent heire, ſundry perſons ſtãding in competition for the ſame. Theſe things were thought to be foreſhewed from heauen by many * fearefull preſages, as extraordinary Meteors, Flouds, Fires, and Peſtilence. But King *Edward* intending to ſway that affaire, and being vpon his way toward the borders, the death of his royall conſort, and Queene, which he lamented while himſelfe did liue, called him backe to the celebration of her funerals: as her excellent virtues did well deſerue: To our Nation ſhee was a louing mother, & (ſaith * one) the Column, and pillar (as it were) of the whole Realme. In her honour the King her husband (who loued her aboue al worldly Creaturs) cauſed thoſe many famous *tropheis, or croſſes to be erected, whereſoeuer her noble coarſe did reſt, as it was conueyed from *Lincolneſhire* to buriall in *weſtminſter*. Nor coulde any thing, but the reſpect to other weighty matters, now preſently in hand, with-holde our pen from paying to her memory a farre more copious commendation.

Scotiſh affaires. *Hect. Bo. trans. lib. 13.*

*Hect. Bo. lib. 13.

A. D. 1291.

*Walſing.

*As Charing Croſſe, and at Waltham, S. Albans, Dunſtaple, &c.

(19) Thoſe mourning offices as mournfully performed, the King repaires into *Northumberland*, whither the greateſt, and ſageſt perſons of the *Scottiſh* nation being come, *themſelues hauing ſought to him, *Edward* makes claime to the ſuperiority of *Scotland*, and requires that the Competitors woud quietlie aſſent to his award, alleaging that the Crowne of that Realme was held of him: for more credit to which aſſertion he vouched ſundry *books, and acts, whereunto the *Scots* replied, * *That they were ignorant, that any ſuch ſuperiority belonged to the King of England: neither could they make anſwere to ſuch things without a King the head, vpon whom it lay to heare ſuch a denunciation, and proteſted, that other anſwere they ought not as then to giue, in regard of their Oath, which after the death of Alexander their King they had made one to the other, and the ſame to keepe vnder paine of excommunication.* Whereupon the King deliuered to them his letters Patents, in which he acknowledged, that the comming of thoſe *Scots*, on this ſide the water of *Twede*, ſhould not be at any other time vrged to preiudice them, for comming againe into *England*: that is, *That their example ſhould not ſo be drawne to an argument of King Edwards right ouer them, as if they were to come againe vpon dutie; ſo prudentlie iealous were theſe Patriots of their Countries liberty.*

A. D. 1292.

*Hect. Boe. li. 14.

* *Marian. Scot. VVilliel. Mal. Henry Hun. Ro. Houed. &c.*
Tho. VValſing. in Edward. 1.

(20) The

(20) The names of the *Competitors* were these, according to *Walsingham*: *Erick, King* of *Norway*, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence, Earle* of *Holland*; *Robert le Brus*, Lord of *Annandale*; *Iohn de Baliol*, Lord of *Galway*; *Iohn de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergeuenny*; *Iohn Comin*, Lord of *Badenaw*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *March*; *Iohn de Vesci*, on his Fathers behalfe; *Nicholas de Sules*; *William de Rosse*. These all peaceably submitted themselues, *for so much as concerned their seuerall titles to the Scottish Crowne*, to the finall award and arbitration of King *Edward*, passing thereof an authentick Instrument vnto him; who hauing giuen caution to restore the realme of *Scotland*, (within a certaine prefixed time,) to that party to whom the *Crowne* thereof should be adiudged, had seisin deliuered to him, the better to put the sentence in execution, or (say the writers of that nation) they giuing him power to constraine the parties to stand to this sentence. The whole carriage of which weighty businesse, being so diuersly related and censured by the writers of both nations, (though for the present it be not material, both Kingdoms now blessedly acknowledging one absolute *Superiour*) wee will so trace the steps of truth in a middle way, as resoluing neither to impeach the action of that glorious vmpier, nor preiudicate the right of our noble sister nation. The State of *Scotland* now was not without manifest perill; for the *Scots* * denying that their Kingdome was in anie point subalterne to the Crowne of *England*, and King *Edward* either perswaded that it was so, or resoluing and plotting now to make it so, would not neglect the aduantage of this * *Akephalisis* or *want of a known head* in *Scotland*.

(21) Vpon full ventilation therefore and scanning of all rights, the maine doubt rested vpon Lord *Brus* and *Baliol*, for the residue might seeme rather to affect the honour of hauing pretended title in blood to a Diademe, then to haue colour to contend with either of them. Great was the aduise, and deliberation (as there was cause) which King *Edward* tooke therein, for not trusting to his owne iudgement, hee caused (saith * *Hector Boetius*) twelue of the best Clerks or learned men of *Scotland*, and twelue of *England* to concurre as Assessors with him in that great decision.

A. D. 1293.

(22) While this weighty cause was in debatement; there fell out deadlie strife betweene the *English* and *Normans*, occasioned by one of them casually slaine by the *English*; which mischiefe the King of *France* forwardly nourisht, as thirsting for the dutchy of *Gascoigne*, which best he might attain by troubling the forreine affaires of King *Edward*, whom they saw now entangled at home in so weighty emploiments. Whereupon the *Normans* slew sundry of the *English*, and hung vp one vpon the mast of a Shippe, whom they had taken at Sea: but, ere long after, threescore *English* ships encountring with two hundreth saile of *Normans*, laden with wines, after a most bloody batel (wherein many * thousands of the *French* were slaine) tooke, with their whole fleete, their full reuenge, and brought them into *England*.

(23) At last yet King *Edward* returning to *Berwicke*, hauing with him the said twenty foure Assessors, as it were a iury of either nation, * and, with the good will and assent of the *Scottish* Lords, gaue solemne iudgement with *Baliol*, as being descended of the eldest daughter of *Dauid*, Earle of *Huntington*, a yonger sonne of *Scotland*; whose issue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherite, without question. But the strife being betweene the descendents of the said *Dauid*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was also a principall, reasons of importance were produced, which drew many mens iudgements, to incline to him, as hauing a neerer interest to that *Crowne*. But according to the sentence, *Baliol* was solemnly crowned King of *Scotland* vpon S. *Andrews* day, and, in *Christmas* following, repaired to King *Edward*, at Newcastle vpon *Tyne*, and * there (against the minds of many *Scots*) did homage vnto him for the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*.

(24) Meanetime the *French* King pursued the reuenge of the *Normans*, demanding restitution, and citing King *Edward* iudicially to appeare to answere such wrongs, as were done in *Aquitaine*: who, (desirous to settle his owne affaires at home, or, as some write, * eager vpon a match for himselfe in *France*) while he discouered either his vnwillingnes to appeare in that kind, or to warre, suffered himselfe by a French deuise, to be meerely deceiued, and put out of his possession of *Gascoigne*, to the great mischeife, and disaduantage of the English: whereupon K. *Edward* highly incensed, called a Parliament at *London*, where *Iohn* king of *Scotland* was present; *and had the full consent of the whole Realme, to regaine that honestlie by the sword which was craftilie gotten away by a cunning trick*, * renouncing to the French his homage for *Aquitain*. *Wales* also was at the same time full of troubles; but the fires of rebellion, there rashly kindled, were, not long after, quencht with the blood of the Actors, and thousands of their Complices.

(25) *Baliol* hauing thus obtained the Crowne of *Scotland*, and finding his party, by the homage which he had made to King *Edward*, much empaired among the Scots, who greatly repined thereat; for regaining their loues, * attempted a secret combination with the French against the English; which *Edward* ignorant of, and * requiring him by vertue of his homage to aid him with all his powers against the King of *France*, * discouered (by *Baliols* delaies, and trauerses) the said conspiracie. Whereupon he aduanced forward against the Scots with a puissant armie to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*: The first blood which was drawne was of the English, of whom, the Scots * slew almost one thousand in a village vnder the leading of one *Robert de Ros*, who had fled from King *Edward*: The City of *Carlile* likewise was assaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* spoiled by seuen Earles of *Scotland*, and their companies, which to *Edward* was not greatly displeasing, (as was said) for that the first hostile acts were done by them, whom he had a full purpose to subdue, *that at last he might bee sole in Albion*; which, had not God reserued for other times, we might wonder he effected not.

A.D. 12

A.D. 12

A.D. 1

(26) King *Edward* therefore presented himselfe before the strong Towne of *Berwick* with a mighty host, there to auspicate his entrance to a conquest of *Scotland*; and, after summons sent to the Towne, abode one whole day, without offer of violence: The Townesmen refusing to render, had a victory of the English Marriners, who rashly entring, with twentie and foure Ships into the harbour, were repelled with the losse of foure of their vessels, which was soone reuenged by the forceable taking of *Berwick*, where * *Hector Boetius* saith, there was exercised great cruelty by the English. In the Towne, the Flemish Merchants (who were smothered by the English with fire) had a very strong house in the maner of a Tower, from whence they leueld, at the entring of the English, with darts, and iauelins, one of which casually slew *Richard* of *Cornewal*, a gallant Gentleman brother to the Earle of *Cornwal*, which, in an army heated with former contumelies, for the Scots vpon the slaughter and repulse which they had made of the English marriners, published certaine rimes in derision, as

(* *VVhat wenys King Edward with his Longshancks,*
To haue wonne Berwicke, all our vnthancks? &c.)

together with the remembrance of many fresh shrewd turnes, might stirre vp bloody effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Castle after stood not long out, but rendred it selfe. * Sir *William Douglas*, captaine therof, was detained prisoner, and (as * some write) Sir *Robert Bruce*: others were suffered to depart, vpon oath, to beare no armes from thenceforth against the King of *England*. The losse of this important Towne, and Castle was very great, for it was the key, and common Bulwarke of *Scotland*.

(27) While

*Tho. Walsingh. *Hanul. Higd. Polychr. lib. 7.*

Bellendens transl. of Hect. Boe. lib. 14.

** Hect. Boe. lib. 14.*

** So Boniface cals it in his letters to king Edward.*

** Hect. Boe. lib. 14.*

A famous Sea-victorie of the English against the Normans

** Thom. Walsingh. saith 1500.*

** Hect. Boe. lib. 14.*

** Edwardi litere ad Papam apud Tho VValsingh.*

Iudgement giuen by king Edward.

lib. 14. cap. 1.

A. D. 1294.

** Hect. Boet. transl. lib. 14. Cap. 2.*

** Pol. Vir.*

** Tho. Wals.*

** Hect. Boe. lib. 14.*

** Fabian.*

** Tho. Wals. Polyd. Vir. 17. saith but hundreth*

** Tho. Wals.*

** Fab.*

Berwick taken by king Edward

(27) While the Englisth, at this place, were busie to cast a very deepe ditch, to hinder the sodeine inroades of their enemies, *Iohn* King of *Scotland* sent two religious men to the King of *England* with * letters; in which, *alledging that he was by Oath bound to defend his owne kingdome, and people, he renounced his homage, and fealtie, as extorted by violence, and void in it selfe, being made without assent of the three estates of his Realme.* The resignation was admitted, King *Edward* commanding his *Chancellor* to record the same for perpetuall memorie, as a iustification of his proceedings.

(28) The Scots hereupon, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Bucquhan*, *Menteth*, *Strathern*, *Ros*, *Athol*, *Marr*, and other of their nobility, made an incursion into *England*, whence with the spoiles of two religious houses, and other booties they returned: But *Patrick* Earle of *Dunbarre* came to King *Edward* submitting himselfe; and the Castle of *Dunbarre* (by this submission being vnder King *Edwards* protection) was regained by Scots: For recouerie, or surregaining whereof, the King sent *Iohn* Earle of *Surrey*, and *Sussex*, and *William* Earle of *warwick*, who were entertained with battel by the Scottish nation, of whom the Englisth, *after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the chase holding about eight miles, in which the slaughter was not small. The siege of *Dunbarre* being reinforced. King *Edward* had it yeelded vnto him, at his comming, wherein were taken three Earles, sixe or seuen Barons, besides many knights, and Esquires, which were all sent prisoners to diuerse Castles of *England*, and (if some say true) not put to the sword (as *Hector* transported perhaps with hatred to *Edward* writes) contrary to his word, and faith giuen.

(29) King *Edward* knowing as well how to vse a victorie, as to get it, hauing a present spirit vpon all aduantages, and turnes of fortune, takes the Castle of *Rocksbrough*, and (for a finall end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edenburgh* it selfe (the chiefe Towne of *Scotland*) which * was shortly rendred: Then tooke they Striueling also, and draue *Baliol* to the * Castle of *Forfar*: where *Iohn Comin* Lord of *Strabogie* submitted himselfe to King *Edward*. About this time there came to the Englisth campe great numbers of Welsh souldiers, with whom he releeued many of the Englisth footemen, tyred with seruice, sending them backe into *England*. Thither also came the Earles of *Vlster* with bands of Irish.

(30) The King of *England* prospering thus, passeth with his army ouer the * Scottish Sea, where while he kept the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptist* * at *Perth* (or Saint *Iohns* Towne) there came messengers from *Baliol*, and the Lords his factors, to sue for mercy, which was granted vpon condition, that they should render themselues to him as his subiects. * *Hector Boetius* saith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthonie* Bishop of *Durham* was vsed) *Iohn Comin* brought *Baliol*, void of all kingly habiliments with a white rod in his hand, to the Englisth campe at *Montros*, where he resigned his whole right that he either had, or might haue to the Crowne of *Scotland*, into king *Edwards* hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in *French*, and at the same time also (for feare of life) gaue his sonne *Edward* for hostage, and assurance of his fealtie; by which final disclaime, the Lord *Bruces* right might seeme now vnquestionable. But this resignation being thus made, king *Edward* returnes to *Berwick*, where * all the Nobles of *Scotland* (at a Parliament there holden) were sworne to be loyall, and true subiects to king *Edward* for euer after: and * hereof a solemne instrument was sealed by the said Lords (of whom *Iohn Comin* of *Badenaw* was first) bearing date at *Berwick* in the twentie fifth yeere of the reigne of their Souereigne Lord King *Edward*.

(31) *Iohn* the late King, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, hauing liberty for twenty miles about. The Scottish Lords were confined within *Trent*, ouer which *Riuer* they might not passe toward *Scotland*, vpon paine of life: The custody of *Scotland* was committed to *Iohn de Warrenn*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Sussex*, and the *Treasurershippe* thereof to *Hugh de Cressingham*; but *William de Ormesby* was ordained *Iusticiar*, with this particular commandement, that hee should take the homages and fealties of all such as held lands of the King. And the more to shew his purpose, vtterly to dissolue the distinct Regality of *Scotland*, and to vnite it to the Englisth Monarchie, as hee had done *Wales*, hee tooke out of *Edinbrough* the *Crowne*, *Scepter* and *Cloath* of *Estate*, offering them vp at * Saint *Edwards* shrine in *Westminster*, if the Author mistake not, for at Saint *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, * hee offered vp *Baliols Crowne* saith another; and (besides many other Acts tending to the abolishment of the Scottish Name, which * *Hector* relates, *as the burning their Records, abrogating their lawes, altering their forms of diuine seruice, and transplanting all their learnedst men thence vnto his Vniuersity of Oxford,*) hee tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scone* the * *Marble Chaire*, in which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to bee crowned, and sent the same to *Westminster*, for Priests to sit therein at Celebration. This *Chaire* is the same vpon which was engrauen, the famous Prophetical *Distichon*:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem,

If Fates goe right, where ere this stone is pight,
The Regall race of Scots shall rule that place.

Which by whomsoeuer it was written, we who now liue, finde it happily accomplished. But these great Acts of this yeere brought to the Commons of *England* small commodity, vpon whom the charge of the warres lay heauily, *and it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conquests.*

(32) The force of *Scotland* with a greater force being thus for the present broken, who would suppose, that it could once again haue lifted vp the head, and that *chiefly by the particular vertue of a priuate man*, as it after hapned? which hee had the more opportunity to doe, for that the King of *England* was diuersly diuerted by occasion of warres in *Gascoigne* for recouery of his owne, and for aid of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the *French* did afflict in hostile manner. The Captaine of the reuolted troupes in *Scotland*, was one *William Wallace* (the sonne of * *Sir Andrew Wallace* of *Cragie* Knight, though some * vpon heare say, write contemptibly of his course of life, as of a publike robber) who, by the assistance of such as were outlawed, for refusing to doe their homage to King *Edward*, draue *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iusticiar) out of *Scotland*. Which King *Edward* hearing, discharged *Iohn Comin of Badenaw*, and the Earle of *Bucquhan* from their confinement, to the entent, that hee might by their endeuours, the sooner settle matters, but withall hee gaue *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* commission to leuie an Army: and the king (loath to bee hindred from his other destinations) easily yeelded to such requests as were propounded on the *Scots* behalfe for that time. The voyage which hee had then in hand, was to transport from *Winchelsea* an Armie, to assist the Earle of *Flanders* his confederate.

(33) *England* at this time was not without great discontentments, which *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex* Constable of *England*, and *Roger Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of *England*, did countenance; for present satisfaction whereof, the King yeelded (among other things) to confirme "*Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, and *that* "*there should no Subsidie nor taxation bee leuied vpon* "*the people, without the consent of the Prelates, Peeres,* "*and people.* But before this time, and while the King was absent out of the land, the *Scots* vnder the leading of *William Wallace*, put to * flight, the Earle *Warren* and all the Englisth Forces which were with him,

Fabian.

Tho. Walsingh.

Bellend. transl. lib. 14. cap. 7.

Tho. Walsingham. Cambden in Scotland. p. 709. saith it was a stone inclosed within a wooden Chaire.

An. 1298.

Bellenden transl. of Hect. Boet. l. 14. f. 4.
Tho. Walsingham. Polyd. Verg. lib. 19

Tho. Walsingham. Hect. Boet. lib. 14. Polyd. Verg. l. 17.

him, taking them at aduantage, as they were passing ouer a narrow Bridge, neare vnto the Castle of *Strivelin*: the slaughter of the English was not smal. There *Hugh de Cressingham* Treasurer of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, fell in battell, whose dead body for speciall hatred borne vnto him, the *Scots* did flea, diuiding his skinne among them. The King hearing of this ouerthrow, commands the Lordes of *England* by his letters to bee ready to assist the said Earle *VVarren* (his *Custos* or *Guardian* of *Scotland*) with their Forces, in the *Octaues* of *S. Hilary* at *Yorke*, and also to proclaime such of the Scottish Lords as came not thither, enemies of the State; but they kept themselues within *Scotland*, and came not. Whereupon the English Captains marched to the rescue of the Castle of *Rocksbrough*, whence *VVilliam VVallace* fled vpon notice of their approach to raise his siege. But King *Edward* (aduertised of these accidents) hauing taken a truce for two yeeres with the King of *France*, by mediation of *Bonifacius* the Pope, who interposed himselfe (*non tanquam Iudex, sed amicabilis Compositor*, saith *VValsingham*, *not as a Iudge, but as a friendly Composer*, made hast into *England*, where his presence was extremely wanting: but in his way home, at a Towne called * *Ardeburg*, all the *Scots* almost, which hee had brought with him to serue in the Flemish warres, forsooke him, and went to *Paris*.

A.D.1299

* *Tho.Wals.*

(34) After his arriuall in *England*, hee summoned a Parliament at *Yorke*, giuing the *Scots* a day to appeare thereat; *which they not doing, nor acknowledging that they ought to doe*, hee entred with a mightie Army into their Country, his Nauy laden with victuals coasting along; which by contrary winds being holden off for a time, put the *Scots* the rather in hope of victory, by reason of the scarsity of prouisions among the English; but three dayes before the *Scots* appeared, the shippes came, and plentifully refresht the fainting souldiers. Hereupon the king led forward his people, and vpon the next morning, a terrible showt being heard from the *Scottish host*, the *English* ranne to armes; but the kings horse (affrighted with the sodaine tumultuous noise) as hee was putting foote in stirrup, threw him to the earth, and striking with the hinder heeles, brake two of his ribs; who neuertheless vpon the same horse proceeded in person to the battell. *VVillam VVallace*, who had wonne to himselfe, by many his hardy enterprises a singular opinion among the Peeres, and people, hauing set his *Scots* in array (whose numbers far exceeded the English) vsed euery where this short speech vnto them in stead of Orations, *I haue brought you to the King, hop gif yee kun.* For their more security, hee had * fixed betweene them and the English, certaine Pales or stakes, bound together with ropes, which the English Vauntguard brake downe, and came to strokes. The first which fled, were the Scottish Horsemen, leauing their Infanterie, or battels of foote, open to that great destruction which followed, the victory resting clearely to the English.

*Tho Walsingh. The bloudy ouerthrow at Fawkirke.

(35) Our *Scottish* * Author writes, that by reason of emulation against *VVallace*, the *Scots* burning in mutuall hatred, made the enterprise easie to their enemies; which as it may bee verie true, so certainely there was scarse anie battell betweene the two Nations, in which more *Scottish* bloud was spilt then in this, for thereof * *Sebastian Munster* seemes to meane, saying, that there were slaine threescore and ten thousand, which though wee take not to bee the true number, (for some haue * threescore thousand, * others not so many) yet shewes it that the slaughter was vast, as it could not otherwise bee, the *Scottish* footmen valiantly * fighting as it were to the last man. *Bloud "worthy to haue beene shed on both sides, against another "kind of enemy, then Christians, the deformity of which "effusions may iustly represent to vs the blessed estate of "our now setled vnion.* This victory was obtained

*Hect.Boet. l.14.

*Vniuers.Cosm. lib.3.

*Tho.VVals. Ypod.Neustr. Ran.Cest.Polychr. lit.7. *Fabian,& Harding. *Polyd.Ver.lib. 17.Hect.Boet.l. 14.

by the English vpon *Saint Mary Magdalens* day, at a place called *Fawkirke*: from which *VVilliam Wallace*, opening his way with his Sword escaped. The Welshmen deserued ill of the King at this iourney, for that they foreslowed to charge vpon the *Pallisado*, or fence of the *Scots*, in hope (the English being vanquished, which by the inequality of their numbers, they presumed would happen) that themselues might ioyntlie with the *Scots*, *execute vpon King Edward the hatred*, which they bare him for the * euils hee had brought vpon their nation. After this victory the King tooke sundry places, and returned into *England* by *Carlile*.

*Tho.Wal.

(36) The two yeeres truce formerly taken betweene the English and French, was now, by the interceding of *Boniface* Bishoppe of *Rome*, turned to a setled peace, who (among other things) brought it about, that K. *Edward* should marry the French kings sister *Margaret*, and *Edward* the kings sonne, the same kings daughter, *though* (saith *Walsingham*) *hee aduanced not the good of his Realme by this match in any point.* To this affinity were added the greater strengthes of a domesticke quiet, for the king (whom wars had together made renowned, & aged) graciously & wisely yeelded to confirm such grants of laws and liberties, as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conseruators of the Peoples intereest,) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which hee accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*, vpon prorogation, in *Quindena Paschæ*, where for their fuller satisfaction hee * left out this Clause in the end, *Saluo iure corona nostræ, sauing the right of our Crowne*: and what at this time was wanting, he made vp afterward in a Parliament at *Stamford*.

A.D. 1

*Tho.Wal.

(37) But that he might not seeme willing to deny the Pope any iust request, or not to know the sweetnesse of an others freedome, he deliuered to the hands of the Popes *Nuntios*, *Iohn* the late King of *Scotland*, (vpon their assuming for King *Edwards* indemnity,) whom they conueied to his inheritance in *France*, where (vpon euery side vnfortunate) he remained as vnder the note of a false seducer, and of a periur'd person in king *Edwards* iudgement, and without anie part of his regall office ouer the Scottish nation; who found that the peace which King *Edward* made in other places, did but turne to their more grieuous affliction; for albeit they had gotten *Strivelyn* by surrender of the *English*, and began with an immortall desire of their ancient Liberty, to assemble again vnder *William Wallace*, yet the time was not come of their deliuerance; for King *Edward* (according as it was formerly appointed,) hauing accomplished his marriage with the *French* Kings sister at *Canterbury*, made it his whole affaire, to finish the annexation of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*.

The Rebel Liberty.

(38) He therefore accompanied with his sonne, and a dreadfull Army, pursued the matter so close, that whereas the *Scots* had gotten together againe in exceeding great numbers, vnder their seuerall Captaines, (whose * Enuie had caused *Wallace* to giue vp all such authority, as the commonwealth of *Scotland* had formerly granted vnto him, for preseruation of their freedomes,) and flying before King *Edward*, whose fortune in warre had worthily made him terrible; *that day* (in *Walsinghams* iudgement) *had beene irrecouerably fatall to the Scottish name, if the English had beene able to haue followed them in their Armour, ouer their bogges and mountaines, or that the Welsh had with their naturall nimblenesse supplied the same.* Sure it is, that *Edward* held himselfe so fast in possession, that hee neither would grant the *Scottish* Lords their *Baliol* to raigne ouer them, (which they requested saith *Walsingham*) nor suffer them to redeeme such lands of theirs, as hee had giuen to the English among them.

*Hect.Boet.

(39) Armes failing, and the *Scots* hauing made their way in the Court of *Rome*, procured inhibitorie

ry letters from the Pope, which were brought by one *Lombardus* into *Scotland*: but the King swearing a * terrible oath, said, *that he would not desist*. Nevertheless the *Scots*, after a few dayes, requested the King to let them liue in peace till they had taken counsell of the Peeres, and of the King of *France*; threatning that otherwise the Pope would take the matter vpon him. But the King with a disdainefull "smile answered: *Haue you done homage to mee (as to "the chiefe Lord of the Kingdome of Scotland) and now "suppose that I can be terrified with swelling lies, as if "(like one that had no power to compell) I would let the "right which I haue ouer you to slip out of my hands? Let "me heare no more of this, for if I do, I swear by the Lord, "I will consume all Scotland from sea to sea.* On the other side, the *Scots* did boldly enough replie, *That in this cause they would shed their blood for defence of iustice, and their Countries liberty.*

(40) About this time the King made his sonne *Edward*, (who was borne at *Caernarnon*) Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Chester*, which so greatly contented the *Welsh*, because (in regard of his birth place) they held him as one of theirs, that when all friends did afterward forsake him (as the following raigne will shew) they alwayes stucke most loyally vnto him, expressing wonderfull loue and affection, and bewayling his heauy fortunes in wofull songs, *which neither the dread of his enemies, nor length of time could euer make them to* *forget.

(41) But, in the matter of *Scotland*, the King not to seeme altogether to neglect the Court of *Rome*, addressed thither the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *Hugh de Spenser* with manifold complaints against the *Scots*, and iustification of his owne proceedings; howbeit at the Popes request, he granted them truce from *Hallowmas* to *Whitsontide*. This very yeere, *Cassan* King of *Tartars* gloriously slew one hundreth thousand Turkes in a battell vpon the plaine of *Damascus*, and was baptized therupon, as *acknowledging the victory to come from the sonne of God*: the ioy whereof filled *England*, as other the partes of Christendome.

(42) The iustice of the English Armes against the 1302. *Scots*, being now againe directly impugned by the Papall letters, comprehending sundry arguments on the behalfe of that Nation, King *Edward* in a Parliament at *Lincolne* published their contents, and by consent of the whole representatiue body of the Realme, returned a copious defence of his whole proceedings, with protestation, first, *that hee did not exhibite any thing as in forme of iudgement, or triall of his cause, but for satisfaction of his holy Fatherhoods conscience, and not otherwise.* But whereas the Pope had required the King to stand to his decision for matter of claime, hee writes, that thereunto hee would make no answere, as hauing left that point to the Earles and Peeres of his land: who with one "mind directly signifie, *that their King was not to "answere in iudgement for any rights of the Crown of "England before any Tribunall vnder Heauen: and that "(by sending Deputies or Attorneyes to such an end) hee "should not make the said truth doubtfull, because it mani-"festly tended to the disinherison of the said Crown, which "with the helpe of God, they would resolutely, and with al "their force maintaine against all men.* So * ceased that Action, and the sooner also, for that *Bonifacius* had much to doe at home, by reason of some great controuersies between the French and him. Meane time Sir *Iohn Segraue*, Lord *Segraue*, a renowned Souldier, was sent Gouernour or *Custos* into *Scotland*, with an Army, after the Truce expired, which at the French Kings instance, King *Edward* had yeelded vnto for a time; *Iohn Cumin*, who had also beene a Competitor for the Crown, was chosen by the *Scots* * for their Gouernour.

(43) We may not here ouerpasse a victory (at *Rosselin*) which the Writers of that nation celebrate, wherin the English were by them ouercome, howbeit there is in our Writers much variety in that relation. It is the saying of *Hector Boetius*, that the *English* were about three for one, our ancient and later authors say that the *Scots* had farre the * more people; he affirmes, that it was in the plaine field, ours that it was *an Ambush; he that the *Scots* did put to flight, and tooke the spoiles of three whole battels, in either of which were *10000. *English*, ours, that the *Scots* by reason of their multitudes did onely ouerbeare the Vauntgard, from which the neerest of the other battels was * foure miles off. All agree in this that the Lord *Iohn Segraue* (*Ralfe Confrey* saith *Hector*) who had the point or voward of the English (whose Generall he also was) by diuiding his army into three parts for their better reliefe, weakned so his whole force, that thereby, and his vnaduised forwardnes (impatient to stay for his other powers) he gaue occasion to the Scots of such a victory. They had also taken the person of the said Lord Generall, but *Sir *Robert de Neuile*, who with others was at diuine seruice, hearing therof, came with his troups of horse, rescued *Segraue*, slew many, put many to flight, and brought away backe the rest of the prisoners, without *the losse of any one man of his owne. The said Scottish Chronicle makes no mention of *William Walleys*, at this discomfiture of the *English*, but giues the whole glory thereof to *Cumyn*, and to *Simon Fraser*: whereas we attribute all to *Walleys*, and make no mention of the other, with farre lesse wrong to the immortall deserts of *Walleys*; for he vndoubtedly, was the only man, who kept vp *Scotland*, till neere the time of deliuerance.

(44) The *Scottish* Nation (as *Hector* reports) *had "for their warrant in conscience, and iustification of resi-"stance, the Popes iudgement, who vpon ripe deliberation "in their matter, decreed* (saith he) *that the Scots had iust "action of battell in defence of their liberties against King "Edward*: who not much esteeming the doome of that Oracle, vpon the other side was perswaded hee might proceed to subdue them wholy to his dominion: and therefore, (vpon report that the *Scots* were not only vp in Armes) but encouraged to greater attempts by this late successe,) came in person with a dreadfull host, piercing therewith * through all *Scotland*, from one end thereof to the other; from *Rocksbrough* to *Catnes*, which is the farthest point in the length of that Land, being about three hundreth miles: whither he marched by small iourneys, not an enemie appearing with power to empeach him. For they, vnable to make head, being so continually wasted, did either for their safetie betake themselues to the woods, and Mountaines, with their Walleys, or wholly submitted themselues, * swearing to be true to king *Edward*, there being in al *Scotland* but one Castle (the Castle of *Striueling*) which stood out, and that also (vpon King *Edwards* returne from *Catnes*) was *absolutely surrendred to him; and therefore no great cause, why *Hector* should call King *Edward* false Tyrant for committing the Captaine and Garrison of that Castle to sundry Prisons: So that had not God in his eternall prouidence, fauouring the liberty of that people, ordeined some inaccessible places, and naturall strengths, where no Armie could march nor be maintained, the *Scots* had in all likelihood perpetually vndergone the same fortune, which we the English were brought into, for want of the like, by *William* the first, and his *Normans*:

"(45) *Therefore let prophane discourses (with their "Father Epicurus and Lucretius) blush and tremble, as of-"ten as they shall dare to insinuate any thing against "Gods wisdome in the Fabrick of the world, as if the "Craggy, and desert places, thereof, had no vse in nature, "when (omitting all other reasons of their being) the con-"seruation of kingdomes, and nations was thus by them "effected. We had an* * *Herward in the Conquerours "time, aswell as the Scots had a Walleys in this; and we "might perhaps at this houre haue beene without French "mixtures, if God had prouided our Country of such "Wastes, and deserts as either they or the Welshmen did "enioy, who for manie hundreths of yeeres, after the ruine of*

* Thom. Walf. Abingt. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18
* Thom. Walsingh.
* Ballind. transl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14. cap. 6.
* Pol. Virg. lib. 17.
* Abingt.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Bellendens transl. lib. 14. Cap. 6.
* Bellendens transl. lib. 14. cap. 6.
* Holl. Boet. lib. 14. cap 7.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Mat. Paris.

*lib.14. A.D.1305. After Walsinghams account which wee follow in all his reigne, and so farre as he wrote being till Hen 17.5.
* Thom. Walsingh.

*of their Monarchie in Britaine, vpheld, in some sort, "their liberty, when the English had twice by Danes, and "Normans, in the meane time, vtterly lost it.

(46) *Scotland* (saith * *Hector*) being in this manner subdued and all the strengths of buildings, and the Nobility thereof at King *Edwards* disposition, he hauing ordered the affaires thereof as himselfe thought best, left the custodie thereof againe to * *Segraue*, and in his triumphall returne through *England* from *Dunfermelin* in *Scotland* where he kept his *Christmas*, caused the Courts of the Bench, and Eschecquer, which had beene seuen yeere kept at *Yorke* (for the more commodity of his Scottish expeditions) to be reduced to *London*, their ancient residence. Moreouer he ordained *Iustitiars* for *Trailbaston*, who were to inquire of man-slaughters, *Ruffians*, Disseisors, Boot-halers, Incendiaries, and other perturbers of the common quiet, and them to punish, by fine, death and otherwise, which brought to the Realme much rest, and to the King much riches.

A.D. 1306.

(47) But, the more to secure king *Edward* in the Scottish kingdome, it was not long, but that *william walleys* (whom an Earle of *Scotland* in the beginning of his resistances had honoured (saith *Walsingham*) with the girdle of * Knight-hood) was brought vp prisoner to *London*, being treasonably taken at *Glasco* by * one Sir *Iohn Menteth* (though * *Polydor Vergil* saith the *English* tooke him in warre) where he had publike triall at *Westminster*, and * denying that he was a Traitour to the King of *England*, was there for other his crimes (as burning of Townes, taking of Castles, killing the English, &c.) adiudged to death, which sentence was executed vpon him, and his head and quarters set vp in seuerall places ouer the Iland, his right * leg at *Perth* or Saint *Iohns* Towne in *Scotland*, and his left at *Aberdein*. This was the end of *Wallace*, whom his Countrey had once by common consent chosen for their defender, and * *Captaine Generall*, and, for his deserts towards her, doth place in glory farre aboue the starres, as the only person, by whose example, the Scots had their spirits kept awake, and quicke vpon all occasions, by which they might recouer the Gouernment out of the hands of the *English*, whose reigne ouer them this *Wallace* neither by faire meanes, nor by force could euer bee drawne to endure, or looke vpon with a patient eie; whom though (with *Hectors* * translatour) we doe not call a *Martyr*, yet must we thinke his Countrey honoured in him, wishing many the like in our owne.

*Militia.

*Hect. Boet. ca.1.lib.
* Pol.Virg.lib.17.
*Read Iohn Stow in Edward.1.

*Holinsh.p.303.

*Bellind.stan.lib. 14. cap.4.

*Bellind.lib.14. cap.8.

King Edward one of the greatest English Monarchs.

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write vp King *Edward* among the greatest of our *English Monarchs*, for (besides the whole Ilands of *Britaine and Ireland*) hee also held *Aquitaine*, which about two yeers before, the King of *France* (entangled with troubles otherwise) did restore, and the City of *Burdeaux* of the owne accord submitted it selfe againe to the English Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerlie beene so long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the same *Edward* the King of *France* also banished the Scots out of his dominions. Thus was King *Edward* possessed of *Scotland*; which neuertheless (*that the world may see Gods hand in translating of Kingdomes*, being a* point of his prerogatiue) was not long after pluckt from his sonne; and the calamities which the *Scots* had suffered, whelmed backe vpon the *English*. Which peculiar art of diuine prouidence you will more easily acknowledge, when you shall behould by how naked an instrument he raised againe the *Scottish* Common-wealth out of that dust, in which for a little season it seemed to lie buried.

Tho. Walsing. ad An. Dom. 1306.

* Daniel cap. 2 ver. 21.

(49) *Wallace* therefore being taken out of the way, the Lord *Robert Bruce* (betweene whom, and the vnfortunate *Baliol* the maine strife lay for the *Diadem*) beholding the state of his Countrey, for which *Wallace*, without interest to the Crowne therof, had stood so nobly, and desirous to giue it a new head by making himselfe *King* (whereto by *Baliols* surrender his other right was made more passable) had for that purpose entered into a conspiracy with *Cumyn*, whose

The Lord Rob. Bruce, pursues his right to the Crowne.

disclosure thereof (as *Scots* doe write) brought into apparent danger the Lord *Brucet* life, who was then attendant in the Court of *England*. King *Edward* vpon the first discouery of the plot not crediting the same, *Bruce*, most constantly denying it, and casting the accusation, with good probabilitie, vpon *Cumyn* enuie, had time, and warning to escape. For an Earle (saith *Boetius*) sent vnto him twelue Sriueling pence, and a paire of sharpe *spurres*, presently vpon his departure from the King, which he wittily interpreted to be a *Symbole of speedie flight*. According whereunto he forthwith sped from *London*, where K. *Edward* kept *Christmas*, shooing his horses backward, that he might not be followed by their prints vpon the snow, and with his owne hand thrust his sword into *Cumyn* * in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Dunfreis* in *Scotland*, whom two of *Brucet* friends with other mortall thrusts dispatched. *Bruce* knowing now no way to answere the fact, but by open defection, which he did resolue vpon, did thereupon procure himselfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* about our Ladies day in *March* in the *Abbey of Scone*.

(50) Such an attempt as this could not be long hidden from King *Edward*, who hauing at the *whitsontide* next after honored *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldest sonne, with the order of Knighthood at *London*, sent him against King *Robert* into *Scotland*, attended with a troupe of noble yong gentlemen, *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*; *Robert de Clifford*, and *Henry de Percie* being gone before with an Armie, and King *Edward* preparing to come after, appointing the *Rendeuous* of his owne host to be at *Carleil*. Where, in a Parliament, besides prouisions for the warres, sundry consultations and courses were entred, for repelling another kind of enemie no lesse dangerous to the State, to wit, the Pope, and his* *still continued extortions in this Land whereof greeuous complaints were made in that Assembly*; and both the *Clergy there* * *appealed from* the *Popes Bull*, and his *Cardinal-Legats* exactions: and also *the Kings Councell was driuen to enact some orders* for brideling their excessiue depilations.

(51) Meane time *Aymery de Valence* at *Perth* in *Scotland* had put to flight king *Robert Bruce*, & pursued him so neer, that he tooke his wife, his brother *Nigellus*, and others, but himselfe escaped into the vtmost Iles of *Scotland*. This hansell taken at the entrance to his *Regalitie*, draue his people into such despaire of his future better fortunes, that there remained only two friends vnto him, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*; the rest, as the Earle of *Athol*, at *London*, (who had twise reuolted) and his brother *Nigellus* at *Berwick*, were put to death as al others his chiefe partakers were, or else kept prisoners in *England*. In which number was King *Roberts* wife (daughter to the Earle of *Vlster* in *Ireland*) and his daughter, the *Bishops of Glasco*, and Saint *Andrewes*, the *Abbot of Scone and others*. The Counteste of *Bucquhan*, sister to the Earle of *Fife* (then absent in *England* at his mannor of* *Whitwick* in *Leicestershire*, whose office it was to haue crowned the Scottish King) was also taken; and because (in her brothers absence) shee had stolne from the Earle her husband, with all his great horse, to* set the Diadem vpon *Bruces* head, it was deuised that shee should be set in a woodden Cage (made * *Crowne-wise*) vpon the wals of *Berwick* Castle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous reuenge was held sufficient, without taking her life, though shee were a manlike woman, and did herein but the part of a noble spirited Lady. Thus was King *Robert* (saith the *Scottish** translatour of *Boetius*) brought to such misery, *that hee was sometime naked and hungrie without meat, or drinke, saue only water and roots of herbs, and his life perpetually in danger*. Howbeit, *hee neuer forsooke himselfe*, but as one that had firme trust in God, cherished an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recouer the Crowne. In which condition hee exhibited himselfe so noble a spectacle as in

which

which euen the * morall *Heathen* doe teach, that the Gods themselues took pleasure; how then can Christians looke off? Certainly, all generous spirits, whom cruell iniuries oppresse, haue reason to dwell in this patterne of Christian magnanimity and patience.

(52) King *Edward* also on the other side (like a Christian Prince) as hee had some yeeres before, by his speciall letters (directed to the * Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*,) requested *that publike prayers should bee made to Almighty God for him, his Realme and people, that the heauenly Maiesty would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy name, and aduancement of the Kingdome*; so now repayred hee with his Lords to *Westminster*, after this discomfiture of his enemies, there solemnly to render vnto God his humble thanks for the Conquest, whereof hee thus held himselfe assured. Which confidence drew him on so farre, that now (his turns being serued, as he thought against the *Scots*) hee refused to stand to the confirmation which hee had made to his Barons, of such lawes and liberties as haue before beene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his consent: and doubtlesse, as great was the Kings fault thus to renounce what hee had solemnly sworne, (* *though indeed it was on some necessity and enforcement*) so the Popes warranting thereof (which certainely encouraged the King thereunto) is most execrable, who afterward absolued him (as other Popes had done to his Predecessors) from obseruance of that oath.

53) The miraculous deliuerance of *Scotland* was now at hand; for the noble *Bruce*, not staying till King *Edward* were dead (who was now about threescore and eight yeeres of age,) came forth out of the *Scottish* Ilands with such powers as hee had gotten together, taking the Castles of *Carricke*, *Innernesse*, and many other, doing many things aboue the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King *Edward* resolued once againe in person (notwithstanding his age,) to enter *Scotland* with a mighty hoast, which hee appointed to attend him at *Carliel* in *Cumberland*, three weekes after Midsommer day: where God visiting him with his last sicknesse, hee commanded his Sonne the Prince to repaire with speed vnto him, vnto whom being come, hee vttered many admonitions and precepts, the summe wherof was* this.

" (54) That he should be mercifull, iust and curteous, constant in word and deed, *familiar to the good, and toward such as were in distresse alwaies pitifull*. * That after his death he should not hasten " to take the Crowne of *England*, till hee had honourably reuenged the iniuries of his Father, and " accomplished the present seruice. That hee " should carry his Fathers bones about with him in " some coffin, till hee had marched through all *Scotland* and subdued all his enemies, for that none " should bee able to * ouercome him while his *Skeleton* marched with him. Moreouer, hee com- " manded the said Prince to loue his * Brethren, " *Thomas* and *Edmund*; but specially to tender and " respect his mother *Queene Margaret*. * *That vp- " on paine of his malediction, and curse, hee should not " presume without common consent to repeale Piers de " Gaueston, who for abusing the tender yeares of the " Prince with wicked vanities, by common decree was " banished.* That whereas himselfe, by the conti- " nuall, and new attempts of *Bruce*, could not in " person (according to his vow) make warre in the " Holy-land, therefore hee should send his *Heart* thi- " ther, accompanied with seuenscore Knights, and " their retinues, for whose support hee had proui- " ded thirty & two thousand pounds of siluer. That " his *Hart* being so by them conuaied, he did hope in " God, that all things there would prosper with " them. Lastly, *That vpon paine of eternall damnati- " on, the said money should not bee expended vpon any o- " ther vses.*

(55) With these admonitions dismissing the light young men from his presence, to accomplish (so prouident was hee to the very end of his state affaires) the mariage with the French Kings Daughter, which had beene formerly agreede vpon between the Parents; hee aduanced neerer to the enemy vnto *Burgh vpon Sands*, where his lingering *Dissentery* encreasing (for that was the sickneſſe whereof hee died, though one malcuolently sayth, hee died sodainely, without shew of repentance for his sinnes) hee tooke his * leaue of this world, after no lesse preparation (no doubt) for his owne soules health, then carefull premonition for the carriage of his sonne, and ordering of his Kingdome. Which puissant Princes raigne and life, wee cannot here shut vp with a nobler *Eulogie*, then that wherewith our * Great and Iudicious Antiquary hath already deportrayed him, as *a Prince of chiefe renowne, to whose heroicke mind God proportioned (as a most worthy mansion) a body answerable; so that as well in beauty and goodly presence, as in wisdome and valour, hee was sutable to the height of his Regall Dignity, whose flourishing youth his Destinie did exercise with many warres and troubles of the State, so to frame and fitte him for the British Empire; which, being King, hee so managed with the glory of his Welsh and Northerne victories, that by due desert hee is to bee reputed a chiefe honour of Britannie.*

* *Matt. Westm. Flo. Vincen.*

* *Cambden in Cumbri.*

His Wiues.

(56) *Eleanor*, the first wife of King *Edward*, was sister to *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando* the third, and onlie Child of *Ioan* his second wife, Daughter and Heire of *Iohn* Earle of *Ponthieu*. Shee was married to him at *Bures* in *Spaine* in the thirty ninth yeere of King *Henry* his Father, 1254. shee was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and liuing his wife (in louely participation of all his troubles, and long voiages) thirty six yeeres, died at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire*, *Nouember* 29. of her husbands raigne 19. An. Do. 1290. shee is buried at *Westminster* at the feet of King *Henry* the third, vnder a faire marble Tombe, adorned with her portraiture of Copper guilt; * other costly monuments of her husbands loue being in euery place erected where her Hearse rested, as it was conueyed from *Herdeby* to *Westminster*.

* The Crosses at *Charing*, *Waltham*, *Dunstaple*, &c. *Stow in Edward 1.*

(57) *Margaret* his second wife being sister of *Philip* the fourth, surnamed the *Faire*, King of *France*, and eldest daughter of *King Philip* the *Hardy*, sonne of *S. Lewis*, was married vnto him at *Canterbury*, on Thursday, September 8. of her husbands raigne 27. An. D. 1299. after almost eight yeeres marriage, surviuing him, shee remained a widow ten yeers, and deceasing 10. of *Edward* 2. An. D. 1317. was buried at the Gray-Fryers in *London* before the Altar in the Quire which her selfe had built.

His Issue.

(58) *Iohn* the eldest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor* was borne at *Windsor* in the raigne of King *Henry* his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into *Syria*, and in his absence, was committed to the charge of *Richard* King of Romans, his great vncle, and others, who procured principall men of euery Hundred in each County within the Realme, to sweare their fealty to his father and him, but hee died shortly after, being a Child, & was buried at *Westminster* by the wall, betweene *S. Edmunds* and *S. Bennets* Chappell, August 8. in the last yeere of King *Henry* his Grandfathers raigne; there is remaining ouer him a Tombe of Marble inlayed with his picture in an Arch ouer it.

(59) *Henry* the second sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, deceased also being a Child, the newes of whose death was brought to his Father, being then in the Isle of *Sicill* in his returne from the Holy-Land, not long before the report of his owne fathers death came to his knowledge; he was buried

in Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, the twentieth day of *November*, in the firſt year of his Fathers raign, Ann. Dom. 1272. in the ſame place, and vnder the ſame Tombe where his brother *Iohn* lies with his picture alſo in the Arch aboue it.

(60) *Alphons*, the third ſonne of *Edward* and Queene *Elenor* was borne at the Towne of *Maine* in *Gaſcoigne*, as his father and mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Ieruſalem*, Nouember 23. in the ſecond yeare of his fathers raigne, 1273. hee deceaſed at *Windſor*, Auguſt 4. in the twelfth yeere of his age, 1285. and was buried at *Weſtminſter* in Saint *Peters* Church by Saint *Bennets* Chappell, where his body lieth vnder the Tombe of his Brothers, *Iohn* and *Henry*, his Image alſo there portraied with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward*, and Queene *Elenor*, was borne April 25. in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, 1284. at *Cacrnaruan* in *Northwales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Natiuity, was by his fathers Creation, with the conſent of the *Welſh* made *Prince of Wales*, the firſt of the ſonnes and heires apparant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to moſt of the reſt: hee was alſo Earle of *Ponthieu* and *Cheſter*, and being made Knight by his father at *London* on Whitſunday, in the thirty fourth yeere of his Raigne, 1306. ſucceeded him the ſame yeer in the Kingdome of *VVales*.

(62) *Elenor*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor* was borne at *Windſor* in the fiftieth yeare of King *Henry* her Grandfather, ſhee was married with all Ceremonies of Proxie to a Deputy for *Alphons* King of *Arragon*, ſonne of King *Peter*, who deceaſed A.Do. 1292. before the ſolemnization of marriage, leauing his Kingdom to his brother *Iames*, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at *Briſtow* in the two and twentieth yeere of her fathers raigne, 1293. to *Henry* the 3. Earle of *Barrie*, whoſe Earledome lay in the Eaſt-borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. Shee had Iſſue by him *Edward* Earle of *Barrie*, from whom deſcended the Earles and Dukes of that Country, whoſe inheritance by Heires generall deuolued to the Kings of *Arragon*, and from them again to the Dukes of *Anion* that were Kings of *Sicill*. *Henrie* another ſonne of hers was Biſhoppe of *Troys* in *Champagny*. *Helen* her Daughter was marrird to *Henry* Earle of *Bloys*; and *Ioan* to *Iohn Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, ſhe was his wife fiue yeeres, and deceaſed 27. of her fathers raigne, A.D. 1298.

(63) *Ioan* the ſecond daughter of King *Edward*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the firſt yeere of her fathers raigne, 1272. at a City in the *holy land* ſometime named *Ptolomais*, commonly called *Acon* and *Aker*, where her mother remained during the warres that her father had with the *Saracens*: Shee was, at eighteene yeeres of age, married to *Gilbert Clare* called the *Red*, Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom ſhee had iſſue, Earle *Gilbert* ſlaine in *Scotland* without iſſue; *Eleanor*, married firſt to *Hugh Spencer* (in her right, Earle of *Gloceſter*,) and after to *William Zouch* of *Ricards* caſtle. *Margaret*, firſt maried to *Peter Gaueſton*, Earle of *Cornwal*, after to *Hugh Audeley* Earle alſo of *Gloceſter*; and *Elizabeth* Lady of *Clare*, married firſt to *Iohn* ſon and heire to *Richard Burgh*, Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, mother of *william Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*; ſecondly, to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and laſtly, to Sir *Roger Damary*. This *Ioan* ſurviued her husband, and was remarried to Sir *Ralph Monthermere* a Baron, father to *Margaret* the mother of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, of whom the now Vicount *Mountacute* is deſcended; ſhee liued thirty eight yeeres, and deceaſed in the firſt yeere of her brother King *Edwards* raigne, and is buried at the Fryer *Auſtines* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor* in the third yeare of her fathers raigne, and of our Lord, 1275. When ſhee was fifteene yeeres of age, ſhee was married at *Weſtminſter*, July 9. in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers raign, A.D. 1290. to *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of Brabant, by whom ſhee had iſſue Duke *Iohn* the third, father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Mechlin* Earle of Flanders, and mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the heire of Brabant and Flanders, who was married to *Philip* Duke of Burgundie.

(65) *Berenger* the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* & Queen *Elenor*, was born the 4. of her fathers raigne, An. 1276. as *Iohn Eueresden* the Monke of S. *Edmundsburie* in *Suffolke*, hath recorded in his booke of Engliſh Annales, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that ſhee did not liue to be married, but that ſhee died in her childhood.

(66) *Alice* the fifth Daughter of king *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, is by *Thomas Pickering* of the Monaſtery of *Whitby*, (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England* and their iſſue) reported to haue deceaſed without Iſſue.

(67) *Marie*, the ſixt daughter of king *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at *Windſor*, April 22. in the eight yeare of her fathers raigne, 1279. and at ten yeeres of age, A.D. 1289. September 8. ſhee was made a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Ambreſberie* in *Wiltſhire*, at the inſtance of Queen *Elenor* her Grandmother, who at that time liued there in the habite of the ſame profeſsion, although her Parents were hardly enduced to yeeld their conſents to that courſe.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the ſeuenth Daughter of king *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Ruthland* in *Flintſhire*, in the thirteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, An. 1284. When ſhe was foureteen yeeres of age, ſhee was married at *London* to *Iohn* the firſt of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freezeland*, who died within two yeeres after without Iſſue, and ſhee was remarried to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Brecknoke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, by whom ſhee had Iſſue *Iohn* and *Humfrey*, both Earles ſucceſsiuely after their Father; *Edward*, that died in *Scotland* without iſſue; and *William*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers liued, after their deceaſes, was alſo Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Breknok* and high Conſtable of *England*, and father of Earle *Humfrey* the tenth of that name, and laſt of that houſe, who died without Iſſue male: ſhe had alſo by him two daughters, *Elenor* married to *Iames Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret* to *Hugh Courtney* the firſt, Earle of *Deuonſhire*. Shee was this Earles wife foureteene yeers; liued thirty three, deceaſed in the ninth yeere of the raigne of king *Edward* her brother, A. D. 1316. and was buried in the Church of *S. Iames*, at the Abbey of *Saffron VValden* in *Eſſex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Elenor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of *Britannie* her fathers ſiſter: ſhe is by ſome Genealogiſts mentioned to haue liued till ſhe was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match, it ſeemeth ſhe died vnmarried.

(70) *Blanch*, the ninth daughter of king *Edward*, and the laſt of Queene *Elenor*, is ſo mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, and ſome others, but not at all by *Thomas Ebraham* a Monke, who made a Pedegree of the Kings of *England*, but ſhee is by the reſt reported to haue died in her childhood.

(71) *Thomas*, the fifth ſonne of king *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Margaret* his ſecond wife, was borne at a little village in *Yorkſhire* called *Brotherton*, Iune 1. in the nine and twenteth yeere of his fathers raigne, Ann. 1300. hee was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle *Marſhal* of *England*, which Earledomes the laſt Earle *Roger Bigod*, leauing no Iſſue, left

left to the disposition of the King his father. He had two wiues, of which the first was *Alice* the daughter of Sir *Roger Hayles* of *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, by whom hee had issue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the first, Earle of *March*, but hee died before his father without Issue; and two daughters, *Margaret* twice married, first to *Iohn* Lord *Segraue*, by whom shee had *Elizabeth* Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, wife of *Iohn* Lord *Mowbray* (from whom the *Mowbrayes* & *Howards* Dukes of *Norffolke*, and Earles *Marshall* descended;) secondly, to Sir *VValter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* wife of *Iohn Hastings* the elder Earle of *Pembroke*, and mother of Earle *Iohn* the yonger, that died without Issue; his yongest daughter *Alice* was married to *Sir Edward Montacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ioan* married to *VValter* and *VVilliam* two of the *Vffords*, and *Maud* that died vnmarried. The second wife of this Earle *Thomas*, was *Mary* the daughter of *VVilliam* Lord *Ros*, and widow of *Sir Ralph Cobham*, who surviuing him without Issue by him, shee was married the third time to *VVilliam* Lord *Brerose* of *Brember*.

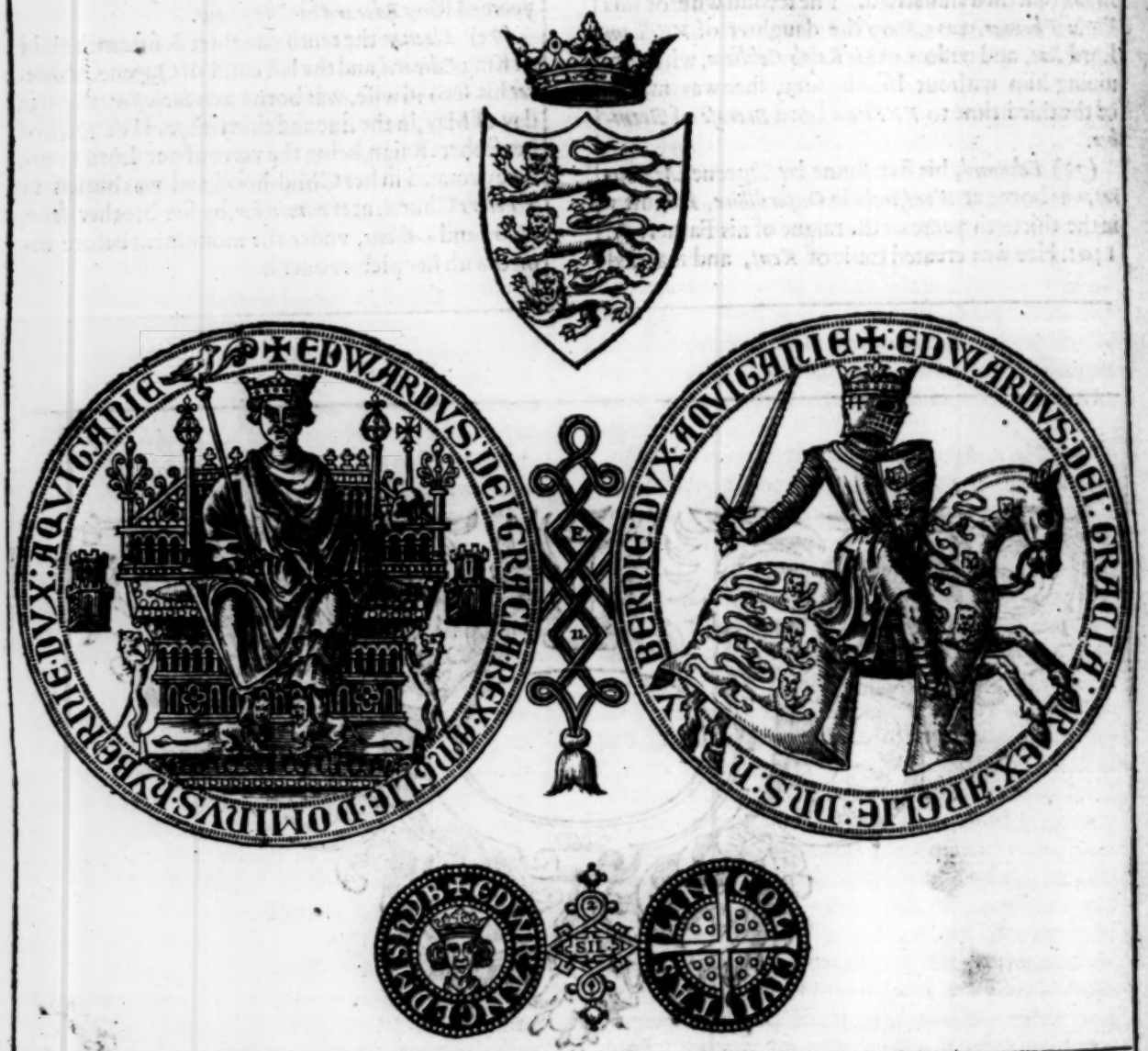
(72) *Edmund*, his sixt sonne by Queene *Margaret*, was borne at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, August 5 in the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of his Father, A. 1301. Hee was created Earle of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *Iohn*, and sister and sole heire of *Thomas* Lord *VVake* of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*, by her he had Issue two sonnes and one daughter: *Edmund* his eldest sonne was Earle of *Kent* after his father, and died vnder age without wife or issue: *Iohn* the yonger was Earle also after his brother, he maried *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Duke of *Gulike*, and died likewise without Issue; His daughter was *Ioan*, for her beauty called *the faire Maid of Kent*, first maried to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him diuorced, and remarried to *Sir Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, father of *Thomas*, and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntington*: and lastly, shee was the wife of *Edward* of *Woodstocke*, the *Blacke Prince of Wales*, and by him, mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester* the 19. of March, in the fourth yeere of King *Edward* his Nephew.

(73) *Eleanor* the tenth daughter & fifteenth child of King *Edward*, and the last child of Queene *Margaret* his second wife, was borne at *Winchester* the sixt day of May, in the fiue and thirtieth, and last yeere of her fathers Raign, being the yeere of our Lord 1306. shee deceased in her Child-hood, and was buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*, by her brother *Iohn*, *Henry* and *Alfons*, vnder the monument before named with her picture ouer it.

EDWARD

Edward II.

EDVVARD THE SECOND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XI.

THat the *Mind* is not deriued from *Parents*, certainely the second *Edward* (called of *Caernaruon*) might (if nothing else) abundantlie shew, being of a most valiant, wise and fortunate father, an vnlike sonne; yet not to beginne our description of his courses, with preiudice of his person, we will so temper our stile, that by his owne actions sincerely related, rather then by any verball censures the man may bee iudged. This cannot be denied, that whereas from the Conquest till his time, *England* though it endured (by Gods iust iudgements) many bitter, sad and heauy stormes through some headinesse, ambition, or other sicknesses of mind in the Princes thereof, yet had she Men to sway and gouerne her, and those distempers were as the perturbations incident to vigorous dispositions; whereas vnder this *Edward*, who could neither get nor keepe, it seemed to endure the leuities of a *Child*, though his yeeres, being about twenty and three, might haue exempted him from so great infancie of iudgement, as his raigne discouered.

(2) Neuer came Prince to the crowne with more generall applause then he: so great hopes of doing well, his *victorious* father, *Edward* of * *Winchester* had left vpon him, besides the right of succession, whose last warning and terrible adiurations you haue heard: with the * vtter contempt and breach whereof, to the destruction of himselfe, and his friends, hee in a manner auspicated his gouernement.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his best maner prouided for the * affaires of *Scotland*, where (at *Dumfrees*) many of the *Scottish* * Lords did their homage to him, as they had to his Father; the first taske which hee gaue of his future behauiours at home, was

was a rigorous reuenge taken by him vpon *Walter de Langton* Bishoppe of *Chester*, Treasurer of *England*, and principall Executor of the last Will of the deceased King, whose body was not as yet interred, but by the care of the Executors, conueied with funerall pompe to *Waltham*, and (after sixteen weekes) to *Westminster*, where vnder a plaine monument the same at this present rests. The Bishoppes crime was a kind of good freedome, which hee vsed in the late Kings daies, in * grauely reprouing the Prince for his misdemeanors, and shortning his waste of coine by a frugall moderation; and particularly, * for that he had complained of *Peirs Gaueston*, whereupon ensued Prince *Edwards* imprisonment, and the others banishment, and therefore comming now to the Crowne, hee arrested the Bishoppe by *Sir Iohn Felton* Constable of the Tower, and imprisoned him in * *Wallingford* Castle, seising vpon all his temporall goods and * credites, there being not a man in the Realme who durst speake a word on his behalfe, (so great displeasure hee had conceiued, seeking vtterly to ruine him) till afterward by means of the Papall authority, hee was restored, and in a faint sort reconciled.

(4) The thing which suited best with his youthfull affections, to wit, the marriage of young *Isabel*, daughter of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, he performed with wonderfull magnificence at *Bolein*, at which solemnity were present besides all others, The King of *France* Father to the Bride; The King of *Nauarre* his sonne; The King of *Almaine*; The King of *Sicill*; *Marie* Queene of *France*; *Margaret* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, her daughter; The Queene of *Nauarre*. There was also present (as no Sunne-shine but hath shadow) * *Peirs* of *Gaueston*, the beloued Minion of this *Edward*, whose reentertainement the dying King had so seriously forbidden, whom notwithstanding, together with his own new wife, he brought into *England*.

(5) This fatall fauourite of this young King was a stranger borne, but a * Gentleman, and (in regard of good seruice done by the Father of *Peirs* in *Gascoigne*, * brought vp (at old king *Edwards* owne appointment) with this Prince: from whom not to derogate in any point, as if hee had without some appearances of worth and value embraced *Peirs*, it is certaine (by that which a * Knight and seruitor of this very King hath left written) that he had a sharpe witte in a comely shape, and briefly, was such an one, as wee vse to call *very fine*; Neither yet was he vnhardie in Arms, but of commendable performance, whereof (saith *de la Moore*) hee gaue proofe against the *Scots*, (to whom * hee was alike hatefull as to the *English*) till hee was recalled to satisfie such as (saith their Courtier) did enuie his graces, and good successe; but of his Christian or morall vertues (which onely make men truly commendable) there is great silence in Authors, though not of his vices, wherof wee shall haue occasion enough to speake hereafter.

(6) At the Coronation of the King and Queen, (which the Lords would haue empeached, had hee not promised reasonably to * satisfie them about *Gaueston*) none was * neere to *Peirs* in brauery of apparrell, or delicacie of fashion, which (and for that the King gaue him *S. *Edwards* Crowne to carrie in that pompe,) greatly encreased the offence of the Lords against him: But hee that (hauing a King to backe him) knew no other means to extinguish hatred, but by daring it to the vttermost, spared not afterwardes to scoffe and reproach the principall Peeres, * calling *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Stage-plaier*; *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Ioseph the Iew*, because hee was pale and tall; and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: all whom, and others, he at a * Turneament by him proclaimed and holden, handled vilely.

(7) But King *Edward* was dayly more and more possessed with the familiarity of *Peirs*, who to establish his interest in the vnprudent Prince, by sensualities and riotous practises, filled the Court * with buffons, parasites, and the like pernicious instruments, drawing *Edward* from the thought of al great enterprises, in accomplishment of his fathers will, or discharge of his particular dutie, to all sorts of vnworthy vanities, and sinnefull delights; while himselfe in the meane space reuelled in all outward felicity, wasting the riches of the Kingdome, or conuerting them to his priuate vses. For (fearing belike that the time might come againe to vndergoe banishment) hee transported much treasure into forraine parts, and much hee had to transport; for not onely by the * sale of his fauour with the King; to which there was no speeding approach but by *Gaueston*, (who vsed to peize the gifts, more then the causes) but also by the kings prodigality, hee had whatsoeuer could bee powred vpon him: for (though it might seeme incredible) he both gaue him his iewels and ancestors treasure, and * euen the Crowne it selfe of his victorious father, not sticking to professe, that (if it lay in him) hee should succeed him in the kingdome.

(8) The Lords (who for reuerence of the King sate downe by their priuate iniuries, in hope there would be a season, in which their Soueraign might by timelie and sweet admonitions recouer the vse of himselfe,) not thinking it tollerable to bee now any longer silent, (and the rather, lest that *Peirs*, farther abusing his greatnesses, should * bring in Forreiners, not onely to the preiudice of the English lawes and customes, but of their authority also and places,) preuailed so much with the King, in a Parliament holden at *London* (where sundry prouisions concerning the liberties of the people, and execution of Iustice, were enacted, and by corporall oath confirmed by the King himselfe,) that among them, the decree of *Gauestons* perpetuall banishment, was by the king (ouercome with a meere necessity for satisfaction of the Kingdome, to whom the said Earle of *Cornwall* was odious) vnwillinglie suffered to passe; and the king was thereupon regratified with a Subsidie of the twentieth part of the subiects goods. The king also tooke his Oath not to reuoke the said Earle of *Cornwall* frō banishment (if it may be called a banishment) wherin * he had the kingdom of *Ireland* entrusted to his charge, and for the securing thereof against rebels, was furnished with men & money by the king.

(9) Yet forgetting, that those affections, which oftentimes deserue praise in a priuate person, are subiect to much construction in a publike, and neglecting both his deceased fathers so solemne adiurations, and also his owne oath, as careless of the sequele, hee cals Earle *Peter* home, with whose loue hee was most fondly, and most passionatelie transported, and (as if hee had receiued some diuine benefite) gaue him most ioyous welcome at the Castle of *Flint* in *Northwales*, and * bestowed vpon him for wife *Ioan* of *Acres*, Countesse of *Gloceſter* his sisters daughter, resoluing with himselfe to retaine his *Gaueston*, maugre all his Earles and Barons, or (for the loue of him) to put his Crowne and life in perill when time should serue. In which, whether the king or his fauourite shewed lesse discretion, it is not at the first sight easily determinable; it being as vnsafe for the one, with so offensiue behauiour, to affect immoderate shew and vse of grace, as for the other, to the iniury of his name and realme to bestow the same.

(10) The contemptibilitie and vanitie of this effeminate argument detaines vs longer, then for the qualitie thereof were fitting, did not so much mischiefe issue out of it. For *Peirs* (of his owne nature insolent) being thus (aboue reason, or his own darings) aduanced to alliance with the bloud royall, was so far from all amendment, as hee rather seemed to striue to outgoe himselfe in his former courses, consuming so much of the kings treasure and meanes, that he had * not wherewith to defray ordinarie char-

* Pol. Virg.

* Tho. Walsingh. lib. S. Alban. MS

* Chr. Dunstab.

A.D. 1311. *Peirs de Gaueston* Earle of *Cornwall* banished for euer

* Tho. Walsing.

* S. Tho. de la More

The Earle of *Cornwal* reuoked.

* Iohn Stow. Tho. Walsi. Tho. de la Moore.

Is the third time banished, and returneth.

* Tho. Walsing.

ges, or to pay for the neceſſaries of his Court. The young Queene alſo tooke her ſelfe not to be a little wronged by this vngracious mans predominancie, & thereof ſent her complaints to the king of *France* her father, which concerned iniuries in the higheſt kind, as in her bed (the King being drawne by *Gaueſton* to *adultery) and in her honour and *maintenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the land, animated by the King of *France*, ſo confidently dealt with *Edward*, that his Earle now the third time did abiure the Realme: but (the King of *France* and his enemies making forraine parts vnſure for him to abide in) he returned in Chriſtmas to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his aduerſaries) had gotten him baniſhed with this Prouiſo, * that if at any time afterward hee were taken in *England*, hee ſhould be forthwith apprehended and ſuffer death. But an Angell from heauen could not ſeeme more welcome, then this moſt faithful friend (as that * Courtier cals him) was vnto King *Edward*, who * forthwith aduanced him to be his principall Secretary.

(11) Vpon report of *Gaueſtons* returne, the chiefe Lords, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as temporall (*Walter* Biſhoppe of *Couentree* excepted, * who allowed the Kings affections towards *Gaueſton*; and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and ſworne in the Parliament at *London*,) conſulted vpon a deſperat courſe of reformation in this point, and made choiſe of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* to be their leader. This *Thomas* was ſonne of *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Ferrers*, ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the third King of *England*, and in right of his wife (after her fathers deceaſe, which hapned about this time) Earle of *Lincolne*, *Salisburie*, and (beſides many other great Lands in *Yorkeſhire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*) hee had the Earledom of * *Arteys* in *Picardy*, ſo that without compariſon hee was the greateſt ſubiect of the Kingdome.

(12) The Iſſue of which combination before we purſue, wee may not here in our way ouerſlippe a ſtrange alteration both here in *England*, and in all *Chriſtendome*, by the vniuerſall extinguiſhment of the *Order of the Templars*, wrought about this time by the procurement of the *French King*, who being ſo gracious with Pope *Clement*, that formerly **hee ſent Ambaſſadors to craue of his holineſſe with great importunity, that the bones of his Predeceſſor Pope Boniface might bee burnt as being an Heretike*; ſo now alſo he ſo farre preuailed with him, that in the Councel at *Vienna* this ſo highly eſteemed Order, was vpon clear proofe of their generall odious ſinnes, and ſcarſe credible impieties, vtterly aboliſhed through Chriſtendome. The *French King* * cauſed 54. of that Order, together with their *Great Maiſter* to bee burnt at *Paris*; and though that King hoped to conuert all the Lands of that Societie to his ſonnes vſe, whom hee intended to make King of Ieruſalem; yet the *Pope* and *Counceil* annexed their poſſeſſions to the *Order of the Knights Hoſpitalers*, called commonly *Knights of the Rhodes*. Notwithſtanding, in *England* (where ſuch Papall commands went not alwayes for lawes) the heires of the *Donours*, and ſuch as had endowed the Templars here with landes, entred vpon thoſe parts of their ancient Patrimonies after the diſſolution of the Order, and (ſaith our * Courtier) detained them vntill not long after, they were by *Parliament* wholly tranſferred vnto the Knights of the *Rhodes*, *or of *S. Iohn of Ieruſalem*.

(13) *King Edward* was now at *Yorke*, and Earle *Thomas*, according to that which had beene concluded among the combined Lords, who reſolued to trie all extremities, rather then any longer to endure *Peirs Gaueſton*, (as being perſwaded while that King-bane breathed, peace could neither be maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treaſure, nor the Queene enioy his loue) ſent humble * petitions by honourable meſſengers to their Soueraigne, requeſting him to deliuer the man into their hands, or to driue him from his company out of *England*. But the ſelfe-wild King * preferring the deareneſſe of one ſtranger before the loue of the whole Realme, would not condiſcend.

(14) Afterward, *Peirs* (whom * the Earles purſued with an Armie) being * entruſted for his ſafe-guard to *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembrok*, was left by him but one night at a Village or Manour called *Dathington* betweene *Oxford* and *Warwicke*, (being a place neither * farre enough off, nor ſtrong enough) pretending to haue conuaied him on the next day to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, the ſaid *Aimerie* in the meane ſpace departing to lodge with his Counteſſe, who lay hard by: but, the ſaid *Aimerie* conniuing thereat (as our * Courtier chargeth him, who alſo writes, that hee tooke a ſolemne oath before the king to doe his beſt to ſafe-conduct *Gaueſton*, the king purpoſing in the meane time to labour his peace with the Lords *vpon any conditions) *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke* with his people ſurpriſed him the ſame night, and took him to his Caſtle of *Warwicke*, where in a place called *Blacklow* (afterward * *Gaueſhead*) his head was ſtricken off at the commandement *and in the preſence of the Earles of *Lancaſter*, *Warwicke*, and *Hereford*, *as of one that had beene a ſubuerter of the lawes, and an open Traitour to the Kingdom. In which bold attempt, themſelues (who yet pretended ſo much ſtanding for the liberties of the land,) did moſt vnaduiſedly infringe a Capitall branch of the ſame Franchiſes, in putting to death an *Earle*, and ſo deare a friend of the Kings, * *without any iudiciall proceeding by triall of his Peeres, which cauſed a laſting hatred betwixt the King and his Nobles.*

(15) There wanted nothing now to King *Edward* but preſent meanes to reuenge the bloud of his friend, or rather of his halfe-ſelfe, the lacke wherof did encreaſe the ſorrow he tooke for his death; which being well knowne to the Lords, they reſolued not to lay downe Armes, till they had prouided for their ſecurity, and the performance of all ſuch points, as concerned the temperament of the *Regall power*, that (vnder colour thereof) the Nobles themſelues might finger ſome part of the Soueraigne gouernment. The King was then at *London*, and the Lords at *Dunſtaple*: but by the continuall interdealings of the Prelates, and of *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, who ſtood neutrall, the kindling diſpleaſures were for the preſent allaied, vpon condition that the Lords ſhould reſtore to the King all ſuch things, once belonging to *Peirs Gaueſton*, as they had taken at *Newcaſtle*, which they accordingly did.

(16) King *Edward* neuertheleſſe, as if his ſoule were ouercaſt with ſome blacke cloud, continued mourning, till it pleaſed God to enlighten the world with the birth of a young Prince, whoſe noble Acts did afterward redeeme all the blemiſhes wherewith his Fathers infelicities had darkned the brightneſſe of the *Engliſh* name, and at this preſent cleared the mind of the ſorrowfull King his father: for *vpon *Saint Brices* day, *Iſabel* his Queene brought forth her firſt ſonne at *Windſor*, which cauſed great reioycing through the Kingdome. Her *French* kindred and friends (which were there in good numbers of either ſexe) & among them as chiefe, the Queens owne brother, *Lewis* the *French Kings* ſonne, would haue had the Infant at his Baptiſme named *Lewis*, but the *Engliſh* Lords would *not permit, who therfore was after his Fathers and Grandfathers name, called *Edward*. This was hee who afterward rayſed the honour of *Engliſh* Cheualrie to ſo high a point, by his famous victories in *France* and elſewhere.

(17) The euill will which the King bare in his mind againſt the Barons for their ouer-ruling his affections, and the death of *Gaueſton*, by ſundry bad offices and ſycophancies of the **French* at *Windſor* was rubd ſo hard vpon, that it grew raw againe before it was halfe healed. Therefore in a Parliament at *London* the king ſharpely charged thoſe preſump-

* *All & Man. p. 460. Fabian.* * *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *All. & Man. 461 colom. 1. Tho. Vvalſ.*
* *Tho. de la More.* * *Continuator Triuet. MS.*
* *Tho. Vvalſ.*
* *John Stow.*
A.D. 1312.
* *Thom. Walſingh*
* *Nic. Triuet ad an. 1306.* In thoſe dayes it was thought the Pope might be an heretike.
* *Fox Martyrolog. pag. 460.*
* *Tho. de la More.*
* *Iohn Stow. Ypod. Neuſt.*

ſumptuous Lords with their contempt againſt him in the ſpoiles they had committed at *Newcaſtle*, and (which moſt afflicted his languiſhing ſpirit) in taking, and wickedly killing *Peirs Gaueſton*. To all which, they ſtoutely anſwered, *that they had not offended in any point, but deſerued his roiall fauour, for that they had not gathered force againſt him, but againſt the publike enemie of the Realme, &c. Howbeit, to preuent the feared miſchiefe of ciuill Armes, by the working of the young Queene, of the Prelates, and Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lords in open Court at *Weſtminſter* humbled themſelues to the King, praying grace; and the King granted to ſuch of them, as would deſire the ſame, his gracious pardon. The whole houſe of Parliament ſeeing the kings wants, of their own accord granted a Fifteenth; & al parts hereupon returned with ioy and peace, but not long after the Lord *Guy de Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke*, who in this Parliament was appointed to be of Priuie Councell with the King, deceaſed, being (as by the Barons wel-willers * it was ſaid) impoiſoned by ſuch of the Kings ſecret friends as did maligne him.

(18) The miſchieuous effects of the Kings former miſgouernment, beganne now moſt perilouſlie to diſcouer themſelues. For the *Scots* his neighbours, who could not bee ignorant of all ſuch griefes and maladies as feſtred in the heart and entrals of *England*, had long ſince made their timely vſe thereof, adhering ſo to the vndaunted *Bruce*, that by degrees hee had gotten a great ſtrength, and was againe publikely receiued, and obeied for *King of Scotland*, from moſt places whereof hee * draue the *Engliſh*, and (in contempt of *Edward*) committed great ſpoile by ſlaughter of People, burning of Townes in *Northumberland*, and other Acts of hoſtility. The principall charge of *Scotland* for King *Edward* had beene entruſted to the Lord *Iohn Cumin* a *Scot*, Earle of *Bucquhan*, whom * King *Robert* had vanquiſhed in battell, and was now (while *Edward* ſate bewitched with moſt vnworthy languiſhments) grown potent, ſending his Brother *Edward Bruce* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Striuelin*, which was in the hands of the *Engliſh*.

(19) The King of *England* awakened out of his ſlumbers with theſe Alarums, marched thereupon with a very great Armie toward the ſaid Caſtle. It pleaſeth *Hector Boetius* (putting off, as it were the Hiſtorian) to report maruellous thinges of the numbers of Souldiers which came with King *Edward* in this iourney; for (if he ſay true) there were not fewer then one hundreth and fifty thouſand horſemen, and as many thouſand footmen; and that we may not ſuſpect the multitude to bee far greater then either the cauſe required, or the realm of *England* could well afford, hee informeth vs, that beſides the *Engliſh* there were in his aid at this time, *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Brabanders*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Boloners*, *Gaſcoignes*, *Normans*, with much people of many other Regions; and that beſides theſe three hundreth thouſand men of warre, there were infinite familes with their women, children, ſeruants, and houſhold-ſtuffe: but becauſe other Writers doe ingenuouſly grant, and containe probable matter enough for the honour of the *Scottiſh* Nation in this iourney, wee will as neare as wee can, (being things to vs neither vp nor downe, in regard of the long time ſince theſe hoſtilities hapned,) truely and freely, though briefly informe our ſelues hereof.

(20) The Earles of *Lancaſter*, *Warren*, *Warwicke*, and *Arundel* (the greateſt Peeres of the land) *refuſed to attend their King in this ſeruice, for that hee had delaied to ratifie the points of their deſired liberties, and prouiſions for the pretended better gouernment of *England*, by himſelfe ſo often conſented vnto. In which as their loyall affection cannot bee much admired: ſo it is certaine, that King *Edward* hereby vndertooke that voyage with farre the leſſe force eyther of men or counſell. Neuertheleſſe his hoaſt was great enough (if numbers did ſway in ſuch affaires, more then religon, diſcipline, and valour,) to haue effected more then it ſelfe did ſuffer. But King *Edward* and his people rather ſeemed to goe toward a *wedding* or a *Triumph*, then to a battell, * adorning themſelues with all ſorts of riches; gold, ſiluer, and the like toies, in a kind of wanton manner, correſpondent to the humour of the Prince whom they followed.

(21) In this iourney it was made manifeſt, what true and ſober valiancie could effect againſt light brauery and inſolency. King *Robert* lodged with his forces (being inferiour in numbers to the *Engliſh*) not farre off, where was nothing but a religious, *deuout and modeſt care, quickned (after manifold calamities, with a moſt noble deſire to recouer the libertie of their Country, and to ſettle the ſame into the hope whereof they were the rather erected by a freſh victorie, which they had obtained that day vpon certaine of the *Engliſh* *horſemen. King *Edward* on the contrary part nothing eſteeming ſo ſleight a preſage, reſolued vpon the very next (being *Midſommer*, or *Saint Iohn Baptiſts* day) to take a terrible reuenge vpon the *Scots*: but how to effect the ſame the care was not exceſſiue; for in his Campe, * *Waſſaile*, and *Drinkehaile* were thundered extraordinarily, as accounting themſelues ſure of the victory: which kind of impious ſelfe-truſt, if God Almighty did not ſometime ſcourge with iuſt and terrible confuſions, what outrages would not bee executed.

(22) Farre otherwiſe the *Bruces* Army: which by his commandement ſpent * the euening in making humble confeſsion of their ſinnes, that they might (ſaith our Author) bee ready on the morrow to receiue the bleſſed Sacrament, as accordingly they did: Moreouer to leaue nothing vndone which might aduance their cauſe; the *Scots* had digged before their Battalions, certaine * trenches or dikes *three foot deepe, and three foot broad, which (hauing fixed * ſharpe ſtakes in them with their points vpward) they couered ſo with * hurdles, that footemen treading warily) might paſſe, but not troupes of horſe. Next to Gods anger againſt the *Engliſh*, (whom courtly *Pride* and *Sloth* had now effeminated) this ſtratageme was the cauſe of their ruine: for whereas they repoſed much vpon their *Cauallerie*, in theſe *Pit-falles*, the fury of their charge was intercepted and broken, the riders being miſerablie ſlaine by the *Scots*, whom King *Robert* marching formoſt on foot, had preſented moſt couragiouſly to the enemy.

(23) The King of *England* not altogether careleſſe, neither yet by his care able to doe much (as one whom God was not well pleaſed with) had ordered his battels with ſome aduiſe, but vpon the diſmall and vnexpected diſcomfiture of his horſe in thoſe miſchieuous holes or ditches, was enforced, (after ſome troubled reſiſtance) to leaue to the *Scots* the greateſt victory that euer they had before or after. *Hardly could K. *Edward* bee drawne to flie: the courage which it became ſuch a Monarch to haue then firſt diſcloſing it ſelfe, till by his friends hee was enforced to ſeeke his preſeruation by that more neceſſary then noble meanes, and with him (beſides others) the Lord *Hugh Spencer* (whom our *Courtier* cals *a faint hearted Kite*) betooke himſelfe to like remedie.

(24) All things proued vnfortunate to the *Engliſh* in this iorney, for when they perceiued their Cauallerie thus miſerably ouerthrowne in the ditches, they ſhot their arrowes compaſſe, with purpoſe to kill or gall ſuch *Scots* as came to the execution, but did them little or no harme, as they who were armed in the fore-parts; and in ſtead of that, * ſlew their friends, whoſe backes being toward them were vnarmed.

(25) The loſſe fell much vpon the Nobleſt, for there were ſlaine in this Battell, *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter* (a man of ſingular valour and wiſdom) the Lord *Robert*

* The de la More Tho. Walſingh. Polyd. Verg. lib. 18 Bellind. the Scotiſh tranſl. of Hect. Boe, lib. 14. cap. 11.

* Hect. Boet.

* Tho. VValſingh. Hect. Boe. lib. 14.

* Th. de la More.

* Bellind. tranſl. lib. 14 cap. 1.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14 ca. 11.
* Tho. de la More & Hect. Boet. loco ſupra.
* Tho. de la More.

The Engliſh ouerthrowne at Bannok-bourne.

* Tho. VValſin.

* Tho. de la More. Vncert. Milan.

* Tho. de la More.

* Hect. Boet. l. 14. Tho. de la Moore. Tyrol. Nenſ.

*Tho.Walſ.

*Ypod.Neuſt.

*Polyd.Ver.li. 7. cap.42.

An.D.1314.

*Tho.Walſingh. Ypod.Neuſt.

A.D.1315. The woful eſtate of *England* vnder the three plagues of Sword, dearth and peſtilence.

Tho.de la More. Tho.VValſ.

Gaueſtons funerals.

A.D.1316.

*Tho.VVals.

Robert de Clifford, and beſides other Lords, about *ſeuen hundreth Knights, Eſquiers, and men of Armories. Of the reſt the ſlaughter could not bee but great, though much the leſſe, in regard the *Scots* fought on foot. *Hector* ſaith, that there were not ſlaine fewer then fifty thouſand *Engliſh*, no Writer elſe, that hitherto wee can meet with, exceedes the fifth part of that number; the riches gotten by ſpoiles and ranſomes of the *Engliſh*, were doubtleſſe very great. Among the number of priſoners, the principall was *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, but recouered afterward by exchange for King *Roberts* wife, who all this while was detained in *England*. This battell was fought at *Banocksbourne* neere *Striuelin* in *Scotland*.

(26) From this ouerthrow King *Edward* eſcaping to *Berwicke*, King *Robert* (who to his great glory, as hauing himſelfe beene trained vp among the *Engliſh*, vſed ſuch as were taken priſoners with ſingular* humanity) ſent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Gloſter*, & Lord *Clifford*, that they might receiue honourable interrement among their owne friends. But *Edward* (vnder whoſe vnfortunate leading the *Engliſh* name ſuſtained ſo great diſhonour and dammage) withdrew to *Yorke*, reſoluing (therein onely *Princelike*) to aſſemble new force, and either to bee reuenged, or to die. But * all enterpriſes and attempts of that nature miſcarried, for aboue twelue yeeres after; inſomuch that great feare raigned among the Northerne *Engliſh*, who lay open to the firſt brunts and violences of the *Scots*, ouer whom many faire dayes ſhone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the diſloiall *Engliſh* * conſpired with the enemie, and iointly ſpoyled the weſt parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being ſecure, but that which wals defended.

(27) God, to humble the *Engliſh*, who through long proſperities had forgotten both themſelues & him, drew not backe his heauy hand ſo; for ſeldom hath ſo terrible a famine beene heard of here, as ſucceeded to this ouerthrow: ſo that for moderation of prices, a *Parliament* was aſſembled at *London*: but (ſaith *Walſingham*) as if God had beene diſpleaſed at the ſaid rates (which not long after were repealed) things grew ſcarſer day by day: and the dearth was generally ſuch, that vpon Saint *Laurences* Eue, there was ſcarſely bread to be gotten for ſuſtentation of the Kings owne family. This famine which laſted about two yeeres was accompanied with much mortality of people.

(28) But neither the diſhonours taken in *Scotland*, nor innumerable afflictions and diſcontentments at home, made *Edward* ſuſpend the celebration of his *Gaueſtons* funerals; whoſe Body with great pompe hee cauſed to bee tranſferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Friers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langley* in *Hertfordſhire*, where hee in perſon with the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, foure Biſhoppes, many Abbots, and principall Churchmen did honour the exequies, but few were preſent of the *Nobility*, whoſe great ſtomackes would not giue them leaue to attend. Somewhat alſo to ſweeten theſe generall acerbities, *Lewelin Bren* and his two ſonnes, were brought vp priſoners to *London*, hauing burnt many towns vpon the Marches, and committed ſome murthers with their Welſh adherents.

(29) Meane-while the ſtate of the Kingdome was miſerable, there being no loue betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great * care in him or them of the common affaires; neuertheleſſe they aſſembled at a Parliament in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the famine and peſtilence encreaſed. The famine was growne ſo terrible, that horſe, dogs, yea men and children were ſtolne for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the theeues newly brought into the Gaoles, were torne in peeces, and eaten preſently halfe aliue, by ſuch as had been longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed, that no corne ſhould be conuerted to Brewers vſes, which Act the King (moued with compaſſion toward his Nation) imitating, cauſed to bee executed through all the Kingdome; otherwiſe (ſaith *Walſingham*) the greater part of the people had died with penury of bread. The bloudie flux or diſſenterie cauſed through raw and corrupt humors engendred by euil meat and diet, raged euery where, and together with other maladies brought ſuch multitudes of the poorer ſort to their end, that the liuing could ſcarſe ſuffice to bury the dead.

(30) The King was now in ſo great diſlike and diſtruſt with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Councell. To augment this fatall auerſion, a certaine Knight belonging to *Iohn* Earle *Warren*, ſtole away from *Caneford* in *Derſetſhire*, the wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings conſent (as it was ſaid) and brought her to the ſaid Earle *Warrens* Caſtle at *Rigate*, with great pompe, and in deſpight of the Earle; whom one *Richard de Saint Maurice*, a wretched, lame, and bunchbackt Dwarfe challenged for wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lien with her, which ſhe (the greateſt and nobleſt Inheretrix of her time) did openly confeſſe, to her immortall infamie, incurring alas (ſaith *Walſingham*) the publike note of a moſt filthie ſtrumpet. This deformed Elfe (hauing mighty ſeconds) durſt hereupon claime the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisburie* as in her right, and in the meane time, the name and honor of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffold, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

(31) The parts of *England* beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for ſuch as till then had oppoſed themſelues againſt the *Scots* in defence of the Country, perceiuing all things left at large, inſtead of Protectors became Tyrants, * ſaith our Author; of defenders, deſtroyers; and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; ſo that as betweene the hammer and the anuile, the *Scots* vpon the one ſide, and theſe falſe *Engliſh* on the other, all was lamentable, and brought in a maner to nothing: and this face of things continued there about foure yeeres.

(32) Neither did the King ſeeme to haue any will or power to relieue the common calamities, but rather to conuert his whole both wits and forces vpon reuenges againſt the Lords, who vnder pretence of their extorted prouiſions, manifeſtly withdrew their loues, ſeruice and duties from him. wherfore feeling himſelfe thus weake and diſfurniſhed, he beſought the ſpirituall aſsiſtance of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth; who thereupon ſent certaine Cardinals to ſet all things in quiet without bloudſhed. Betweene the King and Earle of *Lancaſter* they eſtabliſhed a peace, who, in a * certaine plaine neere *Leiceſter* met, embraced and kiſſed each other; but when they could not worke the like with the *Scots*, they put that Country vnder Interdict.

(33) For they (as it is the manner of proſperity) after the victory at *Banocksbourne*, which clearely got them *Scotland*, did beginne to bethinke themſelues of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither *Edward Bruce* Brother of King *Robert* had paſſed with an Army, procuring * himſelfe to be crowned King thereof by fauour of ſome of the *Iriſh* Nobility, whom neuertheleſſe about three yeeres from his firſt entrance, the *Engliſh* vnder the conduct of the Archbiſhoppe of *Armagh*, and of *Iohn* Lord *Brinningham* Iuſticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountred, where, together with his late vſurped Kingdome, hee loſt his life. There were ſlaine in that battell many honourable *Scots*, beſides the new King *Edward*, and aboue * fiue thouſand others: his head was cut off * at *Dundalke* (ſaith *VValſingham*) but *Hector Boetius* writes that he was ſlaine in the battell it ſelfe. Thus did God temper one with another, and the iuſt reioycement which the *Scots* had conceiued of their

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An.D.13

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*Tho.Mor.

*Pol.Ver.

XUM

so happie victory ouer the *Engliſh* at *Bannockbourne*, was ſowred with this loſſe.

(34) But King *Robert* (as a moſt expert and vigilant Prince) did not ſuffer this ioy to continue long to the *Engliſh*, for by practiſe with one * *Peter Spalding* to whom King *Edward* had entruſted the keeping of *Berwicke*, hee recouered it from the *Engliſh*, ſaith * *Harding*, *By treatie, with Peace, Spalding, and treaſon*; after it had remained twenty yeers in their poſſeſſion; which when King *Edward* thought to haue wonne againe, the *Scots* diuerted him from the ſiege, with incurſions and ſlaughters of his people in other parts of *England*, not failing much of ſurpriſing the Queene in a village not farre from *Yorke*, where ſhe ſoiourned during the ſiege at *Berwicke*, the plot being laid, and drawne between the *Scots* and ſome perfidious *Engliſh*, whom King *Robert* had monied for that purpoſe. But *Spalding* after the treaſon done had the reward of a * Traitour, for *King Robert* put him to death.

(35) To giue ſome breathings after theſe ſo manifold troubles, a truce was agreed vpon and confirmed betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*, for the ſpace of two yeeres, which brought forth confuſion and not refreſhment. For thus it hapned; The King vpon the commendation of the *Lords themſelues, had made *Hugh de Spenſer* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being at the leaſt of equall inſolence, vices, and ambition to *Gaueſton*, ſo wrought that hee ſucceeded in ſhort time to all the graces of familiarity and power which euer *Gaueſton* enioyed, as in like ſort to all his hatred and enuie. *Hugh* his father an ancient Knight, the better to ſtrengthen his ſonnes courſes, was likewiſe imployed, and grew in ſpeciall fauour with the King, who afterward alſo created him Earle of *Wincheſter*, but the father in manners vnlike to the ſonne, was ruined rather by a naturall tenderneſſe, then any malicious will. The ſonne, as hee was of ſhape moſt louely, ſo the vetie ſpirit it ſelfe of *pride* and *rapine*, carried him to all ſorts of intollerable behauiours and oppreſſions, that *Gaueſton* might with good reaſon ſeeme to be wiſhed for againe. Againſt theſe two, who wholy ſwayed the vnfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King ſhould loue none but with their leaue) did ſwell with ſuch impatience, that (not contented with the waſt of their lands) they neuer reſted till (by the terror of ciuill Armes) thoſe two fauourites (father and ſonne) were baniſhed; they thus reuenging vnder publike pretexts both publike iniuries and * their owne.

(36) In all contentions which hapned betweene the King and his Lords, Queene *Iſabel* had euer hitherto beene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the euill ſtarres of the Earles of *Lancaſter* and *Hereford* would not ſuffer her to continue any longer ſo: for the Queene being denied lodging one night at the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Badlesmere* (one of the Earles faction) ſhe withdrew her good conceite, and was an author to the King of preſently reuenging that diſhonour, who vpon her complaint, came in perſon with many thouſand Souldiers before the Caſtle, tooke the * Captaine, and put both him and all the men therein to ſhamefull death. Moreouer, longing to bee righted againſt the Lords for their late inſolencies, marched on to *Cirecſter* taking many Caſtles, and beſieging others: The Lords (who little ſuſpected any ſuch ſodaine aſſaults) prouiding in the meane time for their defence.

(37) Thither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spenſer* the ſonne, who had houered vpon the Sea, expecting from thence the ſucceſſe of things vpon the land. The Lords, who had falne from their Soueraignes good conceit, and wanting now their wonted Mediatrix the Queene, lay open to all the miſchiefe which enemies could work them by the King, who (as taking his regall power and authority to be in danger) reſolued wiſely and manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time the iudgement giuen againſt the *Spenſers* was reuerſed as erroneous, and their reuocation decreed at *London* by the * Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie* and his Suffragans.

(38) The Lords not all of a like temper began to miſdoubt, and many of them forſooke their Chiefe, (the Earle of *Lancaſter*) and rendred themſelues to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Rogers Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Caſtle. The faction weakened by this defection made head in the North, vnder the Earle of *Lancaſter*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marcheth, and with the onely ſhew of his Armie, made the Earle to flie from *Burton vpon Trent*, whoſe forces in their retreat or flight behaued themſelues outragiouſly.

(39) But Gods heauie diſpleaſure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them not ſo: for at *Burrowbrigge*, *Humfrey de Bohun* was ſlaine by a *Welſhman*; who thruſt him into the body with a Speare from vnder the Bridge; and the Earle of *Lancaſter* him ſelfe with other principall men, Barons and knights, to the number of aboue * foureſcore and ten were taken priſoners, by a man of ſmall fortunes, *Andrew de Herckley* Captaine of the City of *Carleil*, and *Sir Simon Ward*, * Captaine of *Yorke*, who with great forces out of thoſe parts, ſtopt their farther paſſage at *Burrowbrigge*, as the Kings forces tooke all ſafegard from them behind.

(40) The third day after their apprehenſion, the * King in perſon being ſet in iudgement at *Pontfract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, *Aymerie* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spenſer* the Father, as alſo * *Hugh Spenſer* his ſonne; the Earle of *Lancaſter* was brought before them, and had ſentence pronounced againſt him * by the ſaid *Andrew de Herckley* (created afterward Earle of *Carliel*) and the Kings *Iuſticiar*, the * Lord *Mapleſthorpe*, as againſt an *Arch-Traitour*; neuertheleſſe, for reuerence of his bloud (being the Kings neere Kinſman) drawing and hanging were remitted vnto him, but his head was ſtricken off the ſame day without the Towne of *Pontfract*.

(41) Nor ſatisfied herewith, the King gaue full way to reuenge, putting to ſhamefull death, by drawing, hanging, and (as ſome write) * quartering in ſundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Roger D'amarie* onely excepted, who died of his naturall death) with ſundry Baronets and Knights taken at *Burroughbrig* and elſewhere. The Lord *Badlesmere* (at whoſe houſe this tragicall fire beganne) was executed at *Canterburie*. And that ſo great and mighty a man as *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, ſhould not ſeeme to die without a bloudie complement ſutable to his condition; there were hanged and quartered vpon the ſame day at *Pontefract* * fiue or * ſixe Barons; and the next day at *Yorke* were hanged in yron chaines, the Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray*, *Dey-ncll*; and others afterward in other places, to the number in all (though all of them not Barons) of * twenty and two, the chiefeſt Captaines of the Realme ſuffered death for their diſloyalties. Threeſcore and twelue Knights more were diſperſed into ſundry priſons, who (ſaith *De la Moore*) vpon fines paid had afterward their Liberties.

(42) As for the ſaid *Thomas Earle of Lancaſter*, there are ſo many reaſons why he cannot reaſonably be iudged either a good ſubiect or a good man, that we may worthily wonder why ſome at that time ſhould repute him a Saint. Certainely, the wiſe and diſcreet old Writers are not ſo opinionated of him; but note his priuate life for * vicious, himſelfe to be nothing * valorous, and of the publike * not well deſeruing, omitting his contumelious behauiours toward the King his Soueraign Lord in his diſcom-

*Tho. de la More.

*Tho. Walſingh. Tho. de la More.

*Tho. de la More.

* Tho. Walſ.

*Tho. Walſing. Execution of Nobles.

* Holinſh. p. 330 col. 2. *Tped. Neuſt.

* Tho. de la More.

* Holinſh. p. 331. col. 1.

* Act. & Mon. p. 463. col. 2 Iohn Stow. * Tho. Walſ.

*Holinſh. p. 331. col. 2. * Iob. Stow. * Act. & Mon pa. 463. col. 2. Fabian. * Continu. Nich. Triuet. MS. *Tho. de la Moore ſaith but about 18. and 5. baniſhed.

The quality of Earle Thomas deſcribed.

* Ranul. Higden. Monach. Cheſtren. l. 8. Polychr. l. 7. c. 42. * S. Tho. de la More & Polychr. * Thom. Walſingh.

forts, which as *Walsingham* forgets not to relate, ſo thinkes he that the like was worthily vſed toward that Earle himſelfe, who, when hee was brought priſoner to *Pontfract* (his owne Caſtle but then ſurrendred) the whole multitude derided, and called him in ſcorne King *Arthur*: by which name hee was deſigned (as *ſome write) in the *Scottiſh* Cypher intercepted, prouing a conſpiracy with *Scots*: but the very ſhoppe, where his and the other *Barons* original Treaſons were forged, was the Parliament houſe, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King preſumptuous and treaſonous Ordinations, whereby the Peeres challenged, *not onely to reforme the Kings houſe and Councell, and to place and diſplace all great Officers at their pleaſure, but euen a ioint intereſt in the Regiment of the Kingdome together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common-Law) with other like ſticklers, traiterouſly perſwading them to be according to Law.

*Holinſh. p. 329. col. 2.

*Continu. Nich. Triuet. MS.

(43) Of his ill deſeruings toward the common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not diſgeſt any indignity) let this bee a kind of demonſtration: for when King *Edward* hauing by ſtrait ſiege brought *Berwicke* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into theſe words; *The Lord Hugh Spenſer ſhall be captaine of the Caſtle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his affection abandoned the ſeruice: by reaſon of which departure, it was thought that *Berwicke* was not as then obtained, * and that the enemy thereby had great aduantage in all their attempts. The names of ſuch Barons (beſides Banerets, and ſome few others of ſpecial note) as periſhed by hatchet and halter for this buſineſſe, as out of ſo great variety of Writers wee could now gather them were,

The Vvalſ. ad A.D. 1319.

*Continu. Nich. Triuet. MS.

Thom. Walſingh. *Iob. Stow. Chron. Wil. Riſanger. apud Vvalſ.

At * Pontfrait,
- *Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.*
- *The Lord Warren Lile.*
- *The Lord William Tochet.*
- *The Lord Thomas Mandute.*
- *The Lord Henry de Bradburne.*
- *The L. Willia Fitz-Willia the yonger.*
- *The Lord william Cheyney.*

*Iohn Stow.

At * Yorke.
- *The Lord Roger Clifford, ſon of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was ſlaine by the Scots with Gilbert Earle of Gloſter, at the battell of Banocksbourne in the ſeruice of this King.*
- *The Lord Iohn Mowbray.*
- *The Lord Ioſceline Deynuile.*

* Hollinſh. p. 331. col. 2.

At Gloſter. { *The Lord * Iohn Gifford.*

* Tho. Vvalſingh.

At London, { *The Lord * Henrie Teyes.*

* Holinſh. p. 331 col. 2.

At Windſor, { *The Lord Frances de * Aldenham.*

*Tho. Vvalſing. * Holinſh. ap. ſupra, and Fabian.

At Canterburie,
- *The * L. Bartholmew de Badleſmere,*
- *The * L. Bartholmew de Aſhburnham.*

Neuer did *Engliſh* earth at one time drinke ſo much bloud of her Nobles in ſo vile manner ſhed as at this, which, whatſoeuer could bee pretended (as doubtleſſe their offence was capitall) yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spenſers* onely, nor was it vnreuenged, as will appeare: in the mean ſpace their enemies not contented with their bloud, procured alſo the *confiſcation of their eſtates and inheritances.

*Fabian. Holinſh. p. 332. c. 1.

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible aſwell to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *Engliſh*, marcheth with a mighty hoaſt into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) hee was compelled to returne without the honor of any atchieuement, and being * vpon his returne, was ſodainely by *Scots* aſſailed in the night, very narrowly eſcaping in his owne perſon, and with a few ſaued himſelf by flight, leauing his *treaſure &

King Edward endangered by the Scots.

*Tho. de la More. Tho. Walſ.

*Tyrel. Neuſt.

furniture for pillage, and ſo came ſorrowfull to *Yorke*. *Iohn de Britain* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken priſoner by the enemy, and the reſt of the Country defaced with deſtructions as farre as to the wals of that City.

(45) Thus * paſſed this yeere, to the *Engliſh* full of loſſe, reproach, and lamentation, by reaſon of their inteſtine diſcord and the ſhambles of their Nobles: to the King infamous, and hatefull alſo for his vnfortunate iourney into the Northern parts, &c. But theſe bloudy and tempeſtuous winds blew ſome to profit; for * during the ſpace of about fiue yeeres after, the fortune of the *Spencers* hugely encreaſed, and the Queenes decreaſed, who (for her relenting toward the Lords, & expreſſing ſome diſlikes of theſe ranckly-growing weeds) was grown to beare a ſhare in the perſecution. And that theſe with ſuch like violent men working vpon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authors of that ſharpe reuenge taken vpon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what elſe can we call the ſame, ſince that they betraide thereby their Soueraignes Crown and Life to ſpeedie deſtruction?) let it by this in part appeare, and moue the world the rather to pitty the ſeduced.

* The. de la M.

*Fabian.

(46) Among them who were condemned for riſing with the Earle of *Lancaſter*, there was one of a meane Familie, for whoſe life neuertheleſſe, becauſe hee had once ſerued in Court, and was pleaſing to ſome of the Grands, or Potent fauourites therein, many interceded, and preſſed the king ſo farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into theſe * moſt vehement words; *A plague vpon you, for curſed whiſperers, malicious backe-biters, wicked counſellors, entreat you ſo for the life of a moſt notorious knaue, who would not ſpeake one word for the life of my neere Kinſman, that moſt noble Knight Earle Thomas? Had hee liued, wee and our whole Realme ſhould haue had ſpeciall need and vſe of him. This fellow the longer hee liues, the more villanies he wil commit, as hauing already filled my Kingdome with his deſperate outrages. By the ſoule of God hee ſhall therefore die the death he hath deſerued.*

A.D. 13 King Edward moſt bitterly vpbraids the Earle of Lancaſters death.

* Walſingham them verbis imperj.

(47) By this then it is euident, that theſe tragedies againſt the Lords were exploited by others; in which it is plaine that this King (otherwiſe ſo deuout to God, ſo noble and ſo full of naturall good propenſions) was fatally ouer-wrought by wicked counſell; though hee therein bee inexcuſable, for good nature (as wee call it) cannot ſatisfie for publike errours. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly; the King being moſt highlie offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (ſaith *Walſingham*) he did inwardlie loue. Neuertheleſſe, he had not long before created the elder *Spenſer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a toppe-feather taken out of the ſaid late Earle of *Lancaſters* eſtate, that is to ſay, with the Caſtle and honour of * *Donington*, parcell of the Earledome of *Lincolne*. Having thus farre ſhewed the originall of the miſchiefe, wee will haſten now to the laſt Act or Cataſtrophe of our *Edwards* tragedie, onely wee will firſt remember ſome intercurring matters.

*Tho. Vv.

(48) You haue heard before, how that the Cardinals ſent from the Pope, had (in fauour of the *Engliſh*) put *Scotland* vnder Interdict; wherefore King *Robert* now at laſt diſpatched the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *Thomas Randolfe* Earle of *Murrey* to *Rome*, for obtaining releaſe and abſolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* moued to haue a truce for thirteene yeeres, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then abſolued the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* ſeemed thus to be ſufficiently prouided for during that time, and the rather for that ſomewhat before the motion for truce, the King had cauſed the newly created Earle of *Carlile Andrew de Herkley* to be degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for treaſon, which hee was conuinced to haue entred into with the

* Pol. Virg.

Scots

Scots, vpon * whom he had before done speciall ſeruices, as hauing for that cauſe the Caſtle and Citie of *Carleil* committed to his gouernment. The truce with *Scotland* being thus confirmed, the King makes his progreſſe through the * Counties of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late ſeditious had their nouriſhments, taking wiſe & carefull courſes for miniſtration of Iuſtice there, and preuention of like inconueniences, by puniſhing their Authors ſeuerely. And Iuſtices * void of all corruption, were appointed elſe-where.

(49) In the meane ſpace, the new King of *France* *Charles* the fifth, a moſt earneſt enemie to the *Engliſh* mens poſſeſſions there, ſought occaſions of quarrell with King *Edward*, who while hee conſuled at home how to order that affaire, the yong L. *Roger Mortimer*, one whom the Diuell (ſaith our * Courtier) reſerued to kindle new diſſention with, and to ſtirre vp a moſt miſerable ciuill warre, hauing corrupted his Keepers, or (as ſome others write) hauing potioned them with * a ſleepy drinke, eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, getting ouer clearely without any empeachment into *France*.

(50) The *Spenſers* both father and ſonne, the one thus created Earle of *Wincheſter*, and the other Earle of *Gloceſter*, aſpiring to the fulneſſe of command, and deſirous to leaue nothing in their eye, which might ſtumble their ſway with the King, failed not to beget immortall enmities both againſt themſelues and the King. The Queene tooke their carriage ſo heinouſly, becauſe (beſides other things) they had abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themſelues abounded in all riches and magnificence) as ſhee complained * That the daughter and ſole heire of the king of *France* was married to a gripple miſer, and that being promiſed to be a Queene, ſhee was become no better then a waiting woman, liuing vpon a penſion from the *Spenſers*.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the *Embrion*, of their common deſtruction laid, and begun in the impotencie of a womans will, to helpe out the which with ſhrewd drifts and directions, they encreaſe her ſide with *Adam* Biſhoppe of *Hereford*, by ſtripping him out of all his Temporalties as a Traitour, for that hee had ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (ſaith our Knight) was a man of moſt ſubtle witte, and in all worldly pollicies profound, daring to doe great things and factious withall, who for this cauſe conceiuing deepeſt hate, and therefore eaſily growing deare to the Queene, made a great ſecret party. To which *Henrie Burwaſh* Biſhoppe of *Lincoln*, who (for like cauſes) had beene kept from his temporalties (about two yeeres) ioyned himſelfe. Neither would the *Spenſers* auarice ſuffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enemies, for they ſold the Kings gracious fauour to ſuch as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at ſo great rates that they by granting away lands and Manours to the ſaid Lords *Spenſers* for their pardons &c. verie many of the Nobles were empoueriſhed. To be ſhort, the royall power being in the hands of the *Spenſers*, and *Roger Baldock* Chancellour, or of their Creatures and Fauourites; this other faction had the generall diſcontentments of the Realme to worke vpon for their aduantage.

(52) The King thus guiding himſelfe, and hauing ſent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (vpon notice of the firſt troubles) with Forces into *Gaſcoigne*, who gaue ſome little ſtay for a time to the *French* proceedings, till they might otherwiſe bee prouided for, it came to this point at laſt: that whereas the King had a purpoſe to haue gone in perſon into *France*, the *Spenſers* who were afraid to bee ſeuered from his perſon, the onely reuerence whereof they knew to bee their ſafegard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or ſtay behind, * perſwaded the King contrary to the minds of all the reſt, that the Queene (who ſought it) ſhould goe and negociate her husbands affaire in *France*. She did ſo; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremity betweene the two Nations, inſomuch that all the *French* were baniſhed out of *England*, not they who were attendant on the Queen her ſelfe in neereſt place being ſpared, all matters by her negotiation and ſuite were quieted; vpon condition that King *Edward* ſhould giue to his ſonne *Edward* of *Windſor* (afterward King) the *Dutchy* of *Aquitaine*, and *Earledome* of *Pontine*, for which the king of *France* was pleaſed to accept his ſaid young *Nephewes* homage.

(53) This was done, and the Prince ſent ouer for that purpoſe to his mother, to the vtter vndoing of the King his Father, and of all his fauourites. For the heire of *England* being in forraine parts, among the contrary faction, all the conſultation was (vnder colour of ruining the *Spenſers*,) to accompliſh farther matters. The Prince, hauing (at *Boys de Vincens*) done his homage for that Dutchie and County to his vncle *Charles de Valois* King of *France*, was (as alſo the Queene his mother) ſent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*; but the Queenes conſpiracie being not yet ripe, ſhee deferred to obay, detaining her ſonne ſtill.

(54) There went ouer with the young Prince, among many others, *Walter Stapleton*, Biſhoppe of *Exceſter*, who perceiuing into what familiarity the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the Queene, which * ſeemed greater then either ſtood with her honour or dutie, and ſeeing both him and other of the Kings enemies, and fugitiues enioy that priuacie in counſell, which was aſſigned to himſelfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned ſecretly (though vnſent for) into *England*, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

(55) The King now clearely beholding his errour in his dangers * ſolicited the King of *France* to ſend home his wife and ſonne, but that not ſucceeding, he cauſed them * openly in *London* to be proclaimed enemies of the Kingdome, baniſhing them with all their adherents out of the ſame. For his more aſſurance alſo hee cauſed the Ports to bee moſt narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a ſhort diſpatch, there was (as was ſuppoſed) a plot laid for * making away the Queene and Prince, but Gods will was to fruſtrate it.

(56) The Queen, on the other ſide, fearing that the * *Spenſers* gold had laid traines to blow her whole proceedings vp in *France*, kept her ſelfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were ſafely gotten into *Henault*: There might bee ſome other reaſon alſo and neceſſary to moue Queene *Iſabel* to depart out of *France*, beſide the doubt of that kind of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her natiue Country, which for her cauſe was afflicted in the Sea-ſtrengthes therof; for Sir *Iohn Oturwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kiried*, and Sir *Iohn de Felton*, with the Nauie of the Ports, and of other places, had by commiſsion from the King ſo ſcowred the narrow Seas, that they within a ſhort time brought into *England* as lawfull prize, * an hundreth and twenty *Norman* ſhippes or veſſels. Moreouer, whereas thoſe two Biſhoppes which the Pope had ſent, were returned ſorrowfull out of *England*, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but alſo without hope of doing any, ſhee might eaſily be perſwaded that the ſword muſt doe it, or nothing.

(57) But in *Henault* ſhee found moſt honourable and louing welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the conſent or aduiſe of the Peeres of *England*) ſhee enſured (ſaith our * Author) that delight and terrour of the whole world, her ſonne, being then about foureteene yeeres old, to *Philippa* the ſaid Earles daughter, and with the money of her portion waged ſouldiers out of *Henault* and *Germany*, to tranſport

Polyd.Verg.li.18.

* *Tho.Walſ.*

* *Th.de la More.*

* *Polyd.Verg.li.18.* The Queene and Prince proclaimed Traitors.

* *Tho.Walſ. Polyd.Verg.lib.18. Fabian.* Their death plotted by the King.

* *M.Fox. Act.& Mon.p.464.col.1.*

* *Tpod.Neuſt.*

The Engliſh * ſcowre the narrow ſeas.

* *Tho.Walſ.*

An.D.1326. A.reg.19.

* *Tho.de la More.*

sport into *England*. There her friends expected her arriuall dayly, of which the Bishoppes of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* were not meanest: Her men and Nauie being now readie, shee with her sonne the Prince, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* his vncle, * *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Iohn* of *Henault*, the Earle of *Henaults* brother (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and many other *English-men* of name and note, with aboue two thousand and seuen hundred *Henowayes* and *Germans*, vnder the leading of the said Lord *Iohn*, arriued at *Orwell* in *Suffolke* vpon the Friday before Saint *Michaels* day.

* Harding.c. 176.

The kings proceedings after the Queenes arriuall.

(58) Her arriuall being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely destitute of friends and meanes, but as it seemes, of courage, and counsell also) it did not at first seeme credible. The truth appearing, he demaunded assistance of the City of *London*, whose answere was, *That they would honour with all dutie, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would shut their gates against forreiners, and traitors to the Realme, and with all their powers withstand them.* In this answere the King and his few friends reposing no assurance, he committed an errour worse then that former of sending his sonne out of *England*, by retiring himselfe into the West, with his inseparable fauourites the *Spensers*, *Baldocke* and others there, to raise a force against the Queene: but before hee went, hee left his other sonne, the Lord *Iohn* (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of *London* with the Coūtesse of *Gloceſter*, the Kings Neece, wife to the yonger *Spenser* Earle of *Gloceſter*, committing the Tower it selfe to Sir *Iohn de Weſton*, who was well prouided of men and victuals. Hee commanded all men also to destroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her selfe, her sonne, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, vpon paine of death, and losse of all that they might leese, should aid or assist them: and that hee should haue a thousand pound, who did bring the Lord *Mortimers* head. Thus tooke hee his last leaue of *London*, and in a maner also of his Rule or Domination.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene the Earle *Marshall*, and *Henry* Earle of *Leiceſter*, the Bishops of *Lincolne*, *Hereford*, *Ely*, and of Barons, Knights, and armed Souldiers no small multitude, whom aswell to retain, as to draw more, letters and rumors flew about, declaring (though falsly) that the King of *France* had in the aide of his sister sent so many Dukes, Earles, and others, that *England* could scarse suffice to feed them. This, for such whom the opinion of warlike strength would winne: but those whom shew of Religion might moue, it was as cunningly, and as falsly spread, that the Pope had excommunicated all such as did take armes against the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals imployed about the Premisses, were seen in the Queens Campe. Then was it proclaimed that the causes of her comming were to deliuer the Realme from the misleaders of the King, which were named to be the *Spensers*, *Roger Baldock* Bishoppe of *Norwich*, *Lord Chancellor* and their Fautors; all others to be safe, and that nothing should bee taken from any other subiect without true payment; but finally, that he who broght the yonger *Spensers* head should haue two thousand pounds. These things first thus ordered, the Queen with her sonne and whole power pursues the King (as it had beene agreede by the Councell of warre) taking first her way to *Oxford*: where the *whole Vniuersity being called together, in the presence of the Queene, the Prince, *Roger Mortimer* and the rest of that troope, the Bishop of *Hereford* (the Queenes bosome Counsellor) preaching to them on this Text, **My head, my head aketh*, deliuered to them the reasons of the Queens comming with her Army, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Diuine) that an aking & sick head of a kingdom, was of necessity to be taken off, and not to be tampered with by any other physicke.

Thom. de la Moor.

Tped. Neuſt.

* Tho. de la Moor.

*2 Kin. c. 4. v. 19

(60) The *Londoners* in fauour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spensers* committed sundry outrages, besides bloudy sacrilege in cutting off the Bishop of *Exceſters* head, and some others (whom the King had made Guardian of *London*) in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne *Iohn le Marchal*, who had beene of the yonger *Spensers* acquaintance. The Tower of *London* they get into their possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers therein at their pleasure, vnder the name of the Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham*, the Kings second sonne, whom they proclaimed *Custos* of the City, and of the Land. They also set at liberty all prisoners, which by the popular Queenes commandement was done through the whole Realme: and all banished men and fugitiues were reuoked; who all * flocking vnto *London*, brought no small encrease to her forces.

(61) Whither in the meane space doth wofull *Edward* flie? what force, what course, what way takes hee poore Prince? O fearefull condition of so great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Sonne, a Kingdome are not trusted, and those onely are trusted who had nothing strong, but a will to liue and die with him. The Queene passing from *Oxford* to *Gloceſter* (onward to the siege of *Briſtow* Castle) grew all the while in her strengths like a rowled snow-ball, or as a *Riuer* which spreades still broader from the fountaine to the Ocean, * *vires acquirit eundo*. For thither repaired to her (for the loue of the young Prince) the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Wake*, and others aswell out of the North, as Marches of *Wales*. But *Edward* (hauing left the Earle of *Winchester*, the elder Lord *Spenser*, in the Castell of *Briſtol* for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Isle of *Lundie* in *Seuerne* Sea, or into *Ireland*, & while hee wandreth about not finding where to rest safe, his roiall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliffe which falling from the toppe of some huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces, the farther it rolles) are daylie more and more diminisht as they scatter, till now at last they are come vnto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore spent vpon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blunt* forsaking him, and comming to the Queene, he came on shore in *Glamorganshire*, where with his few friends hee entrusted himselfe to God, and the faith of the *Welsh* (who indeed still loued him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of * *Neath*.

(62) Now had the Queene and her sonne (for his name was abused to all sorts of turne-seruings) taken the elder Lord *Spenser* at the Castell of *Briſtol*, who (without any forme of triall) was cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered (saith *de la Moore* our Knight) being * first at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armories vpon the common Gallowes without the City: but his grandchild *Hugolin* stood so valiantly in defence of himself within the Castell of *Kerfilli*, that hee had his life and the liues of all his assistants saued.

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were euery day made in the Queenes Armie, declaring, * That it was the common consent of the realm that hee should returne, and * receiue the gouernement thereof, so as he would conforme himselfe to his people. This (whether Stratageme or Truth) not preuailing, *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* the late Earles Brother, Sir *William la Zouch*, and *Rheſe ap-Howell* a *Welshman*, who all of them had Lands in those parts where the King concealed himselfe, were sent with coine and forces to discouer and take him. The Queene and her people lay in the City of *Hereford*, the Episcopall See of that great * Arch-plotter of her courses *Adam de Orlton*, where by aduise and consent of the Lords, her sonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-Keeper* of *England*, and they as to the *Custos* of the same, did sweare him fealty. And here also the Bishoppe of *Norwich* was made Chancellor of

of the Realme, and the Bishoppe of *Winchester* Treasurer.

(65) What will not money, diligence and faire words doe; with corrupt dispositions, euen to euerting of all bands of either religious or ciuill duties? By such meanes therefore the desolate, sad, and vnfortunate King, * came into his cosen of *Lancasters* hands, and with him the yonger Lord *Spenser* Earle of *Gloecester*, *Robert Baldock* Lord Chancellour and *Simon de Reding*, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conueied by the Earle from the place of his surprise to *Monmouth*, to *Ledburie*, and so to the Castell of *Kenelworth* belonging to the Earle of *Leicester*, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him safe. The other three, *Spenser*, *Baldock* and *Reeding* were strongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to bee disposed of at the pleasure of their most capitall enemies.

(66) Before whose comming to satisfie *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Arundel*, and two Gentlemen *Daniel* and *Micheldene* were beheaded at *Hereford*: The *Lord Mortimer* was so high in the Queenes fauour, that she could doe no lesse (as weee may suppose) then gratifie him with a few hated heades. But (*Mortimer*) there will bee a time, when the cry of this, and other bloud sacrificed to thy priuate reuenge (while thou abusest the publike trust) will neuer giue ouer the pursuit, till it hath deseruedly drawne thine in lieu thereof.

(67) The *Lord Spenser* and the rest, * on whom *William Trussell* the Iudge gaue sentence of death, being now drawne to *Hereford*, the said Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was most despitefully dragged to the place of execution, where being first hung vpon a gallowes fifty foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters; they who brought him to the Queene, hauing the promised summe of two thousand pounds distributed among them for reward. His head was set vp at *London*, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdome. *Simon de Reding* was hanged ten foot lower then hee in the same place.

(68) This Execution (saith *Walsingham*) was done vpon a Munday in reuenge of the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, whose bloud was likewise shed vpon a Munday. *Robert Baldock* late Lord Chancellor was committed to the keeping of the Bishop of *Hereford*, who after a time caused him to bee brought vp to *Hereford-house* in *London*, where the tumultuous people (not without the Bishoppe of *Herefords* secret approuement as was said) tooke him violently away, and (though he were a Priest) thrust him into *Newgate*, where they vsed him so vnhandsomly, that albeit they had no accusation, but onely for being faithfull to his Soueraigne, wherewith to * charge him, he not long after died in prison; to whom (saith *De la Moore*) might be applied that of *Quintilian*, *Torquentem vincit quisquis occidstur*.

(69) The mournefull King being at *Kenelworth* Castle, there repaired thither the Bishops of * *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Lincolne*, * two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iustices, three Knights for euery County, and for *London*, and other principall places (chiefly for the fiue Ports) a certaine chosen number, selected by the Parliament, which then the Queene and her Sonne held at *London*. The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincolne* (as it was agreede vpon) came thither before any of the rest, alwell to giue the King to vnderstand what kind of Embassage was approaching, as to prepare him by the best Arguments they could to satisfie the desire, and expectation of their new moulded common-weale, which could onely be by resignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then confused State had elected) might raigne in his stead.

(70) When they were admitted to his presence, (the Earle of *Leicester* being by) they together so wrought him, partly with shewing a necessity, partly with other reasons drawne out of common places, throughly studied for that purpose, that (though not without many sobs and teares) hee finally did not dissent, if his answere were truely reported (which * som doubt of) vnto the Parliament. * For they tolde "him that the Common-weale had conceiued so ir- "reconciliable dislikes of his gouernment, the par- "ticulars whereof had beene opened in the generall "assembly at *London*, that it was resolued neuer to "endure him as King any longer. That notwithstan- "ding, those dislikes had not extended themselues "so farre, as for his sake to exclude his issue, but that "with vniuersall applause, and ioy, the Common- "weale had in Parliament elected his eldest sonne "the Lord *Edward* for King. That it would be a ve- "ry acceptable thing to God, willingly to giue o- "uer an earthly Kingdome for the common-good "and quiet of his Country, which they said could "not otherwise bee secured. That yet his honour "should be no lesse after the resignation, then it was "before, onely him the common-weale would ne- "uer suffer to raigne any longer. They finally durst "tell him, that vnlesse hee did of himselfe renounce "his Crowne and Scepter, the people would neither "endure him, nor any of his Children as their So- "ueraigne, but disclaiming all homage and fealty, "would elect some * other for King, who should not "bee of the bloud.

(71) The whole Company sent by the body of State (if it may bee called a Body which then had no Head there) from *London*, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Bishoppe of *Hereford*, according to their degrees, in the Presence Chamber at *Kenelworth* Castle, the King gowned in blacke came forth at last out of an inward roome, and presented himselfe to his vassals, where (as being Priuie to their errand) sorrow stroke such a chilnesse into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying stretched forth in a deadly swown; The Earle of *Leicester*, and the Bishoppe of *Winchester* beholding this, ranne vnto him, and with much labour recouered the half-dead king, setting him vpon his feet. As rufull & heauy as this sight was, we read not yet of any acts or effects of compassion expressed towards him at this present; so setled (as it seemed) was the hatred and auersion. The King being now (we cannot say) come to himselfe, but to the sense of his misery, the Bishoppe of *Hereford* declares the cause of their present Embassie, and running ouer the former points, concludes as before, saying, (as in the person of the commonwealth) *That the King must resigne his Diademe to his eldest sonne, or after the refusall suffer them to elect such a person as themselues should iudge to be most fit and able to defend the Kingdome*.

(72) The dolorous King hauing heard this speech, brake forth into sighes and teares; and being (saith his * most fauourable reporter) more ready to sacrifice his body for Christs cause, then once to behold the disinherison of his sonnes, or (through his occasion) the perpetuall disturbance of the Kingdome, (as knowing, saith he, that a good shepheard should giue his life for his flocke,) made at the last his an- "swere to this effect. * That hee knew that for his "many sinnes hee was falne into this calamity, and "therefore had the lesse cause to take it grieuously: "That much he sorrowed for * this that the people "of the Kingdome were so exasperated against him, "as that they should vtterly abhorre his any longer "rule and soueraignety: and therefore he besought "all that were there present to * forgiue and spare "him being so afflicted. That neuertheless * it was "* greatly to his good pleasure and liking, (seeing it "* could none other be on his behalfe,) that his el- "dest sonne was so * gracious in their sight, and there- "fore hee gaue them * thanks for chooling him to be "their King.

(73) This being said, there was forthwith a proceeding to the short ceremonies of his resignation, which principally consisted in the surrender of his

* *Hist. Brut. MS.*
* *Tho. de la Moor.*
* *Polyd. Virg. li. 18*
* *Tho. de la Moor.*
* *Sir Tho. de la Moore his seruant.*
* *Pol. Virg. lib. 18*
* *Tho. Walsi. Thom. de la Moor.*
* *Tho. Walsi. Polyd. Virg. li. 18*
* *Tho. de la Moor.*
* *Tho. Walsingh.*
* *Tho. de la Moor.*
† *Tho. Walsi.*
* *Tho. de la Moore*
* *Tho. Walsing. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

Diadem and Enſignes of Maieſty, to the vſe of his ſon the new King. Thereupon * Sir *William Truſſel* (as being a Iudge who could fit them with quirks of law to colour ſo lawleſſe and treaſonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage, and alleagiance to the Lord *Edward of Caernarvon* late King.

Tho. de la More.

*Polychr. lib 7. c. 43

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obſolete, you ſhall haue in the like * obſolete words of *Treuiſa*, which was this; *I William Truſſel, in name of all men of the land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee Edward, the homage that was made to thee ſometime; and from this time forward now following, I defie thee, and priue thee of all royall power, & I ſhall neuer be tendant to thee as for King after this time.* Which being done, *Sir Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the houſhold, by breaking his ſtaffe, reſigned his office, and declared that the late Kings family was diſcharged.

(75) *Edward* being thus dekinged, the Embaſſie rode ioyfully backe to *London* to the Parliament, with the reſigned * Enſignes, and diſpatch of their employment. Here (for that this ſeems the laſt houre of his raigne and kingly ſtate) wee will make a ſtop, referring you for the reſt to the next Kings life, vnder whoſe name and abuſed authority they were acted.

*Tho. Walſ.

(76) Notwithſtanding, wee may not forget in all theſe doings to call to mind, who it was that ſate at the helme of State, ouerlooking, and ouerſwaying Queene, Prince and all; to wit, the moſt ambitious and vindicatiue man liuing, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmor*: for, as for the * Queene, when ſhee was (God knowes how farre guilty,) aduertiſed of her husbands dethronization, ſhee outwardly expreſſed ſo great extremity of paſſion (notwithſtanding that at the ſame time ſhee was tolde of her ſonnes ſurrogation) as if ſhee had beene diſtraught in her wittes: which the Prince her ſonne (then about fifteen yeers of age) beholding, hee made an oath, neuer to accept of the Crowne againſt his fathers good will; and thereupon it was (ſaith *Walſingham* a Writer worthie of beliefe) that the ſaid Embaſsie was ſent to *Kenelworth* Caſtle, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his aſſent, *whoſe anſwere thereunto* (ſaith * another) *was by thoſe Meſſengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was* ſent by the King; but the Peeres then in Parliament made their vſe thereof, in procuring ſuch a Prince to take the rule of thē, whom they hoped, by reaſon of his tender yeeres, themſelues ſhould be able to rule and ouermaſter.

*Tho. Walſingh.

* *Hiſt. Bruti.* MS.

His Wife.

(77) *Iſabel*, daughter to *Philip* the Faire, King of *France* (ſiſter to *Lodewicke Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Faire*, all Kings of *France*) was married to *Edward* the ſecond, at twelue yeeres of age, in our Lady Church of *Bulloigne*, the 22. of Ianuary, 1308. Shee was his wife twenty yeers, and his widow thirty, and liued threeſcore and three yeeres. Shee died at *Riſings* neer *London*, the two & twētieth of Auguſt 1357. and was buried in the middeſt of the *Grey-Fryers Quire* in *London*, the 27. of September following.

His Iſſue.

(78) *Edward* (ſurnamed of *Windſor*) the eldeſt ſon of K. *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel* his wife, was born at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, the thirteenth of October, the yeere of Chriſt, 1312. and the ſixt of his fathers raigne: hee was created Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Aquitane*, in a Parliament holden at *Yorke*, *Anno* 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme and abſence of his Father, in an aſſembly of Lords met at *Hereford*, and in preſence of the Queen, was made L. *Warden* of *England* by a common decree: vnto whom all the Lords made their fealty, in receiuing an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall vnto him as to the Lord *Warden* of the Realm: and ſhortly after, the Father depoſed, hee was crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the third.

(79) *Iohn* (ſurnamed of *Eltham*) the ſecond ſonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel* his wife, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the 15. of *Auguſt*, and yeere of Chriſt, 1315. and at twelue yeeres of age was created Earle of *Cornwall* in a Parliament, Anno 1327. and third yeere of the raign of King *Edward* his brother: hee died in *Scotland* vnmarried, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeere of Chriſt, 1324.

(80) *Ioan* the eldeſt daughter, and third child of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was borne in the Tower of *London*; ſhee was maried being a child at *Barwicke* the eighteenth day of Iuly, in the fourth yeere of the Raign of King *Edward* her brother, 1329 to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne and heire apparent of King *Robert Bruce*, whom he ſucceeded within one yeere after in the kingdome, being but ſeuen yeares of age, and was the ſecond King of *Scotland* of the name of *Dauid*; ſhee was his wife twenty and eight yeeres, and being come into *England* to viſite her brother, ſhee deceaſed here without Iſſue, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his Raigne, 1357. and was buried at the *Grey-Fryers* in *London*.

(81) *Elenor*, the ſecond and yongeſt daughter, & fourth child of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was the ſecond wife of *Reynald* the ſecond, Earle of *Gelder*, married vnto him with a portion of fifteen thouſand pounds 1332. being the ſixt yeere of the raign of king *Edward* her brother, who being the Vicar generall of the Empire, to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauar*, created him firſt Duke of *Gelder*: ſhee had iſſue by him *Reinald* and *Edward* both Dukes ſucceſſiuelie after their Father without Iſſue; the later of them leauing his Dutchie and his wife to his Nephew *William* Duke of *Gulik* his halfe ſiſters Sonne.

EDVVARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FORTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 49

CHAPTER XII.

THe sickneſſe and wounds which the commonwelth ſuſtained by the raigne of the late depoſed king, vpon the change of her Leach and Phyſitian, recouered not onely health and ſtrength, but beautie alſo and ornament; and the elements themſelues, which in the former times ſeemed to ſuffer and ſympathize with the publike grieuances of the *Engliſh*, grew * gratious and propitious to the vſe of man, the Aire becomming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature herſelf were priuie to the worth of the ſucceeding Prince. But this his worth did not diſplay it ſelfe, vntill hee had plucked the ſway of things out of the hands of the Queene his mother, and of that aſpiring danger and tempeſt of *England*, *Roger Mortimer* who wholy poſſeſſed her.

(2) This *Edward* of *windſor*, being not fifteene yeeres of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus eſtabliſhed vpon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raign by publike ſanction at the * twentith day of Ianuarie, and by direction of ſuch as ſought to colour their treaſons againſt their depoſed Soueraigne, proclaimed "his peace in theſe words. *Edward* by the grace of "God King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke "of *Aquitaine*, to *N.N.* our Sheriffe of S. Greeting. "Becauſe the Lord *Edward* our Father, late King of "*England*, by the common Councell and Aſſent of "the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other the chiefe "men, and the whole Comminalrie of the King-"dome, did voluntarily remoue himſelfe from the "gouernment thereof, willing and granting that we "as his eldeſt ſonne and heire, ſhould take vpon vs "the rule and regiment of the ſame, and we with the "counſel & aduiſe of the Prelates, Earls & Barons be-"fore-ſaid, yeelding therin to our fathers good plea-"ſure

* Tho. Walſ.

"ſure, and will, haue taken vpon vs the gouer-
"nance of the ſaide Kingdome, and as the manner
"is, haue receiued the Fealties and Homages
"of the ſaid Prelates and Peeres. Wee therfore de-
"ſirous that our peace for the quiet and calme eſtate
"of our people ſhould bee inuiolablie obſerued, do
"will and commaund you, that preſently vpon ſight
"of theſe preſents, you cauſe our Peace to bee o-
"penly proclaimed through your whole Baily-
"wicke, forbidding all and euery one on our be-
"halfe, vnder paine and perill of diſinheriſon, and
"loſſe of life and limmes, not to preſume to violate
"or infringe our ſaid peace, but that euery one pur-
"ſue or follow his actions, and complaints without
"any manner of outrage, according to the lawes &
"cuſtomes of our Kingdome: for wee are ready &
"alwaies wilbe, to adminiſter full right to all & ſin-
"gular cõplainants, aſwel poor as rich in our Courts
"of Iuſtice. Witnes our ſelfe, &c. in the* Calends of
"February vpon ſunday being Candlemas Eue.

* 1 Febru.

(3) Vpon the Candlemas day it ſelfe, the young King receiuing the Order of Knighthood, by the hands of the Earle of *Lancaſter*, and vpon the ſame day the Crowne of *England* at *weſtminſter*, *Walter* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie* performing the offices accuſtomed therein, iudged nothing to bee ſooner thought vpon then to recouer the honour of his Nation vpon the Northerne enemies, whom his vnexperiẽced youth, and their former happineſſe had emboldened; in which preparation while hee was buſied, the Queene his mother, and her *Mortimer*, forgat not other things tending to their owne benefite and aſſurance.

King Edward prouided for warres with Scotland.

(4) Firſt therefore there was procured for the Queene mother ſo great a Dowry, that the young King had ſcarce a * third part of the Kingdome left for his maintenance; which exceſsiue eſtate, in title the Queenes, in the vſe was *Mortimars*, and from this treaſonable defalcation and weakening of the roiall meanes, hee ſinewed his owne deuiſes with authoritity and riches; ſo that his hatred againſt *Spenſer* was not on behalfe of the Commonweale, but for that any one ſhoũld abuſe it for his priuate but himſelfe. Laſtly, when they had certaine intelligence, that ſundry great perſons and others, as the whole order of Friers-preachers, tooke pitty of the late Kings captiuity, and ſeemed to conſult for his deliuerance, they knowing that by recouery of his former eſtate, their iuſt confuſion muſt follow, they reſolued to ſtrengthen (as men ſuppoſed) their other impieties with murther.

Mortimers high practiſes.
*Tpod. Neuſt.

(4) For albeit the Queene in her outward geſtures pretended nothing but ſorrow for her Lord & husbands diſtreſſe, yet in ſtead of bringing to him her perſon (which the depoſed Prince did wonderfullie *loue) ſhee onely ſent vnto him * fine apparrell & kind letters, but contrary to the lawes of God and man, withdrew her ſelfe from nuptiall dueties, beſtowing them (as the fame went, which will blab of Princes as freely as of meaner Dames) vpon the bloudy Adulterer *Mortimar*, fathering her abſence vpon the *State*, which (ſhe fained) would not ſuffer her to come vnto him. The deſolate Prince was hereupon taken from *Kenelworth* Caſtle, by expreſſe order from the * young King, at their procurement, for that the Earle of *Lancaſter* (Lord of that peece) was ſuſpected to pitty too much his calamitie. Hee was deliuered by* Indenture, to Sir *Thomas de Gournay* the elder, and Sir *Iohn Mattrauers*, two mercileſſe and moſt vnworthy Knights.

* *Tho. de la More*
* *Tho. VVals.*
* *Graſton.*
* *Graſton.*
* *Tho de la More.*

(5) Theſe two Inſtruments of the Diuell, hauing conducted him firſt to the Caſtle of *Corf*, then to *Briſtol*, and laſtly in great ſecreſie, and with more villanous deſpite, then it became either Knights, or the lewdeſt varlets in the world, as (out of Sir *Thomas de la Moore*, you may reade at large in the collections of * *Iohn Stow*) to the Caſtle of *Barkley*, where after many vile deuiſes, executed vpon him in vaine, they * more then barbarouſly murthered him.

The late King *Edward* murthered.
* *Annals.*
* *Hector Boet. & annot.*

(6) Neuer was the fallacie of pointings, or ambiguitie of Phraſe more miſchieuouſly vſed to the deſtruction of a King, or defence of the Contriuers, then in this hainous Parricide, for it is ſaid that a bloody *Sophiſme* conceiued in theſe words was ſent;

* *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt*

To ſhed King Edwards bloud
Refuſe to feare I count it good.

Where the Comma or pauſe being put after *Nolite*, bid them not to make him away, but after *timere*, inſinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

(7) The *Sphynx* who is ſaid to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, ſent by the Lord* *Mortimar*, was *Adam de Torleton*, who * vtterly denied any ſuch intention, when the Murtherers for their owne iuſtification, produced the writing it ſelfe vnder Queene *Iſabels* Seale, and the ſeales of the other Conſpirators, and therefore the ſaid Biſhoppe *Adam* was the cauſe, why *Gorney* and *Mattrauers* were with terrible menaces ſhaken vp, purſued and outlawed, who more purſued with the memory and conſcience of ſo hainous a Tragedie, fled out of *England*. *Gorney* after three yeeres baniſhment, being diſcouered at *Maſſels* in *France*, and apprehended, was conuaied backe, but had his head taken off at Sea, in his paſſage, * leſt he ſhould reueale too much at his arriuall, but *Mattrauers* lay hidden in *Germanie* a long time, doing pennance.

(8) This Parricide was committed about S. *Mathews* day, and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of ſecret murther, as alſo an ordinary mockage of the people in like caſes) the noble body was laide forth, and * many Abbots, Priors, Knights, and Burgeſſes of *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter* were ſent for to ſee the ſame; vpon which, although there appeared no manifeſt outward ſign of violent death, but the skinne all ouer whole and vnbroken, yet the cry of murther could not ſo bee ſmothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happineſſe certainely the poore Prince had, that after his empriſonment hee reformed his life in ſo pious & Chriſtian ſort, that it gaue occaſion when hee was dead of diſputation, whether * hee were not to bee reputed a *Saint*, euen as (ſay our Authors) there was the like Queſtion concerning *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, though beheaded for apparant Treaſons. His body * without any funerall pompe was buried among the *Benedictins* in their Abbey at *Gloceſter*, and ſo (ſaith * our paſſionate author) the ſtately height of the Angels Kingdome receiued this Scholler, and Diſciple of Chriſt, thus reft and ſpoiled of his *Engliſh* Kingdome.

(9) The yong King was now vpon the borders of *Scotland* with a puiſſant Armie, where alſo the Queene mother, and *Mortimar*, with many other Nobles were preſent, and hauing enuironed the *Scots* (who had pierced into *England* with inuaſiue armes) in the woods of *VVitridale* and *Stanhope* Parke, made ſure account of a certaine victorie; but by the treaſon of the ſaid Lord *Mortimer* (as afterward was laid to his charge) they were ſuffered to eſcape out of that miſchiefe, and the young King with griefe returned inglorious after an huge waſte of treaſure, and peril of his owne perſon.

(10) For while the *Engliſh* hoaſt thus held the *Scots*, as it were beſieged Sir *Iames Dowglaſſe* in the dead of night, with about * two hundreth ſwift horſe aſſailed the Kings owne Pauilion, and miſſed ſo little of killing him, that a Prieſt his Chaplaine a ſtout and loyall man was ſlaine in his defence, and Sir *Iames* eſcaped backe without hurt, but not without honor for his bold attempt. In the *Scots* Campe * one noteth, that the *Engliſh* found fiue hundreth great Oxen and Kine ready killed, a thouſand ſpits full of fleſh, ready to be roaſted, fiue hundred Cawdrons made of beaſts skins, full of fleſh, ouer the fire ſeething, and about

about * ten thousand paire of raw-leather shooes, the haire still vpon them. In King *Edwards* Armie were (as *some write) thirty thousand Archers, and fiue hundreth good men of Armes, which perhaps is one of the greatest boasts that you shall lightly reade to haue been of our Nation, and the reason was, for that the world conceiued such hope of the young King, that many more went * voluntary then constrained. All which puissance was notwithstanding thus eluded.

(12) About this time died strucken with leprie, *Robert Bruce* King, and recouerer of *Scotland*; and the most approued Warriour of the world in that age, by whose losse it was soone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before hee died, that peace was made with the *Scots* by the meanes of the Queene and the Lord *Mortimer*, which is so much dispraised by our Writers, and in the end proued capitall to the principall Actor *Mortimer*.

(13) For at this treaty it was that the King (then in his Minority) sealed Charters to the *Scots* at *Northampton*, whose contents were contriued by the Queene, the said Lord *Mortimer*, and Sir *Iames Douglasse*, without the priuity of the *English*. There was also deliuered to them that famous Euidence called the * *Ragman Roll*, and the King acquited them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of *Scotland*, rendring backe sundrie Iewels taken by the *English* from the *Scots*, among the which was one speciall, called the *Blacke Crosse of Scotland*. There was it also granted, that * all Englishmen should leese their lands in *Scotland*, vnlesse they would inhabite vpon them, and becom Liege-men to the King thereof, besides many other things to the high discontentation (as was the humor of those times) of the English Subiects. Moreouer, vnder the specious colour of restitution of dammages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirty thousand Marks sterling, with which (as the meed of treason) the Lord *Mortimer* was afterward publikely charged, and for the same, and other his crimes was executed as a Traitour. Finally, vpon the seuenth of Iuly, *Dauid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, a child of seuen or eight yeeres old, and sonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Ioan*, sister to K. *Edward* at *Berwicke*: by which peace the *English* were made obnoxious to some reproaches, the *Scottish* Nation in scorne, calling the said Lady, *Iane Make-Peace*.

(14) And therefore saith one of this part of King *Edwards* raigne: *that drawne aside with euill aduise, by reason of his age, hee committed many foule errors in State, at the beginning of his Gouernment*: which is also the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereunto this verse is by * some applied;

Væ puer i terra, sæpissimè sunt ibi guerra,

Where Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and war.

(15) There died likewise about this time *Charles the Faire*, King of *France*, (to whom King *Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*) the third and last sonne of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, by whose decease the Crown of that noble Kingdome, deuolued to this our *Edward* King of *England* in right of his mother Queene *Isabel*: And because vpon this * Title king *Edward* did afterward claime the said Crowne, wee will here once for all instruct you in the iustice thereof.

(16) Three sonnes there were of *King Philip the Faire*, (to wit, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le long*, and *Charles the Faire*) who all successiuely raigned in *France* one after the other; and none of them leauing any Issue, at such time as king *Edward* made his claime, the whole right seemed to be in *Isabel* the onely Child of the said *Philip* which had any issue, for an other sister which shee had died an Infant.

(17) The case thus seeming plaine, was not for such accepted by the *French*, who receiued to the Crowne *Philip of Valoys*, whose father *Charles* of *Valois* was yonger Brother to *Philip the Faire*, aduancing the Brothers sonne before the daughters son, not following the propinquity or descent of blood, but the meliority of sexe, vpon which ground they had also freshly put by *Ioan* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, preferring *Philip le long* her vncle. The French in barre to her interest, pretended a fundamentall law or entaile, by which * *no woman was inheritable to the Crown of France*, and in defence of that opinion withstood King *Edward* afterward with so much losse and calamity, though that very law made *Edwards* title the stronger (*as himselfe truely pleaded) hee being the *Male*, albeit his right descended by the *Female*.

(18) This Title to so glorious a Monarchy though it accrewed to the *English*, by this match with Queen *Isabel*, yet doth *Walsingham** freely pronounce; *That neither that affinity, nor any other contracts with the French, was euer auaileable or brought any benefite to England*: which opinion as it may seeme strange, so will it answere a wise Readers paine in the fruit, to obserue through the course of our stories, whether the said graue Writer had iust occasion so to speake or no. Another conceit there was of this *Edwards* marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter, which about this time was consumated, though *Philip de Valoys* (king of *France* by intrusion as our Annales repute him) was her vncle, her mother being his owne sister.

(19) There stood now at home against the stream of the Queene, and her Lord *Mortimers* absolute sway, some great personages, who did not wholy allow their doings, among which was the Kings vncle, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, whose death they shortly procured. Meane-while the more to despite and dare their ouerlookers, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*, at a Parliament holden at *Salisburie*: at which time also *Iohn* of *Eltham* the Kings Brother was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Butler* of *Ireland* Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, and sundry other of the Peeres, seeing the King * troden (as it seemed to them) vnder foot, did absent themselues, meditating ciuill armes for redresse, who notwithstanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) was reconciled: This Archbishoppe very worthily also excommunicated all such as had any hand in the sacrilegious parricide of that * noble and loiall Prelate *Walter* Bishoppe of *Exceter*, or any waies violated him, their aiders, complices or abettors whosoeuer. But after the Coronation of *Philip* the yong Queene, in another Parliament at *Winchester*, the said Earle *Edmund* was condemned for conspiring to deliuer his brother, late King of *England*, whom (likely inough by *Mortimers* practise) he was drawne into an absurd beliefe to bee still aliue. Thus, for deuising to set a dead man at liberty, this noble Earle *Edmund* the kings half vncle had his head strucken off, though from * Noone till fiue at night, hee stood at the place of death without the Castle-gates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of the Marshal-sea was sent, and did it: so little conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent aduersaries make of shedding the Roiall bloud, which by Gods iuster iudgement was not long vnreuenged.

(20) To supply which losse to the regal stemme, with a very large amends, the young Queene *Philip* at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, vpon 15. Iune, being Friday, brought forth her first begotten sonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded Acts in battell) the *Blacke Prince*. King *Edward* not long after with a small companie went into *France*, and did homage to *Philip de Valoys* for his Dutchie of *Gascoigne*.

(21) *Nemesis*, or rather Gods vengeance with swift

* *Lex Salica*, which law, as their greatest Lawyers since acknowledge, no whit concerneth the French Crowne. *Hottomani Franco-gallia. cap. 8.*

* *Chart. Original. Ed. 3. de iure suo in Reg. Gal.*

* *Tyrrel Hist. & in Edw. 2.*

King *Edward* marries *Philip* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter.

* *Tho. Walsing. in fine Edw. 2.*

* This worthy Prelate founded *Exeter Colledge*, and also *Hart-hall* in *Oxford*.

Edmund Earle of Kent the Kings vncle put to death by practise

* *Tho. Walsi. Harding.*

An. D. 1329. The Blacke Prince borne. *Adam Merim.*

The fall of *Mortimer.*

pace did now approach and ſummon *Mortimer* to a bloudie account; for the yong King addicting himſelfe to ſerious thoughts, and putting on the Man before his yeeres required, eaſily ſaw his owne perill in the others potencie. The Queene his mother (to the common diſhonour and griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to be with child by *Mortimer*, hee vpon ripe aduiſe ſodainely and aduenturouſlie ſurpriſed the proud man at Parliament holden in *Nottingham*; with whom were taken the L. *Geofrey Mortimer* his ſonne, and Sir *Simon de* * *Bedford*, who all three were ſent priſoners to the Tower of *London*, vnder a ſtrong guard. Which done, the king by common conſent of the Parliament tooke into his hands his mothers exceſſiue Dower, & put her to a narrow penſion of * one thouſand pounds by yeer, circumſcribing her within as narrow * limits for her abode, but doing her yeerely the honour and comfort of once or twice viſiting her, though otherwiſe ſcarce thinking her worthy of life, in regard of her priuacie with *Mortimer*, and his many heinous practiſes.

* *Bedford* ſaith *Adam Merimouth Hereford* ſaith *Holinſhead. Burford* ſaith *Stow.*

* *Adam Merim. Ypod. Neuſt.* **Holinſh.*

(22) Oh, what enchantments are Honour and Power to the minds of men! how ſodainely, and how ſtrangely doe they blow vp the ſame with the contempt of others, and forgetfulnes of themſelues? Certainely the fraile eſtate of mans conſtitution is clearelie ſeene in this high Lord, who drunken with felicitie, and fearing neither God nor man, fell into vtter confuſion when leaſt hee feared. The probable manner whereof is worthy the relating. There was in the Caſtle of *Nottingham* (and at this day is) a certaine ſecret way or Mine cut through a rocke, vpon which the ſaid Caſtle is built, one iſſue whereof openeth toward the riuer of *Trent*, which runnes vnder it, and the other venteth it ſelfe farre within vpon the ſurface, and is (at this preſent) called *Mortimers hole*; through this, the young King well armed, and ſtronglie ſeconded, was conducted with drawne ſwordes, by ſome his truſtie and ſworne ſeruants, (among which was that braue *Montacute*, whom his vertues vnder this King raiſed to the Earledome of *Salisbury*, &c.) vp to the Queenes Chamber, whoſe dore (ſo feareles is blinded affection) was vnſhut, and with her was *Mortimer* (the kings Maſter as the rumor ſpred him) readie to go to bed, whom with the ſlaughter of a Knight, and one or two that reſiſted) they laid hold vpon. This was not reputed a ſlender enterpriſe, in regard that in *Mortimers* retinue were not fewer (they ſay) then one hundreth and foure-ſcore Knights, beſides Eſquiers and Gentlemen.

The manner of *Mortimers* ſurpriſe at *Notingham.*

Vide Io. Stowes Annals.

(23) The cauſes for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at Weſtminſter, theſe ragged * verſes following comprehend, which without any diſparagement to their makers iudgement, might verie well haue beene in Proſe, but for breuitie and change wee haue here inſerted them.

* *Mirr of Mag.*

Fiue heinous crimes againſt him ſoone were had,
1 *Firſt that he cauſde the King to yeeld the Scot*
(To make a peace) townes that were from him got.
And therewithall the Charter called Ragman;
2 *That of the Scots hee had bribed priuy gaine.*
3 *That through his meanes S^r. Edward of Carnaruan,*
In Barckley Caſtle moſt traiterouſly was ſlaine.
4 *That with his Princes mother hee had lain,*
5 *And finally with polling at his pleaſure,*
Had robd the King and Commons of their treaſure.

But the moſt barbarous murther of the kings father, and ſpeciallie the diſhonourable peace and contract with the then profeſſed enemies of *England*, were principallie inſiſted vpon as hainous treaſon. He was after ſentence ignominiouſlie drawne to *Tyburne*, the common place of execution, then called the Elms, and there vpon the common Gallowes was as ignominiouſlie executed, hanging (by the kings commandement) two daies and two nights, a publike & gladſome ſpectacle. There died with him Sir *Simon de Bedford* Knight, & *Iohn Deuerel* Eſquier, aſwell for expiation of the late King *Edwards* death, as in complement, as it were of ſo great a mans fall, whoſe liues doe ſeldome, or neuer periſh ſingle.

(24) Now came *Scotlands* turne about to ſuffer againe moſt grieuous loſſes and afflictions, an ordinarie effect of *Childrens* gouernment, whether *Children* in age, or in diſcretion: for the Lord *Edward Baliol* hearing of King *Roberts* death, and the tender age of King *Dauid* as ſon and heire of that *Baliol*, to whom king *Edward* the firſt had adiudged the *Scotiſh* crown, with ſuch voluntaries as hee could raiſe (though his Father the Lord *Iohn* had * releaſed his claime to king *Robert*, and though King *Edward* in fauour of his ſiſter *Ioan* Queen of *Scotland*, would not openly at firſt ſupport him) embarkt himſelfe in *Yorkeſhire*, and inuaded that Realme, where, vpon his landing, he ſlew *Alexander Setoun* at *Kingorn*, and about nine hundred others, putting the reſt to flight. Not long after (that no miſchiefe might come alone) neere to the water of *Erne*, at a place called *Dupline*, where the Earles of *Mar* and *March*, with two puiſſant armies of Scots, for the defence of their yong King *Dauid* lay encamped, the ſaid Lord *Edward* (whoſe ſmall numbers, not exceeding three thouſand Engliſh, the Earles as ſecurely and as fatally contemned, as the Engliſh vnder *Edward* the ſecond had contemned the *Bruce* and his Scots) obtained of them a wonderfull victorie. *Boetius* (who neuer, or rarely, leaues any ouerthrow purely to the manhood of the Engliſh) will needs haue this diſcomfiture effected by a *Camiſado*, the *Baliol* and his Engliſh with others paſsing the water of *Erne* by a Foord in the night, when the enemy little ſuſpected it.

(25) The ſlaughter euen by his report was miſerable: for there were ſlaine (ſaith he) the Earles of *Marre* and *Carricke*, and three thouſand of the Noble, beſide Commons. Our * Writers agree that this Foord was paſſed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-riſing till three of the Clocke afternoone, and that, beſides the Earles of *Marre*, and *Carricke*, three other *Earles*, *Menteth*, *Athol*, and *Murrey*, twelue Barons, eight hundreth knights and men of Armes, beſide aboue thirteene thouſand other, loſt there their liues. Of the Engliſh there were onelie ſlaine thirty and three * Eſquiers: ſo that not without cauſe this victory was attributed rather to power diuine then humane.

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the *Scotiſh* Nation, which was in it ſelfe diuided into factions, the one for *Bruce*, the other for *Baliol*. The *Lord Edward* making vſe of his good fortune, got himſelfe to bee crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But king *Dauid Bruce* with his Queen fled into *France* to *Philip de Valois*, who raigned there, & entertained them with much compaſſion and honor, giuing them Caſtle *Galliard* for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune ſhone. Meane-time the *Scots* ſuſtained new dammages; for a prime man among them, the Lord *william Dowglaſſe*, was taken priſoner by the *Engliſh*, not without loſſe of many his men. Before which time by * no honourable meanes the new King of *Scotland* was driuen to ſeeke his ſafety by flight into *England*.

(27) King *Edward* conſidering thoſe foiles which his father had endured, and the oportunity of the time, neither holding himſelfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalfe by the predominant ſway of his mother and her Paramour *Mortimer*, as wherein hee tooke both himſelfe, and the rights of his Crowne to haue beene wronged in his minority, which in point of gouernement hee was more bound to reſpect then his Siſters eſtate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Caſtle of *Berwicke* belonged to the Crowne of his Realme; hee raiſed his power, and hauing with him *Edward* the new-crowned of *Scotland*, hee laid ſiege to that Towne and Caſtel in May. But before hee did this, there is who writes, that he ſummoned his bro-

brother in law King *Dauid* to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when *Dauid* would not yeeld to doe, nor confesse hee ought, no more then his father King *Robert*, hee made that a ground for the iustice of his warre, as reputing the Acts and releases at *Northampton* void.

(28) To the rescues of *Berwicke*, *Archimbald Dowglas* Earle of *Angus*, Gouernour of *Scotland* for King *Dauid*, came with a puissant Army, and gaue King *Edward* battell at *Halydon-hill*, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people he was vanquished and slaine. This battell deuoured in a manner all the remainders of the *Scottish* Nobles which preserued it selfe at *Dupline* by retrait, or by absence from that field. There * perished besides *Archimbald*, the Earles of *Ros*, *Sutherland*, and *Carricke*, three sonnes of the Lord *Walter Steward* (whose issue afterward raigned in *Scotland*, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of *Bruce* and *Baliol*) and at least foureteene thousand others, with the losse (say some) of one Knight, and ten other *Englishmen*. Our *Writers affirm that the *Scots* were at this battell, threescore thousand strong, and that there * were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers fiue and thirty thousand; which is not improbable, for so much as *Hector* confesseth they were stopped in their flight, and put to the sword vpon all sides without mercy.

(29) Hereupon *Berwicke* was rendred, which the King of *England* detained as a supposed parcell of his Patrimony, and dismissed the *Baliol* to the gouernment of the *Scottish* Kingdome, with sundrie Lords and others of the *English*. And now the bloudie tallies and cruell scores seemed euen betweene the two puissant (though then vnkind) neighbour-Nations, and *Edward* throughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at *Bannockshourn* by his late father, deliuering his younger yeeres from that contempt, in which his enemies might otherwise haue holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his raign, playing vpon the *English* with Truffes and Rounds; of which this one is euery where noted;

Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse,
Gay coates graceles se, make England thriftles se.

(30) As for the subornation of poisoning Earle *Thomas Randal*, and the hanging of *Sir Alexander Setons* two sonnes, contrarie to faith and law of Arms, at *Berwicke* with the like staines which * one would faine leaue vpon this victorious Prince, wee haue found no colour of warrant but his owne liberty of auouching, which therfore our freedome of not beleeuing him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would wee so farre haue touched this iarring string of discord betweene these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harms of old, may haue the more true sense of their felicity, by their new harmonicall concordance.

(31) After that the * Nobles of *Scotland* had vnanimously confirmed *Baliol* in the kingdome thereof, and sworne vnto him faith and allegiance at *Perth*, hee repaired to the King of *England* at *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*, where hee * submitted to *Edward* King of *England*, as his Father had done to *Edward* the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission, our Writers say, the *Scots* (as before they had done) fell off againe, Which auersion, or defection was augmented vpon * priuate quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betweene powerfull Competitors, and by other particular reuenges, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and battels were not slowlie prone.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the *Balliols* party hauing once had all the Holds of *Scotland* at their commandement, * fiue onely excepted, *Dumbritaine*, *Longhlesim*, *Kildrummie*, *Frewhart*, and the pile of *Lowdon*) *Edward* king of *England* hauing with him the *Balliol*, and a sufficient Army, preuailed so much, that there was no appearance of rebellion; whereupon hee tooke backe with him the Lord *Edward Balliol* late crowned king of *Scotland* (of whose sted fastnes hee was (saith *Hector*) alwaies iealous, & returned, leauing * *Dauid Cumin* Earle of *Athol*, gouernour for the parts beyond the *Scottish* sea, with sufficient force and authority (as was iudged) to take in such strengthes as yet stood out, but needed not his royall power or presence for their expugnation.

(33) The King of *England* hoping now that all was well there, had newes brought vnto him not long after, at the Parliament at *London*, that the *Scots* were out in Armes againe; whereupon hee obtaines aid of money from his Subiects for repressing their attempts, promising to goe against them in person. * The Lord *Robert Stewart*, sonne of the Lady *Marioric Bruce*, daughter of King *Robert* (vpon whose line the remainder of the Crown of *Scotland* had beene estated) was the man that first lifted vp the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action vpon a priuate iniurie done vnto him by the Earle of *Athol*) to whom diuers did adhere, though the quarrel seemed properly to be the said L. *Roberts*, for that if the *Bruces* were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of *Murray* and he were then chosen gouernours for King *Dauids* party, but by reason of the diligence and power of *Dauid* Earle of *Athol*, they were not able as yet to conuene, or effect any thing against the *English*: neuertheless it was not long before they slew the said Earle *Dauid*. At this Parliament the King of *England* purposed to * goe vpon his owne charge into the *Holy-Land*, and to send the *Archbishoppe* of *Canterbury* to deale with *Philip de Valois* King of *France*, for appointing a certaine time, wherein they two with their vnited forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of *France*, vpon the fore-mentioned title, did quickly diuert him.

(34) Mean-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King *Edward* after * *Michaelmas* marched againe into *Scotland* with an Armie, and sent his Nauie to the *Forth*: The Sea-Force whereof, spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the *Forth*, or *Scottish Sea*, and putting on land in Saint *Colms*, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacrilege, * *Hector* notes was seuerely punished, the whole Fleete being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (hee saith) that the shippe wherein the vnlawfull prize was, sunke sodainely to the Sea-ground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to * *Perth*, to order the *Scottish* affaires, whiles hee abode there, the Earle of *Murray* one of the Gouernors was taken Prisoner, who was after * deliuered vpon Exchange for the Earle of *Namur*, (whō the *Scots* by like Art had taken) or as *Hector* wil haue it, for the Earle of *Salisbury*.

(35) By the mediation of the *French*, the *Scots* had a short truce granted them. But about the end of May, the King sent his cosen the Lord *Henry*, sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, with a great Army to the aid and seruice of the Lord *Edward Balliol* King of *Scotland*, which wasted all the Countries about *Perth*; where, while they lay, the King with a very small Company came sodainely vnto them, and from thence pierced farther one way then euer his Grandfather *Edward* had done, suffering fire & death (the common furies of warre) to worke vpon all that might suffer destruction to establish a Conquest. Hee marcht vp as farre as * *Elgin* and *Buquhan*, and in his return to *Marre*, * burnt the Towne of *Aberden*, in reuenge for * Sir *Thomas Rosselin*, a Knight, whom the Towne-men thereof had slaine. The Lord *Robert Steward* had great landes in those parts, for *Murrey* and *Buquhan* were his, which also might

* *Adam Merim.*

The Lord *Robert Stewart* against he *Baliol*.

* *Hect. Boet.*

The King of *England* once more with an Armie in Scotland.

* *Ypod. Neust.*

* *Lib. 15.* Sacrilege punished.

* *Hect. Boet.*

* *Fabian* out of the *French* Stories. *Grafton.* * *Hollinsh.*

A.D. 1334. King *Edward* the fourth time in Scotland with an Armie.

King *Edwards* ouerture for the Holy Land.

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Adam Merim.* * *Hect. Boet.* * *Adam Merim.*

Belland. transf. of Hect. Boet. lib. 15. cap. 7.

might the rather moue this ſeuere proceeding: which done, King *Edward* hauing repaired ſundry Caſtles there, and leauing *Scotland* to the new King thereof with forces competent, came backe into *England*. But* at this and other times, the *Baliol*, in requitall of this aide and friendſhippe, granted to King *Edward* and his Succeſſors ſundry Caſtles, as *Edenbrough*, *Hedſtone*, *Pebles*, and two thouſannd pounds yeerely rent for the Fee-farme of *Rockſbrough*, *Iedworth*, and other places; laſt of all, his whole intereſt in ampleſt manner, reſeruing onely to himſelfe, a certaine yeerely penſion from the King of *England*.

*Notes of record taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* knight.

Creation of States.

(36) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his roiall eſtate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters then thoſe vnprofitable warres (the bodies and treaſure which were emploied and ſpent therein, being able to compaſſe farre more noble atchieuements) * created Prince *Edward* his eldeſt ſon Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the ſame ſolemnity ſix other Earles, & * twenty knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la Moore*, whoſe name hath beene often cited as an Author.

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Holinſhead.*

The French war in the yolk therof or Embrion.

(37) There was in ſpeciall credite with King *Edward*, one Sir *Robert de Artoys*, who being baniſhed by the *French* King out of thoſe parts, and made (by King *Edward*) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earneſtly (vpon hatred to the *French* King for his priuate diſcontentments) to draw him to claime the Crown of *France* as his moſt lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with ſpoiles, and treble his owne greatneſſe by the Conqueſt: The motion though by reaſon of the highneſſe and difficultie of the enterpriſe, it did not at firſt preuaile; yet at laſt by the euill fate of *France* wrought out to it ſelfe a wonderfull allowance. Many conſultations paſſing of the matter, it could not be ſo concealed, but that the ſmoake therof diſcouered the breeding fire. This in the preſent was very happy for the ſtate of *Scotland*, *which** (ſaith *Hector*) *was in appearance ſo enfeebled, that if the King of England had continued his warres, it ſhould haue come without any hope of relieſe to vtter ruine.* It was alſo a cauſe, why the *French* (who hitherto had ſupported the *Scots*, but not as if it ſo neerely concerned themſelues) put in the more fully and roundly, ſeeking by all meanes to weaken and annoy the *Engliſh*, aſwell in *Scotland*, as in *Gaſcoigne*, and where elſe ſoeuer.

Froiſhand.
Grafton.

* *Lib.15.*

The matters of Scotland for 7 or 8 yeeres ſummarily ſet down.

(38) That wee may with the leſſe confuſion, and fewer interruptions, deliuer our ſelues of the *French* warre which now approached, wee will here in one view tender vnto you the *Scottiſh* affaires, from this time for ſeuen or eight yeeres, till about the ſiege of *Calis* by King *Edward*, who was ſcarſe alighted in *England* from the former expedition, but the *Bruceã* party (vnder their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) iſſued from the Loughes, Mountaines, and other their places of retreat and faſtneſſe, to readuance their cauſe. King *Edward* once or twice ſent Armies, vnder valiant Generals to ſupport the *Baliols* poſſeſſion againſt their violence, whoſe ſucceſſe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the L. *Stewart* tooke charge for the *Brucean* ſide, and (vpon the aduantage of King *Edwards* ſlackneſſe, to finiſh his *Scottiſh* affaires, the matter of *France* ſo far preponderating it) endeauoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *Danid*. The aide of the Lord *William Dowglas* to that purpoſe was very auailable, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being ouerthrowne in a ſet battell by Sir *Thomas Berckley* at *Blackbourne*, hauing there with him *King Edwards* power. To the vp-ſhot, and as it were deciding ſtroke of theſe late miſeries, there arriued great ſtore of munition out of *France*, at ſuch time as the Lord *Robert Steward* hauing lien ten weeks at the ſiege of *Perth*, was almoſt ready to haue abandoned the ſame in deſpaire. *Perth* being rendred, the *Baliol* (whoſe the quarrell was) betooke himſelfe into *England*, hauing ſmall ſtrength of his owne in the hearts and affections of the *Scots*, who reuolted dayly from him. Vpon ſure intelligence of all theſe matters, king *Danid*, his Queene, and many honourable *French*, and *Scots*, return, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valois* put him into vnfortunate Armes againſt the *Engliſh*, the afflicted Realme of *Scotland* enioyed a kind of reſt and quiet.

The L. *Robert Stewart.*

Hect. Boet.
Geo. Buchan.
Fourden.

(39) It was not now the iuſtice of his Title to the Crowne of *France*, which onely made King *Edward* vnſheath his conquering ſword againſt the *French*; for *Philip de Valois* king of *France* iniuriouſly withheld ſundry Townes and places in *Gaſcoigne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the king of *England* had addreſſed * Ambaſſadors, though without any good ſucceſſe.

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his iuſt proceedings, the main cauſes for iuſtificatiõ of his deſign vpon *France* (whereby the cõmon cauſe againſt the Turke was neglected) himſelfe in a copious Epiſtle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth publikely declare to be theſe;

1 *His Title to the Crowne of France, which Philip de Valois vniuſtly detained, for that himſelfe, of any * Male liuing, was the neereſt in bloud to the late king Charles his vncle.*

2 *That his Agents and Ambaſſadors deſiring to put the cauſe to ciuill triall, were not onely not admitted to bee heard, but were driuen away with feare of their liues.*

3 *That the Court of the Twelue Peeres, in giuing the Crowne from him, (who was then vnder age,) did therein leaue the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their proceſſe made to his preiudice during his minority, was by all lawes void and fruſtrate.*

4 *That Philip de Valois inuaded the Dutchie of Aquitaine, which belonged to the Crowne of England, and added ſuch places and lands as hee had ſo wrongfully gotten, to thoſe which hee had as wrongfully withholden, detaining all alike.*

5 *That hee had aided and aſſiſted the Scots in their riſings againſt him, when as by reaſon of neare kindred he ſhould rather haue holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power and life it ſelfe, were hated of him*

(41) *King Edward* neuertheleſſe (knowing that words were little worth in ſuch a caſe) to ſtrengthen his quarrell with friends, by the aduiſe of his counſell, and of * his Father in law, the Lord *William* Earle of *Henault*, ſought to confederate and vnite vnto him the *High* and *Low Dutch*, Princes and people, which lay moſt commodiouſly for his vſes. But the better to hold them together, hee was aduiſed to ſeeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauare*, with whom hee made (as by the euent was manifeſt) but an * vnprofitable confederation, though for the preſent it ſeemed to ſerue his vſes with the countenance: more to his aduantage were the ſingular endeuours of ſome other his priuate inſtruments, as chiefly of *Iames de Artenile*, a wealthy Burger of *Gaunt*, one of a rare dexterity of witte, and ſo popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that he ſeemed to ſway *Flaunders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the ſpeciall diligence of this *Iaques van Artenile*, and of one * *Siger de Courtray* a Nobleman of *Flanders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of thoſe parts (whoſe chiefe enrichments depended vpon the handling of *Engliſh* wooll, as Cloth-workers, Weauers, and the like) a mighty party for the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*. This amity with *England* (as moſt profitable for the common benefite, and weale of his Country) the ſaid *Iames* moſt conſtantly ſupported to the death.

* *Grafton.*

* *Tyrrel Hiſt.*

* *Ja. Meir.*

(42) Meane-while King *Edward* (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and iudgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendſhippe, hee had for ſome yeeres before inhibited the tranſportation of his Wools; which, and for that the *Engliſh* were

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in a manner become all one with them, by king *Edwards* marriage with the Lady *Philip*, not a little aduanced the practise of *Iames* on his behalfe; which was sped at last, by occasion of * an ouerthrow giuen to the French-Flemings, who vnder the conduct of *Guy* the Bastard of *Flanders*, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholy *French*) were placed in the Isle of *Cadsant* to empeach the arriual of the English, who tooke the said *Guy*, and slew the most part of his people. This victory was atchieued in the quarrell of the king of *England* by the Earle of *Derbie*, the Lord *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Reynald Cobham*, the Lord *Walter de Manny* (an *Hennoway*) and other of the English Captaines: Of the fame and lucky fortune whereof the said D' *Arteuelt*, and other of the kings friends, made so wise and seasonable vse, by letting them see the English were able to protect them, that the *Flemings* (without any great stay) became his firme confederates, in presence of the Earle of *Gelder* at *Gaunt*, notwithstanding that at the same time the great *K.* of *France*, and their own naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

(43) But as king *Edward* was (in the mean space) wholy intent, vpon furnishing himselfe with all conuenient things fitte for his warre, (hauing Captaines and Souldiers, such as his owne noble heart could wish,) so when hee found that the industrious Dutch by their manuall labours, grew to so great strength and opulencie, that their friendshippe bred riualitie in puissant Monarches, hee, like a father, regarding the publike wealeof his Country, ordained that al Clothworkers, who would repaire hither out of forraine parts, and exercise their trades, should haue free accesse and sundry priuiledges. By which inuitation as very many were drawne, so was it the principall cause of aduancing that honest, best and most beneficiall Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, strength, and honor thereof. The English Nation was very desirous to set forward this warre, and therefore contributed plentifully, and the King made bold with Lombards, and the moueable goods of such Priories in *England*, as were Cels to Monasteries in *France*, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

(44) The warre which all this while seemed but to be talked of, did now beginne to blaze (and indeed a *blazing starre* of 30. dayes continuance, was supposed by some to foreshew it) whose first torch was lighted by the * *French* at *Southampton*, which they almost wholy consumed to ashes, but they with losse of their Captaine, (a yonger sonne to the *Sicilian* King) and about three hundreth others, * were driuen away the next morrow. The *French* had sundry shippes of warre or Gallyes, which vnder colour of passing to the *Holy-Land*, the king of *France* had (with purpose to assaile our Coasts) assembled, as the * king of *England* chargeth him: which losse, yet was not long vnrequited, either Nation grieuing other with mutuall mischiefes.

(45) To appease and extinguish this deadly quarrell, there came from Pope *Benedict* the 12. two Cardinals hither; but one of them in a speech to the Clergie, seeming to fauour the French faction; *Iohn* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* immediately stood vp, and protested, that the *Cardinals* Arguments were vaine and friuolous: whereupon they soone after departed, and it was euery where published through *England, that the King had right to the Crown of France, which also hee meant by honourable force to prosecute.* Notwithstanding, King *Edward* for auoiding Christian bloud-shed, gaue instructions to the Cardinals, that vpon certaine equall conditions, hee was willing to make an euerlasting peace with the *French*, & would haue beene verie glad (the hazards of warre considered) to haue taken any honest or proportionable offers; one impediment whereof was this, that the French would include the *Scots* within the Treatie, whom King *Edward* would not admit thereunto, as purposing (when he had singled them from supplies) to make a full and absolute annexation of their obediences to the English scepter: so the labour and hopes of the *Cardinals* proued vaine.

(46) *Philip de Valoys* in possession King of *France*, had sundry great and high motiues to embolden his standing-off. First, the regard of honour, and profite, and the abundant meanes which he had, hauing the whole puissance of *France* (the fairest kingdome vnder heauen) at his commandement. Then a confidence which hee reasonably conceiued so to diuert, or distract the English forces, by the assured aid of the *Scots*, as that it should finally ruine the whole enterprise, if not also the principall Actor *Edward* himselfe. Againe, considering the vastnes of the enterprise, hee iudged King *Edwards* wealth not to bee proportionable, but did well hope, that a short dalliance would consume his treasures. Moreouer, hee iudged perhaps, that the very thought it selfe of conquering *France*, was no better in *Edward* then a young mans dreame, considering the Realm of *England* was farre inferiour in bigneſse, and multitudes of Subiects, and that there was a Sea betweene, the crossing whereof must double the charge. Lastly, for the friends which King *Edward* had procured in *Dutchland* with wonderfull largesse, he knew, would not be held together but with infinite cost and expence, and that by some good meanes or other, hee should make them in whole, or in part vnprofitable.

The *French* kings reasons for resistance.

(47) For iustification of his cause he had no slender colours, or reasons. As the before alleadged law or custome of *France*, which they call the *Salick*, by the which the French exclude * *Gyneiocratie*, or *VVomens Gouernment* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole *French* State, by which his right was acknowledged and established. Thirdly, King *Edwards* birth place, by which hee seemed to them a stranger, and for that cause was farre the lesse capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular goodwill among the French. Lastly, for that King *Edward* in the * beginning of his raigne (though when hee was as yet vnder age,) did in his owne person, both doe his homage to this very *Philip de Valoys*, as to the king of *France*, for his Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, and also * by his Letters-Patents vnder seale did testifie as much. This homage, (the more to bee remembred because * some attribute much of K. *Edwards* discontentment to the hauty manner of *Philip* in taking the same) was performed at *Amiens* in *Picardie*. It troubled King *Edward* greatly, to see himselfe making submission to the vsurper of that Soueraignetie, which hee thought belonged to himselfe; but to let the French see what kind of Prince he was, he came in so royall maner appointed, as if he meant to haue strucken them with feare or admiration; Earles, Barons, and 1000. horse hee had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of crimson veluet, powdered with golden Leopards, his crowne on his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurres on his heeles. To receiue this Duke for the Dutchie of *Guyen* and Earledome of *Ponthieu*, *Philip de Valoys* sate crowned in violet veluet, semined with golden fillies, with all the other Ensignes of royall maiestie, but the homage was done only by word (if * one say true) and not in that full manner which *Serres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the haughty carriage of *Philip* did greatly incense the Spirit of King *Edward*, being one of the most gallant in the world.

Arguments for iustification of his resistance.

(48) There is among Writers much time, and labour spent in description of King *Edwards* iourney, stay and contracts of amity made in *Dutchland*; but in regard that no greater matter was effected thereby, then the purchase of an opinion of magnificence & nobleneſse among the Queenes Countrymen and Dutch-landers, few lines shall serue to comprehend the narration. * The King (hauing first in * Parliament prouided for the gouernance of his Kingdome) with the Queen (then great with Child)

* A.D. 1329. and An. reg. 3. *Adam Murimouth*

* *Fox. Act. & Mon. p.* 474. *Ioan de Serres Inuentaire de France. in* 50. *R.*

* *Froisard. Grafton*

* *Ex S. Edmundsbury. Walsing.*

the young Prince *Edward*, many Earles and great Captaines, with a gallant Company of men of war, *sailed to *Antwerpe*, whom *Lewis* the Emperour met at the City of *Colein*, where amity was confirmed, and King *Edward* was constituted his Lieutenant, with full authority to gouerne in his name on this side *Colein*. By reason of which Vicegerencie King *Edward* * made out his commandements, and did many things to his aduantage and profit. Howsoeuer it neither lasted long (for *Lewis* within a while dishonourably reuoked it,) and did vndoubtedlie scarce quit the cost: for the brauery of that meeting was so exceeding great, as *Edward* easily wan the generall opiniõ of a very noble & puissant king. * *Polydor* writes, that *Edward* refused not the office, yet would not exercise the same, because he would not displease Pope *Benedict*, whose enemy the *Bauarian* was.

* *In Italy.*

* *Fabian*

* *Hister. Lib. 19.*

The King of *Englands* prerogatiue. *Tho. Walsm.*

(49) This Emperour (whõm belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himselfe) tooke it ill, (as report went) that the King of *England* humbled not himselfe (at their meeting) to the kisse of his foot. But it was answered; that the King of *England* was a King annointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to submit himselfe, so much as an other King that was not annointed. After his returne to *Antwerpe* with his new power, hee seriously prosecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of *Dutchland*, among whom (with great loue and fauour) he and his royall family abode aboue an whole yeere. The principall Nobles which entred into this league against the French were these. *The Archbishoppe of Colein Prince Elector; The Duke of Brabant; The Duke of Gelderland, (who had married the Lady Isabel King Edwards owne sister, and about this season was of an Earle created a Duke; The Marquesse of Gulick, &c. And finally, the Hanse townes.*

(50) The Flemings, being the most necessary part of this association, in regard of their neerenes to the *French*, would not engage themselues in an offensiue warre against the Crowne of *France*, vnlesse King *Edward* would first assume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the onely lawfull King therof. This Proposition was throughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, hee with the common assent of the Flemings and others, tooke the Stile, and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopards, or Lions of *England*, as here we see annexed; albeit wee see his former Seale also adorned with two Lize or Lillies; whether in token of his mothers French descent, or as a couert note of his own right to the French crown it is vncertaine.

(51) *Polydor* * *Virgil* must haue a warie and fauourable Reader, or hee will bee thought to bee of opinion, that *William* the *Conqueror* bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more vntrue, nor more vnlikely. Others againe may suppose, that we haue not here described them according to their right bearing, as certainly according to their present bearing wee haue not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of *France*, which now are borne in triangle, were in those dayes born, and aduanced *Semi*.

* *In Guliel. 1. l. 9*

The Armes of *England* set before those of *France* at the first. Sir *Robert Cotton* hath such a seale of Q. *Isabel.*

(52) And whereas the Armories of *France* are placed here in the *dexter* and more honorable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not so at this their first coniunction For in the * Seale of Queen *Isabel* (this King *Edwards* mother) the Armories of *England*, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to haue precedence) were marshalled where now the Flower de Luces shine. But whether to gratifie the French, or because that was the more ancient and greater Monarchie, they were in this Kings raigne disposed as here we see.

(53) When King *Edward* had thus assumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, hee published the same vnder his seale, setting the name of *England* first, and sent his *Letters Patents* to the frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them vpon the dores of Churches, aswell to declare the right and reason of his doings, as to exempt such from the danger of the comming storme, who vpon this notice would acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soueraigne. These proclamations or admonishments thus diuulged, he burnt and spoiled the North parts of *France* vp as farre as * *Turwin*, though the time of the yeere were very vnseasonable, and contenting himselfe therewith for a beginning, gaue place to the sharpenesse of Winter, returning to the Queen his wife at *Antwerpe* where hee kept a roiall Christmas. In which City this yeere was *Lionel* (afterward Duke of *Clarence*) borne.

(54) His affaires growing ripe in those parts, he leaues his Queene and Children in *Brabant*, as an assured pledge of his returne, and about Candlemas shippes himselfe for *England*; where in a Parliament at *Westminster*, he obtained liberall aids for supportation of his intended Conqueſt. In lieu of which louing assistances, hee granted a generall large pardon both for trespasses, and of all *Aides* for making his sonne Knight, and for *marriage* of his daughter during all his time; forgiuing also all arrerages of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth yeer of his Raigne, and all old debts due to any of his Predecessors. Finally, hee confirmed that famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forest* with some other.

(55) There was no talke now but of conquering *France*; Musters taken throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and trades of warre (to be cherished euen in the secureſt peace) were full of employment, and the desire of battell waxt feruent euery where.

Meane-

Meane while to hold the world in ſuſpenſe of the ſucceſſe, God diſtributed the fortune of attempts diuerſly. *Burdeaux* (the capitall City of *Aquitaine*, and then *Engliſh*) gaue an excellent teſtimony of her loyalty, nor leſſe of martiall witte and valour. For the French Armie comming before her, ſhe to abuſe their hope, ſet open her gates, and diſplayed vpon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if ſhee were theirs; but the *French* which ſecurely entred, found little good hoſpitality. Sir *Oliuer de Ingham* was Captain and Lord Warden there for King *Edward*, who with his Garriſon-Souldiers, and aide of the inhabitants, ſlew of them great multitudes, and preſerued *Burdeaux*. But in the oppoſite parts, *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*,* after many honourable deedes performed for aduancement of King *Edwards* affaire, were by the French taken Priſoners, while preſuming too much vpon their courages and fortune, they * ran too far into their danger, at the Towne of *Lile* in *Flanders*.

(56) But King *Edward* being ready now to repaſſe the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in wait about *Sluice* in *Flanders*, to intercept him with a mighty Nauie of 400. ſhippes; who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. He ſet ſaile from *Harwich* vpon Saint *Iohn Baptiſts Eue*, toward the Coaſt where his enemies attended, ſtrengthning himſelfe with the Northerne Nauie of *England*, which the L. *Robert Morley* brought vnto him, ſo as hee had in all about two or three hundreth ſaile. His battels hauing the aduantages of windes and ſunne, hee ſet on the French with incredible furie and force, in the very mouth of the Hauen of *Sluice* vpon Midſommer day, where beganne a moſt bloudy and terrible fight, the end whereof ſet the Garland vpon King *Edwards* head. Himſelfe was * wounded in that fight, and loſt * foure valiant Knights (*Monthermer*, *Latimer*, *Boteler*', *Poynings*) with ſundrie other of his Engliſh ſlaine therein. But the ſlaughters of the French party were lamentable, for thirty thouſand are confeſſed to haue periſhed, not halfe of their ſhippes eſcaped vntaken or vnſuncke. A greater glory then this, the Engliſh are ſcarſe found to haue atchieued at any battell at ſea.

(57) The Crowne of *France* ſeemed already to bee placed vpon King *Edwards* Temples, ſo much was attributed to this great victory, but ſuch a Conqueſt was not the worke of one day. Which King *Edward* well vnderſtanding, refreſhed his victorious Armie, and augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all ſides) marched forth, hauing one of the moſt puiſſant hoſts that euer any King of *England* led, as wherein were neere an hundreth thouſand Souldiers *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*. Hee had alſo in his Company the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelder*, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as * ſome write) the imperiall Eagles diſplayed in the head of his Armie, as hee that was Vicegerent of the ſacred Roman Empire. In this wiſe hee approached the Northerlie parts of *France*, where expoſing all to ſpoile & fire, he ſate downe with his whole Forces about *Turney*, meaning to take in the ſame, aſwell to bee a ſeate of Warre, as place of ſure retreat and refuge.

(58) *Philip*, though iuſtly grieued with his wofull loſſe ſuſtained at Sea, yet to encounter, and cruſh ſo great an euill in the firſt approaches thereof, had prouided ſuch an Armie, as beſeemed the Maieſtie and greatneſſe of that renowned Kingdom. Writers ſpeake of an hundreth thouſand fighting men aſſembled vnder his command, and that beſides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illuſtrious Perſons, there was the valiant old King of *Bohemia*, and * *Lewis* king of *Nauarre*. K. *Edward* hearing the ſame, drew forth his people into the open field with purpoſe to giue battell:

(59) It may ſeeme a thing greatly tending to King *Edwards* glory, to remember the * offer which hee ſent to King *Philip* before hee laid his ſiege to *Turney*. In which, without ſaluting him by any other title then of *Philip* of *Valois*, hee challengeth him, for auoiding the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, to fight with him hand to hand in ſingle battell; or (if that miſliked) then each to bring an hundreth to the field, and trie the euent with ſo ſmall an hazard; or otherwiſe, within ten dayes to ioyne full battell with all their forces neere to *Turney*. Whereunto *Philip* made no direct anſwere, neither with his honour could, alledging that the letters were not ſent to him, *the King of France*, but barely to *Philip* of *Valois*. Neuertheleſſe, hee gaue him to vnderſtand, that his meaning was to beat him out of *France*, hauing hope in Chriſt (from whom hee deriued his power) ſo to doe.

(60) The honour of the warre in thoſe ages cannot bee enough commended, in which the noble old formes of hoſtility were put in practiſe, by defiances, Heraldes, and publike aſſignations of day and place of fight, and not by skulking ſurpriſes and vnder-hand ſtealthes, more neerely reſembling high-way robberies, then lawfull battell.

(61) Theſe two huge hoaſts (which had they beene vnited for the good of Chriſtendome, might haue worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in ſight, and the cloud of warre ready in a manner to diſſolue it ſelfe into ſhowers of bloud, doe neuertheleſſe without one ſtroke fall off, and returne to their ſeuerall Countries, not without the wonder and reioicement of peaceable men, but not of the Engliſh and German Souldiers, who propounded to themſelues death with glory, or riches by Conqueſt and victory, who now had ſcarſe their wages.

(62) It is not meet that the name of that perſon who did performe ſo bleſſed an office, ſhould bee concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time a profeſſed * Nunne in the Abbey of *Fontenels*) the Lady *Iane* of *Valois*, ſiſter to this *Philip*, widdow of *William* late Earle of *Henault*, and mother to King *Edwards* wife; her charitable endeauors were ſtrongly holpen by * two Cardinals, who ſollicited peace together with her. Great intereſt of mediation ſhe had in either reſpect, here a brother, there a ſonne in law, and ſhee failed not to plie them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King *Philip* was aduiſed from all parts, not to ſet his whole fortunes vpon the Die and chance of a Battell. And *Edward* (on the other ſide) meaning nothing leſſe, then not to haue proſecuted the war vpon the encouragement of his late Sea-victorie, was ſo deſtitute of money through the fault of his Officers in *England*, as hee was the ſooner drawne, if not enforced to embrace ſo honeſt a colour of returning from the ſiege of *Turney*; which neuertheleſſe did but deferre the miſeries of *France*, not determine them: & whereas that glory, which the vpper hand in this iourney would haue brought, could not haue beene pure and meere vnto him, becauſe the *Dutch* (whoſe aide hee vſed) would haue claimed no ſmall ſhare therein, the Engliſh Cheualrie onely had the name and burthen of ſuch great Acts as after followed.

(63) The chiefe Articles of the truce were; That it ſhould endure till Midſommer day then next enſuing, and that the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty without any ranſome on both ſides, vpon condition to render themſelues againe, or pay their ſeuerall ranſomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this treaty and truce, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* were deliuered. Here it troubled our * *Walſingham*, that King *Edward* ſhould bee left ſo deſtitute, and needy by the auarice or fraud of his officers at home, as for that reſpect to giue ouer ſo faire an oportunity, by which hee might as it were by a continued line, and by inſiſting and preſſing vpon the ſteppes of his late ſucceſſe,

* Tho. Walſ.

* Serui.

* Tyrrel. Hum.

The chief points of the Truce.

* Walſingham.

ceſſe haue happily proceeded, when as yet his friends were vncorrupted, and in preſence; and therefore bemones the vnworthineſſe thereof towards ſo worthy a Prince, adding; *That if in very deed they had ſcanned and exactly weighed with themſelues the Acts of all the Engliſh Kings paſt from the very firſt Monarch, they would not haue found that euer this Iland brought forth a Prince of ſuch excellency at ſo * vnripened yeeres.*

*Walſing.

*28 Annorum.

(64) *King Edward* greatly diſcontented with ſuch of his officers, through whoſe default he was thus in a manner conſtrained to let ſlip the preſent proſecution of his deſigne, returned with his Queen into *England*, to take reuenge of their miſdemeanors, where hee committed * ſome to priſon, put others from their places, and ſo beſtirred himſelfe, that by occaſion thereof much diſpleaſure grew betweene the King and *Iohn Archbiſhoppe* of *Canterbury*, who complained of *manifeſt violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and Engliſh Nation, comprehended in Magna Charta.* And whereas the King did openly charge the Archbiſhoppe to haue beene a principall perſwader of his entring into league with the Almaines againſt the *French, willing him to take no care for treaſure, becauſe himſelfe would ſee him abundantly furniſhed from England, out of the leuie of granted Subſidies, and profits of the Crown*: and that through defect of the Archbiſhoppes performance, hee was not onely conſtrained to giue ouer his hold for the preſent, but alſo to embogge himſelfe in the Bankers and Vſurers bookes, the Archbiſhoppe thereunto made anſwere: *That hee deſired in open Parliament it might appeare, through whoſe default the City of Tournay was not taken, and directly laid the whole blame from himſelfe and from his, vpon ſuch as were dayly Courtiers,* (whom *Walſingham* calls *Anglici regij, Engliſhmen for the King*) *who ſeruing their owne turnes with the generall abuſe, would expoſe him and his vniuſtly to the enuy of their fact.* Yea, ſome there are, who, more then ſo, will haue the Archbiſhop ſeeme to practiſe againſt the kings farther good fortunes in *France*; which, if it be true, it is no hard matter to find out the principall motiue thereunto.

Punishment of officers that had abuſed the King in his treaſure.

*Rob. Auesbur.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* accuſeth the Courtiers.

(65) For certainely the Pope (*Benedict* 12.) was nothing pleaſed with the ſucceſſes of *Edward*, at leaſt wiſe with the war it ſelfe, as pretending it was pernicious to Chriſtendome; the blame wherof the *French* charged vpon the *Engliſh*, as vnlawfully claiming, as the *Engliſh* did vpon the *French* for vnlawfully detaining. This Pope therefore interpoſeth himſelfe, and puts * *Flanders* vnder *Interdict*, as hauing diſloyally left their own Earle, and their chiefe Lord *Philip*, King of *France*, contrarie to their Oath and Allegiance; but they for their defence and iuſtification anſwered, that *Edward* was the onely lawfull King of *France*, and *Philip* (to whom they had ſworn) a meere *vſurper*, and therefore notwithſtanding that Interdict, or the Papall deciſion of the controuerſie, they perſiſted ſtill in their adherence.

Flanders interdicted for hauing left her Earle and the *French*.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

The Vicarſhip of the Empire taken from King *Edward*.
A.D. 1342.

(66) But the more to draine and weaken the mighty ſtreame of the *Engliſh* ſupportations, *Lewis* of *Bauar* the Emperour, ſodainely (by ſuch practiſes as were vſed on behalfe of the *French*) recalled his Vicar-ſhippe or delegation, which hee had made to *Edward*, to exerciſe imperiall power in lower *Germanie*, offering his beſt helpe notwithſtanding, (as hauing power from *Philip* to that purpoſe,) to procure him honorable conditions as a Mediator betweene them: The pretence of his falling from King *Edward*, and concluding amitie with his enemie, was for that King *Edward* without his priuitie, had conſented to a Truce at the City of *Tourney* with *Philip*.

King *Edwards* anſwere to *Lewis* Emperour.

(67) To theſe reuocatorie lines King *Edward* "made this wiſe and noble anſwere; That the Em-"perours zeale to make attonement hee could not "but greatly commend, wiſhing, that at the inſtance "of ſo potent a Mediator, an honourable Peace (if "that were poſſible) might bee made; but his Title "being cleare enough, he meant not to make doubt-"fall by putting it to any arbitration. That it could "not but bee admired, why he ſhould now enter a-"mitie with *Philip de Valoys* the wrong-doer, ſith, ha-"uing ſeene his apparent right, hee had entred with "him into league againſt the ſaid *Philip*: That it was "alſo agreed, that he might conclude any tempora-"rie Truce (though not a finall accord) without his "conſent, if need ſhould be, as in this caſe at *Turney* "it was. That this reuocation ſeemed to bee made "ſomewhat abortiuely, for ſo much as the *Imperia-"liſts* had promiſed the Vicar-ſhippe ſhould ſtand "good till hee had conquered *France*, or the greater "portion thereof. Dated thus; *Londini, Anno regni noſtri Francia*, 2. *Regni verò noſtri Anglia*, 15. But *Lewis* of *Bauar* to *Edward* thus * inconſtant, and faith-breaking, continued toward *Philip* ſtedfaſt, without either amending *Philips* fortunes thereby, or himſelfe increaſing in Iuſtice or honeſtie, that it might eaſily bee ſeene hee was endued with qualities, which ill became the Imperiall height.

*Adam Mariſ. in Edw. 3.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(68) You haue heard a part of great king *Edwards* victorious fortunes in battell, both by land and ſea; bee not ignorant of his *Pietie* (the ſoueraigne ornament and ſafety of Soueraigne Princes,) whereof in one act of his wee will tender vnto you in the ſtile of that age an Eſſay and taſte. He hauing a purpoſe to purſue his enterpriſe for *France*, after ſundry Chriſtian and holy conſiderations of Gods iudgements, and of his owne eſtate and rightfull cauſe, he turnes his ſpeech to his Biſhoppes in theſe words. *Cum "igitur conſtituti ſitis, &c.* Seeing therefore you are "ordained of God on the behalfe of men, that you "ſhould offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſinne, liſten wee "beſeech you to the premiſſes, and not to our on-"ly, but to the publike dangers, powring forth "prayers to the moſt high for our happy ſucceſſe, "ſupplying the place of *Moſes*, ſo that wee and ours "may preuaile againſt aduerſaries, in the lifting of "your hands to heauen; and that God would bee "the rather pleaſed to enlarge his fauour towards "vs, (the number of Interceſſors being multiplied,) "cauſe preachings and proceſſion and other offices "of appeaſing his diſpleaſure, to be mercifully exer-"ciſed through our Cities and Dioceſſes, that the "God of mercies would extend ouer vs, and our Ar-"mies the hand of his Benediction, and ſo direct our "Acts in his good pleaſure, that they may redound "to his glory and our profite, and to the commodi-"ty and quiet of all our faithfull Subiects. This *o Edward*, was indeed to beginne at the right end; for euen the Heathen taught, * *to beginne with God*, and thy following ſucceſſes declared that thy prayers were acceptable.

Publike inuocations of the Biſhops by the King.

* Ab incepto.

(69) And now once againe the *French* and *Engliſh* powers were at point to trie their fortunes by battell, vpon ſiding with others Claimes, as erſt they had done for their owne. The quarrell was founded vpon a title to the Dutchie of little *Britaine*. *Arthur* Duke thereof had two wiues; by *Beatrix* his firſt wife, hee had two ſonnes, *Iohn* (afterward Duke) & *Guy*; and by *Iolant* his ſecond wife, he had *Iohn* of *Montfort*, Duke *Iohn* liuing without Iſſue, aſſured to *Iane* (daughter of his brother *Guy* who died before him) the Ducall Crowne of little *Britaine*: vpon which entaile, *Charles* of *Bloys* (Nephew to *Philip* King of *France*) marrieth the Lady *Iane*, who in the life time of Duke *Iohn*, was (by agreement) put into full poſſeſſion: but Duke *Iohn* being once dead, *Iohn* of *Montfort* raiſeth warre as the ſuruiuing heire male. *Philip* King of *France* tooke part with *Charles of Bloys*, and *Edward* king of *England* with the Lord *Iohn* of *Montfort*.

(70) Great and bloudie miſchiefes ſprang out of theſe ſtrongly ſupported factions, which had now drawne king *Edward* thither in perſon; and little *Britaine* (which may well in a ſort bee called *Wales* in *France*, the *Britons* chiefly the *Britons Britonant*, or ruder *Britons*, declaring at this preſent by their language, and ſundry locall Names, as *Lanion, Triguier*, &c.

A kind of *Wales* in *France*.

&c. That their kinſmen are in *Wales* and *Cornwall*) was become the field of *Mars* and martiall furies. But the powers of thoſe two mightie Kings being vpon point, before the City of *Nants* in high *Britaine*, to cut out their diuers ſhares in fortunes Patrimony, with the edge of the ſword, loe againe God inclined their hearts (as if he would faine haue done nothing but ſhew his vengeance in the ſcabbard) by the carefull diligence of two Cardinals, to accept of a truce, which was concluded Ianuary the 19. at the Priory of *Maleſtret*, vpon ſundry points, whereof theſe (as to the purpoſe of our Story) are the principall.

(71) That the two Kings of *England* and *France* ſhould ſend certaine of their blood royall to the Court of *Rome* (by a day certaine) there to argue their ſeuerall titles, and rights to the French Monarchy, not as before a *Iudge*, but as a *friend** indifferent to both, and that the King of Scots, and the Earle of *Henault*, ſhould likewiſe ſend to giue their aſſent for ſo much as concerned them.

(72) That eithers friends, adherents, and ſequels, ſhould be comprehended in the truce, and that the truce ſhould extend it ſelfe to the titlers in *Britaine* and their ſides; and that the Cardinals ſhould doe their beſt to obtaine abſolution from the ſentence of Interdict executed vpon the Countrey of *Flaunders*.

(73) That the truce ſhould continue for three yeeres; that priſoners or moueables taken on either ſide ſhould be mutually diſcharged; that traffique and paſſages ſhould bee open; and that all other things ſhould ſtand as they did at the time of the truce made: which being fairely engroſſed in an* Inſtrument, two great Peeres of each part, took oathes vpon perill of the ſoules of their Kings, to obſerue the contents ſincerely.

(74) The poſſeſſion of the City of *Vannes* in baſe *Brittain*, the Engliſhmen ſtill kept, that (if ſetled peace followed not vpon this truce) they might haue ſome hold and certaine footing-place, from whence to make head againe, and march into the heart of *France*. In this warre *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, a principall inſtigatour of King *Edward*, died of a wound, and *Iohn* of *Montford* did not long ouer-liue this truce, after whoſe death moſt part of *Britaine* came into the hands of * *Charles* of *Blois*.

(75) King *Edward* returning home after the Truce, neglected not his domeſticke affaires, but enacted the *Statute of Prouiſors*, vpon this occaſion. Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* the 6. ſucceeded; a man of *ſingular learning, but* extreemely profuſe in giuing, who, by way of *Prouiſion*, had beſtowed ſundry choice Benefices in *England* vpon Forreiners. For preuention whereof (as of a thing which the King and Peeres would not endure,) it was made *high Treaſon* by law, for any to bring ſuch Papall prouiſions into the Kingdome. And for iuſtification of his ſo doing, he directed that* letter vnto the Pope which was ſo * excellently pend, as did not onely moue admiration, but aſtoniſhment; and indeed this pruned age affords few ſo graue and ſolide. In which Parliament alſo the Lord *Edward*, the Kings eldeſt ſonne, was created Prince of *Wales*. He was ſo renowned a Gentleman, (why doe we ſay he was, as if he could at any time ceaſe to be, whom fame hath made immortall?) that the high praiſe before giuen by *Walſingham* to his father, *as * excelling all the Princes which went before him*, may be paralelled in the Sonne, as ſurpaſsing in martiall deeds, all the Princes that haue liued after him.

(76) His noble father King *Edward* (who had ſtill his eie fixed vpon *France* as the marke of his Conqueſt) hauing notice among other things, by a meſſenger from the Pope, that *Lewis* of *Bauer* had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe, and was fully abſolued from all cenſures, with confirmation vnto him of the Imperiall diademe: the King, (that you may by his courage know him worthie of ſuch a ſonne,) brake irefullie forth into theſe words. Though *Lewis* take the French kings part, I will fight with them both. And whither he were inuited with the fame of King *Arthurs* Table, and the Knights aduenterous thereof, or for that he knew honourable Company and exerciſe in Armes, to be the naturall parents of excellent ſouldiers, it is agreed, that he erected a building at his Caſtle of *Windſore*; which ſhould be called the *Round Table*, whoſe circumference was ſixe hundred foot, where Knights and men of warre ſhould haue their entertainement of diet, at his charge by one hundred pounds by the weeke, though afterward through occaſion of his warres he abated that ſum to twenty pounds weekely. In emulation whereof, *Philip de Valoys* (knowing that all this tended but to preparations againſt him,) erected the like in his Court, to inuite the Knights and men at Armes of *Almain* and of *Italie* from repairing to King *Edward*. One thing *Philip* did ſhrewdly and politickly, in giuing leaue to his ſubiects to fell downe his woods freely for building of *Ships*, whereby his Nauie was greatly augmented, and the rather wrought much miſchiefe afterward. About this time one of the chiefe ſtarres in the firmament of the Engliſh Cheualry fell into the Graue, *William Montacute* King of *Man*, and marſhall of *England* of * whoſe noble acts to write worthilie were a commendable matter.

(77) But the French King, perceiuing that a terrible tempeſt was likely to fall vpon him from forth of *England*, waxed cruell in his iealouſie, and* put ſundry principall men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Guien* to death, for no other crime, but that they were Engliſh in affection; among whom are reckoned Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon*, * *Bacon*, *Perſie*, and *Geoffrey* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt note; Sir *Godfrey* of *Harecourt* brother to the Earle of *Harecourt* being alſo ſummoned to *Paris*, appeared in *England*, whither he fled, and became a ſpeciall firebrand in the approaching combuſtion.

(78) It was not Pope *Clements* mediation, or diligence in diſcuſsing the Titles and Pretences of theſe two puiſſant Monarkes, which could preuent the fatall puniſhment of *France*, yet according to the Articles of the treatiſe at *Maleſtroict*, either Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the difficulties roſe ſo thicke and intricate, as *Clement** diſpairing to cleare them, put ouer their farther view till another time. But King *Edward* affirming the truce to be manifeſtly broken, * by the beheading & perſecuting of his friends in *Normandy* & elſwhere, ſignifies ſo much to the Pope, that Battel and not Parlance ſhould determine his right, and title. His prouiſions of men, of ſhips, of weapon, of victuals, of treaſure, of all things, needfull to ſo braue and daring an enterprize, were worthy of the greatneſſe, courage, ſtrength, riches, and maieſty of a King of *England*. Into *Gaſcoigne* he ſends that valiant great Lord *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby*, with a gallant company of leaders and troups of ſouldiers, where he atchieued many great things, for the defence and enlargement of that Dutchie, taking Cities, Caſtles and Townes of which *Iohn* the French Kings eldeſt ſonne recouered diuers not long after; and diſcomfited the enemy in battell. The Scots attempting againſt the Weſt Marches of *England*, by the vigilancy and proweſſe of ſuch as were in truſt for thoſe parts, as the Biſhop of *Carlil*, the Lords *Percie*, *Neuile*, and *Lucie*, very valiant gentlemen, were forced to * retire into *Scotland*. It was the practiſe of either Prince to diuert, and diſtract eithers puiſſance, we *Philips* in *Gaſcoigne*, and hee ours, by his perpetuall, and conſtant confederates, the Scots. Our *Edward* notwithſtanding could doe it the leſſe, for that his conſtant friend *Iaques van Arteweld* (who was become as it were the popular Tribune of *Flanders*) was * ſlaine in a mutiny by ſuch as were of the French faction.

(79) *Edward* not being able to recall his ſlaine friend

A.D. 1344

*Ypod. Neuſt.

Round Tables erected for men at armes.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

*Sarra.

*Polyd. Verg. lib. 19.

King *Edward* declares the truce with *France* broken.

*Polyd. Verg.

*Tho. Walſin.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

*Iacob. Meir.

The most noble order of the Garter instituted

friend to life, gaue life notwithstanding about this time to an inuention, which as for the present it serued (he hauing so great vse thereof for his *French* enterprises) as a vehement Incentiue to martiall valour, and a golden band of vnitie, so the same is continued with likelihood of perennity, and multiplication of splendor in these our daies. It was the foundation of the *English* order, worthily called the most noble order of the Garter. The causes why our *Edward* erected it, are not euident, though there could none be greater or better, then those before recited; Honor expressed by externall and illustrious ensignes, deuised by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellowshippe of most exemplar and eminent persons, being in nature like a flame, to kindle in the apt and worthy, al heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatsoeuer the remoter causes were which moued to this foundation, the neere cause, or the occasion was, a Garter of his owne Queene (or as *some say) of the Lady *Ioan*, Countesse of *Salisburie* (wonder of that age for shape and beautie) which slipping off in a dance, king *Edward* stooped and tooke vp. Such of the Nobles as were present, smiling, and * playing in sport with that action of the Kings, as amouros, hee seriously said, it should not be long before *there should Soueraigne honour be done to that silken tie.* Whereupon hee afterward added the *French* Motte, or Symbolicall word HONI SOIT QVI MALY PENSE, aswell in complement of the whole inuention, as in retort or checke of his Courtiers sinister suspition. *Polydor Virgil* troubleth himselfe to make an Apologie for the courseneſſe of this Originall, if (without iniurie) an office of honorable loue in so renowned a Monarch, may vndergoe the note of courseneſſe; but the same *Polydor* among his other defences therof truly saith;

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

A.D. 1350. An.Reg. 24. The Patent of the foundation beares date 22. Reg. *Edw.* 3. saith *Stow*, who neuertheleſſe placeth the first feast thereof at this yeare.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Barksh.*

* *Ioeuse cauillationibus, Polyd. Virg. l. 19 in Edw. 3.*

There want not some who coniecture, that he entituled it the Order of the Garter, for that in a battell wherein he was victorious, hee had giuen the word Garter, for the word or signe. But if credite may be attributed to the originall * Booke of the Institution, the inuention is deduced from times more ancient, "and that when *Richard* the first King of *England*, set "forward against the Turks and Sarazens to *Cyprus* "and *Acon*, and waxed wearie of longer delay, while "the siege of *Acon* was with wonderfull care protra- "cted, courage at the length (by the comming of S. "*George* among them as it was thought) quickning "in him, it came into his mind to tie about the legs "of certaine his choice Knights, a Garter or small "thong of leather, the onely stuffe fitte for such a "purpose, which hee had then at hand, to the in- "tent that they (as it were by ioint consent) being "mindfull of future glory, if they were victorious, "might bee stirred vp, to demean themselues nobly "after the example of the Romans, with whome "that varietie of Crownes or Garlands giuen for "sundry causes as honourable Ensignes to the Soul- "dier was in vse; to the intent, that by such incite- "ments, they might shake off sloath, and the spirite "of courage might rise, and breake forth the more "feruently.

* *Praet D. Gulielmum Dethick, Equitem auratum, olim Garter, principalem Armorum Regem. Cambden in Brit.*

(80) And into this opinion of stirring vp vertue thereby, the * Author of the *Britannia* seemeth to passe, where hee saith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to * *adorn Martiall vertue with honors, rewards and splendor.*

* *Cambden.*

* *Vt militarem virtutem honoribus, præmijs atque splendore decoraret*

(81) There was in the Castle of *Windsor* (the ordained seat of the Order now first to be consummated) before King *Edward* did accomplish his intention, in honour of God, * our Lady, and *S. George*, a * Chappell erected by King *Henry* the first, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whose Colledge this Prince added a Deane, fifteene Canons more, and twenty and foure poore impotent Knightes, with other officers and seruants, as appeareth by his Charter. These were to pray for the good estate of the Soueraigne and Brethren of the most noble Order. The Soueraigne and Knights themselues had their particular lawes and constitutions, which they were by solemn oath bound to obserue, of which one * was, *That they should defend and assist one the other:* which afterward made *Alphonse* Duke of *Calabria* receiue the habite of that Order with so exceeding reuerence at *Naples*, as erroniously thinking himself secured therby from the *French*, who claimed that Kingdome. But that custome of mutuall assistance (saith * *Polydor*) was then worne out of vse, and discontinued euery where; for those *Italian Potentates* who (within the memory of *Polydor*) being driuen forth of their Country, and imploring aid of those orders, whereof themselues were companions, found no supporture, either from the *French* or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Besides laws and Officers, King *Edward* also deuised particular Ceremonies & distinctiue habites and enlignements, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the *French* Motte of the Order was wrought in letters of gold, and the Garter it selfe fastned a little vnder the left knee with a buckle of gold, in * token of Concord. There are speciall Manuscript Bookes of the Constitutions, and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their recapitulation) wee must referre the curious. Saint *George* the * esteemed patterne of Christian fortitude, is intituled to the Patronage of this Order, & the beauteous Chappell in *Windsor* Castle (where his * day is yeerely celebrated) consecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this inuention hath beene such, that the most mighty Princes of the Christian world haue thought themselues most highly honoured, in being chosen thereunto, so that there haue beene about two and twenty forraine Emperors and Kings (besides many others of most noble quality) since the first institution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of *England* are in their seuerall times Soueraignes of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumscribed in twenty and six, whereof the Soueraigne is one. The names of the first twenty and sixe (who are also styled Founders of the Order) you shall finde intabled in our Mappe of *Barkeshire.*

* *Camd. vbi supra*
* *Stow in Edw. 3*

(82) Our *Edward** hauing thus honoured *S. Georges* memory, assigned to his Image mounted in Armour vpon Horsebacke a siluer Shield with a crosse Gules (* *the deare remembrance of his dying Lord*) and * appointed his Souldiers to weare white coats or lackets, with a red Crosse before and behind ouer their Armor, that it was not onely a comely, but a stately sight to behold the *English* battels, like the rising Sunne to glitter farre off in that pure hew; when the Souldies of other Nations in their baser weedes could not bee discerned. The glory therefore of this Order seemed such to one, no * vnlearned Poet, that in an Apostrophe to *Windsor*, speaking of the Garter, hee breakes forth into these scarse Hyberbolicall verses.

- *Cappadocis quanquam sis clara Georgi*
Militia, &c.

Far spreads thy fame, wherewith S. Georges knights
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-robed Peeres,
Whose manly legs the golden garter *dights,*
Combine that light which through all landes appeares.
That now Burgundians *scorne their* Fliece of Gold;
The French, *th'* Escalopt Collar *set with grace;*
Their Crosled weeds, Rhodes, Elba, Alcala, *hold*
As worthlesse: all macht with thy George, *are base.*

(83) Let vs not dwell too long in the lesser things: It was the moneth of Iulie, and King *Edward* was now vpon the Sea with about a thousand Saile,

* Saile. No man is said to know whether he bent his course, so well he could trust himselfe, and so wisely free his Councels from the possibility of discouerie. He went not to warre by rote, but by book; *wisdome* was Herbenger and marshall of his valour; who shall say he knew not how to conquer? It was not long but he came to anchor in the Hauen of *Hogy Saint Vast*, in *Constantine*, a great cape of land or penile in *Normandy*. His* land forces did muster twenty and fiue hundred horse, and thirty thousand foote, most of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Armie, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about sixteene yeers old, who was then by his father knighted) many braue Earles, Lords, Knights, and expert Cheifs, the English going cheerefullie, as hauing gotten such a King as answered their warlike dispositions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Nauy: himselfe takes seuere reuenge for the blood of his friends vpon the Norman Townes and people, protesting he sacrificed them * to *Clisson, Baro, Percie*, and the rest. Their heads were set vpon the chiefe Gate of *Carentine*, for which cause hee slew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole town into Cinders gaue it to their funerall. He tooke the populous and rich City of *Caen*, & with his dreadfull host burning and spoiling round about, marched vp almost as farre as the very walles of *Paris*, brauing King *Philip* so neere.

(74) Who had not slept all this while, but was * pursueied of one of the fullest armies which euer were seene in *France*. King *Edwards* people rich with spoile seemed not vnwilling to return. They were now in the enemies Country between the two good riuers of *Sein* and *Some*, for they had passed the *Sein* at *Poissie*, whose Bridge (as all other betweene *Roan* and *Paris*) had beene broken downe by the *French*, and now (notwithstanding any opposition) in a short space repaired. It was thought fit to seeke passage out of these straights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the French. This search for passage, was by the enemy interpreted a kind of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nourish their temerity, to draw them on securely to destruction by such a seeming feare.

(85) The riuer of *Some*, betweene *Albeuille* and the Sea, at a low water hath a passable and grauellie foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Taque*; this was discouered to him by one *Gobin* a prisoner. But the *French* King (best acquainted in his owne Countrey) to empeach this passage, had before sent thether a *Norman* Baron of speciall note, one *Godmar du Foy*, and a 1000. thousand horse with at least 6000. foot; but *Edward*, (whom as obstacles made impetuous, so nothing could dismay,) enters himselfe into the Foord, * crying, *He that loues me let him follow me*, as one that resolued either to passe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of such a *Generals* spirit, but they, who haue had the happinesse to follow vnder the conduct? The passage wan, and *Du Foy* defeated in a manner, before he was almost fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) he brought to King *Philip* fewer by a paire of thousands, then he carried forth, besides terrour, and an euill signe of that which followed. The English, who knew not what it meant to run away, but were before resolued to liue & die with such a Souereigne, had reason now much more to resolue the same.

(86) King *Edward* was neere to *Cressie* in the County *Ponthieu*, lying betweene the riuers of *Some* and *Anthy* (which vnquestionably belonged vnto him in right of his mother,) there most vigilantly prouides he for his defence. King *Philip*, set on fire with this disaster, precipitates to battell for accomplishment of Gods anger against *France*; being the rather drawne, by the vnruly vanity of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or six-score thousand men deserue to bee called?) who neuer left ouer-taking one the other, till the view of the *English* banners and battels put them to stand. We professe that the nature of our vndertakings will not brooke descriptions at large; you shall haue it as we may, that is, as remembring, that innumerable great atcheiuements rest behind, somewhat impatiently attending their relation.

The English put into battell.

(87) Therefore, the holy name of God first ritely inuocated, King *Edward*, without shewing the least signe of perturbation, but full of an Heroick assuredneſse, had ordered his people in three battels, with their wings and succours. The *Vaward* disposed into the forme of an Hearse, where the Archers stood in front, and the men of armes in the bottome, was vnder the yong Lyon of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and sagest Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of warwick, Godfrey of Harecourt, The Lords, Stafford, Lawarre, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the second battell were, The Earles of *Northampton, and Arundell*; *the Lords, Rosse, Willoughby, Basset, Saint Albine, Multon, &c.* The third and last battell was commanded in cheife by King *Edward* himselfe, with the residue of his Nobles and people. In euery one of these battels, beside the wings, were a iust proportion of men at armes and Archers, but nothing so thinne and few as some of our * writers alledge, who mention not aboue 9000. all together, who were at least thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without need.

Froissard.

Holinsh. Grafton.

Grafton.

(88) King *Edward* closed his battels at their back, (as if he meant to barricado them from flying,) by felling and plashing of Trees, placing his carriages there and other impediments whatsoeuer, hauing commanded * all men to put from them their horses, which were left among the carriages. Thus all waies of safety by flight being preuented, the necessity did vndoubtedly double their courages. Thus placed to the best aduantage, King *Edward* visiteth the ranckes in person, riding vpon a pleasant * Hobby, (hauing onely a white rod in his hand, as if hee would chastise fortune,) betweene the two marshals of his field; whose very presence, with a few seasonable and vnenforced words on behalfe of God and his right, in steed of long Orations, did inspire the faintest hearts among them with freshest vigour and alacritie.

Not an Englishman on horseback in this battel. *Grafton.*

Froissard.

(89) Our writers describe not vnto vs the quality or face of the gound of *Cressy* where this battel was determined (though verie much doth depend vpon choise of place,) neither the exact figures, or seuerall numbers of euery seuerall battel, their distances, wings or other warlike formes, nor finally what *Pallisado*, trench, or other deuise was in this or that quarter vsed, to keepe-off and breake the furious charge of men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall workemen at this bloody iourney. But thus lamely are things commended to Posterity, where the Actors themselues take no care to see the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but either are vnlearned, or giue themselues to the bodily fruition of their passed trauels, rather then to exercise their minds in profiting themselues and others by such relations as are made with life and art. This we find, that the place of the Englishmens battels was the Towne of *Cressie*, and Foreſt, and therefore apt with small labour to be made inaccessible, or at leastwise difficult for horse to enter vpon; that also the English battels were marshalled to the most aduantage for giuing succour one vnto the other; and that there were * Shields or Pauises to shelter our Archers from the Genowaies shot.

The culpable ignorance and negligence of Generals.

*Poly. Verg. lib. 13.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whose countenance is * said to haue changed thereat,) was in sight of the English. Hee had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Maiorca*, and almost innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons and Gentlemen of inferior marke bearing armes; nor those onlie French, but very many of them Almains and Dutch, lest you should suppose, he had drawne away *Lewis* the

Grafton.

the Emperour from the friendſhip of K. *Edward*, to little purpoſe. The * night before the battell, there alighted in the *French hoaſt*, with intention to lop off one branch of Laurell from the tree of victorie (though it fell out to be *Cypreſſe* and *Taxus*) *Amie* Earle of *Sauoy*, with a thouſand men of Arms; ſo that all things ſeemed to concurre to nouriſh fury for a ſodaine ruine. Wee need not deſcribe the order of the *French*, where diſorder was a principall Actor: The * King of *Bohem*, and *Charles* Earle of *Alenzon*, King *Philips* brother German, had charge of the point or vantgard, King *Philip* himſelfe was in the maine battell, and the Earle of *Sauoy* had chiefe command in the Rere.

* Serres.

* Holinſh.
* Serres.

The Auriflambe of *France*, and Dragon of *England*.

(92) That is almoſt ridiculous, which * one writes of the etymologie of the *Oiliflame* (as he cals it) aduanced at this battell, as a ſigne of taking none to mercie, no more (as he ſaith) then *Oile* doth vſe to extinguiſh fire; when indeed it was an hallowed * Banner of red ſilke, whereof the *French* had a wonderfull high conceit, as of that which was ſent from heauen, and called *Oreflame* or *Auriflames*. King *Edward* on the contrary ſide, is reported for ſigne of like rigour, to haue erected there his vnconquered Standard of the *Dragon-Gules*. *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, the moſt valiant old King of *Bohemia*, being either blind or verie badly ſighted, hearing in what goodly order the *Engliſh* (like ſober Spartan ſouldiers) attẽded the charge, ſaid plainelie (contrary to their ouer-weening iudgements who had giuen out of their flight,) *Here will the Engliſh end their daies or conquer*. And euen as the firſt wounds were ready in a manner to bee giuen and taken, behold, God, to let them know he was awake, and that there was one aboue to whom ſo many thouſands ſhould within a few minutes appeare, to giue an account of their whole liues till that preſent; hee cauſed the blacke cloudes to poure down vpon them ſtore of funerall teares, enarching the ayre with a ſpatious * Raine-bow, and diſcharging ſundry tire and peales of thunder: the Sunne alſo, at the ſame time drawing neere to ſet, would gladly haue hid his face, by thruſting it vnder a partill * Eclypſe; but God (who meant good to the *Engliſh*) would not ſuffer him to withdraw his more neceſſary office, ſo that freed from that temporary ſhadow, he ſhone directly into the Frenchmans eyes. At the ſame time alſo * ſholes and cloudes of balefull Rauens, and other birdes of prey and rauin, as foreſhewing the harueſt of carcaſes at hand, came flying ouer the French hoaſt.

* Holinſh.
* Serres.

* Walſingham.

(93) The ſigne of battell being giuen by King *Philip*, and entertained with ſhoutes and clamors, all things ſhewing the horror of war, Drums & Trumpets ſounding to a charge, Banners flying in the winde, and euery where ſhining weapons, menacing braue extremitie, reaſon her ſelfe acknowledged it onely ſafe to leaue them to their brute faculties, paſſion and furie, and the euent it ſelfe to God. The French calamities began at their *Genowayes*, who vnder * *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria* their Coronels, being all of them Croſſe-bowmen, were to open a way for the French horſe with their ſhot. This was the ſucceſſe of their ſeruice: Their Croſſe-bow ſtrings wet with the late raine, their bodies wearie with a long march, their rankes (after the *Engliſh* had intercepted vpon * targets their firſt volue,) filled with innumerable gappes, occaſioned by the fall of their fellowes ſlaine, or ouerthrowne with home-drawne arrowes, were laſtly moſt outragiouſly ſcattered by *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, at whoſe commandement (deriued from K. * *Philip* himſelfe) his horſe gaue in among thẽ, to driue them by plaine murther from the honour of hauing the point, vpon onely pretence that they hindered their race. This hote young Count (contrary to good diſcipline,) had alſo otherwiſe vniuſtly diſcontented and diſgraced them, euen when they were ready to ioin in battell, whoſe bodies (being as moſt write about twelue thouſand) by bearing the firſt brunt might haue beene of great vſe, if in nothing elſe, but in ſeruing as buttes and quiuers, to take into them the chiefe firſt ſtormes of the Engliſh arrowes. Whereas now they themſelues were not onely thus moſt miſerably troden vnder foot, and put to the ſword, but many of the French Gallants by that occaſion mingled among them, were ouerthrowne by the Engliſh arrowes, who equally purſued the deſtruction both of French and Genowayes, ſhooting thickeſt where the tumult and confuſion were greateſt. Some * raſcals alſo following the Engliſh Armie, as they ſaw opportunity, ſtept in among them, and holpe to cut throates, ſparing neither Lord nor lozell.

* Sir Tho. de la More, apud Iohn Stow.
* Gaguin.
Elements of Armories.

The Genowayes defeated.

(94) The French men of Armes halfe out of breath with headlong haſte, and terribly diſordered with the perpetuall ſtormes of ſinging arrowes, were now at hand-ſtrokes with the Princes battell; neither was it long, but that the ſhining Battell axes, ſwords, lances, and other weapons of our nation had loſt their ſplendor, being couered with humane gore, which hauing thirſtily drunke out of enemies wounds, they let fall in bloudy teares. The fight was ſharpe and fierce: but to what purpoſe ſerues writing, if the high reſolution of the king of *Bohemia* ſhould be vnremembred? he (as onely ſeeking an honourable graue for his old age) put himſelfe into the firſt ranke of his owne horſemen, and with full randome charging the Engliſh, was ſlaine with ſword in hand, the troupe of his faithfull followers with their ſlaughtered bodies couering him euen in death. There lay this Trophea of the Engliſh Cheualrie, by whoſe fall (euidently ſeene in the ruine of the Bohemian Standard,) his noble ſonne, the Lord *Charles* of *Boheme* (lately elected Emperor, whileſt *Lewis* was as * yet aliue) was wiſely warned to prouide for himſelfe, the matter appearing deſperate. For now was *Philip* himſelfe in perſon, with the ful power of his Armie, come to the reſcues of his brother and friends, who were hard at worke (while they had breath) about their dreamed victorie, but finding the mettall infinitely more tough which they had to deale vpon, then they could poſſibly haue ſuppoſed, were beaten to the earth in great numbers. The young Prince neuertheleſſe was not without danger, though now the ſecond battell of the *Engliſh*, for preſeruation of their Prince, daſhing in among the enemies, fought moſt couragiouſly.

* Poly. Virg. l. 19.

The Earle of *Alanſons* furious temerity.

* Serres.

(95) Therefore King *Edward* himſelfe was ſent vnto, whoſe battel houered like a tempeſt in a cloud, ouer which, vpon the hillocke of a Windmill, with his helmet on, (which neuer came off till all was done) he iudiciouſly watcht, beholding the whole field, and ready to enter into the conflict when iuſt neceſsity ſhould inuite. You ſhall heare a moſt noble anſwere: The meſſenger diſpatched from the Earle of *Northampton* and others, * vpon a tender reſpect to their young Princes ſafety, hauing declared to the King, that the Lords required his preſence, for that his ſonne was in danger, * he bad him return and ſay; *Let them ſend no more to mee for any aduenture that may befall, while my ſonne is aliue; but let him either vanquiſh or die, becauſe the honour of this braue day ſhall bee his, if God ſuffer him to ſuruiue.*

* Paul. Æmil. Philip. de Comin. Serres. Holinſh. His and the reſt of the anſwere.
* Paul. Æmil. Philip. de Comin. Serres. Holinſh.

(96) The Meſſenger returned, and though hee brought not men to their ſuccours, hee brought ſuch acceſſion of courage and ſpirite, as hee that ſhould ſay that King *Edward* failed them at their neede, ſhould neither vnderſtand what belongs to magnanimitie, nor the effect of ſuch a checke from ſo excellent a Generall: who neuertheleſſe, was maturely watchfull ouer the good of his childe and people: on the other ſide King *Philip* (whoſe quarrell it was) did not forſake the duety of a noble *Chiefe*: but ſo long contended in his owne perſon, till his horſe was * ſlaine vnder him with arrowes, himſelfe * twice diſmounted, and wounded both in the necke and thigh: but then the Lord *Iohn of Henault*, Earle of

* Serres.
* Froiſſard.

of *Beaumont*, (who had long ſince quit King *Edwards* ſeruice) ſets him againe on horſebacke, and the *French* (out of a loyall deſire to his preſeruation) cried to retire him out of the fight, who rather ſeemed willing to end his dayes in ſo noble companie: which voice was as it were the vp-ſhot and laſt Gaſpe of that moſt cruell conflict, where none as yet were taken to mercy vpon any termes.

After their King had preſerued himſelfe, the whole power of the *French* gaue away, and ſought to ſaue it ſelfe by flight, whom the *Engliſh*, warely fighting vpon the defenſiue, and loath to hazard ſuch a victory, by breaking their rancks to purſue the enemie too farre in the night time, (which now was come vpon them,) ſuffered them to be holden in chaſe by their owne iuſt feare, contented to make good their ground, by ſtanding ſtill vpon their guard according to true diſcipline. For they ſaw not as yet the bottome of their danger, and knew that there were ſo many eſcaped, as might well ſerue to ouerwhelme their Army with their multitudes.

(97) King *Edward* ſeeing the coaſt for the preſent cleare of all his enemies, aduanceth with his vntoucht battell towards his victorious ſonne, & moſt affectionately embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid; *Faire Sonne, God ſend you good perſeuerance to ſo proſperous beginnings; you haue nobly acquit your ſelfe, and are well worthy to haue the Gouernance of a Kingdome entruſted vnto you for your valour.* To which the moſt cheualrous of young Princes replied in ſilence, moſt humbly falling on his knees, before his triumphant father.

(98) Here there may be ſome controuerſie, whether the exemplary manhood of the *Engliſh*, or their ſingular pietie, were more to be commended: but who will not infinitely preferre the latter, chiefly in Souldiers, among whom it is vſually moſt wanting? Great was the victorie, great was their prowceſſe, & great the glory; but they like true Chriſtian knights and Souldiers, forbare all boaſt, referring the whole thankes and honour of their preſeruation to God the true Author thereof. The night was ſo very darke, as if it had mourned for the day times bloudſhed, therefore they made * ſtore of fires, lighted torches, and candles, carefully tending their wounded companions, and modeſtly reioycing in their owne faire aduenture.

(99) But the next morning preſented new work; for ſuch a miſt hauing ouerſpread the earth, that they could ſcarſe ſee hard at hand, yet were * new ſwarms of *French* abroad, who came from ſundrie Cities and good townes, as *Roan*, *Beauois*, &c. to haue ioyned with King *Philip* in the deſigned ſpoile of the *Engliſh*; theſe being mette with by King *Edwards* people, were in ſundry places ouerthrowne and ſlaine, and multitudes of ſuch as had loſt their way in the laſt flight, were ſeuerely put to the ſword, as the *Engliſh* chanced vpon them, * where they lay lurking in hedges, buſhes, and by-wayes: The Earles of *Northampton*, * *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, * had the execution of the *French* which fled from this laſt ouerthrow, for the ſpace of about nine miles *Engliſh* from the ground where they encountred.

(100) There was leaſure now to take an account of the ſlaine; which vpon the enemies ſide amounted, not onely in the number to very many, but in their quality to very great. For ſearch hereof, king *Edward* cauſed certaine principall commanders, & three Heraldes, (who by the Coat-Armours might iudge of the perſons, it being then a thing perpetuall and ſolemne not to fight without thoſe ſignes of Nobleſſe,) to take an exact view of the field, who about ſupper time returning, made report to the King, that they found the dead bodies of * eleuen great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and men of Armes, aboue * one thouſand, and fiue hundreth. Among the owners of ſuch bodies as were beaten to the Earth vpon the firſt day, theſe are worthily reckoned chiefe: The * King of *Bohemia*, the * King of *Maiorca*, * *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, brother-German to King *Philip*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, * the Duke of *Burbon*, the * Earle of *Flanders*, the * Earle of *Sauoy* (both great Princes,) * the *Dolphin* of *Viennois*, ſonne to *Himbert*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, and *Harecourt* (whoſe brother *Godfrey* in pitty of his houſe, his two Nephewes being ſlaine with their father, forſooke the King of *England* after this battell, and returned into Grace with the *French*,) the * Earles of *Aumarl*, *Neuers*, &c. ſixe Earles of *Almaine*; beſide others of great account of all ſorts. Vpon the ſecond day, the *Grand Prior* of *France*, who with his Archbiſhoppe of *Roan*, had on the behalfe of their Prince and Country put on Armes. Of the Commons, in * both of theſe blacke dayes, there fell about thirty thouſand, and ſome ſay, foure times more in this laſt, then in the other.

(101) We finde not one man of honour, or note ſlaine vpon the *Engliſh* ſide, ſo that this victorie may ſafely bee accounted among the wonderfull. The * ſpoiles of the Enemies bodies and carriages, King *Edward* gaue wholy to his well deſeruing ſouldiers. The rule of their ſafety (they being in a moſt populous enemy Countrie) would not permit them to vſe much curteſie to others, as that which might haue proued cruelty to themſelues, but vpon the ſecond day they tooke many * priſoners, though none of great name, for they were ſpent in the day before. It pleaſed the conquerour to proclaime a truce now for three dayes in the Country about, that the people might come in to burie their dead; but the bodies of the moſt noble, hee himſelfe cauſed to be conueied to *Monſtreal*, and there (in his March towards *Calais*) enterred.

(102) Thus by Gods fauour, and the vnreſiſtable force of the *Engliſh* Archers, (who in a manner did * onely fight) was King *Edward* put into a full and peaceable poſſeſſion of a perfect victory; which after hee had one night onely enioyed in the Forreſt of *Creſtie*, hee diſlodged with his conquering hoaſt, & marched ſtraight toward *Calais*, which hee * preſently inueſted, hating decreed neuer to riſe with his Armie from before it, till without aſſault hee had carried the ſame. For which cauſe he entrenched and fortified his Camp on all ſides, built vp * Sheds couered with Reed and broome, and other places and offices as to dwell in, and ſtopping all reliefe by Sea, (whereof hee was Maſter) with his Nauie. There commanded in *Calais* for the *French*, Sir *John de Vienne*, * *Marſhall* of *France*, and the Lord *Dandreghan*, with a very ſtrong Garriſon, who concluded like good men of war, to trie all extremities, rather then to ſurrender the Piece, which was ſo ſtrong, that to aſſault the ſame, otherwiſe then with famine had beene friuolous. Theſe great Captaines ſeeing King *Edwards* reſolution, thruſt forth of the Towne (for ſparing of food) their poorer people, aboue fifteene hundreth; whom hee, like a true Chriſtian Prince, turned not backe vpon the Towne, but releeued for Gods cauſe with freſh victuals, and two pence ſterling each; permitting them freely and ſecurely to paſſe through his Camp, to his great glory, and (vndoubtedly) profite alſo, hauing their hearty prayers for his happy ſucceſſe, and God for pay-maſter, and rewarder of ſuch his Beneficence.

(103) Many wayes were thought vpon by king *Philip* to raiſe this obſtinate ſiege: two principall; an Army of *French* to fight with King *Edward*, and a diuerſion by inuaſion, wherein the *Scots* (their perpetuall allies) were forward. Both in their ſeuerall times, were put into execution: That of the *Scotiſh* inuaſion was firſt, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, as well declared it was Gods will (all people hauing their encreaſings, zeniths, and declinations) that the *Engliſh* name ſhould now be brought to the verticall point thereof, without any thing being able to reſiſt it.

(104) For *Dauid* the *ſecond* King of *Scots*, to gra-

* Sir Thom. de la More, apud Iohn Stow. Harding.
* Serres.
* Iohn Stow.
* Poly. Virg.
* Wil. Nubrig.
* Serres who alſo reckons Charles Earle of Bloys ſlaine at this battell, who was aliue ſundry yeeres after.
* Wil. Nubrig.
* 26 & 27. Aug. A.D. 1346.
* Polyd. Virg.
* Wil. Nubrig.
* Polyd. Virg.
Calais beſieged.
* Serres ſaith 30 September, A.D. 1346.
* Grafton.
* Serres.
King Edwards Charity.
The French deuiſe to ſuccour Calais.

The Scots inuade *England* and are vanquished in battel.

tifie his moſt deare freinds the *French*, comming with a very great armie of threeſcore and two thouſand into *England*, as farre as *Durham*, ſuppoſing none but Prieſts and Shepheards were left at home, (conſidering what great numbers were abroad vpon ſeruice, in *Picardie*, *Britaine*, and *Gaſcoigne*,) was (vpon * Saint *Lukes* Eue) vndertaken and fought withall, his whole armie by faire force vanquiſhed, and himſelfe taken priſoner at a place by *Durham* called *Neuiles Croſſe*. Chiefes among the *Engliſh* at this triumphant iourney were * The Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Gilbert Vmfreuile* Earle of *Angos*. *William* Lord *la Zouch*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Neuile*, *Deincourt*, *Mauley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroop*, and *Muſgraue*. Sir *Robert de Bertram* Sheriffe of *Northumberland*, and other noble Banarets. In this battell alſo were * many Prieſts and Clergymen of *England*, to whom neceſſity for defence of their Countrey, made the bloody vſe of Iron and Steele warrantable: nor could the *Scots* be accuſed to haue loſt any thing for want of manhood, ſpecially the king himſelfe, who had two ſpeares hanging in his body, his leg almoſt incurably wounded with an arrow, his ſword and weapons beaten out of his hand; who diſdeining captiuity, inuited the *Engliſh* by opprobrious words to kill him, and when *Iohn Copland* (an Eſquire of the North-country,* Captaine of the Caſtle of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*,) aduiſed him to yeeld, he ſtroke him on the face with his Gantlet ſo fiercely, as that two of his great teeth were ſmitten out there with: but ſeeing he could not force a death but muſt be Priſoner, *Iohn Copland* conueighed him away with eight of his owne ſeruants out of this field. There lay dead vpon the ground the * Earles of *Murray* and *Stratherne*, the Conſtable, Marſhall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with many other Nobles. There were taken Priſoners (beſide the king) the Earles of *Douglas*, *Fife*, *Southerland*, *Wigton*, and *Menteith*. Thus the fortune of king *Edward*, by the vertue of his valiant ſubiects, preuailed in euery place.

* 27. October *Fabian Hect. Boet. Lib. 15.*

*Ypod. Neuſt.

*Pol. Virg. lib. 19. *Hect. Boet.* lib. 15.

* *Hect. Boet.* King *Dauid* taken priſoner by Iohn *Copland* an Eſquire.

(105) It could not be excuſed, if we forgat the Offices of Queene *Philip* in her Husbands abience; who * being then in *England*, and great with Child of a daughter (afterward called * *Margaret*) rode in Perſon about the battels of the *Engliſh*, encouraging them with ſo wiſe, princely and gratious words, as did not a little ſharpen and aſſure their otherwiſe feruent courages: which done, ſhee retired her ſelfe to *Newcaſtle* vpon *Tine*, there to attend the ſucceſſe which God would ſend. After the battell, vnderſtanding that King *Dauid* was taken, ſhee by letters willed the Eſquire to render vp his roiall Priſoner; which he refuſing, ſhee (impatient) ſends ouer a complaint to King *Edward*. At* whoſe commandement, repairing to the Campe before *Caleis*, he ſo diſcreetly anſwered, that he was ſent backe into *England* with the reward of *500. pounds land by the yeere, (to lie * where *Copland* himſelfe ſhould chuſe, neere to his owne dwelling,) and warrant to deliuer vp his Priſoner to the Queene, which he accordingly did at the City of *Yorke*, with ſo ſober and honeſt an Apology, as both ſhee, and the Lords of Councell were ſatiſfied. This *Copland* (who had lands of King *Edwards* gift at * *Vlwerſton* in *Lancaſhire*) was alſo aduanced, for this moſt valiant atcheiuement, to the dignity of a Knight *Banéret*, which writers corruptly call a *Baronet*, *Honour* hauing at that time no ſuch kind of creature. King *Dauid* was lodged vnder ſure guard in the Tower of *London*.

* *Froiſſard.* *Philip* Queene of *England* her princely demeanour.

*Ypod Neuſt.

* *Graſton.*

*Records.

*Graſton.

Copland a knight *Banaret.* *Cambden in Lancaſhire.*

The flow of king *Edwards* good fortunes.

106) Wonder it is to conſider, with what golden linkes one good hap was annexed to another, in this full moone as it were of King *Edwards* reigne. For within a ſmall compaſſe of time, all theſe great atcheiuements fell. Sir *Thomas Dagworth* like another * *Machabee* (ſaith an Author) with 8. hundreth men of Armes, and one hundred Archers, in *Britain* ouerthrew the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, who hauing twice in one daie with incredible ods in the numbers, (as of aboue thirty for one,) aſſailed that braue Knight, was beaten out of the field with marueilous loſſe of Nobles and others ſlaine or taken. Not long after that, the ſame Sir *Thomas* alſo hauing only three hundred men of Armes, and foure hundred Archers in his company, aſſailed the ſame Lord *Charles*, lying at ſiege of *Roch-Darien* with twelue hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſixe hundred other armed men, two thouſand *Steel-bow-men* & of other Infantery great ſtore; and tooke Priſoner the ſaid Lord *Charles* of *Bloys* (who as you haue heard claimed the Dutchy of *Britaine* againſt *Montford*) driuing his whole forces with admirable manhood and great deſtruction out of the field. This in *Britaine*.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(107) In *Gaſcoigne* the magnificent and noble *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, and now (by his fathers late death) Earle of *Lancaſter* alſo, purſuing his faire fortunes in *Aquitain*, *Xainctoing*, &c. draue *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, eldeſt ſonne of King *Philip*, vnfought with, from the ſiege of *Aquillon*; though it is ſaide, he left it, as *commanded to repaire to his father for the reliefe of *Calis*; he alſo tooke ſundry places of ſpeciall importance, ſome by render, ſome by aſſault, many profitable priſoners, and rich ſpoiles, and with triumph returned ſafe to *Burdeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the good Towne of *Brigerac* by aſſault, he had permitted euery ſouldier to ſeiſe any houſe, and conuert all therein to his proper benefit. Hereupon it hapned, that a certaine * knight or Souldier called * *Reth*, had broken into a Tenement, where the moniers had for ſafety ſtowed the monie of that Country in great long ſacks, who (thinking it was not the Generals intention that ſuch a treaſure ſhould come to a priuate Share) acquainted the Lord *Henrie* therewith: what was his anſwere? he with a kingly magnificence told him; *That the* " *Houſe, and all therein were his, according as he had at* " *firſt proclaimed, let them be worth (ſaith he) what they* " *would.* The partie returnes and while he is buſie in counting his new riches, behold, he finds ſo much more pure ſiluer in Coine, that hee could not but once againe acquaint his Generall therewith. What can be added to the honour of the anſwere which to this effect he now the ſecond time made? *Why tel-* " *leſt thou mee of the greatneſſe of the treaſure? go, take* " *and enioy it: For to giue, and then to take it backe a-* " *gaine, is childs-play: I haue once ſaid it, and my word* " *paſſed, may not with my honour be reuoked, were it ne-* " *uer ſo much.*

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(108) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, comming into *Picardy*, had two repulſes and foiles, being driuen from the Towne of * *Caſſels*, and *Lile*, ſo that king *Edwards* fortune was auailable, aſwell to his Confederates as to his owne People: and now, to conſummate his glory, the whole power of *France*, led forth by king *Philip* to preſerue that eie of his Empire, *Calais*, returned without doing any thing. For when mediators could effect nothing, and *Philip* would not ſet vp his truſt vpon battell, leſt while he ſought to ſaue a Towne, hee ſhould leeſe a kingdome, hee mournefully retired himſelfe with loſſefull haſt into the boſome of *France*, leauing his deſperate Captaines and people in *Calais* to the Conquerors mercy. So *Edward* had the Towne deliuered vnto him, when he had almoſt abidden in leaguer before it one whole yeere. The piety of Queene *Philip* toward the priſoners ſelected to die, and the worthy deuouement of ſome *Caliſian* Towneſmen, to that certaine perill, for ſatisfaction of king *Edwards* incenſed minde, declaring themſelues thereby to be good, true and loyall *French-men*, are by all Authors celebrated, finding both pity then, and honour for euer. King *Edward* hauing as wiſely taken order for ſafekeeping of this pretious peice, as he had cõſtantly endured to carry it, drawing ouer a ſubſtantiall Colony of Engliſhmen into it, ſet ſaile at laſt for *England*, whether with much trouble at Sea (tempeſts ſodenly riſing) he at laſt arriued ſafe: It is *obſerued, that hee had alwaies faire weather at his paſſage into

*Smm.

Caleis yeelded 3. Augu. An. D. 1. An. R. *Ypod. Neuſt. Holinſhed.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

France,

France, and foule vpon his returne.

(109) Neuer was the *English* Name ſo great, and glorious as at this time, nor did *England* herſelfe in any foregoing age enioy a King more renowned for wiſdome, chevalrie, and felicity in actions; the iuſt brightneſſe of his irradiant vertues, not onely adorning her with Garlands, conquered Spoiles, and Trophees, but ſeeming alſo (ſuch was the abundance of all things) to infuſe fertility into the earth it ſelfe, like ſome * new ſhining ſunne. Meane while faire *France* (whoſe wofull turne it was) ſate mournfullie weeping, and with great anxietie of mind prouided the beſt ſhee could againſt ſuch a deluge of calamities. Neither yet was King *Edwards* glorie at the higheſt, for God was inclined to make him yet more bounden and beholden. Howbeit as it is a mighty worke to aſcend to ſuch an eminencie of renown, yet when the moſt of man is knowne and done, let none therefore loue themſelues, or admire others, for neither hath this world any thing permanent to truſt vpon, and to God alone belongs the honour. This was found and felt when the celeſtiall maieſtie ſaw the abuſe of his good gifts. It rained from Midſommer till Chriſtmas, and ſo terrible a plague ranne through the world, that the earth was filled with graues, and the aire with cries: which was ſeconded with murren of Cattle, and dearth of all things. The plague beganne among the Turkes, and pierced by degrees into *France*, where it mowed downe many thouſands. In *London* it had ſo quicke and ſharpe an edge, that in one yeeres ſpace, there were buried in * one Church-yard (commonly called the Ciſtertian, or Charter-houſe) aboue fifty thouſand. The *French* notwithſtanding practiſe to recouer *Calais* by briberie, but treaſon being not true to it ſelfe, King *Edward* came ſodainely in perſon, and preſerued the ineſtimable Iewell by policie, and princely manhood, killing many of them who came vpon that blind aduenture.

(110) This inuincible King (one great Act ouer-taking another) hearing that certaine *Spaniſh* men of warre, who had in the yeere before cruelly * ſlaine ſundrie *Engliſhmen*, and taken away their Wines and other wares, were come into his Seas, hee like a Martiall *Neptune* encountred them not far from *Winchel-ſea* in perſon, with ſuch ſhips as could then bee had; and after a moſt bloudy fight, (for there was few or none eſcaped vnmarkt) tooke twenty and ſixe of their principall veſſels, ſunke others, and draue the reſt away. The gallantrie & ſpirit of the *Spaniards* was ſuch, that diſdaining to ouerliue the diſgrace of hauing preſerued their liues by yeelding, they * all of them to a man either died vpon the *Engliſh* weapons, or were drowned in the waues. Thus was King *Edward* dignified with another Nauall Crowne. In this * yeare *Philip de Valois* hauing raigned about three and twenty yeeres, died. And the yeere enſuing, King *Edward*, as formerly hee had changed the ſtampe of his Seale, ſo changed the ſtampe of his Coines, coining (by aduiſe of *William de Edingdon*, Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*, and High Treaſurer of *England*) the groat, and halfe groat, whereas before there was * no ſiluer coine, but the ſteelings onely.

(111) Let vs draw King *Edwards* manifold actions cloſer togethet: vnder his fortune and auſpicie, Sir *Walter de* * *Bendeley* had in little *Britain* (whereof hee was * Warden) a faire day of the Marſhall of *France*, putting his puiſſance to flight with much ſlaughter. Thirteene Lords, one hundreth and forty Knights, one hundreth Eſquiers, & ſtore of common Souldiers were killed: nine Lords, and one hundreth, and forty Knights and Eſquiers taken priſoners; which bred great aſtoniſhment among all King *Edwards* enemies. Neither had the *French* in other places better fortune, ſauing that ſomewhat before Sir * *Raoul de Cabors* ſlew in a skirmiſh the thrice valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and about one hundreth men of Armes with him. *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* and *Derbie*, in honour of his princely bloud, and reward of ſeruice, was created Duke of *Lancaſter*: the new Dukes firſt peaceable employment, was his iorney together with *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Norwich*, & *Guy de Brian* to the Romane Court, there to ſee that Inſtrument of a finall peace, which had been drawn and ſworne vnto betweene the two Kings, confirmed (as it was agreed) before the Pope; but by the Couen of the *French* (as our * Writers impute) and the Popes Conniuencie, who fauoured the keeping of *France* entire, all proued but vapour, and the voyage fruitleſſe. King *Edward* greatly kindled herewith, determined to take deepe reuenge, and (as *Walſingham* and others write) entred then preſently with an Armie and waſted *France*.

(112) The Staple of Wools which had beene in *Flanders*, King *Edward* about this time reuoked, eſtabliſhing the ſame in *Weſtminſter*, *Canterbury*, *Chicheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Lincolne*, and *Hull*. Hee did not this, (as is probable) without ſome ſpleene, aſwell for the * death of his deare friend *Iaques Arteuill*, as for that the young Earle of *Flanders* had diſhonoured him, by * flying into *France* out of *Gaunt*, when he ſhould haue married his daughter.

(113) It had moreouer beene ſignified to King *Edward*, that *Iohn* the new King of *France* (his Father being dead) had giuen to *Charles* the Dolphin the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*: whereupon being exceedingly incenſed, hee beſtowed the ſame vpon his owne ſonne, the Prince of *Wales*; commanding him to defend that right with his ſword againſt his aduerſaries. All things being ready for his voyage, and hauing the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisburie*, and *Oxford*; the Lords * *Chandoys*, *Audley*, * *Buteſort*, *Lile*, *&c.* a thouſand men of Armes, as many Archers with others, hee ſet ſaile towards *Aquitain*, where hee betooke himſelfe to do things worthie of his Name and courage.

(113) On the other ſide King *Edward*, ſtirred with a falſe Alarum, croſt ouer the Seas, in hope to find his enemie King *Iohn* at *Saint Omars*, but failing thereof, he burnt vp to *Heſdin*, and came backe into *England* to recouer *Berwicke*, which the *Scots* had gotten with * mutuall ſlaughter by ſurpriſe. He called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where toward the furniture of his hoſtile deſignes, hee had extraordinarie Subſidie granted vnto him for ſixe yeeres next to come. But *Berwicke* before King *Edward* could preſent himſelfe before it with his mighty hoaſt, was * burnt and diſmantled, and then by the *Scots* abandoned. The *French* had ſent into *Scotland* fortie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, and ſome men of Armes to maintaine them in enmity againſt the *Engliſh*, while as yet their King *Dauid* the ſecond was priſoner; but King *Edward*, not contented to haue regained his owne, vnleſſe hee made his aduerſaries ſmart for their prouocations, proceeded in hoſtile manner againſt the *Scots* both by land and ſea. At *Roxbrough* the *Baliol* * ſurrendred to King *Edward* all the right and title which hee had to the Crowne of *Scotland*, or any the appurtenances, reſeruing only to himſelfe a yeerely penſion of * two thouſand and fifty pounds.

(114) The Prince of *Wales* as it were in emulation of his Fathers glorie, doth wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Armie, he recouered multitudes of Townes and Priſoners (while the * Earle of *Gloſter* with the *Engliſh*, on behalfe of *Charles* king of *Nauarre*, preuailes greatly in *Normandy*, piercing like a thunderbolt through *Languedoc*, till hee came to the City of * *Narbon*, in ſight of the Mid-land ſea, which City (being little leſſe then *London*) he tooke by force, as (beſide many others) he had done *Careaſſon*, which for bigneſſe, ſtrength and beautie, exceeded (ſaith our Author) *Yorke* in *England*. The dammage done to the *French King* in this voyage was exceeding great, for out of theſe Countries he drew a yeerely reuenue of about foure hundreth thouſand

The firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*. An. D. 1353.

*Tyrrel. Neuſt. *Holinſh.

An. D. 1354

*Tho. Wall. Rob. Ameſb.

Froiſſard.

*Supra. §

* Serres

An. D. 1355.

The Prince of *Wales* ſailes to take poſſeſſion of *Aquitaine*.

* Io. Wingfield letters apud Holinſh.

Berwicke ſurpriſed and regained *Hector Boet.

**Hect. Boet.*

**Tho. Walſ.* The *Baliol* conuaies his Title to the Crowne of *Scotland* to King *Edward*.

**Record. Let. Patent. 25 Ian. A. D. 1356.*

The Prince of *Wales* his high atchieuements in *France*.

* Serres.

* Sir Iohn Wingfields letters apud Rob. Ameſ.

sand old Crownes. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Auignion*, with an ouerture to intercede for a peace, had answere, that the message must bee sent to the King his father, for he could not meddle without commandement from him. Mean while hee disposed of things without impeachment, and returnes laden with honor and spoiles to *Burdeaux*, where the winter being spent, he sets forth to new aduentures. Hee had in his Armie about eight thousand braue, expert, and well disciplined Souldiers, and with them aduanceth through *Perigort*, & *Limosin* into the bosome of *France*, vp to the verie gates of *Burgesse* in *Berie*; the terror of his name flying before to his great aduantage. Thus satisfied for the present, hee wheeles about with purpose to returne by *Remorantine* in *Blasois* (which hee tooke) and so through the Country of *Turain*, *Poictou*, and *Saintoin* to his chiefe City *Burdeaux*. But *Iohn* King of *France* (hasting to goe beyond his father in misfortune) hauing assembled a compleat hoast, followed, & about the City of *Poictiers* ouertooke the inuincible Prince.

The English victory at *Potiers*, 19. *Sep.* 1356.

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of six to one against the *English*) were embattelled, two Cardinals sent from Pope **Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take vp the quarrell without stroke, whereunto the Prince was with reason yeelding enough, but King *Iohn* fatally presuming on his aduantage, propounded such conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already beene at his commaund; which with iust indignation were reiected. It came hereupon to a most bloudy triall, where (if euer) the Prince and *English* gaue full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and absolute discomfiture of al the 3. *French* battels, (the least of which exceeded al the Princes nũbers) the King himselfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his *yongest sonne (who with such boldnesse and zeale defended his distressed father, as it purchased vnto him the Honourable surname of *Hardie*) were taken prisoners.

**Serres.*

The French king taken prisoner.

(116) The *English* whose valiancy was most conspicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisburie*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenser*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Basset*, &c. of *Gascoigne*, subiects to the Crowne of *England*, the *Capitall de Beuf*, the Lord *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, with others of lower title, but not of vnequall valour. * *Iames* Lord *Audley* wanne immortall renowne at this bloudy battell, where hee receiued many wounds, and shared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee simple, to his foure Esquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the *French* Nobles, that in all great battels the losse fals heauily vpon them. In this most disasterous ouerthrow, there fell *fifty and two Lords, & about seuenteene hundreth Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coates of Armes: The chiefe Lords were *Peter of Bourbon Duke of Athens high Constable of France, Iohn Clermont Marshall, George of Charney Lord great Chamberlaine, &c.* and as many other as made vp the former account. *Sr. *Reginold Camian*, who that day bare the *Oriflamb*, was likewise slaine: of the common Souldiers there died about sixe thousand: Great God of victories, how abundantly diddest thou in these dayes blesse thine *English*? The list of Prisoners comprehended these great names, *Iohn King of France*; *Philip his sonne, afterward Duke of Burgoin*; *The Archbishop of Sens*; *Iames of Burbon Earle of Pantheiu*; *Iohn of Artois Earle of Eu*; *Charles his brother Earle of Longueuile*; *Charles Earle of Vendosme*; *The Earles of Tankeruile, Salbruch, Nassaw, Dampmartine, La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about* two thousand Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The *English* at this iourney tooke an * hundreth Enlignes.

*Froissard.

*Serres.

*Fabian out of the French Chronicles.

*Ypod. Neust.

*Serres.

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two points the incompara-

ble Prince out-went that fame and merite; for hauing vanquished the person of the *French* Monarch by force of battell, hee much more ouercame his heart with true and princely curtesie, deliuering his mind in a stile and kind of eloquence so ponderous, proper, graue, and naturall, and with that statelie humility, as onely the best soule with the best breeding could be capable of; and yet * hee spake not more officiously then he performed really. More then all this. The next day causing his Chapleins and the other Priests of the Armie, to celebrate diuine seruice, hee put off from himselfe the whole glory, and gaue it most deuoutly to * God; which being first done, he, in the sight and hearing of the Prisoners, highly commends, and most heartily thankes his Souldiers, with speeches full of sincerity and life, sealing his words to euery one, as his present meanes would permit, with liberall deeds & largesse.

*Paul. Æ.

*Pol. Ver. 19.

(118) Then hauing setled all other things, hee marcheth with ioy and iust triumph to * *Burdeaux*, the Archiepiscopall See, and chiefe Citie of his dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the *English* Empire, is not hard to coniecture, but specially by King *Edward*, who tooke speedy order by *Simon* Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together should be * spent in giuing God the thankes and glory. But the Prince hauing sufficiently refreshed, and rested his people, set saile for *England* with his Prisoners, where hee happily arriued in * *Plimmouth*, and was most ioifully welcome euery where. At his comming to *London* (where at that time a magnificẽt Citizen, *Henry Pitard*, hee who afterward at one time so noblie feasted the 4. Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, was Lord Maior,) which receiued him with exquisite honour; the multitudes of people comming to see the victorious Prince, the *French* King, and his sonne the Lord *Philip*, and the rest, were such, that they could hardly get to *Westminster*, betweene three of the clock in the morning and noon: but who will thinke the humour of the gazing vulgar worth the noting?

*Holinsh. Æ. mart.

*Polyd. Lib. 19.

*5 Maij. 1357. Ypod. Neust.

(119) Great *Edward*, sauing that hee forgat not the Maiesty of a Conquerour, and of a King of *England*, omitted no kind of noble curtesie towards the Prisoners. King *Iohn* and his sonne were lodged vnder a sure guard at the *Sauoy*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; the rest in other places: *Dauid* King of *Scots* was at this time straitly kept at the Castle of * *Odiam*, but not long after, when hee had endured about eleuen yeeres imprisonment, at the incessant suit of Queen *Ioan* his wife (sister to king *Edward*,) was deliuered: his * ransome was one hundreth thousand Markes striueling, and a condition to raise certaine Castles.

*Adam Mur.

*Fordun.

(120) About this time *Isabel* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, and mother of King *Edward*, (hauing first seene her sonne the most respected King of all Christendome,) * deceased, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the Friers-Minors there. To her birth *France* was slenderly beholding, as being about this time in most wofull and broken state, through occasion of that title which the *English* challenged by her, it suffering more by farre vnder their puissance, then * euer it did since the times of the *Romans*. **Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandie*, who had escaped from the battell of *Poitiers*, gouerned during his fathers imprisonment; but by the dangerous practises of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and bad disposition of the Parisians, toward the deliuery of their Soueraigne, hee was lamentably encumbred, and beset with mischiefes, not being able to worke as yet his fathers liberty. Moreouer, the *English* vnder Sir *Robert Knowles*, *Sir Iames Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulk*, and others, did commit great wasts, and heaped huge wealth by incursions, ransomes, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Normandy*,

*Serres. Tillon.

dy, vnder the title of seruing the *Nauarrois*. To bee briefe all *France* swarmed with dissolute souldiers of sundry Nations, which hauing no Generall, made hauocke at their pleasure. They were called people without an head, and by innumerable insolencies made the wretchednesse of *Anarchy* apparent. In *England* also swarmed another sort, no lesse burthenous to the commonwealth and Church, which were the *foure orders* of *Franciscan Friers*, whom the * *English Clergy* found to be so pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they selected that renowned Clerk, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancelour* of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) to appeare in person before the Pope, and there alleage the * intollerable harmes by them accrewing to the *Laity*, the *Clergy*, and the *Vniuersities*, together with their *disobedience to Gods word*, their *auarice*, and *pride*. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his 9. propositions against them, which are extant. In his second proposition, he sheweth, how ordinary a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without consent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their sonnes from the Vniuersities, least the Fryars should so steale them away; whereby (saith he) it came to passe, that * *whereas in his owne time there were thirty thousand Students in Oxford, soone after there were left but sixe thousand.* But how infinitely these Friarlie swarmes encreased in all lands, may appeare by that *strange offer made by the *Generall* of this one *Order*, to *Pope Pius*, *who promised to bring him (being then about a Turkish Expedition) thirty thousand cunning warriors, out of the number of Saint Francis Fryars, and yet enough should remaine at home to performe the deuotions.* But the Pope had such vse of those Fryars, that *Armachanus* preuailed not in the matter, * *though he proued the cause stoutly and manifestly against them, because (ah for pity, saith our Authour,) the Clergy stucke not close as they promised, and the Fryars had great store of money to procure fauour in the Court of Rome.* But here in the *English* Court, two Cardinals, (one of them, hee of *Pierregost*, who had so diligently trauelled for a conclusion at the battell of *Poictiers*) could not with two yeeres labour, draw any thing to such an head, as the French would, for their Kings deliuerance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new resolution against *France*.

(121) King *Edward* (houlding himselfe deluded by the *French*) with a fleete of eleuen hundred Saile passeth ouer from *Sandwich* to a new inuasion. Hee arriued at *Calais*, from whence he set forward in three great battels, whereof the first, being least, was vnder *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, the second being greater, vnder the braue Prince of *Wales*, and the last which was greatest, was led by King *Edward* himselfe. They marched through * *Artois* to the Citie of *Rheims* in *Champain*, where the Kings of *France* vse to be crowned and annointed. The City of * *Sens* (an Archbishops See) and *Neuers* doe yeeld without resistance. The * Duke of *Burgundy*, for two * hundreth thousand florens of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was spared from sackage or spoile. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Winchelsea* in the time of diuine seruice, and among other their most impious outrages, a like execrable villanie, as that which *Gibeonites*, (sonnes of *Beliall*) are recorded to haue committed vpon the * *Leuites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it selfe, where the woman, being of singular beautie, was by their insatiable violations murthered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could rise vpon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon * King *Edward* presently raised his Standard, and set forth out of *Champain*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheins* hee had * kept his Christmas) toward *Paris*.

(122) He came before it with his armie diuided into * nine Battalions, where hee honoured foure hundred Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any meanes bee drawne to hazard battell. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendred to *Edward*, but he was as yet inflexible and deafe against any other, then such as himselfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (vp to whose * very wals King *Edward* ranne) not being sesible, he * retires into *Britaine* to refresh his Army, but vpon his returne finding it stronger then before, he turnes his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exercising hostile Actions vp as farre as * Charters, and * Orleans, and as yet continued inexorable. God was displeased thereat, and to let *Edward* know so much, he caused the Minister of his wrath, a terrible tempest, to assaile his Hoast, and * to kill therein many both men and horses. King *Edward* is * said, vpon this occasion, to be so wounded with remorse, that repairing to our Lady-Church of *Charters*, he prostrated himselfe to God, and sorrowing for the bloodshed and wast-full burning which hee had made, vowed to giue quiet to the Christian world vpon equall conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancasters* perswasions, softned him so, that finally (by mediation of the Popes * *Legat* one *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagnie* neere to Charters vpon the * eight of May; and in Nouember following K. *Iohn* himselfe was transported to *Caleis*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treatie) set at liberty, after he had been a prisoner aboue foure yeeres.

(123) Articles of this accord, so necessarie for the distressed Estate of *France* were these. 1 *That (to the intent these conditions which the French condescended vnto, should be more forceable, and not seeme to be extorted by aduantage, nay; or inquitie of the times) the two Edwards, Father and Sonne, should for euer release to K. Iohn and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the * Crowne of France, * to the Dutchy and Estates of Normandy, Anion, Turain, and Main, as also to the homages of Britain Armorick, and the Earldome of Flanders.* 2. *That King Iohn and his sonne, for them and their heires, should by a day certaine restore, and release to King Edward and his heires, &c. the whole Countrey of Aquitain, enlarged with the bordering and spacious Countreys of Santoin, Poicton, Pierregort, Limosin, Quercie, Angolesme, Rouergne, &c. with all the Cities, Castles, and appurtenances, to be holden free, without any dependencie but of God.* 3. *That the * County of Pontheiu* (the proper inheritance of *Isabel* late Queene *Dowager* of *England* mother of King *Edward*) *the Townes, Countries, and Lordships of Calais, Guines, Mountril, Haim, Wale, Oye, Merck, S. Valary, &c. and all the Ilands which either the English then held, or which lay before any of the Premisses, with only certaine limitations concerning priuate mens interest, should remaine in like freedome as the rest of the premisses to the Crowne of England.* 4 *That King Iohn should pay for his ransome* (part thereof to be in hand, and part vpon daies) *the summe of * thirty hundreth thousand scutes of Gold, euerie two of which should be * sixe shillings and eight pence sterling. And that for assurance there should be assigned certaine number of Hostages (by King Edward named) to remaine in England.* 5. *That the French should not aid, nor assist the Scots against the English, nor they the Flemings against the French.* 6. *That it should bee lawfull for either King notwithstanding to aid the Tytlers for the Dutchie of Britaine at their pleasures.* There were sundry other Articles, as in cases of so transcendent qualitie must needs happen, but, as these were principall, so the most of them might haue beene well left out here, vnlesse they had more exactly beene obserued by the *French*. Yet were they ratified with hands, seales, and Oathes at * *Calais*, where the two Kings, in stead of kissing the Pax at masse (either hauing for honors sake refused to take it first) * saluted each the other with a most brotherlie embracement and louing kisse.

The English before Pern. Foure hundred Knights made at one time.

*Polyd. Verg. *Stowe and Polyd. Verg.

*Paul Aemil. *Tho. Walsing.

*Stowe Paul. Aemyl. * Tho. Wals. Ran. Cestr.

*Fabian.

*Tillon.

Articles of peace.

*Paul. Aemylius Ioan. 1. *Stowe Fabian. Holinsh. Paul. Aemyl.

* Tho. Walsing.

The huge ransome of Iohn King of France. *Paul Aemyl. Polyd. Verg. Froissard. * Tho. Walsi. Fabian. The City of Paris gaue toward this ransome one hundreth thousand roials. Edw. Grimston his English Stowe.

*24. October. 1360.

*Fabian par. 7. Caxton.

The French hostages.

(124) The Hostages were absolutely of the greatest Princes, and Lords of *France*. * *Lewis Duke of Anion, and Iohn Duke of Berry, sonnes to King Iohn; Philip Duke of Orleance, the Kings brother, and Philip Duke of Burgoin:* besides * nine principall Earles, twelue great Lords, and certaine * Burgesses out of euery good Towne; which were all to remaine in *England*, and accordingly did remaine: and Ambassadors were sent from both the Kings, to aduertise the *Pope of the whole happy conclusion.

*This Duke of *Anion* dishonorably fled away, after he had giuē faith to bee true prisoner.
*Paul. Aemyl. Polyd. Vergil. Serres. Walsingham.
*Serres,
*Froissard.
*Ypod. Neust.

A.D. 1361.

(125) Not long after the Prince of *Wales* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, and for the same did homage and fealty to his Father; so that hee was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* and *Kent*; this last by *Ioane* his wife, daughter and heire of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*. Laden with this new honour, he together with his dearest wife and whole Court sailed into *Gascoigne*, where at *Burdeaux* he remained.

King *Edwards* Christian Iubile.
*Ypod. Neust.

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch *Edward* the Great, King of *England*, vpon the day of Saint *Brice*, (the day * on which by King *Etheldreds* commandement all the *Danes* in *England* were murthered,) aged fifty yeeres; at which time a Parliament (where *none were permitted to appeare by Proxie) was holden at *Westminster* vpon prorogation. Therefore to make the memory of his birth-day acceptable by acts of gracious gouernment, as in a yeere of Iubile he granted his generall & speciall pardon to offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale, set Prisoners at liberty, reuoked such as were in banishment. Moreouer, vpon the grieuances of his people, pestred with the doublings of Lawyers, he commanded, that * Pleas should from thenceforth bee made in English, not in French, a necessary Law, if it had beene as carefully obserued, especially; if withall hee had ordered the same should not be written also in *French*, that his people might know their owne duties. It is obserued that the Law of *Magna Charta* (confirmed also in this Parliament) was about a dozen seueral times confirmed by this King during the yeeres of his raigne. That which *another notes by occasion of this *Iubile*, wee would not omit; for the famous custome of our Kings, who vpon *Maundy Thursday* in imitation of Christ, wash, feede and cloath as many poore, as themselues are yeeres old, is referred to this celebration which King *Edward* made of his fiftieth yeere, in regard of the number fed, which number hee cals the *Iubile* of their ages: but as hee imparted Grace to his people, so hee also tooke order to repleniſh his purse. That seldome or neuer the poore Commons haue any thing which they pay not for.

*Tho. VValsin.

Vvil. Lambard. in his Peramb.

An.D. 1362

Statut. 36. Edw. 3.

*Holinsh.

*Poly. Verg. lib. 19.
The first rule of the nūber fed by our kings vpon Maundy Thursday.

A.D. 1363.
A.reg. 36
Three kings visit King *Edward*.

(127) The estate of our great *Edward* thus flourishing, hither (vpon sundry occasions) *Iohn* King of *France*, *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had lately both of them beene Prisoners in *England*, and *Guy* of *Lusinian*, King of *Cyprus* came in person. The French kings affaire was, the more commodiously to transact for the remaine of his ransom, the discharge of his pledges, and other things. * *Guy* of *Lusinian* King of *Cyprus* (by that right which as you haue *heard before, his Ancestor had by donation and inuestiture from *Richard* the first, King of *England*) negotiated his own reliefe, vnder the iust Title of the common cause of Christianity, so fearefully by the prenailing Turkes empaired in the Easterne world, and not long after departed hence. *Iohn* King of *France* * had promised to Pope *Vrban* (at *Auinion*) his personall aide in the holy warre, but was preuented by death, which * seised vpon him here in *England* at the *Sauoy*. From whence by the pietie of *Charles* his sonne, then king of *France*, his body was in most royall manner conuaied to *Douer*, at the King of *Englands* voluntarie charge, and entombed among his forefathers at S. *Denys* with all funerall maiesty, not farre off from the Soueraigne City *Paris*, seat of the *French Monarches*, as the other their place of Sepulture. Likewise *Iane* Queene of *Scots* comming into *England* (with her husband belike)* deceased here.

A.D. 1364
* *Hugh* of *Lusignian* saith *Platina in Iun. 6. Peter*, saith *Aemylius, in Charles 5.*
* *In Rich 1.*
* *Serres, Innen.* of *France.*
John King of *France* dyeth in *England*.
This Pope *Vrban* saith *Walsingh.* was an Englishman by birth, meaning belike that he was born vnder the obedience of the King of *England*, when *Limosin* was *English*, of which country, he was saith *Platina*.

(128) That King *Edwards* fortune was not onely auaileable to himselfe, or to his Lieutenants, but also to his friends and fauourites, appeared in the great quarrell about the title of *Britaine Armoricke*, which about this time was determined by the death of the Lord *Charles* Earle of *Bloys*, head of the one faction, (but willing to haue ended it by word, not by the sword, if hee could haue preuailed with his wife) who was slaine in an encounter made against the Lord *Iohn de Montford*, head of the other side, where the *Lord *William Latimer*, * Sir *Iohn Chandos*, Sir *Hugh Caluerley* with other of the *English* which stucke to *Montford*, wanne much honor. This field was fought at *Aurpy* not far from *Vannes* in *low Britaine*. After * which (hauing performed certaine estates to the widow of the L. *Charles*, a man of singular sanctimony and integrity of life) he did homage to *Charles* king of *France*, and was accepted Duke of *Britaine*, with consent of the King of *England*, his speciall raiser and protectour. The * losse was great vpon the enemies side; for there were slaine besides the said *Earle of Bloys*, (*Montfords* competitor) the Lord *Iohn* his brother, and sixe Lords with many other of speciall note, **Walsingham* saith about a thousand men of Armes & Esquiers: and there were taken *Iohn* and *Guy* the Earles sonnes, and nine other Lords, and of those whose fame for cheualrie counteruailed half the rest: Sir *Bertram de Glequin Marshall of France*, vnder the banner of Sir *Iohn Chandoys*.

* Hall. An. 136. The Earle Blois slaine barrell by English the Duke of Britaine.
*Tho. VValsin.
* Serres. Hollingsh.
* Paul. Emyl. Guil. Tilm.
* Iouent. by Serres.
*Tho. VValsin. saith 2. Eng. and 37. Lan.

(129) In the * mean space, from what part of the World did not the *English* bring testimonies of their valour? for such as had warred vnder the *Cypriot* King against the Turkes, and taken a part of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, returned with much riches in cloths of gold, veluets, & precious stone. About these times and long after also, Sir *Iohn* * *Haucut* (or *Hareskroyd*) that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, & his Countrimens the English very honourable by martiall vertue in sundry parts of *Italie*. And as their valour was one way seene beyond the Alpes, so there fell out occasions not long after, which made it knowne another way beyond the mountaines *Pyrenen*.

*Ypod. Neust. The succession of some English volunteers into Egypt and Italy.
A. D. 13
Rog. Flet. hist 5. Greg. 1. c. 6.

(130) The family of the Lord *Edward*, Prince of *Wales* who liued in *Burdeaux*, was now with great honour encreased: for his dearely loued wife, who the last yeare bare vnto him *Edward* his first borne, (which liued but seuen yeeres after) bare vnto him a second sonne, for whom *Richard* King of *Nauarre*, and * *Iames* King of *Maiorca* vndertooke as Godfathers, giuing him to name *Richard*. The companies of Souldiers, most of whose Chiefes were English by birth or obedience, hauing now no employment, because the warres of *Britain* were appeased for the present, ranged desperately ouer *France*; but it was not long before Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (hauing paid his ransome) had meanes to draw the more part of that military Pestilence into another Coast: for, by the assistance of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, the banished Earles and the power of *Glequin*, with the floting Bands, called the Companions or Aduenturers; *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon* was driuen out of his kingdome, his bastard brother *Henry* chosen and crowned King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*.

A. D. 1
Richard of Beauc. slaine King of Ba borne.
* Tho. Walsin. Hollingsh.

(131) This *Peter* was *sonne to *Alfonse* the eleuenth King of *Castile*, and had to wife a French Lady called *Blanch*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, who was father also of *Ioan* the French Kings wife. His tyrannical cruelties by the Spanish Stories, are reported so foule, and so many, that they * scarce suffer *Nero* or *Caligula* to goe before him; though he were otherwise a Prince, who had such parts of mind (saith *Rodericus*) as doe set forth and adorne the Owner, but cannot make him happy. His naturall blood-thirstinesse was encreased, and precipitated, some say, by the magicall practises of *Maria de Padilla* his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the

The Originall of the English in Spaine.
* Franc. Tarapha Philomin. de
* Rodor. Sanct. Hispan. par.
*Paulus Emil. & Carol.

Queene

XUM

Queene with that which her ſelfe acted,) by meanes of a Iew ſo enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had giuen him, that the next time hee ware it, the ſame * appeared to himſelfe and the beholders like a ſnake. This curſed diſciple of * *Iannes* and *Iambres* hated the vertuous Queene, for that ſhee had ſo preuailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no Iew was ſuffered to beare office, or enioy any fauours in Court, neither wanted ſhee much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practiſe *Maria de Padilla* (who * ſome erroneouſly ſay was a Iew) got al the king to her ſelf, and ſo perſecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before ſhee died, the Popes interceſſions failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine* who laboured to haue brought her againe into deſerued grace, are by him purſued as fautors of her ſuppoſed witchcrafts. Other things alſo whetted him to ſauage, and Turkiſh Butcheries, as thirſt of Gold, and ſomewhat which had by diueliſh arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinſfolke, Nobles, and others, he cauſeleſſely maſſacreth or forceth to ſeeke their ſafeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his foreſaid baſtard brother was one. *Peter* notwithſtanding was in the trueth and right of blood King of *Spaine*, but his ſaide brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to bee taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King and poſſeſſion of the Crowne.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, ſo ſoon as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childleſſe, * married his late Concubine *Maria de padilla* a woman of a noble houſe, though not ſo rarely honeſt, as to refuſe the vnlawful loue of a King: who hauing iſſue by her *Alfonſo* a ſonne (who dyed yong) and three daughters * *Conſtance*, *Beatrix*, *and Iſabel*, made to her and them the beſt amends he could for what was paſſed. It is the fitter this truth ſhould appeare, for that within a few yeeres after *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, one of the ſonnes of *England*, married *Conſtance* the eldeſt ſiſter, claiming the Crowne of *Caſtilia* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * ſome (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through haſt or miſinformation) haue in many points foullie erred, and in particular, vntrulie leauing vpon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was honeſted by lawfull matrimonie. Diuers notwithſtanding of * the Spaniſh Lords, like good ſubiects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a moſt violent Prince) nor could the vſurper *Henrie*, but by deepely impairing the reuenewes of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne anie of them. *Peter* thus driuen from his kingdome, with his wife, children, and (if * ſome ſay true) but one ſeruant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayon*) that is, to honour and humanity it ſelfe: who ſeeing it a dangerous preſident againſt all lawfull Kings, that any one ſhould be ſo dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; ſignified the ſame to his father: who enioines him to aid *Don Peter*, ſo that now the Prince, (burning with deſire of renowne) (vpon truſt of pay for his Armie and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when hee ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in his throne) is ready to paſſe into *Spaine*.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous ſtraites of *Rouncevallux* in *Nauarre* by permiſſion of the King thereof, who * yet ſuffered himſelfe (as moſt men write) to be taken priſoner by the *French*, and carried into *Caſtile*, that he might not in perſon ſeeme to croſſe the *French* Kings deſignes on the behalfe of the vſurper *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an armie of about thirtie thouſand men, and in his company beſides moſt of all the prime Captaines of the *Engliſh*, there were in perſon two Kings, *Peter* of *Caſtile*, whoſe the quarrell was, and the King of *Maiorca* and *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* who ſome while after *Don Pedro* his death writ himſelfe King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. On the other ſide K. *Henry*, for defence of his new Diadem, had aſſembled a very great number aſwell of French (vnder *Glequin* their famous Captaine) as of *Caſtilians* and other both Chriſtians and Saracens, not fewer then foureſcore, or an hundreth thouſand. Vpon the Borders of *Caſtile* it came to a battell: where the Prince of *Wales* obtained a veric great victorie, killing many thouſands of his enemies. *Henrie* himſelfe * was wounded in the groine but eſcaped. There were taken the Earle of *Dene*, * *Bertram de Glequin* himſelfe (who ſhortly after by paying a great ranſome had liberty) the Marſhall *Dandrehen* and manie others. Neither was it leſſe worth to King *Peter* then a kingdome; for the moſt noble *Edward* left him not, til he had ſet him in *Burgus* vpon his throne againe.

*Tho. Wal. in Edward 3. *Paul. Emy. Iohan. Tillius.

(134) But his falſhood and ingratitude were monſtrous: For the Prince notwithſtanding his ſo great goodnes extended towards him, was enforced to returne to *Burdeaux* without mony wherewith to pay his armie, which was the cauſe of exceeding great miſchiefe to himſelfe, and to the Engliſh dominions beyond the Seas; as if God had beene diſpleaſed for ſuccouring ſuch a *Tyrant*. The Prince to pay his ſouldiers (who were not able to tarry King *Peters* leaſure) coined euen his plate, and when all would not ſerue, ſought to lay vpon his Subiects in *Gaſcoigne* and thereabout, a new taxation, which bred a moſt dangerous reuolt. God notwithſtanding found out *Peter*, for it was not long but his baſtard brother *Henry* returned with new forces, and by the aid of *Glequin* and the *French*, hee both thruſt him againe from the Throne, and * murthered him alſo with his owne hand. The Prince of *Wales* himſelfe was in this iourny ſo poiſoned (as * was thought) he neuer after had his health. Duke *Iohn* his brother is not freed * from the ſuſpition of hauing haſtened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of anie practiſe at this time or no, appeares not. Now notwithſtanding he is ſafe as yet within *Burdeaux*.

King *Peters* falſhood and death.

*Fran. Tarapha de regibus Hiſp. & omnes. Tho. Walſin. in Edward 3. and Tpod. Neuſt. *Fran. Thyn. apud Holinſh. in Edward 6. pag. 770.

(135) Now beganne the peace between *England* and *France* to vnſettle and vntwine. For whiſe King *Edward* reioyced in the excellent vertues and actions of his ſonnes and people; *Charles* the fifth, king of *France*, warned by ſo manifold calamities, as his Dominions had ſuſtained by the Engliſh in faire warre, & yet moſt earneſtly coueting to recouer the honor of his Nation, betakes himſelfe wholy to other arts and traines; neuer aduenturing his owne perſon, but executing all his deſignes by Deputie, wherein the ſeruice of *Bertram de Gleſquin Conſtable of France* ſtood him moſt in ſteed: neither neglected hee before hand to lay vp colours wherewith to ouer-paint his * colluſions and deuiſes for ſauing his honour; inſomuch that when it came to ſcanning, the loſſe was clearely vpon King *Edwards* ſide, and the cauſe of the breach made at leaſtwiſe doubtfull. His practiſes notwithſtanding were palpable, and it muſt bee confeſſed that our truly noble King (without ſuſpition of craft) repoſing himſelfe vpon the rules of * magnanimitie, did not reape the ſtable effects of ſo great and important victories, nor of a peace ſo ceremoniouſly made, that (in the worlds opinion) it might neuer bee infringed without the manifeſt breach vpon one ſide of all bonds both diuine and humane. The Prince of *Wales* by letters aduiſeth his father not to truſt to any faire words, nor ouertures of farther amity made by the *French*, becauſe he ſaid they entertained practiſes vnderhand, in euery place againſt him. But the Prince was * iudged to ſpeake out of a reſtleſſe humour delighting in warre, and therefore preuailed not. The effects diſcloſed that his words were true.

*Tho. VValſing. in Edward 3.

*Bap. Platina in Innocent. 6.

*Tho. Walſing. in Edward 3.

(136) For now king *Charles* ſurnamed the wiſe, hauing by quicke payments, and by one meanes or other gotte hom al the hoſtages which had bin empledged for performance of the Articles of peace before mentioned, ſets all his wits on worke to abuſe

The *Engliſh* ſouereigne Empire vndermined by practiſe of the French.

buſe the King of *Englands* credulitie, till hee had gotten before hand as farre as diſſimulations could aduance: hee Courts the good old Prince with louing letters and preſents, while in the mean time his plots ripen abroad, and the County of *Pontieu* (the king of *Englands* vndeniable inheritance) was firſt ſurpriſed before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had at a Parliament in *Gaſcoigne* propounded a demand for fowage, or of money to bee leuied by the chimney, the Earles of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords the Princes ſubiects, bearing no ſound affections toward the Engliſh Empire (the leſſe for that by the pollicy of *Glequin*, and the Chancellor of *France* * *Dourmauns*, all or moſt of the Countries and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Bretigney*) were annexed thereunto, were cũningly wrought to return to their old Lords) repaire to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to purſue an appeale for redreſſe of this oppreſſion againſt the Prince (who was not ſo happy as to follow the counſell of Sir *Robert Knols* and other wiſeſt Captaines who diſſwaded this impoſition,) pretending that hee was to anſwere before King *Charles* as before his ſuperiour Lord, of whom (they ſaid) he held by homage and fealtie. This practiſe of the diſloyall Lords (for what could they bee elſe? ſeeing King *Edward* and his heires were abſolutely freede (by vertue of the ſaid Treatie) from all manner of ſeruice for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at laſt entertaine, and (vpon hope to recouer by ſurpriſe, and plot, what the Engliſh had won by dint of ſword and perfect manhood) proceeded to ſummon the Prince of *VVales* to *Paris*, there to anſwere ſuch accuſations as his ſubiects made againſt him.

* Inuentorie of *France* in *Charles* the 5. *Serres*

(137) To encreaſe the indignitie of theſe deuiſes, you ſhould hear the French kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom king *Edward* had ſeuerally ſent Ambaſſadors, full of complaints againſt King *Charles*, laying wholie vpon the French, the blame of the new warre, as vpon open breakers of faith, and violaters of the league, moſt confidently on the contrary part charge the Engliſh.

Paul. Aemyl. in Car. 5.

" We had ſuffered the French hoſtages to viſit their " friendes at home vpon the French Kinges word, " that they ſhould come backe by a day, contrary to " which word, they, nor any of them, either were " or are returned. That not ſo much as the Law of " Nations was kept with vs, which ties Princes to " demaund reſtitution by their Officers of Armes, " or vpon deniall to defie them, but where (ſay we) " are the *Heralds which King *Charles* did ſend? We " ſay, that without notice hee ſurpriſeth by ſtealth " the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, King *Edwards* vnque- " ſtionable right, and hath diſſeiſed vs in *Aquitaine*, " which doth no leſſe belong vnto vs then *Pontheiu*. " That * *Margaret* the Inheritrice of *Flanders*, which " had beene promiſed to the Lord *Edmund*, one of " our Kings ſonnes, was by their iniurious practiſe " wonne away, and beſtowed in marriage vpon *Phi-* " *lip* Duke of *Burgundie*. Finallie, wee ſay, that *Lew-* " *is* Duke of *Anion*, one of the pledges, making " an eſcape by that, contrary to honour, and the " league, was by them receiued, and not returned, " which points being all of tranſcendent qualitie, are " (ſay wee) directly contrarie to the Treatie and " ſworne agreement at *Bretigny*.

Serres raſhly affirmes he did.

*Pol. Virg. in E. 3.

The French hereunto anſwere, and charge vpon vs, to ſhew the fault of firſt breach, not theirs, but ours.

The points charged vpon the Engliſh.

" That we by vertue of the ſaid Treaty were bound " immediately to withdraw our Armie out of *France*, " which yet (they ſaid) we did not during all the raign " of *Iohn* their King.

" That the peace was made thereby more noyous, " and hurtfull then the warre, and that they were " faine to purchaſe the departure of our Souldiers " with a greater charge then would haue maintained " a very gallant Armie: That this breach was ours, " becauſe the Souldiers were ours. That *King Ed-* " *ward* was bound in an open aſſembly of the States " of both Realmes, to renounce his right in the " Crowne of *France*: when (ſay they) was this done?

In Charles Seres.

Thus they, and *Serres* ads that the Eſtates of thoſe Countries which had beene aſſigned by the Treatie to the Engliſh aſſeuered, that it was againſt the fundamentall laws of *France* to alien anie part, & that they neither could, nor would ceaſe to be members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is neuer to want friends to ſpeake for them, nor occaſions to ſlip out or in, whenſoeuer profit and aduantage doe inuite. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defenſe, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Aemylius*, where it being obiected with what honour and clemencie King *Iohn* was vſed by vs, they breake out and affirme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for ſuch Countries as wee held in *France*) tooke more gold for the onely ranſome of King *Iohn*, then they paied to redeeme *S. Lewis* their king, & his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captiuated in the Chriſti. an warres by the barbarous Soldan. But (good *Aemylius*) ſay that were ſo, yet cannot you ſay, that the ſumme wee tooke was worth the leaſt Countrie in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bountie to take ſo ſmall a pittance? If you replie that we had many Countries beſides, wee reioine and trulie ſay, that wee quit more then we acquired. But let vs proceed: for now all claimes & quarrels were as open, as if no obſtacle had euer beene interpoſed: the ignominie of their late terrible foiles wounded all true French hearts, and they deſire (king *Edward* growne aged) not to ſeeme by ſitting ſtill vpon ſo many thornes of diſgrace, and loſſe, to haue beene outwarred, though ouer-warred, and though in two or three battels inferior, yet not to haue beene clearely debellated.

The deſi... the Engl... fended ... *P. Aemi...*

(139) What doth our King *Edward* now? Hee * cals a Parliament, declares the breach, praies aid, obtaines it, and claimes the crowne of *France* afreſh. *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* and *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* are ſent ouer to *Calais* with a great force to inuade *France*. No great matter as then enſued. * *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* comming ouer in hope to haue worke for his Curtelax, for the *French* affronted our armie vnder the conduct of Duke *Philip le Hardy* (though at this time ſcarce ſhewing himſelfe worthy that ſurname) but roſe vpon the Earles arriuall, and retired, accuſed the Lords for ſloath, and ſware he would abroad among them to find fighting, while *Engliſh* bread was as yet vndigeſted in his ſouldiers ſtomacks. Somewhat he did, but death by a peſtilentiall dart preuented the reſt. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polybius*) to regiſter the acts which hee ſaw done: A worthy example ill followed by poſterity. The * Duke of *Lancaſter* peirced vp with his armie ſo farre as *Roan*. The ſame *Polydor* wondering why they of *Pontheiu* hauing for an hundreth and twelue yeeres (that is, euer ſince King *Edward* the firſt had it giuen to him with his wife) been ours, ſhould reuolt, only daring the greatneſſe of the *Engliſh*, can find no other reaſon for their doings but this pleaſant one, that as diſperſed cattell gather to their owne heard, ſo Frenchmen flocke to the *French*, and *Engliſh* follow *Engliſh*.

An.D. 1... *Iohn* Duke ... Lancaſter ... Inuade Fra... * Pol. Vir... Edw. 3. Froiſard. * Tho. Wa...

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themſelues within their owne quietly poſſeſſed rights: Otherwiſe, who ſees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes ſhould manage well that which they haue, rather then graſpe at more? For King *Edward* (notwithſtanding his continuall manifold victories) comes back to the Subiect (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, and therefore might the better doe it) for ſupportation: and they yeeld it, but his age was abuſed, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made. Priuate

An.D. ... Sir Robert ... K. Eaſter ... neerall ... parts ... Britain.

turns

turnes were ſerued with publicke loanes. Neuertheleſſe, * after Midſomer day, that renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knols*, whom martiall vertue had raiſed from the loweſt rancke to the higheſt reputation (though ſome alſo affirme him * borne noble) was ſent by King *Edward* into *France* with an Armie, where (while obedience laſted to his direction) all things proſpered. But by the inſtigation of one Sir *Iohn* * *Menſterworth* the yong Lords Grandſonne, and *Fitzwalter*, and other vainelie ſcorning to be vnder *Knols*, for that they held themſelues his betters, and thereupon diuiding themſelues after they had done ſundry exploits, marching vp euen to *Paris*, were beaten and foild by the French vnder *Glequins* conduct, but *Knols* wintred ſafe in *Britaine*. *Menſterworth* comes into *England*, and knowing accuſers haue the vantage, complaines to King *Edward* of *Knols*: but not altogether beleeued: he ads treaſon to vntruth, and turning French becomes a wicked enemy to his King and Countrey, * promiſing the French to procure the *Caſtilian* Nauie to inuade *England*, for which being in the laſt yeere of King *Edwards* raigne taken, hee by due courſe was condemned and cutin pieces, dying the death he had deſerued. He was laid hould vpon in the City of *Pampeline* in *Nauarre*, and from thence conueighed to *London*, vpon whoſe bridge his wicked head ſtood Sentinell.

(141) *Pope *Vrban* the fifth, comming from *Rome* to *Auinion* with purpoſe to vnite theſe two mighty Kings, their wils, and mights againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome, put off mortality at *Marſils*, and ſo that holy intention ceaſed for the preſent: but the ſame being * continued by his next ſucceſſor *Gregory* 11. yet tooke no effect, no more then that which the Emperour to like cauſe would haue vndergone: which the * French impute to King *Edward*, who confident by reaſon of his former atchieuements, would trie it out by the ſword. Wherein he ſeemed to forget the mutable condition of warre, the fearneſſe of his bodie, and the greenneſſe of his Grand-Child yong *Richard*, who was to ſucceed, if the Prince of *Wales* died, as ſhortly after he did. Neither did God ſeeme to approue his opinion herein, for that croſſes came faſt vpon him, both at home and abroad. There is no greater wiſdome nor happineſſe then to know when we are well, and then to preſerue without hazard or empairment, that honour wealth or quiet which we already haue.

(142) Among the States and Townes (aſſigned to the *Engliſh* by vertue of the treatie at *Bretigny*) which had reuolted to the *French*, was the Citie of *Limoges* in *Limoſin*, whither the Prince marcheth, & ſits down with his armie before it. Thither * came vnto him out of *England* his brethren the D. of *Lancaſter* & the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a freſh ſupplie of valiant Chiefs and Souldiers. The City ſtood it out to the vttermoſt, and was forceably entred, where mercy had nothing to ſaue nor ſpare, the ſword and fire for terror to other killing and defacing in a manner all. Hee * who writes that the Prince flew vp neere to *Paris*, and ſcarſely, by reaſon of *Glequins* valour, got backe to *Burdeaux*, ſeemes to haue miſtaken therein, as in many other things concerning vs of great importance. After this ſeruice, the Prince, (health failing him more & more) leaues his Brethren in *Aquitaine*, and ſailes into *England*.

(143) The French in the meane time wonne towns and places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes after ſo long and perpetuall infelicities. The loſſe of that expert Captaine Sir *Iohn Chandoys* (vnfortunately ſlaine) was a great aduantage to their deſires, whoſe whole care for warre reſted vpon *Glequin* (not long before aduanced for his military vertue from low eſtate to ſo great eminencie, as to bee Conſtable of *France*, the chiefeſt officer for warre which that Kingdome hath) and he a man of much proofe, in good and euill fortune, ſo tempered his courage with diſcretion, that he onely firſt bad his Country riſe againe, and endeauor in deſpite of euill fortune to reflouriſh.

(144) The Prince of *Wales* (wanting health) vpon comming to his fathers ſight, rendred vp the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, to bee diſpoſed of, as to his roiall pleaſure ſeemed good. While King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious king of *Nauarre*, whoſe errand was to make an ouerture of aſſociation againſt the *French*; but as his offers were acceptable, ſo his cautions not ſeeming ſufficient, hee returned (after great entertainement) without concluding.

(145) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and his brother the Earle of *Cambridge*, doe now returne out of *Aquitaine*, with the Ladies *Conſtance* and *Iſabel* daughters of *Don Pedro* late King of *Spaine*, whom they married: The Duke thereupon inſtiling himſelfe King, and his wife Queene of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *Engliſh* name onely encreaſed in titularie honors; for about this time, the *Flemings* (who had prouoked vs) were vanquiſht by the * Earle of *Hereford* at ſea in a ſharpe fight, * about twentie and fiue of their ſhippes being taken, and all the men ſlain. The ſweete of this victory was ſowred not long after with a grieuous loſſe: for the *French* hauing beſieged the ſtrong Citie of *Rochel* in *Santoin*, with the aide by ſea of *Henry* King of *Caſtile*; to relieue the *Engliſh*, *Iohn* Earle of *Pembroke* was ſent with about forty ſhippes, men, victuals, munition, and mony, to the value of twenty thouſand marks, for the vſes of the warre; but being ſodainely aſſailed with the *Spaniſh Armado*, which conſiſted of many great ſhippes, vnder the command of *Ambroſe Buccanigra* and others, the Engliſh after a long and cruell conflict were vtterly diſtreſſed, the Earle taken priſoner, and almoſt all the reſt either taken, or put to the ſword. * *Rochel* held out notwithſtanding, to whoſe reliefe while King *Edward* himſelfe in perſon, with an extraordinary force ſet ſaile, the wind (alwayes till that time fauourable to his voyages for *France*) came Eaſterly, and draue him backe into *England* with great griefe, and the waſte (they write) of * nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Neither did hee ſo giue ouer the care of that ſtrong Peece, which the Engliſh moſt manfully made good againſt the enemie.

(146) * *Rochel* thus perſiſting in loyall reſolution, *Iohn* Duke of *Britaine* (who had married the Lady *Marie* daughter of King *Edward*) a Gentleman of much gratitude toward the Engliſh, the authors of his fortunes, reſolues to aduenture his ſtate in their quarrell; ſhips away for *England*: hath aide miniſtred vnto him: hee returnes, and warres with various euent. But *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* with a very great Armie comes to *Callis*, and from thence marcheth ouer the whole face of *France*, and (though with loſſe of many thouſand * horſe in the deſert countries of *Auuergn* throgh famin) came ſafe, but with an almoſt-hunger-ſtarued Army to *Burdeaux*. Not long after hee drew into the field, and a day was appointed betweene him and the Duke of *Anion* the French Kings brother, to haue tried the quarrell of their Nations by ſet battell, before the City of *Tholouz* in *Languedoc*, but by an vntimely & a pernitious ſhort truce (to which K. *Edward* yeelded becauſe his ſon the Prince lay dangerouſly ſick) the hoped victory not onlie ſlipt out of the Engliſh mens hands, but almoſt all aduantage alſo of doing any thing elſe ſeaſonably. The French boaſted * themſelues as of a Conqueſt, who notwithſtanding did helpe out their valiancy with policie. *Glequin* makes his vſe of all occaſions, and workes much harme to the Engliſh party in *Guien* and *Britaine*: But in *Britaine* * Sir *Robert Knols* did ſo nobly acquit himſelfe on the behalfe of his Souereignes ſonne in law the Duke, that he only ſeemed a fit parallel to *Glequin*, like as hee ſtopt the current of his fortune.

An.D.1372

The Flemiſh Nauie diſtreſſed by the Engliſh. * *Holinſhed.* * *Ypod. Neuſt.*

Rochel beſieged by the French.

The Engliſh Nauie diſtreſſed by the Caſtilian.

* *Polyd. Verg. l. 19*

King *Edward* at ſea to relieue *Rochel* is blown backe.

* *Tho. Walſin.*

A.D.1373

Rochel continueth Engliſh. * *Polyd. Verg. lib. 19.*

* *Tho. Walſ.*

* *Tho. Walſ. lib. 19.*

* *I. Tillius Chron.*

Neuertheleſſe the doings of *Glequin* are ſo extolled by the French, that *Tillius* enters them into his Chronology with theſe words, *victoria, &c. the victories, fortunes and triumphes of Bertrand Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine,* though their owne ſelues make no mention of any defeate of the Engliſh, which afforded them matter for the ſhadow of ſuch gloriations.

An.D.1374. (147) The next yeere the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned into *England*, after whoſe departure all *Aquitaine* almoſt reuolted, and fell to the French, who by the aduantage of King *Edwards* age, the Princes pining maladie (which ſome ſay was not poiſon but a *dropſie) and the ſucceſſe of their practiſes more then of their valour, were growne braue againe: A treatie of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was but painted: for euen then the French moſt of all prepared vnderhand for new attempts. Chiefe commiſſioners for the Engliſh at that conference was *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and for the French the Duke of *Anion*. The effects hatched nothing but a ſhort truce for our euils to breed in.

*Serres.

A.D. 1375. (148) Among the parties which were preiudiced by this hurtfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. He had obtained great aſſiſtance from King *Edward*, and was now with *the Earles of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Stafford*, with many other noble gentlemen and ſouldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themſelues a faire way for their maine enterprize, which was to ſettle the Duke, and by the commodity of his Dutchies ſituation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recouer the Engliſh dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treatie did that which *Glequin*, their indeed braue Generall, had not as yet in any ſort effected; for the Duke of *Britaine* had* driuen the French Kings army out of his territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to die; plots one foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an eye to the Succeſsion; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abuſed by dame *Alice Peirs* (a moſt buſie Court-flie) who (after Queene *Philips* death) kept the old man warme, and the French ſaw all theſe matters and ſlept not.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

*I. Tillius.

A.D.1376. (149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, vnfoulding his eſtate, and wants, with demand of ſupplies, the bodie of the aſſembly in ſtead of contributions exhibits complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly praieth, that *Iohn Duke* of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Peirs* (whoſe* behauiours they painted forth as moſt intollerable, for that ſhee, reſpectleſſe of her Sexes frailty, would in perſon, ſaid they, come into all Courts of Iuſtice, and ſometime ſitting by the Iudges or Doctors, would alſo after a moſt inſolent manner perſwade or diſſwade for her moſt aduantage) and with theſe one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be remoued from the perſon of the King. Neuertheleſſe the Parliament made offer, that if the King were indeed out of money, they would liberally aduance toward his vſes. The* Prince of *Wales* fauoured their free dealing, and all the ſaid perſons were remoued, others more acceptable (ſuch as the Prince and Peeres thought fitter) being ſurrogated in their places.

*Tho. VValſin. in Edward 3: *Alice Peirs* the old Kings Concubine a moſt inſolent woman.

*Holinſh.

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) laſted at *Weſtminſter*, the noble ſoule of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* vpon *Trinity Sunday* (which euerie yeere he vſed to celebrate with the greateſt honour that might be in due veneration of ſo diuine a myſtery) was preſented to the holy and bleſſed Trinity, after he had liued therein* about 46. yeeres. In ſteed of Epitaph or mention of obſequies, the words of *Walſingham* ſhall ſerue vs for the preſent, of whoſe death he writes thus. *Quo obeunte, &c. With whom dying, died all the hope of Engliſhmen; during whoſe life, the Engliſh feared no inuaſion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For he aſſailed no Nation which he ouercame not; he beſieged no City which he tooke not.* And when this lampe was put out, the effect of this Parliament was extinguiſhed. His mortall parts were interred at *Canterbury*, where his monument ſtandeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues haue as large an extent, and ſpace to moue in, as the wide world. The King of *France* moſt* reuerently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a generall ſorrow, as for one whoſe worth had begotten a iuſt hope that hee would out-goe* his Anceſtors in glorie. Death preuenting that experiment of him, he is notwithſtanding in full poſſeſsion of loue and praiſe* among all men for that which was paſſed. The cauſe of this domeſticke mourning encreaſed with the effects of his loſſe, which forthwith diſcloſed themſelues. The King recals ſuch perſons as at the petition of the Lords and Commons had beene remoued, and *Peter de la Mare* ſpeaker of the laſt Parliament, who had eloquently expreſt the minde of the houſe in the foreſaid reformations, was, at the * ſuite of the ſaid bolde Dame *Alice Peirs*, condemned by the King to perpetuall impriſonment at *Nottingham*, though within two yeeres after by the importune ſuite of friends hee regained libertie. Meane-while *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter** gets the gouernance of the kingdome to be intruſted to him by his father.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

*Poly. Verg.

*Tho. VValſin. in Edward 3.

(151) *Richard* the eldeſt ſonne of the late moſt noble Prince of *Wales*, for preuention of all debates about the right of ſucceſsion to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father firſt made Earle of *Cheſter*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more aſſurance (leaſt the ſonnes deceaſe before the fathers ſhould preiudice the Grand-Child) King *Edward** cauſed all the nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawfull heire and King of *England*, after himſelfe was dead: Neither did his* vncles though famous Captaines, repugne. Finally, the good old King, to comfort himſelfe in honouring the liuing image of his nobleſt Child, the late Prince *Edward*, and to giue the minde of his *Grand-Child* a feeling of future maieſtie, that by the ſodeine inſolency of the ſplendor, it might not afterward too much abuſe his tender iudgement, and to make his vncles acquainted with reſpect of his perſon, he cauſed him to ſit openly at his Table aboue all his owne Children in Chriſtmas.

The Prince of *Wales* dieth

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(152) About this time the famous Doctor *Iohn Wiclef* a man of ſharpe wit, profound learning, and great iudgement, did in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford* publikely maintaine ſundry propoſitions and dogmatical points againſt the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (foreſeeing the hazard hanging ouer his triple Crowne) condemned * three and twenty as hereticall; whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* hauing attached the body of the ſaid *Wiclef*, did in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord *Henry Peircie* (*his great fauourers,) declare the iudgement of the Pope concerning *Wiclefs* doctrine, which had then taken deepe roote both in the vniuerſity, Court, and Countrey. So for a while all was quiet. But (vpon ſome ſecret encouragements) he held not peace long. His followers were, in the phraſe of thoſe darke daies, called* *Lolards*, whereas, in truth, they endeauoured to extirpate all pernitious weeds, which through time, ſlouth, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaſter* (the rather, ſome thinke, vpon priuate emulations againſt *Courtney* Biſhop of *London*) was engaged ſo farre in his protection, that he and the Lord *Percy* hardly eſcaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without queſtion haue hewed them in pieces in reuenge of ſome diſgracefull ſpeech vttered by him againſt their Biſhop. He notwithſtanding diſſwaded all violence, and kept them from firing his palace of the *Sauoy*, but they neuertheleſſe did in moſt deſpitefull manner reuerſe his Armories in the open Market: A diſhonour not to be borne, as that in which the dignitie

*Holinſh.

*Tho. VValſin.

*Lolards ſo eth cockle ſuch like

airy of his royall bloud was empaired. By this outrage the people (a most dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made known, what he, and the Lord *Rosse* were to have hoped, if they could have fingred them, before they had gotten to *Kensington* to Prince *Richard*, who there remained with his mother: The Duke for this bare the *Londoners* much euill will, neither rested till (for a commencement of reuenge) hee had procured the Maior and Aldermen to be thrust from their places, and substituted others in their stead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but warre. Prouisions in that respect were not neglected here. One of the last publike acts of the old kings life, was the triumphall celebration of Saint *Georges* feast at *Windsor*, where himselfe had founded the order of the Garter; and at this solemnitie hee bestowed vpon his dearest Grandchild Prince *Richard* the dignitie of Knighthood, which onely thing in all the patrimonie of honour could not discend vnto him.

(154) Not long after ensued the sentence of diuorce which God pronounced betweene the soule and body of this mighty and martiall king, who left the world in the moneth of Iune at his Manour of *Shene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may giue you a perfect Character of his mind: few Princes that had so great and heroicke vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of those times, which abounding in learned men, (and among them *Geffrey Chaucer* Prince of *Poets*) afforded no better an Epitaph then that which we are faine with pitty to reade vpon his Monument at *Westminster*: the stuffe neuertheless is worthie, though the forme bee rude.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum prateriterum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum.
Tertius Ewardus, regni complens Iubilæum,
*Inuictus Pardus, * pollens bellis Machabæum.*

Here Englands grace the flower of Princes past,
Patterne of future, Edward the third is plaste,
Milde Monarch, Subiects peace, warres Machabee,
*Victorious * Pard, his raigne a Iubilee.*

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aspired) ought to seeme. His mind (by sundry great checkes of Gods prouidence) recalled to consider of the foure last things, Death, Iudgement, Heauen and Hell, made him betake himselfe to Acts of benignity and deuotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey-Church at *Westminster* (since most magnificently enlarged by King *Henry* the seuenth) was of his building. The holy quiet of studies, and aduancement of good Arts, hee so prosperously fauoured, that besides other great priuiledges granted to the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, (*where himselfe had in his youth beene trained vp vnder the learned *Walter Burley*) * he conferred *the chiefe rule of that whole City vpon the Chancellor of the Vniuersity*, subordinating the Maior and Citizens to his gouernment, in regard of their iniuries offered to the Students. This most mighty Monarch that euer ware the Crowne of *England*, in many other felicities excelled his Ancestors, as in the victorious valour of his Children, their obedience to him, and loue among themselues. A Lady to his wife (their mother) of such excellent vertue and gouernment, as that thē K. *Edwards* fortunes seemed to fall into Eclypse when shee was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whose name among the suruiuing spendors of his actions, is iustly transmitted with honour to all posterity. Hee raigned almost one and fifty yeeres, and * liued about threescore and fiue.

His Wife.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter of *William* Earle of *Hainalt* and *Holland*, sister of Earle *William* the last of that house, and of *Margaret* the Empresse that succeeded him; her mother was * *Ioan* sister of *Philip* of *Valois* king of *France*, daughter of *Charles* Earle of *Valois*, who was sonne to King *Philip the Hardy*. Shee was married vnto him at *Yorke*, Ianuary 24. crowned at *Westminster* the first Sunday of *Lent* following, 1327. Shee was a Lady of great vertue, and a constant true hearted louer of our Nation, was his wife two and forty yeeres, died August 15. Anno 1369 of her husbands raigne, 43. and was buried at *Westminster*, where shee hath a faire Tombe, at the foote of her husband, of blacke Touchstone with the garnishing about it, and the portraiture ouer it of Alablaster: but shee built to her selfe a Monument of more glory and durability, by founding, and richly endowing the *Colledge*, called of her the *Queenes* in *Oxford*, which, if it had beene finished according to the proiect, had been a foundation of maruellous state and magnificence.

* *Mary* saith *Miles.*

His Issue.

(156) *Edward*, their eldest sonne and first child, borne at *Woodstocke*, Iuly 15. in the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, Anno 1329. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, hee was also Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Ioan* (the most admired Ladie of that age) daughter of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, brother, by the fathers side, to king *Edward* the second. Shee had beene twice married before, first to the valiant Earle of *Salisburie*, frow whom shee was diuorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whose decease, this Prince passionately louing her, did marrie her: by her hee had Issue two sonnes, *Edward* the eldest, borne at *Angolesme*, who died at seuen yeeres of age, and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who, after his father was *Prince of Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also naturall Issue, Sir *Iohn Sounder*, and Sir *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the raigne of *Henry* 4. is thought to haue been ancestor to the house of *Smythes* in *Essex*. Hee died at *Canterbury* on Trinity Sunday, Iune 8. *ætat.* 46. of his fathers raign 49. and was buried at Christ-church there, 1376.

(157) *William* their second sonne, and fourth child, was borne 1335. 9. of his fathers raigne, at *Hatfield* in the County of *Hertford*, taking his Christian name from *William* Earle of *Hainault* his Grandfather, and his surname from the place of his Nativity; is reported to haue deceased in his childhood, & to bee buried at *Yorke*.

(158) *Lionel*, their third sonne and fift child, was borne at the City of *Antwerpe*, 29. Nouemb. 12. of his fathers raigne, Anno 1338. hee married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter & heire of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlster* in *Ireland*, in whose right hee was first created Earle of *Vlster*; and because hee had with her the honour of *Clare* in the Counties of *Tenmond*, as parcell of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the sister and coheire of the last Earle *Gilbert Clare*, hee was in a Parliament, Anno 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Country about the Towne Castle and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchie the name of *Clarentieux* (being the Title of the *King of Armes* for the South parts of *England*) is deriued. This Duke had Issue by her one onely daughter named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, and shee was the mother of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the 4. the second marriage of this Duke was in *Lombardie* at *Millayne*, with the Lady * *Violanta* daughter of *Galeacio* the second Duke therof; but through intemperance, he lined not long after.

* *Iolanta* saith *Polyd. Virg.*

(159) *Iohn*, their fourth sonne and sixt Childe

was

was borne at *Gaunt* the chiefe Towne of *Flaunders*, Anno 1340. and 14. of his fathers raigne. In his Childhood he was created Earle of *Richmond*, which title was afterward recalled in, and bestowed vpon *Iohn* Duke of *Britanny*, who married his sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. Hee had three wiues; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire, of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* (sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Crouch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincolne*, and *high Steward* of *England*. He had issue by her, *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derbie*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *Iohn* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth*, married first to *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*) and after him, to Sir *Iohn Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time he entituled himself *King* of both these realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third, sonne of King *Iohn*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said realmes. His third wife was *Katherine* the widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet* a *Gascoigne* called *Guien* King of Armes, for that Countrey, * his yonger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her hee had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeere of King *Richard* the second,) *Iohn* Earle of *Sommerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinall; and *Ioane*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* (Baron of *Wemme* and *Ouesley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwicke*) and secondly to *Raph Neuil* the first, Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France** where they were all borne,) in regard thereof bearing the *Porculleys* of a Castle for the cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeere of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a parliament holden at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the sixt yeere after, hee was called home, and this Title recalled in, and in the third yeere after, the sixtieth of his age, Anno 1399. he dyed at *Ely house* in *Holborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*.

*Millet. p. 992.

*Idem ib.

Edmond, their 5. sonne, surnamed of *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge* Anno 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. Hee was afterward made Duke of *Yorke*, Anno 1286. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, took to wife *Anne Mortimer* heire of the foresaid *Lionel* elder brother to *Edmund Langley*.

William another of their sonnes, surnamed of *Wynsore*, where he was borne dyed yong, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip* surnamed of *Woodstocke* (where hee was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Coronation day, An. 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Gloucester*, 1385. The Earledomes also of *Essex* and *Northampton*, and the Constableshippe of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the only daughter and heire of *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Hee was a man of valour, wisdome, and vigilancy for the behoofe of the King his Nephew and the State, but those noble vertues (distempered with too much wilfulnesse & froward obstinacy) bred him, first Enuy, and after ruine. For the King surmising him to bee a too seuere obseruer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* how to make him away; whom *Mowbray* vnawares surprizing, conuaied secretly to *Calis* where he was strangled 1397. 20. of his Nephewes raigne. Himselfe in his life had prouided a goodlie tombe at *Playsie* in *Essex* (his owne Towne, and * the vsuall seat of the *great Constables* of *England*) * where hee founded a Colledge; whither his body was brought, and laid with all funerall pompe, but afterward it was translated to *Westminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humfrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence An. 1400. *Anne* (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom shee had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *William Bourchier* Earle of *Eue*, by whom she had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*) *Philippa*, *Ioane*, *Isabell*, who died all issuelesse.

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second childe of K. *Edward* and Queene *Philip* was married at *Windsore* with great pompe to *Ingelram* of *Guisnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Seysons* and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom K. *Edward* (his father in law) created also Earle of *Bedford* 1365. by whom shee was mother of *two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom shee bare *Robert de Barre*, and *Ioane*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of S. *Paul*) and *Philip*, the wife of *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland* and Marquesse of *Dublyn*; this *Robert* in the heigth of his fortunes forsooke his noble Ladie, and married one * *Lancerona* a Ioyners daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Boheme*; and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings eare to the hurt of the State, driuen out of the land by the nobles, hee dyed at *Louain*, in great vexation of mind, and extreme penury, An. 1392. *Isabel* his wiues mother was buried in the Church of *Fryars Minorites* neer *Algate* in *London*.

*Ibm. p. 41.

*Ibm. p. 41.

*Ibm. p. 41.

Ioane their second daughter and third child was borne 9. of her fathers raigne An. 1335. Being 14. yeres of age, shee was desired in marriage by solemne Embassage, from *Alphons* the eleuenth King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the 4. was espoused by *Proxie*, intituled Queene of *Spaine*, and conueyed into that Countrey, where shee presently deceased of a great plague that then raigned; so as the King comming to meete her to solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanyed her to Church only at her funerall 22. of her fathers raigne. An. 1348.

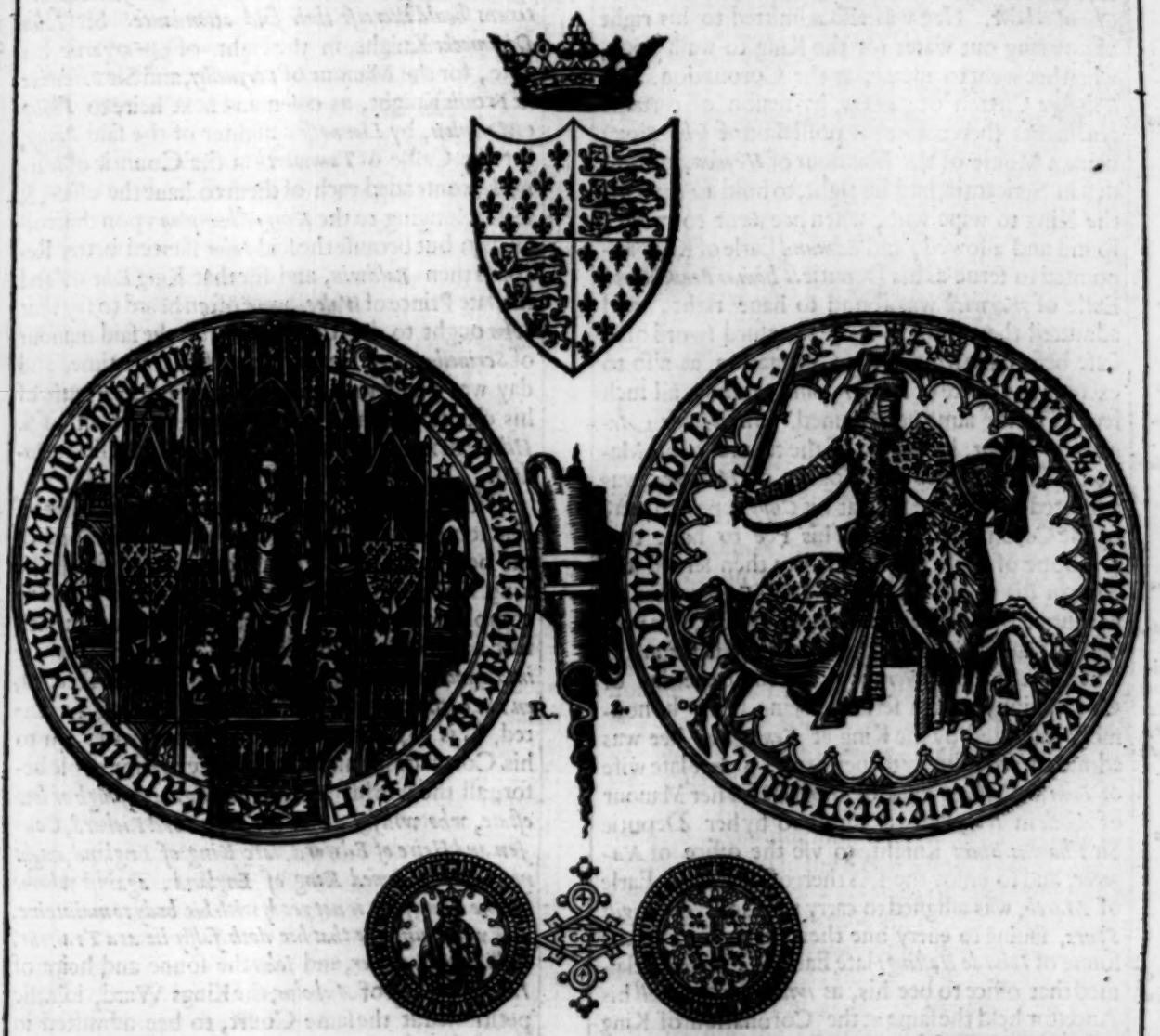
Blanch the 3. daughter, died yong, and lieth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, their 4. daughter was married to *Iohn Montford* Duke of *Britaine*.

Margaret their youngest daughter was the first wife of *Iohn de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, but shee dyed without issue.

RICHARD THE SECOND KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND. THE FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND TROVBLES.

Richard II. Monarch 50



CHAPTER XIII.

RIchard of *Burdeaux*, sonne to that *Great Star* of *English* Cheualrie, *Edward*, by-named the *Blacke Prince*, and grand-child to the most renowned *Edward the third* (both of them lately deceased) was crowned in the eleuenth yeare of his age, and vpon the sixteenth day of Iuly. Seldome hath been seen so magnificent a Coronation, as that of this young King, but the thing which gaue a better lustre of hope at his beginning; then the shine and maiesty of that publike Act, was the wise course which in this his childhood was taken; to wit, the reconciliation of the Lord *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Citizens of *London*, with the restitution of Sir *Peter de la Mare* Knight, *Speaker* in the late Parliament, (whom King *Edward* had committed to prison, at the instigation of Dame *Alice Peeres* now banisht, and confiscated) not onely to former liberty, but likewise to fauour and honor extraordinary.

1378.

Coronation King.

(2) At this Coronation, (which, as matters not vnworthie to bee kept aliue, wee following the immethodicall order of the Record, haue here for perpetuall memory thought good to abridge out of authentike Monuments) *Iohn* the Kings eldest vncle, vnder the stile of *Iohn* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and *Duke* of *Lancaster*, by humble petition to the King, claimed to bee now Steward of *England*, in right of his Earledome of *Leicester*; and as he was Duke of *Lancaster*, to beare the Kings chiefe sword called *Curtana*; and as Earle of *Lincolne*, to cutte and carue at the royall Table before the King. His petitions being found iust, were confirmed to him, and to his Assignes, the two Earles of *Derby* and *Stafford*, the first to beare the *Sword*, while the Duke should be busied about other offices as *Steward*, and the other to cut and carue. The Duke then in great estate, held this the Kings high Court of *Stewardship* in the *White-hall* of the Kings Pallace at *Westminster*,

Ex MS. apud D. Rob. Cotton.

Seruices by reason of tenures at the Coronation found and allowed in that Court.

The Court of high Stewardship.

neere to the Chappell of the ſaid Palace, vpon the Thurſday, before the Coronation, which was alſo vpon a Thurſday. There *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* the Kings vncle, was admitted to exerciſe the office of *Conſtable of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Conſtable* of *England*. *Henrie de Percie* (Lord *Percie*) was by the Kings conſent and writ authoriſed to exerciſe the place of *Marſhall of England* for that time, ſauing to euerie one their right, for that by reaſon of the times ſhortneſſe, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter & heire to *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, late Earle of *Norffolk*, and *Marſhall* of *England*, laid thereunto, could not bee diſcuſſed. *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minority, being notwithſtanding found to haue right in Fee, was by the Kings ſpeciall conſent allowed to haue, and vſe the office of *Chamberlaine*. Hee was alſo admitted to his right of powring out water for the King to waſh with, when hee went to meate, at the Coronation. *Iohn Wiltſhire* Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of certaine tenements (heretofore the poſſeſſion of *Iohn Picot*) being a Moitie of the Mannour of *Heydon*, and holden in Serieantie, had his right, to hold a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when hee went to meate, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of Kent appointed to ſerue as his Deputie. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwick* was found to haue right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third ſword of eſtate before the King at the Coronation, as alſo to exerciſe the office of *Pantler*, and to enioy all ſuch fees as to the ſame appertained. Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his Mannour of *Wimondley* in the County of *Hertford*, was admitted to ſerue the King at his *Cuppe*, vpon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to haue that * Cuppe of ſiluer wherewith hee then ſerued the King in his royaltie. *William* Lord *Furniuall* for his Mannour of *Farnham* and *Hamlet* of *Cere*, was proued to haue right to ſupport the Kings right arme, when it held the *Scepter* royall therein at the day of Coronation; which ſeruice beeing firſt * honourably knighted by the King at *Kenington*, hee was admitted accordingly to performe. *Anne* late wife of *Iohn de Haſtings* Earle of *Pembroke* for her Manour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolke*, was admitted by her Deputie Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to vſe the office of *Naperer*, and to enioy the fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, was aſſigned to carry the Kings *great gilt Spurs*, ſauing to euery one their right; for *Iohn*, the ſonne of *Iohn de Haſtings* late Earle of *Pembroke*, claimed that office to bee his, as *William le Marſhall* his Anceſtor held the ſame at the Coronation of King *Edward* the ſecond; but by reaſon hee was vnder age, and in Wardſhippe, the King for that time diſpoſed it to the Earle of *March*. Who alſo, with the ſaide *Spurres* was aſſigned to beare the *ſecond Sword* before the King; for which, the ſaid young Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Earle of *Arundel* (in the right of his Anceſtor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adiudged to *Pembroke*, for his Caſtles and Townes of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, *&c.* but the execution of that honourable place was aſſigned by the King as before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, for the Manour of B. in *Kent*, was admitted to bee chiefe Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the ſale thereof) the Earles Anceſtors had exerciſed that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Staplegate*, who then had that manour as ſonne and heire of *Edmund Stapulgate* (ward to *Ieffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundreth and foure pounds) for that time put off, his right to him in the meane time ſaued notwithſtanding. The Lord Maior and Citizens of *London* (ſuch as were choſen for that high dayes ſeruice among themſelues) were found by good Record to haue their ſeuerall rights. The *Maior* to attend in his owne perſon as chiefe Cuppe-waiter, (charged with the Cupbord-royall) aſwell in the hall at dinner, to ſerue the king in a cuppe of gold with ſpices, and for his Fees to haue the ſaid Cuppe, and a * Water-ſpowt-potte of gold thereunto belonging, when he tooke his leaue at night. The *Citizens*, to helpe their Lord Maior in his office of chiefe *Pincern* or Cup-waiter, and to miniſter or ſerue the Lords aſwell at Dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after dinner. *Whereupon the King* (ſaith the Record) *perpendens gratitudinem magnam & ſubſidium quæ Progenitores ſui, &c. weighing with himſelfe the great gratitude and aide, which his Progenitors had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens aforeſaid, and hoping himſelfe to finde in them the like gratitude and aide hereafter, and to the intent that they might with the more ioyfull hearts performe loyall obedience to the King, and more earneſtly helpe him in his occaſions, he being heartily deſirous to content them, did will and ordaine that the ſelected Citizens ſhould exerciſe their ſaid attendance.* Sir *Iohn Dymmocke* Knight, in the right of *Margarite* his wife, for the Manour of *Scryuelby*, and Sir *Baldwine de Freuile* Knight, as coſen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Lionneſſe* daughter of the ſaid *Philip*, for the Caſtle of *Tamworth* in the Countie of *Warwicke*, contended each of them to haue the office, & fees belonging to the *Kings Champion* vpon that roiall day; but becauſe the ſaid *Iohn* ſhewed better Records then *Baldwin*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to ſay that *Iohn* ought to doe that ſeruice for the ſaid manour of *Scriuelby*, hee was admitted for that time, and day was giuen to *Baldwine* to ſhew farther cauſe of his claime within three weekes after the feaſt of S. *Hilarie* next, or elſe for euer to bee vtterlie excluded.

This *Champion* is to haue for accompliſhment of that ſeruice (and the ſame alſo for his fees) one of the beſt horſes of warre and capariſons, which the king hath, one ſaddle plated with Iron, and one complete armour with the whole furniture, in ſuch ſort as the King himſelfe vſeth, *when hee is to goe into a mortall battell* (*Sil deuſt aler*, ſaith the Record, *en une battaile mortele*) in which ſort being mounted, he is to ride before the King in proceſſion to his Coronation, and to crie thrice to the people before all the world. *That there is no man of high or low eſtate, who will ſay, that our liege Lord Richard, Couſen and Heire of Edward, late King of England, ought not to bee crowned King of England, againſt whome hee the Champion is not ready with his body to maintaine, and will maintaine that hee doth falſly lie as a Traitour.* *William de Latimer*, and *Iohn* the ſonne and heire of *Iohn Mowbray* of *Axholm*, the Kings Ward, iointlie petitioned at the ſame Court, to bee admitted in the right of *William Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whoſe lands the king held in right of the ſaid Wardſhippe, and *William de Latimer* in his owne right,) to haue the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation, and to enioy the Fees thereof. And becauſe in the redde Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the ſaide *William Beauchampe* (late deceaſed) vſed the ſaide office; *William de Latimer* was there admitted, aſwell for himſelfe, as for the ſaide heire to exerciſe the ſame, and for his Fee to haue the ſiluer platter of Almes which ſtood before the King as hee ſate at the Table vpon that day; and if afterward it ſhould reaſonably appeare, that they likewiſe ought to haue an * Hogſhead of wine, they ſhould haue it.

William Bardolf ſhewed by petition (as all the reſt did) *to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of Caſtile and Leon, Duke of Lancaſter, and Steward of England*, that certaine of the ſaid *William* his Fee-ſimple lands in his towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chiefe by Serieantie. The words of the petition, ſhewing the ſeruice, which we (fearing to erre) leaue for other to interprete, are theſe. *De trouuer le iour due Coronement noſtre treſredoubte Seigneur le Roy, vng homme de faire vne meſſe queſt appelle Dilgirunt*, & ſi apponatur ſanguineum *adonques il eſt appelle*

The Lord high Conſtable of *England*.

The Lord high Marſhall of *England*.

The Earle high Chamberlaine of *England*.

The Earle of *Kent* Deputie to a Citizen of *London* at the Coronation.

The Earle of *Warwickes* ſeruice.

Sir *Iohn de Argenthem* (or *Argenton*) his ſeruice

* This name bare three cups *Argent* in a field gules, that you may know that ancient Coat-armors had their cauſes of bearing.

The L. *Furniuals* honourable ſeruice.

* *Honoreſicè.*

The Counteſſe Dowager of *Pembroke* her claime to ſeruice.

The Earle of March.

The ſeruices of *Haſtings* Earle of *Pembroke*.

Lord Chiefe Butler.

The ſeruices of the L. Maior of *London*, and the ſelected Citizens

*Com... in Eng...

The King's Champion

The ſeruice fees of the Champion that time.

The offices Chiefe Elect... nar at the nation.

*Tonne

appelle Malpygerynen la Cuisin de Roy. And accordingly the laid *William* was admitted to that seruice by his Deputy. *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Manour of L. which *Iohn de Lyston* and his ancestors held by the seruice of making wafers for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordinglie thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, vpon their petition and claime, the matter being euident, were admitted to beare (and to haue for their Fees) the Kings Canapie of cloth of Gold (or of what other stuffe elsse it pleased the King) vpon foure staues of siluer ouer the kings head vpon the day of Coronation, and also to sit at meat in the hall at the highest Table on the kings right hand. *Iohn Fitz-Iohn*, in right of his wife, shewed, that the Manour of S. in *Norfolke* was holden of the King by the seruice of Chiefe *Larderer* at his Coronation, and that *Geffrey Burdeleys* did exercise the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third; whereupon *Iohn Fitz-Iohn* was admitted to exercise that office by himselfe and his Deputies. *Richard Hering* for the Mannor of C. in the County of *Surrey*, in the right of *Agnes* his wife, claimed to be Vsher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, hee was left otherwise to pursue his interest if he so thought good. These are the seruices which were then claimed before the D. of *Lancaster*, Steward of *England*, which he with his owne hands deliuered into the Kings Chancery there to bee enrowled. At the same Coronation also *Thomas* of *VVoodstocke* youngest sonne of the late king was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guychard d' Angolem* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Henry Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*. Thus the bounty of the young Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splendor to these eminent persons of his Kingdome. Howsoeuer, these and the like honours haue not in our Common-wealth either alwayes beene fortunate to the Receiuers, or without repentance to the Donors.

(3) But the generall State of the kingdome beeing implicated, before the late king *Edwards* decease, by reason of that opportunity and aduantage to their designes, which the neighbour enemies of the Crowne of *England* found in the old age of that victorious Monarch, was now no lesse entangled through the contempt of king *Richards* youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fifty ships (as *Walsingham* cals them) thrust into the Hauen of *Rie*, the towne whereof they rifled, and consumed with fire. The Crowne of *England* was scarse setled on his head, when the *Scots* at the other end of *England* set fire vpon the Town of *Rockesbrough*: but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie*) arriued in their Gallyes, and tooke the whole Isle of Wight, the Castle (which Sir *Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) only excepted, leuying vpon the inhabitants one thousand Marks in lieu of sparing their houses from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Winchelsey*, though being from thence repulsed, they burnt the Towne of *Hastings* at that present.

(4) These petty braues thus giuen to the king, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with such successes (dishonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who seemed to haue lost the soueraignty of the *English* Ocean, where Pyrates durst so reuell, and also to haue had as little counsell, courage or forces left about him vpon the land) come on Shore at *Rotingdene* in *Sussex*. The Prior of *Lewis* with some slight tumultuarie Forces, rashly aduentures himselfe against them, where he with two knights, & some few others were taken prisoners, and about 100. English slaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Prisoners to their Nauie.

(5) The chiefe charge of affaires lay vpon the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings vncle, or vpon some such as he did put about him, through whose want of care, things declining to a shamefull change, and the glorious atchieuements of the two late *Edwards* falling vnder Eclypse, there was onlie found one priuate Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the enuie of the slothfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing elsse, so much as the good of his neglected Countrey) put his whole strengths to support the same. This was the worthy *Iohn Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleet to the Sea, raignes by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intollerable violences. Nor did his so great pietie faile of happy euent, for God (who fauours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a short space 15. Spanish Ships fraught with rich merchandize, which the right of warre made his, wherby his great charges were abundantly repayed. Let vs see his Statue erected now at last, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

The immortall deserts of Sir Iohn Philpot Citizen of London.

(6) What therefore the loue of their Prince and Countrey could not stirre vp in the Lords, that very shame and indignation doe. There is consultation had, and the King of *Nauarre* (an vnquiet subiect of the Crowne of *France*) morgageth the Hauen Towne of *Cheirbrough* in *Normandy* to King *Richard*. The occasion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thrusting into it a good Garrison (which was forthwith done, and first Sir *Robert Rous*, then Sir *Iohn* of *Harleston*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the same would at all times serue to giue quiet entrance to an inuasion of *France* which now was meditated.

(7) How loosely, the meane while, the affaires of the State and Iustice were managed, by reason of the vnripe yeeres of the King, may appeare by a bloody outrage then perpetrated and vnreuenged. The occasion this. In the warres of *Spaine*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for restoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Dean* was taken and adiudged Prisoner (from all others clayming that honour) to two valiant Esquires *Robert Haule* and *Iohn Shakell*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight Sir *Iohn Chandos*. They free the Earle, taking his sonne and heire for assurance of performances. This young Gentleman (vtterly neglected hitherto by his dishonourable Father,) was now demanded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, with a purpose (as was thought) the rather either to aduance thereby his (the said Dukes) title to the Crowne of *Spaine*, or to make a peace there, with the better conditions. The Esquires refuse, and shift their Hostage out of the way; are thrust therefore into the Tower of *London*; but escaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Westminster*. Thither with fifty armed men doth *Sir Alan de Bruxhull* secretlie repaire, drawes *Shakel* by a wile out of the priuiledge of the Church, and expostulates the matter with *Haule* in the Kings name; vpon whom (protesting against the abuse offered to that Maiestie in his tender yeeres, and freely taxing his Counsellours with iniustice, auarice, and euill aduice,) while they sought to lay hands, he with his short sword valiantly made them all flie off, but in the end they most wickedly murthered him in the Chancell: commending himselfe, in his last words, *to God reuenger of such iniuries, and to the liberty of our holy mother the Church.* With him was murthered a seruant of his thrust in with a Iauelin at the backe. This is that *Haule* whose body lies buried vnder a brasse-plated stone in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, whose blood (by the violence of the said Duke) found not that fulnesse of legall vengeance, which so hainous an homicide required.

The sacrilegious murther of Robert Haule.

(8) The North parts of *England* were about this time greeuously visited with the stroake of pestilence, and their lamentable affliction encreased by the inroads and outrages of the Scots; who had now surprized *Berwicke* killing *Sir Robert Beynton* Knight

Berwick surprized and recouered within nine daies.

1378.

Knight the Conſtable thereof; which yet the Earle of *Northumberland* vpon the ninth day after recouered by force, putting thoſe, who had ſurprized it, to the ſword.

A.D. 1379.

(9) Neither was the ſpirit of the Engliſh (after it began to requicken) idle elſewhere; for as *Sir Robert Rous* had diuers wayes vexed the French, and taken *Oliuer* (the brother of that renowned *Bertrand de Glequin*) priſoner, ſo *Sir Iohn de Harleſton*, Captaine of *Cherbrough* after him, ſlew and took diuers French in a skirmiſh. Theſe the few foregoing drops of greater approaching ſhowers. For *Sir Hugh Caluerlee* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made admirals of the narrow Seas, tooke many rich prizes, and exploited ſundry other things very praiſeworthily, bringing home the acceptable newes of the diſlike which the *Britons* had conceiued againſt the *French* Kings Gouernment; for he commanded them to render vp to him all their ſtrengths, Caſtles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refuſed to obey, hee put to death.

The *Britons* diſlike of the French Gouernment: matter of new troubles.

(10) Theſe emploiments, and freſh deſignes for other like, found need of pecuniary ſupplies; whereupon, in a Parliament holden at *London*, it was agreed, that for ſupply of the Kings wants, the Commons ſhould be ſpared, and the burthen be wholie vndergone by the able. The rates then of that taxe were theſe; Dukes, Archbiſhops, Earles and Biſhops at ten marks each, mitred *Abbots* at as much, beſides fortie pence for euery Monke vnder their ſubiection. Briefly (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) there was no religious perſon, man or woman, *Iuſtitiar*, Sheriffe, Knight, Eſquire, Parſon, Vicar, or * Chauntry Prieſt free from this taxe rated according to the value of their yeerely receipts.

The commons ſpared in the ſubſidie.

*Simplex Capellanus. *Walſing.*

(11) We formerlie mentioned, how *Iohn Shakell* (the other companion of *Robert Haulee* ſo execrablie murdered in Gods-houſe) was taken. He now vpon condition that the King (beſides 500. markes in money) ſhould giue him lands to the yeerely value of one hundreth markes, and ſhould alſo found and ſufficiently endow, at the Kings coſts, a Chantrie with fiue Prieſts for their ſoules, whom the kings Officers had wickedly murthered, he rendred vp his Hoſtage, the eldeſt (but naturall) ſonne of the ſaid Earle of *Dean*. At the diſcouery and bringing-forth of whom, all men were ſtroken with wonderfull loue and admiration: for the yong Gentleman (hauing giuen his faith not to diſcloſe himſelfe,) appeared in the ſhape of a baſe groome, in which (vnknowne to all the world but his Maſter) hee had of his owne accord lurked. An example of ſuch a point of perfect honeſtie as cannot be forgotten without iniurie.

A memorable example of a noble young gentlemans faith-keeping.

(12) The ſame yeere, the Lord *Iohn Mountford*, whom the French had driuen out, being inuited home by his Barons, returned into his Dutchy of *Britaine*, accompanied with the valiant Knights *Caluerley* and *Percy* aforeſaid, where he, his friends, and followers were receiued with ſingular honor. Soone after *Sir Iohn* of *Arundell*, brother to the Earle of *Arundell*, being ſent into *Britaine* to aid the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Eſquires drowned. It is imputed by our Author to a iuſt effect of Gods anger againſt the ſaid *Sir Iohn*, and his houſhold, for their manifold vices and outrages, practiſed by him and them, before they ſet out from *England*, for which they had the bitter curſes of the people; and the Angell of deſtruction to execute thoſe imprecations vpon the delinquents.

Aids ſent into *Britaine* drowned.

(13) But the action of aiding did more deepely import, then that it ſhould bee abandoned for the loſſe of that vnfortunate fellowſhip, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Earle of *Buckingham*, with *Caluerlee*, *Percy*, *Knols*, *Windleſhores* (or *Windſor*) verie valiant knights & other competent forces, was ſent to aſſiſt the Duke of *Britaine*. But becauſe the French Galleys houered vpon the narrow Seas, they landed at *Calleys*, and from thence march through *France*, ſpoiling Countries, burning townes, the *French* not *daring to empeach them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came ſafe into *Britaine*.

Other aids paſſe into *Britaine* from *Calleis* by land.

An.D.1380.

(14) There were about theſe times ciuill diuiſions in *France*; for the Duke of *Burgundie*, younger brother of King *Charles* (lately dead) being made Guardian of the perſon and dominions of his Nephew *Charles* then in minority, had the Duke of *Anion* (being an elder brother to the Duke of *Burgundie*) a mortall enemie. Their bloudy quarrels fell out luckily for the Engliſh aides in the Dutchie of *Britaine*, out of which as Duke *Iohn* had beene driuen for adhering to his father in law the late king *Edward*, ſo the Engliſh did their beſt to vphold him in it, as there was cauſe.

(15) The French in theſe extremes are releeued by their ancient diuerſion: for the Scots entring about that time with fire and ſword into *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, and the forreſt of *Inglewood*, draue away much Cattle, ſlew the Inhabitants, rifled the booths and houſes of *Perith* in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driuing away the reſt. The Earle of *Northumberland* preparing a bloudy reuenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited ſo to doe by letters from the King, that is, from ſuch as were about the King.

(16) But how coldly ſoeuer the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for ſupplies was ſtill pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, was granted to the King a generall ſupplie of money; the pretended occaſion of monſtrous miſchiefe which followed, by reaſon of a clauſe in that grant of Subſidie, that euery one of ech ſexe, being aboue a certain age, ſhould pay by the head, or *per Pol* as they call it, twelue pence.

(17) The Engliſh Cheualry began now againe to diſplay it ſelfe farre off, to gratifie the priuate ends of *Iohn Duke* of *Lancaſter*, who claimed the Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in right of *Conſtance* his wife: For *Iohn* King of *Portugal* had a defenſiue warre againſt *Iohn* then King of *Caſtile*, who challenged the Crowne of *Portugall** in right of *Beatrix* his wife, (by whom hee had no iſſue) the onely daughter of *Ferdinand* king of *Portugall*, which this other *Iohn* (a baſtard ſonne of *Ferdinands*) had by faction vſurped. There were ſent to his aide the Lord *Edmund de Langley* Earle of *Cambridge* the Kings vncle, and ſundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. Theſe arriuing in *Portugall* valiantly defended the ſame for about two yeeres, and were the chiefe cauſe of giuing the *Spaniards* an ouerthrow in battell, where they loſt * ten thouſand men. At laſt the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of conueighing home the *Engliſh* in common, that their Countries might bee freed from them, being both alike iealous of their puiſſance. In this time *Edward* ſonne to the Earle of *Cambridge* vncle to *Richard* king of *England*, married the daughter of the king of *Portugall*, but afterward neither would the Earle leaue his ſonne behind, as ſuſpecting the Portugeſes faith, nor the other entruſt his daughter to the Earle, ſo as they remained diſioined in body, howſoeuer vnited by Ceremonie.

* Ja. Tib. in Chron.

* Rader. Sa. part. 4. hiſt. B. cap. xi.

* Polyd. Virg. hiſt. l. 20.

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles imployment into *Spaine*, there fell out accidents which doe plainely conuince their error to bee great, who thinke that any madneſſe is like that of an armed & vngouerned multitude, whereof theſe times (by a kind of Fate proper to childrens raigne) gaue a moſt dangerous document. The extreme hatred borne by the people to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, calling himſelfe king of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and the diſcontentment taken at an extraordinary taxe, leuied *per Pol*, vpon all ſorts of people, who were aboue ſixteene yeers of age, which (as all other the euils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the maner being to count them the authors of euils, who are ſuppoſed to haue the greateſt power of doing them) moued the enraged

ged multitudes vpon ſlight and ſmall beginnings to runne together in ſo fearefull a Torrent, that it ſeemed the King and kingdome were ſodainely falne vnder their moſt wicked fury. There were in this moſt rebellious inſurrection, the Commons and Bondmen (who aſpiring by force to a free manumiſſion) principally thoſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, whoſe example was followed in the Neighbour Shires of *Surrey*, * *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge*, and other places by incredible heards and droues of like qualified people: who (ſpecially in *Norfolke*) forced ſundry principall Gentlemen to attend them in their madding.

(19) They of Kent embattelled themſelues vnder two Banners of Saint *George*, and about threeſcore and tenne Penons vpon *Blacke-heath* by *Greenewich*, and from thence came to *London*, where, the generality of people inclining to them, they are maſters. The Priory of *S. Iohns* without *Smithfield* they kept burning for about ſeuen dayes, and the goodlie Palace of the *Sauoy*, belonging to the Duke, with all the riches therein, they conſumed by fire, in a kind of holy outrage, for they threw one of their fellowes into the flame, who had thruſt a peece of ſtolne plate into his boſome. The Rebels of *Eſſex* came to *Lambeth*, burnt all the Archbiſhops goods, and defaced all the Writings, Rowls, Records and Monuments of the *Chancerie*, as hauing a ſpeciall hatred to the Lawyers, little to their diſgrace, for that they ſhared herein with good men alſo, whom they hated. But their deſperate wickedneſſe extended it ſelfe beyond the ſpoile of houſes and ſubſtance, laying bloudy hands vpon the moſt eminent and worthy men in the kingdome, for that they had diſſwaded the King to put himſelfe into their hands at *Greenwich*, where hee talked with them out of his Barge, and thereby had their maine deſigne diſappointed. *Simon Tibald* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, and Chancellour of *England*, a right worthy Prelate, and Sir *Robert Hales* a Knight of high courage, Lord Prior of Saint *Iohns*, and Treaſurer of *England*, with others, they without reſpect to the Maieſtie of the King, or priuiledge of their moſt honourable dignities, moſt barbarouſly murthered by beheading them vpon *Tower-Hill*, among infernall ſhowtes & diueliſh yels. For the *Tower* it ſelfe (from whence they had haled them, the young King being there in perſon) was open to their execrable inſolencies. Neither doth the authority of * *Polyd. Vergil*, affirming that they were not haled forth, but onely ſtayed by the Rebels, to whom (hee ſaith) they were ſent, induce vs rather to credite him, then Authors liuing about thoſe very times. There was no little ſtore of other innocent bloud ſhed by them in theſe tumults. Nor was the Kings own perſon without manifeſt perill, againſt whoſe life they had damnably conſpired. It were long to reckon vppe the kinds of ſuch villanies as they wrought, but endleſſe to recount the particulars. The common *Annals ſet forth this whole Tragicall buſineſſe very diligently.

(20) They had many Captaines of miſchiefe, but two principall, *Wat Tyler* of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, (whom *Walſingham* pretily cals the *Idoll of Clownes*) and *Iacke Straw*, who together had followers to the number (as they were eſtimated) of about one hundreth thouſand, and at one Sermon made to them by *Iohn Ball*, *Walſingham* ſaith, there were about twiſe as many. Their Petitions were full of pride and malice, but eaſily granted by the King, the neceſſity of the times extorting them. They had a Chaplaine as graceleſſe as themſelues, one *Iohn Ball* an excommunicated Prieſt, who with his wicked doctrine nouriſhed in them their ſeditious furies to his own iuſt deſtructiō in the end: but when a great multitude accepting the Kings mercy were gone, *Wat Tyler* and his Campe departed not, but vpon pretence of diſliking the Articles of peace, ſought to winne time till he might put into full execution his incredible Treaſons, which (as *Iacke Straw* at the time of his execution confeſſed) were vpon that very night of the day, wherein *Wat Tyler* was ſlain, to murder the King, and chiefe men, and to erect petty Tyrannies to themſelues in euery ſhire: and already one *Iohn Littiſtar* a Dyer in *Norwich*, had taken vpon him at *Northwalſham* in *Norfolke*, the name of the King of the Commons, and *Robert Weſtbroome* in *Suffolke*, to whom *Iohn Wraw* another lewd Prieſt had aſſigned it.

(21) Neuer was the kingly race and commonweale ſo neere to an vtter extirpation, as at this preſent, which was (wee may truly ſay) miraculouſly preuented. The yong king in theſe feares and dangers repairing to *Weſtminſter*, moſt deuoutly commended his Crowne, Life, and whole eſtate to God, nor that in vaine. For *wat Tyler* with his Campe of Raſcals eſteemed to bee ten or twenty thouſand (according to the Kings Proclamation, attending in *Smithfield*, but cauilling of purpoſe vpon the conditions of peace, as hee that meant a farther miſchiefe, though they of *Eſſex* were returned) was entreated to ride to the king, who alſo ſate on horſebacke before Saint *Bartholmewes*, in whoſe company was that renowned Lord Maior of *London*, *William Walworth*, with many other men of birth and place.

(22) *Wat Tyler* ſcarſe at the laſt comming behaued himſelfe ſo inſolentlie, offering to murther one of the Kings knights, Sir *Iohn Newton*, for omiſſion of ſome *punto* of reſpect, which he arrogated to himſelfe in more then a kingly manner, was (vpon leaue giuen him by the king) boldly arreſted with a drawn weapon by the Lord Maior, a man (ſay Writers) of incomparable courage, which blow was ſeconded by the ſaid Lord, and others ſo ſpeedily, that there this prodigie of a Traitor was felde and ſlaine. A death too worthy, for that he died by the ſwords of honourable perſons, for whom the axe of an Hangman had beene far too good.

(23) The Commons perceiuing the fall of their Captaine, prepared to vſe extreme reuenge, when the moſt hopefull young king with a preſent witte and courage (it being for his life and kingdome) ſpurred forth his horſe, and bad them follow him, without beeing grieued for the loſſe of a ribauld and traitour, for now hee himſelfe would be their Captaine. Hereupon they thronged after him into the field, there to haue whatſoeuer they deſired. But the moſt worthy of all *Londoners*, *Walworth*, ſpeeds with one man onely into the City, raiſeth a thouſand Citizens in armour, brings them (being led in good array by Sir *Robert Knolles* and others) with *Wat Tylers* head (which the Lord Maior had commanded to bee chopt off from his dead carcaſe) borne before him vpon a Speare to the king. That verie head, the curſed tongue whereof had dared to ſay, *That all the Lawes of England ſhould come out of his mouth.*

(24) This act reſtored the Crown (as it were) and Realme to *King Richard*, for the Rebels ſeeing themſelues girt in with armed men, partly fled, partly fel vpon their knees, and (throwing away all hope in weapon) they anſwerably to their baſeneſſe, begged their liues, who but euen now reputed themſelues maſters of the field, and of the king. And albeit there was a generall deſire in the hearts of loyall men to expiate ſo many villanies with the bloud of the Actors, yet things abroad in the Realme being as yet vnſetled, they had a generall Charter of pardon ſealed, and were ſo ſent home into their Countries.

(25) Certainly although the Citie of *London* (the moſt noble and able part of the Engliſh Empire) hath otherwiſe deſerued of the Kings of this land very well, yet the honour of this ſeruice worthily ſtands higheſt in the many great praiſes therof. Which the King did thankefully and publikely teſtifie by knighting *Walworth*, and by beſtowing vpon him (when hee modeſtly excuſed his vnworthines

and inability) one hundreth pounds land by the yeere in fee ſimple. Hee alſo at the ſame time beſtowed the ſame honour vpon that right worthy Citizen and Patriot, *Sir Iohn Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, *Sir Nicholas Brember*, & *Sir Robert Laund*, to each of which he gaue a like eſtate of 40. pounds. There be who write that hee then alſo knighted *Nicholas Twiford*, and *Robert Gayton* Cittizens. The memories of theſe and other ſuch, deſerue and ought to be honoured with ſtatues, aduanced in the moſt conſpicuous place of that great City, leaſt otherwiſe ſhee bee holden ingratefull to them, from whom ſhee deriues ſo honourable ſplendor. That the beauteous Armories of *London* were at this time augmented with that weapon which wee ſee in the *dexter Canton* thereof, in remembrance of this ſeruice done by *Walworth* is affirmed by * ſome, but with what warrant let themſelues ſhew.

*Holinſhed in Richard 2.

(26) The young King, after this fortunate concluſion giuen to ſo helliſh vproares about his principall City, repaired in good array to * *Tower Roiall* or the *Queens ward-robe*, a palace then in the boſome of *London*. There the *Queene mother* had remained in very great feare and griefe for the ſpace of three daies, and two nights; but the ſight of her ſonne, and relation of his good ſpeed, blotted out of her memory the ſorrowes formerly ſuſtained.

*Survey of London.

(27) It was not long, but that the King (ſurpriſed before with that popular innundation) had ſure notice that the diueliſh rebels were in all other places diſsipated, but neither till themſelues had done much miſchiefe, and ſuffered iuſt puniſhment. Memorable was the ſeruice of *Henry le Spencer* the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich* againſt the Bondmen and Peſants of *Norfolk*, whome he draue out of their Trenches, ſlew diuers, and cauſed their muſhrom King *Iohn Litteſtar* to be hanged, drawne and headed. But that which vniuerſallie moſt of all preuailed to the reduction of theſe audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine newes of their diſsipation, who were aſſembled about *Londō*, where for a few daies they had moſt barbarouſly tyrannized. In *Hertfordſhire* at *Saint Albans*, *Barnet*, *&c.* in *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Ile of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeaſed. Yet wonderfull is it, that all theſe execrable furies, being in ſo many ſeuerall places, with ſo great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *Iohn Weſtbroome* kinged it, they are reported to haue beene about fifty thouſand, making it their ſauage ſport, to cauſe the heads of great perſons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles to kiſſe and whiſper as it were one in the others eare) laſted not in the high ſpeed and full rage thereof the ſpace of eight daies, (being not long before Midſommer, as if it had been a ſyderall infection or generall Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the firſt of May till Midſommer the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*.

Statut. An. 6. Rich. 2. Seſſion. 1. cap. 13.

(28) The royall power which had thus beene foilde, and trodden vnderfoote, could not longer brooke ſo intollerable debaſement, but to repaire and eſtabliſh it ſelfe, there was proclamation made, that all men who had horſe and armour, and loued the King, ſhould forthwith come to *London* in their beſt manner. There were neuer ſeene together ſo great a multitude of horſemen in *England*. The muſters were taken vpon *Black-heath*, where the king himſelfe, being mounted on a goodly courſer among the armed men, and hauing his Standard royall aduanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, reioicing to bee ſeene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is ſaid, that within three daies ſpace there appeared vpon that heath for the Kings ſeruice, not fewer then forty thouſand horſemen moſt brauely appointed.

The royall power like the Sunne after a long darknes puts forth it ſelfe againe.

Forty thouſand Engliſh horſemen in field together.

(29) This force had beene employed againſt the Kentiſh-men, euen to the vtter rooting out of all the guilty, who againe beganne to ſtirre, but that the King was perſwaded by the Nobility and Gentlemen of that Countie, to proceed by ordinarie iuſtice; which was done. The Kings peace was alſo proclaimed in euerie place according to his letters dated at *London* 17. Iune, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, to the great encouragement of good ſubiects, and confuſion of the wicked. There were executed about one * thouſand and fiue hundreth in all places, beſides fiue of a new forlorne Companie, which hauing deſperatelie dared to gather head againe in *Eſſex* about *Billericai*, had tendered to the King certaine inſolent demands, which were iuſtlie reiected, and they ſlaine. The Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Earle of *Buckingham* the Kings vncle, with *Sir Thomas Percy* brother to the *Count Northumberland*, were ſent with force againſt them. The Rebels being manie in number, were notwithſtanding broken at the verie firſt with a Charge made vpon them by a ranck in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundreth horſes belonging to the Rebels. Sir *Robert Treſilian* was principall Actor in the matters of Iuſtice, which hee rightly and ſeuerely adminiſtred. The King himſelfe had ſo great a force of horſemen with him, that (as *Sir walter* at *Lee* knight ſaid in his ſpeech to Saint *Albans*-men) there was neither graſſe nor blade of Corne old or new left within fiue miles compaſſe of the kings perſon.

*Holinſh. in Rich. 2.

(30) And leaſt the miſchieuous multitude ſhould to the kings diſhonour and common hurt of the Church and kingdome, enioy any the leaſt benefit by their late vnſpeakeable villanies; the king, by aduiſe of his Councell, ſent letters reuocatorie into the Shires about, by which he commands, that no man ſhall enioy anie freedome or profit by vertue of anie extorted grants, during the time of the Inſurrections: but yet that his maieſties purpoſe was by the aduiſe of his Councell to grant to his ſubiects (notwithſtanding their ſo heinous treaſons) ſuch mercie, as ſhould bee pleaſing to God, and profitable to him, and to the kingdome. After which ſundrie executions were done at *Saint Albans*, and elſewhere. And this end for the preſent had theſe infernall attempts of the baſer people, in which we may cleerelie behold the hideous face of *Anarchie* and *Plebeian* furie.

(31) Which fearefull convulſion in this State, ſome imputed to Gods wrath on this land for the generall coldnes and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the kingdome; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; others to the abounding ſinnes of the common people. But * our Author iudgeth, that *the full heape of thoſe cauſes of Gods vengeance, was made-vp by the begging Fryars, who (ſaith he) to purchaſe wealth contrary to their owne Oathes, did ſooth the great men in their vices, and nouriſhed the vulgar in their errors, feeding on the ſinnes of both: calling good euill, and euill good, ſeducing Princes by flatteries, and the common ſort with lies, carrying both headlong with themſelues aſtray. For their outward profeſſion of truth they haue ſo defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in euery mans mouth a good Argument, holding in matter and formes; This is a Fryar, Ergo a lyar; euen as true as to ſay: This is white, Ergo it is colour de.*

* Walſ. ymag. 2. p. 266.

(32) The Duke of *Lancaſter*, at the firſt breaking forth of theſe Rebellions, was vpon the borders, about ſetling of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did ſhut vp the matter ſpeedilie before the *Scots* had anie intelligence, ſetling a two yeres abſtinence from Hoſtilitie. The *Scots* (though they were ſorrie that by the peace ſo concluded, they had loſt an opportunity of making a dangerous impreſsion vpon the *Engliſh*,) vnderſtanding the Dukes perill, offred him twentie thouſand men to defend his honor, but he loyally refuſing that, they gaue him leaue to come and goe at his pleaſure with all other rites of ſacred Hoſpitality.

(33) After

(33) After Christmas King *Richard* tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, daughter to the Emperor *Charls* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* king of *Bohemia*, and called *Emperour*; which Lady by the Duke of *Tassill*, was in the name of her said Father, formerlie promised and assured vnto him, as one whom the King did specially affect, though the daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Millaine* was also offered with a farre greater summe of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glory at the same time crowned Queen, by the hand of *William Courtney* (a yonger sonne of the Earle of *Deuonshire*) Bishoppe of *London*, lately promoued from *London* to the See of *Canterbury*. The Nuptials and Coronation of the beauteous Queene being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arriuall was interrupted & prorogued) began againe. Where many things concerning the excesse of apparrell, transportation of Coine, &c. were wholesomely enacted. *Sed quid iuuant Statuta Parli-*
"*amentorũ, &c. but to what purpose* (saith *Walsingham*)
"*are Acts of Parliament, when after they are once past,*
"*they take no manner of effect*? For the king with his priuate Councell, was wont (saith hee) to change, or abolish all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobility of the Kingdome had in former Parliaments beene agreede vpon.

(34) Neuertheless, it was then prouided, that such as had done any thing in their owne defence against the Rebels, or to their suppression, without the ordinarie formes of processe in law, should sustaine no dammage thereby, but for euer bee as cleare as if they therefore had enioyed their particular pardons; and that all releases, feoffments, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the *hurling times*, for so they were called) by way of constraint or duresse, should be vtterly void.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, Sir *Richard Scrope* Knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and Sir *Hugh Segrane* Treasurer; but it was not long before the Chancelour denying to passe such large gifts vnder the *Great Seale*, as the king in his youthfull humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his still craving Courtiers, fell into the kings vndeserued displeasure. For albeit he alledged important causes of such his deniall, (as, *that the King was greatly in debt*) and therefore such largesses were fitter to bee imployed in discharging some of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, such crauers were not truely well affected to him, as regarding their own priuate auarice more then the kings profite, or the publike wants; that those selfe same crauers, had formerly receiued such gifts of his Maiesty, as were (at least) answerable to their deseruings; and that himselfe, if he should seale those grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to haue small thanks of him, when he should come to riper iudgement; yet thereupon he was twice or thrice willed to send the Seale to the King, who comming in person "surrendred the same, with such like words, *That*
"*hee would alwayes bee loyall and true to his Maiestie*,
"*but neuer beare any office vnder him againe*. Not long after which surrender, *Robert Braybroke* Bishoppe of *London* was made Chancellor in his place. This act of the Kings was displeasant to the whole Realme, and one of the first things by which hee fell into dislike, it being among the infelicities of King *Richard*, that those times were too full of sower and impatient censors, for a Prince of so calme a temper, and as yet vnseasoned yeeres.

(36) *Henrie le Spenser* the warlike Bishop of *Norwich*, being drawne on by Pope *Vrban* to preach the *Crusado*, and to be *Generall* against *Clement* (whom sundry Cardinals and great Prelates had also elected Pope) hauing a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpose by Parliament, (after strong* opposition of *almost all the Nobles who resisted this businesse of the Crosse*) went with Forces into *Flanders* to support the cause of *Vrban* against the *Antipape*; from whence after hee had performed sundry things very happily, taken *Graueling*, *Burbrough*, *Dunkirke* by assault, and beene victor in a set battell against thirty thousand abettors of *Clements* claime, hee was enforced to returne, as destitute of those farther succours which were expected out of *England*. But the king vpon pretence that hee had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which hee required him, (before hee transported) to returne, for a while seised vpon all his temporalities.

(37) But K. *Richard* hauing before giuen the realm discontentment, by remouing *Scrope* from the Chancellorshippe, encreased the same by some manifest signes of leuity and prodigality toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince lesse pleasing to the *English*: for, in the progresse which with his beloued Queene hee made to *Bury*, *Thetford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the King, and they againe through the Queene were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

The kings enrichment of the Bohemians displeasant.

(38) *John* Duke of *Lancaster* embarkt himselfe for *France*, where hee concluded a truce to endure betweene the two Nations English and French, from the present Christmas till Midsommer. At his return, he and his brother *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, went with an Armie into *Scotland*, to reuenge the breach of truce: but as it seems by some, the Duke had rather an hoast of men, then an hostile mind; for hee so ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of curtesies shewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the *Scots* hauing had time inough to withdraw both their goods and persons, and his army suffering farre more losse by penurie and cold, then it could inflict vpon the enemy, returned* fruitlesse and inglorious.

An. D. 1384.

* *Ioh. Stow.*

(39) Not long after his returne, hee was encountred with a more capitall and dangerous enemy, then those in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Irishman, deliuered to the King (in the time of Parliament at *Salisbury*) a writing which contained therin a heinous accusation of the Duke of *Lancaster, that he had conspired to murther the King, and to crowne himselfe*. The accuser discouered, the day, place, and other circumstances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath vpon the Sacrament, which that day hee had receiued, that no one word in that scroll was vntrue. The Dukes Apologie and fauour with the King, preuayled aboue the accusers confidence; whereupon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes request, to the L. *John Holland* (the Kings halfe brother by his mother) and a day appointed, wherein the accuser was to shew a cause of his crimination.

The Duke of *Lancaster* acculed of highest Treason.

(40) But in the night which next forewent the designed day, the said Lord *John Holland* (if a man may beleeue, that a thing so villanous could be done by men of honour) and one Sir *Henry Green* knight, are reported to haue trussed vp the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying vpon his breast a stone of great weight to breake the chine of his backe; and that they also scorcht the soles of his feet. By which miserable and quadruple manner of death, without triall or conuiction, (as also without* recantation of any thing which hee had vttered against the Duke) he is said to haue breathed his last. Neither was his death smothered, for the next day they caused his strangled carcase to bee dragged through the City, that it might not bee thought hee had perished vniustly. But the Lord *Thomas of Woodstocke* (the same who was afterward Duke of *Glocester*) went farther, for hee rusheth into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his "words with a terrible oath, That hee would kill a-"ny one liuing who durst lay treason to his bro-"thers charge: neither did hee except the king himselfe. In which speeches, as piety and zeale for his brothers honor and saferie were not wanting, so certainly duty to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten.

* *Ioh. Stow.*

(41) That

(41) That which followed, may giue vs iuſt cauſe to ſuſpect the truth of that Fryers accuſation: for the Lord *william la Zouch* was alſo by the Fryer accuſed, of hauing been the Inuenter, broacher, and prouoker of him, to ſet downe all that which was comprehended in the accuſation; who thereupon ſent for to *Salisburie* (though then very ſicke of the gowte) repaired thither in an horſe-litter, where hee was compelled to anſwere to all ſuch points as were obiected, like a felon, or a traytour ſtanding bare-headed: but the priuitie, or leaſt thought of any ſuch matter as the Fryer affirmed againſt the Duke, hee confidently forſware, and was thereupon acquitted and diſmiſſed. Howbeit (ſaith *Walſingham*) *La Zouch* was from that time forward a profeſſed enemie, not onely of Carmelites, but of al other orders of Fryers whatſoeuer. But theſe diſgraces came vnſeaſonably vpon the Duke, whoſe head was vndoubtedly full of deſignes, and of cares, how to atchieue to himſelfe the crowne of *Spaine*.

(42) There were then ſundry incurſions made by the Engliſh and Scots, each into the others country, the Earle of *Northumberland* being leader to the *Engliſh*, with little aduantage to either. But to take away the very cauſe of this continuall bad neighbourhood, or to leſſen it by an eſtabliſhed peace with *France*, the Duke of *Lancaſter* layled to *Callis*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, there to treat with the Duke of *Berrie*, on behalfe of the young French King *Charles* 6. but after he had in that voyage expended (as was ſaid) fifty thouſad Marks, he brought into *England* nothing backe, except onely a truce, to continue till the firſt day of May next. His deſire to haue procured a ſurer peace both with the French and Scots, ſeemes to haue beene great, that ſo hee might the more freely purſue the conqueſt of *Spaine* which he intended.

Iohn Cumber-towne once Lord Maior of *London*, confined and confiſcated.

(43) Whiles hee was abſent in this Ambaſſage, there enſued the arraignement of a great fauourite of the Dukes, *Iohn Northampton, alias Comberton*, whom his aduerſaries by-named *Cumber-towne*. This man is by them reported to haue exceedingly troubled the City of *London*, during his late Maioralty there, nor leſſe afterward; for that being followed with many abettors, hee publikely diſturbed Sir *Nicholas Bramble* his ſucceſſor, (but a * bloudy minded man by report,) and wrought other maiſteries, till Sir *Robert Knowls* cauſed one of the buſieſt companions to bee drawne out of his houſe, and (as ſome ſay) ſhortned by the head. This *Comberton* was by his houſhold Clerke accuſed, as priuie to ſome practiſes, in preiudice as well of the King, as the City; and when ſentence was to bee pronounced in the Kings preſence (being then with great ſtore of his Nobles at *Reading*,) hee durſt (as is ſaid) affirme, That ſuch iudgement ought not to proceede againſt him in the abſence of his Lord the Duke. This againe vnraked the burning coales of enuie, and ſuſpition againſt the ſaid Lord Duke; and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred againſt his fauourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Caſtle of *Tyntagel* in *Cornwall*, and all his goods ſeiſed vpon by the Kings Seruants, whom *Walſingham* expreſſeth, by calling them after the name of thoſe Poeticall rauenous Birds, *Harpyes*.

*Them. VValſing. Ypod. p. 539.

Polydor. Vergil. not to be raſhly beleeued.

(44) That here which *Polydor Vergil* (aſsigning cauſes to actions, not alwayes ſuch as are, but ſuch as ſeemed to him moſt probable, not ſeldome confounding and changing perſons, times, names, and things) telles vs concerning a combate within liſts, betweene Sir *Iohn Aunſley* Knight, and one *Carton* hath little ground, (ſo farre as wee can find) in hiſtorie. He ſaith they were *teterrima capita*, both very wicked men, & that there was a real plot to murther the king. We can neither find the crime nor the mē: there had beene a ſolemne combat long before betweene ſuch a knight and one * *Katrington* an Eſquire, in which the knight was Challenger and victor, but the crime was not treaſon againſt the kings perſon, nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Anſley*, *teterrimum caput*, but a valiant and loyall man of Armes. The crime which he obiected to that Eſquire (his kinſman) was, *that for money he had traiterouſly giuen ouer the Caſtle of Saint Sauiour in the Land of Conſtantine in Normandie, when he had ſtore of victuall and munition.* The Eſquire was vanquiſhed in faire fight and died frantick the next day. *Polydors* errour therefore is ioyned with manifeſt wrong to the knights name, wherein wee ought to bee very circumſpect, for that, honour is ineſtimable and deſcendeth to poſterity. There was indeed, at the time he ſpeakes of, another combat, fought alſo within liſtes before the king, (for *Duels* then were performed, not on priuate choice or quarrell, but on publike appointment) betweene one *Iohn Welſh* an Eſquire of *England*, and one * *Martilet* a Gentleman *Nauarrois*, who in reuenge againſt Welſh, for hauing at *Cheirbrough* (where the ſaid Eſquire was vnder-captain) cōmitted (as *Martilet* ſaid) adultery with his wife, accuſed him of high treaſon againſt the King and Realme. But Welſh preuailed; and the *Nauarrois*, at his execution (for hee was *drawne and hanged after he had beene foild in battel,) confeſſed the cauſe of his euill will, and the innocency of Welſh in the matter of treaſon.

Sir Iohn Anſleys reputation redeemed from ſlander.
* Rothton hee is called, *Ypod. Neuſt.* An. 1380.

(45) The Scots had this while by practiſe and money gotten the Caſtle of *Berwick*, whereof the Cuſtody belonged to the Lord *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*. The Duke of *Lancaſter* was not ſad at this, but ſo purſued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and priuity the ſame royall Caſtle had beene loſt) was condemned in Parliament. But the king relieued him with extenſion of fauour. This was a great cauſe of confirming the rancour alreadie kindled in the hearts of theſe two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemiſhes of diſgrace, encloſeth the Caſtle with a ſiege both of forces and large proffers, ſo that after ſome time ſpent therein, he had it redeliuered vpon paiment of two thouſand marks.

(46) The Flemings had heretofore in the fifth yeere of this King, ſent Ambaſſadors at the time of Parliament, to ſubmit themſelues and their Country to his dominion, renouncing alleageance to their naturall Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, vpon pretence of oppreſsion vſed by him, and for other cauſes; but becauſe they ſeemed not either perſons ſufficient, or ſufficiently inſtructed with authority, to tranſact with the King in a matter of ſo high nature, they were commanded to returne, and fetch more ample power, and to bring certaine men of euery good Towne in *Flanders*. Now againe, the Citizens of *Gaunt*, though they had in battell againſt the French King, (who was there in perſon on behalfe of the Earle,) * loſt twenty * thouſand men not long before, delired of K. *Richard*, that they might haue an *Engliſh Generall* to command in their warres; to whom was ſent a wiſe and valiant Gentleman, the Lord *Edward le Bourſer*, who demeaned himſelfe in that charge with much commendation. And when afterwards he went more abundantly and ſtrongly to haue ſupported them, they ſodeinely turnd French, ſhewing *Seneſcire* (ſaith * *Walſingham*) *vni amico, vel domino, fidem diuſeruare.*

(47) The Duke of *Lancaſter* (whoſe, or the like greatneſſe may perhaps ſeeme more, then can ſtand with the narrow limits of *England*, which, without danger to the common wealth, can hardly afford ſuch a proportion of eſtate to any Subiect) was about this time enformed, that the King had a purpoſe to arreſt his perſon, and to trie him vpon capitall points before Sir *Robert Triſilian*, his Chiefe Iuſtitiar, a man ready, (vnder the Kings protection) to deliuer iudgement without reſpect to Titles. The King was nouriſhed in this *deliberation by yong men, who combined againſt the Dukes life. This being diſcouered, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdrawes vpon his guard to his Caſtle of *Pomfret* in the

the *North*; neuertheleſſe the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their Countreys miſeries, and ciuill combuſtions, were made void by the great diligence of the Kings mother, the Princeſſe *Ioan*, who ſpared not her continuall paines and expenſes, in trauailing betweene the King and the Duke, (albeit ſhee was exceeding tender of complexion, and ſcarce able to beare her owne bodies weight through corpulency) till they were fully reconciled.

(48) It had indeed beene a moſt wretched time for a ciuill warre, not only becauſe the French Admirall, *Iohn de Vienna*, had beene ſent with forces embarcked in fiftie ſcore ſaile of Ships, to be employed out of *Scotland* againſt the Engliſh, but for that the French prepared a generall inuaſion of *England*, hauing in hope already as it were deuoured it. There reigned at that time in *France Charles the ſixth*, a yong and fooliſh Prince, (ſaith *Tilius*) who hauing in his treaſury, left to him by his prudent father, * eighteene millions of Crownes, (and not only eighteene hundred thouſand, *as ſome, fearing perhaps that the other ſumme might ſeeme incredible, haue written,) and being moreouer ſet on fire with an inconſiderate loue of glory, rather then vpon any ſound aduiſe (though * ſome impute the Counſell to the ſaid *Admirall*) would needs vndertake the conqueſt of our Countrey. Theſe newes ſtirred all the limbs and humors thereof, though the euent (God not fauouring the enterprize) was but like that of the Mountaine, which after long trauaile brought forth a ridiculous mouſe, neuertheleſſe it had beene a moſt deſperate ſeaſon for a ciuill warre to haue broken forth in *England*.

(49) The preparations of the French doe hold notwithſtanding, and the generall *Rendeuou* of their huge forces was at *Sluſe*, in the Port whereof, and other places about, there were aſſigned to aſſemble for their tranſportation, * twelue hundreth ſaile of ſhips. At the ſame time (as if the two young kings had beene riuals in ſhew of men) *Richard* raiſeth ſo great an army to ouerrun *Scotland*, as the like for beauty and number was neuer ſeene together, conſiſting wholy of Engliſhmen. But may wee beleeue that *England* could ſpare three hundreth thouſand men, and as many horſes for the vſe of a warre? Certainely a needleſſe multitude, but only to terrifie the French with the fame, for there might haue beene fewer, for any great Act which *Richard* (full of iealouſie againſt his vncle of *Lancaſter*, wherewith his head and heart were full,) effected. But we may the rather beleeue the account, for that *Walſingham* voucheth * Serieants at Armes (if he meane not *Heralds* by thoſe words) whoſe office (he ſaith) it was to number the Hoſt, and they affirmed the ſame. This is ſure, that * among other the arguments vſed by the Duke of *Bury* (one of the French Kings vncles) to fruſtrate this enterprize, he alleaged, that the King of *England* had muſtred ten thouſand horſemen, and one hundreth thouſand Archers for his defence; whereas the *Admirall Iohn de Vienna* affirmed, that hauing ſeene the forces of the Engliſh, they were but eight thouſand horſemen and threeſcore thouſand foot; and he might well ſay *hauing ſeene*: for, though *Æmylius* bring him in ſpeaking to the French King, and vaunting that he had encountred them, yet nothing is truer, then that the Engliſh returned out of *Scotland* without the leaſt offer of battell. The *Admirall* was willing indeed to haue fought, but when he ſaw our Armie from the hil-tops, his furie gaue place to reaſon.

(50) While the Armie was vpon the way toward *Scotland*, the Kings halfe-brother the Lord *Iohn Holland* wickedly ſlew the Lord *Stafford*, ſonne to the Earle of *Stafford* not farre from *Yorke*, being vpon his iourney to the Queene, whoſe fauoured Knight he was. For which heinous homicide the King ſeiſed vpon his whole eſtate, denying to his mothers moſt earneſt praiers any pardon or grace for his brother. Which was to her ſo greeuous, that within fiue or ſixe daies after ſhee gaue vp the Ghoſt at *Wallingford*. The young Lord tooke Sanctuary at *Beuerley*, and the King by his iuſtice herein wanne the hearts of the ſaid Earle of *Stafford*, the Earle of *Warwick*, the Lord *Baſſet*, and other great men of *Staffords* kindred and friends; neither did this empeach at all the preſent voyage.

(51) The Scots and French in *Scotland*, ſeeing themſelues vnable to withſtand ſuch forces, had ſo retired themſelues and all their goods, that when the *Engliſh* ſhould come, they, (as *Walſingham* pleaſantly ſaith) could ſee no quicke things left but onlie Owles. That which was greene in the fields, the horſes deuoured or trampled down, yet ſuch harme, as the materials of buildings were capable of, was done. *Edenburgh* alſo and the * noble Abbey of *Mailroſſe* were fired. The Duke of *Lancaſter* perſwaded the King to march beyond the *Frith* or Scottiſh Sea (as his great Anceſtors had done) to ſeeke out his enemies; but he, very ſuſpicious that the Duke gaue him this counſell with a purpoſe to betray him to deſtruction by famine, and want, which he was there to looke for, expreſſed much diſpleaſure and returned. The Dukes wordes notwithſtanding and behauiour were tempered with much duty and modeſty; but that would not ſerue, till the Lords peeced their affections together by interceſſion in the beſt manner the time would ſuffer. But the Engliſh hoſt was ſcarce returned and diſcharged, when the Scots and French ſodeinely powred themſelues forth vpon our Countrey, and did whatſoeuer hurt the ſhortnes of time in their incurſion could permit.

(52) To reſiſt and endammage the French, there were appointed *Admirals* for the narrow Seas, the Maſter of *Saint Iohns*, and *Sir Thomas Percie* Knight, (the Earle of *Northumberlands* brother,) who did nothing worthy their fame or place. Only the Townesmen of *Portſmouth* and *Dart*, maund forth a few ſhips at their owne perill and charge, wherewith entering the riuer of *Sein* (vpon which the renowned Cities *Roan* and *Paris* are ſituated) ſuncke ſome of their enemies ſhips, tooke others, and among them one of Sir *Oliuer de Cliſſon's*, the goodlieſt that *France* had. The ſucceſſe anſwered their hopes, and they were enriched with the ſpoiles of their aduerſaries, whom thus they compelled to beare the charge of their proper miſchiefe.

(53) Meanewhile that the French lay at *Sluſe*, attending the approch of their kings vncle the Duke of *Burie*, (who fauoured not this enterprize of inuaſion, but ſought * aſwell by delaies, as by perſwaſion and authority to make it fruſtrate,) they of *Gaunt* had gotten the Towne of *Dam* by the good liking of the Inhabitants, to whom the French gouernment was odious. For recouery whereof, the French King drew his armie (prepared againſt *England*) to the ſiege of *Dam*, which (the ſame being firſt ſecretlie abandoned, after a moneths ſiege and many repulſes giuen to the French) was by him recouered. This, and other things, did ſo protract the great expedition intended, that (after waſt of infinite treaſure) *Charles* returned home, without hauing ſeene *England*, which was by theſe meanes moſt graciouſlie freed by God, from ſo dangerous, and greatly-feared an impreſſion. But that the Engliſh might the better endure the ſame, *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, hauing lately in a great and bloodie battell (where ſome of the Engliſh deſerued well of him,) ouerthrowne the *Caſtilians*, and thereby ſetled his eſtate, ſent into *England* ſixe Galleys throughly well appointed, for Sea-ſeruice, though (as God would) there was no need of them.

(54) Of thoſe French, which (after the Cloude of warre at *Sluce* was diſperſed into ayre,) paſſed ouerland into their Countreys, many were taken and ſlaine by the *Gauntiners*. Their nauie was not leſſe vnfortunate; for at one * time the Engliſh of *Calis* tooke of them eighteene, and the rage of weather

* Tyrrel. Nouſ.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſuſpected for perſwading the King to paſſe the Scottiſh Sea.

The verme of priuate men in the publike cauſe.

* Iohn Tilius.

The Portugeſes aid the Engliſh.

* In Feſt. exalt. Cru. 14. Septemb.

The bad euent of this French deſigne for an inuaſion.

brake and ſunke diuers, ſo that this *Bravado* was not onely coſtly to the French, by reaſon of the charges, but hurtfull in the loſſe of time, men, ſhippes, and hoped glorie. Such are the euents of humane enterpriſes, where God is not pleaſed to giue ſucceſſe. The Engliſh thus deliuered from feare make a road into *France* out of *Callis*, and with a prey of foure thouſand ſheepe and three hundreth head of great cattell, beſides an hundreth good priſoners, returned ſafe to their Garriſon.

(55) The multitude of memorable things which preſent themſelues to vs in the liues of our *Engliſh Monarches*, is ſuch, that if wee did not vſe choiſe, and in their relation breuity, wee ſhould not relieue our Readers of that moleſtation, with which the vaſte volumes of former labours doe oppreſſe the memorie. The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at *London*, had yeelded to aide the King with a *Fifteenth* vpon condition, that the Clergie ſhould ſuccour him with a *Tenth and an halfe*; againſt which vniuſt proportion, *William de Courtney* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moſt ſtifly oppoſed; alleadging *that the Church ought to bee free, nor in any wiſe to bee taxed by the Laitie, and that himſelfe would rather die then endure that the Church of England, (the liberties whereof had by ſo many free Parliaments in all times, and not onely in the raign of this King been confirmed, ſhould be made a bond-maide.* This anſwere ſo offended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, and ſome Peeres of the land, with extreme fury beſought, *That Temporalities might bee taken away from Eccleſiaſticall perſons*, ſaying, *that it was an Almeſdeed and an Act of Charity ſo to doe, thereby to humble them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they deſigned among themſelues, out of which Abbey, which ſhould receiue ſuch a certaine ſumme, and out of which, another. I my ſelfe (ſaith * a Monke of Saint *Albans*) heard one of thoſe Knights confidently ſweare, that hee would haue a yeerely penſion of a thouſand Marks out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King hauing heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to ſilence, and the Petition to bee razed out, ſaying, *He would maintain the Engliſh Church in the qualty of the ſame ſtate or better, in which himſelfe had knowne it to bee, when hee came to the Crowne.* The Archbiſhop hereupon hauing conſulted with the Clergy, came to the King, and declared, that hee and the Clergy had with one conſent, willingly prouided to ſupplie his Maieſties occaſions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King tooke ſo contentedly, as he openly affirmed, hee was better pleaſed with this free contribution of one Tenth for the preſent, then if hee had gotten foure by compulſion.

The attempt of the Laity to diſpoſſeſſe the Clergie of their temporall eſtates.

*Tho. Wal.

King *Richard* the Clergies friend.

(56) *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* (a young Gentleman in ſpeciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marqueſſe* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, which moued great deſpight againſt him, thoſe rough times being impatient to beare the vnequall aduancement of fauourites. Neuertheleſſe, though the gentle King was thought herein to pleaſe his owne fanſie, rather then to reward merite, yet did hee ſo ſweetly temper it, as there was no iuſtice, nor reaſon to enuie to him that ſolace which hee tooke in his friends encreaſed honour; for at the ſame time hee aduanced two of his vncles, *Thomas* of *Woodſtoocke*, Earle of *Buckingham* to the title of Duke of *Gloceſter*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, he created Duke of *Yorke*, allotting ſeuerall proportions of penſion to be paide out of his Exchequer. In *Vere* there was ancient Nobilitie to iuſtifie his new degree the better; but in making the Lord Chancellor *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, with the yeerelie penſion of 1000 Markes, was matter of more enuie; becauſe he was not deſcended of ſuch honourable Parents: a defect (if it bee a defect) which none more willingly vpbraid to men of worth, then who themſelues are not alwayes the moſt worthy. The firſt raiſer of this familie of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *William de la Pole*, of a braue Merchant, a * Knight Baneret, and gaue him great poſſeſſions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loane of treaſure, aduanced by him to ſupply the King in a time of ſpeciall neceſsity, when money could ſtand him in more ſteed then a thouſand men of Armes: no little merite in a ſubiect, nor a ſlender reward of a moſt munificent Prince.

The first Marqueſſe made that euer was in *England*.

(57) *Henry Spenſer* the martiall Biſhop of *Norwich* found grace with the King at this Parliament, to bee reſtored to his temporalities, at the ſpeciall ſuite of *Thomas Arundell* Biſhoppe of *Ely*: whiles the Biſhoppe of *Ely* thus beſought his Maieſty of Grace, the ſaid *Michael de la Poole* (Lord Chancellor and Earle of *Suffolke*) ſtood by, and brake out with much offence into theſe words. *What is that (my Lord) which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a ſmall matter for him to part with that Biſhops temporalities, when they yeeld to his Coffers aboue one thouſand pounds by yeere? Little neede hath the King of ſuch Counſellors, or of ſuch friends, as adviſe him to acts ſo greatly to his hinderance.* Whereunto the Biſhop of *Ely* not leſſe truly, then freelie replide. *What ſaith your Lordſhip, my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the king that which is his, but that which hee (drawne thereunto either by you, or by the Counſell of ſuch as you are,) withholds from other men, vpon none of the iuſteſt titles, and which (as I thinke) will neuer doe him any good: as for you, if the Kings hinderance bee the thing you weigh, why did you ſo greedily accept of a thouſand markes by yeere, at ſuch time as he created you Earle of Suffolke?* The Chancellour was hit ſo home with this round retort, that hee neuer offered any further to croſſe the reſtitution of the Biſhops temporalties.

(58) After this the King being with his Queen at their manour of *Eltham* in *Kent*, there came thither *Leo* King of *Armenia*, a Chriſtian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdome. The pretence of his negotiation was to accord the realms of *England* and *France*; that the Princes thereof might with ioint forces remoue the common enemy from Chriſtendome. Therein hee could effect nothing, but his iourney was not otherwiſe vnfruitful to himſelfe, for King *Richard* (a Prince to ſpeake truly, full of honour and bountie) gaue him beſides a thouſand pounds, in a * ſhip of gold) letters Patents alſo for a thouſand pounds yeerely penſion during life.

(59) The time now was come, wherein K. *Richard* ſhould ſee himſelfe deliuered of all that feare and iealouſie, which the greatneſſe of his vncle the Duke of *Lancaſter* ſtirred in him. His Forces were now ready, and his Nauie (encreaſed with * ſeuen Gallies, and eighteene ſhippes ſent out of *Portugall*) attended at *Briſtoll*, to tranſport him toward *Spaine*, (for *Caſtile* is *high Spaine*) the crowne whereof hee claimed in right of *Conſtance* his ſecond wife, daughter of *Dom Peter* the cruell. Before hee ſet forth, the newes came that ſuch *Engliſh* as were already in *Portugall* with their friendes had ouerthrowne the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Britons*, at a battell in *Spaine*. This was a ſpurre to quicken the Dukes enterpriſe, which Pope *Vrban* the ſixth (by granting plenarie remiſſion of ſinnes to all ſuch as gaue the Duke aid) did ſpecially fauour, as againſt them who did partake with his enemy the *Antipape*; * *but the frequent grant of ſuch pardon and releaſement, was now growne ſo vile and contemptible amongſt the people, that few were found open handed towards this Cruceata.* Admiral of this Fleete was Sir *Thomas Percie*, Sir *Iohn Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters afterward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Conſtable of the hoſt, and Sir *Iohn Mereaux* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate children) was one of his Marſhals. There were in this noble and excellently-well appointed Army, the Lords *Talbot*, *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Poinings*, *Bradſton*, *Fitz-Warren*,

warren, *Beaumont*, *Beauchampe*, the *Lord Pomiers* a *Gascoin*, &c. with very many worthy knights & valiant Esquiers, and a choise number of men of Arms, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of *twenty thousand. The Duke tooke also with him his wife, the Lady *Constance*, and two daughters, which hee had by her, as * one relateth.

(60) It was now the moneth of May, when the great Duke of *Lancaster* comming to take leaue, had of the kings gift a Diademe of gold, and his Dutchesse of the Queene another: he also commanded the *English* to call, and hold his vncle for a *King*, and to doe him answerable honour. But after all this, hee lay for a wind so long, till his whole prouisions were almost spent; at length yet, hee set forward. The first land they touched was neere to *Brest* in *Britaine*, where Sir *Iohn Roch* the Gouernour against the French, complained of two Forts built about him to empeach his quiet egresse; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* caused thē to bee assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their liues, among which, was * Sir *Robert Swinarton*, a valiant Knight of *Staffordshire*, and *Iohn de Bolton* a couragious Esquier of *Yorkeshire*, whom the sodaine ruine of a Tower (ouerturned by mining) whelmed and slew outright. Sharpened with the successe of this victorie, they commit themselues to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arriue with the whole Fleet in the Port *Corone*, or the *Groyne*, * in August.

(61) The French (belike) thought *England* could not furnish an other Army for *France*, as she had for *Spain*: wherupon there was now no false nor vain rumor spread again, that the French would besiege *Calis*. The King to secure that pretious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all prouisions. The most eminent person was *Henry* Lord *Percie*, sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*. This was hee whom the Scots by-named *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, *in whom* (saith *Walsingham*) *the patterne of all vertue and martiall prowesse shined*: and indeed his nature did answere his by-name; for hee made such ridings into the quarters about *Calis*, that they could neuer wish a worse neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French king would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer *Calis*, but rather inuade *England*, hee returned to bee present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Seamen of warre, brought two French prizes to *Sandwich*, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French king, preparing now for *Englands* inuasion, had caused to bee built in length three miles, in height twenty foot, which had at euery twelue paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of ten men, the whole to be a defence for the *French* encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Ships the Enginer and master workeman, who was an Englishman, and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordinance, together with the *French* Kings Master * Gunner.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance betweene *England* and *France* in the chiefe points of State. As *England* had *Richard*, so had *France* her *Charles*, both young Kings. *Charles* with an huge armie had prepared to inuade *England*, but did nothing: *Richard* with no lesse forces entred *Scotland*, and did no great thing. *Richard* had vncles which bare great sway in the Realme; so had *Charles*. *Richard* had his vncle *Iohn* more potent then the rest; *Charles* had his vncle *Lewis*. *Iohn* vpon his wiues title claimeth the kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*; *Lewis* by the gift of *Ioan* the Queene, claimes the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil*. *Lewis* went with an Army of * thirty thousand horse into *Italie* to atchieue his claime; with what force *Iohn* set forth you haue heard. But *Lewis* died without obtayning; *Iohn* preuailed so farre as to settle his child by marriage. The King and great Lords of *France* were glad (with any charge) to enioy the absence of *Lewis*, and *Richard* and his fauourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of *Iohn*.

(63) The forces of the *French* prouided for this inuasion of *England*, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in *London*) to consist of * 15 Dukes, 26. Earles, two hundreth Lords, & an hundreth thousand souldiers, and a thousand *Ships*, assembled about *Sluse*, with full purpose to take reuenge of all the euils which the English nation had formerly wrought in *France*, and to destroy the English kingdome. But though these reports were not fained, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of *Gloster*, obtaine any aides of money; so that, whereas it seemed to the King, that by the Duke of *Lancasters* departure, he was become more free, yet had he left behind spirits much more stiffe and intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then beene apparantlie in Gods protection, (for the *French* hauing stayd for a wind till *Hallowtide*, and then hauing it halfe-way, were beaten backe, and the voyage made vtterly voyd) certainely thy ruine had then beene certaine. What shall wee thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King armd (*to his owne bane*) with power and greatnes, who vnder the specious pretext of reforming abuses, did satisfie their enuie and inbred insolency?

(64) The *King* tels them, that *England* is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prayes their succour in money: what is the answere? That the *Duke of Ireland* (for now the Marquesse of *Dublin* was made a Duke,) and *Michaell at the Pole* (so they scornfully called the Earle of *Suffolke*) and other must be remoued. Things are badly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truly;) but where was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from vs the mercilesse point of the *French* sword: but here began the seeds of innumerable worse miseries, neuer to be remembred without sighes and teares.

The first seeds of the ciuil warrs.

(65) The seedes (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose sum a flourishing * Writer in our age (willing neerely to haue imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called our * *Lucan*) doth not vnfortunately expresse, though hee might rather haue said he wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weepe them.

* Sam. Dan. in his ciuill warres. * Romaines.

I sing the ciuill warres, tumultuous broiles,
And bloudy factions of a mighty land;
Whose people hauty, proud with forraine spoiles,
Vpon themselues turne backe their conquering hand;
While kinne their kinne, brother the brother foiles,
Like Ensignes, all against like Ensignes band;
Bowes against Bowes, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right throwne downe.

But *Robert de Vere*, saith *Thomas* Duke of *Gloucester* and his party, was vnworthily created Duke of *Ireland*, and *De la Pole* the Lord Chancellour seemed to the onely great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be in the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subiects to capitulate with their King; vpon giuing their ioynt aides against the common enemy, now ready with one destruction to ouerwhelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It sauoured of somewhat else besides the loue of common-weale. Priuate ambitions and passions could not bee wanting in such oppositions. This is some mens iudgement, let the sequels shew how iust.

(66) There were called vp at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of al Shires, which forces lay about *London* within twentie

tie miles round, and had no pay but liued vpon ſpoile. Theſe at laſt were licenced to depart to be ready at warning. There was alſo the Lord Chancellour accuſed, of (we wot not what) petty crimes (for the abuſes of following ages haue made them ſeeme ſo,) as for paying to the Kings Coffers but *twentie markes yeerely, for a fee-farme, whereof himſelfe receiued threeſcore and ten, and ſome ſuch other. To pacifie theſe great Lords, the Lord Chancellour is diſgraced, and the ſeale taken from him, againſt the Kings will, and giuen to *Thomas Arundell* Biſhop of *Elye*, and then the houſes of Parliament yeelded to giue halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but vpon condition that it ſhould be diſpoſed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon deliuered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furniſh himſelfe for that purpoſe to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the realme, the Lords were willing he ſhould haue thoſe thirtie thouſand markes, for which the heires of *Charles* of *Blois*, (who heretofore challenged *Britaine*) were tranſacted to the *French*, vpon condition that the ſayd Duke ſhould paſſe into *Ireland* before the next Eaſter.

*Tho. Walſing. in Rich. 2.

(67) The Parliament was no ſooner diſſolued, but the King recals the Earle of *Suffolk* to the Court, keeps both him, the Duke of *Ireland* and *Alexander Neuile* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* about his perſon, in greater fauour then before. Inſomuch that at Chriſtmas he made *De-la-Pole* to ſit at his owne Table *not in the vſuall garment of a Peere, but Princely robed.* Surely therein not well; for ſome of thoſe great Lords, (though not by ſo ſweet meanes as were fit) did deſire to waken him out of Courtly drowſineſſe, and (as men that knew not what peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatnes. Theſe other perſons were not ſo friended, or qualified, that they could ſupport a King againſt an vniuerſal miſlike. But the King vpon a ſtomacke doth it; ſo that (ſaith *Walſingham*) *here firſt grew the Kings hatred againſt the Peeres, that from thence forth he neuer, as it is ſaid, regarded them but fainedly.* So much more dangerous ſometime is the remedy then a very greeuous maladie.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(68) King *Richard* (whoſe age and place ſtood in need of wiſer inſtructions). not thus contented to haue whetted the diſpleaſures of the greater Peeres, as if he had ſaid to himſelfe, *Rumpatur* * *quiſquis rumpitur inuidiâ*; is further drawne, as was ſaid, to plot the death of his vncle, *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, and other enemies of *De-la-pole*; who together being inuited to a feaſt (by the bloody deuiſe of *Sir Nicholas Brambre* late Lord Maior of *London*) ſhould together haue periſhed. But the preſent Lord Maior *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conſpirators would haue had their Partaker, if it may be beleeued) honeſtly refuſed to aſſent. The Lords hereupon hauing admonition, refrained to come.

*Martial.

The Lord Maior of *London* refuſeth to be of conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Gloſter*.

An.D.1387.

(69) The perſons which were in the publike enuie for their ouer-ſwaying grace with the King, were (as you haue heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the ſaid Archbiſhop, *Sir Simon Burley* Knight, and *Sir Richard Stury*: Theſe men hearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundel* and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham*, Marſhall of *England*, * had encountred with a great Fleete of *Frenchmen, Flemmings, Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken aboue one hundreth ſaile of ſhips, and in them nineteene thouſand tunnes of wine, deprawed the victorie, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed were but Merchants, whoſe loues had beene more profitable to our Countrey, then ſo to ſtirre them to inexorable hatred. But theſe (ſaith * one) who thus iudged, were rather the *Knights of Venus then Bellona, fitter for a Canapie then a Campe, for language then a lance, as they who were awake to diſcourſe of martiall actions, but drowſie when they ſhould come to doe them. Such therefore conuerſing with the King (not * without ſuſpition of fowle familiaritie) neuer tooke care to put into his mind any matter which beſeemed ſo potent a Prince, wee ſay not (quoth our Authour) as concerning the vſe of Armes, but not euen concerning thoſe very recreations, which moſt of all become great ſpirits, as hunting, hawking, and the like.* But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous reſiſtances) for they landed at *Breſt* in *Britaine*, and with great difficulty deliuered it againe from ſo bad neighbours as the two woodden Forts neerely built, where the other had ſtood, one of which they fired, and the other they mand with the Engliſh *Garriſon* of *Breſt*. Then ſtuffing it with all ſorts of prouiſions for a yeere, and furniſhing the wants of the Souldiers with all neceſſaries, they returned, hauing worthily wonne the loue and praiſes of the people. Which, as they were alſo due to them from the king, yet comming to his preſe nce, they (by theſe mens euill offices) had ſo cold entertainement, as they eſtſoones withdrew themſelues from Court to liue quietly vpon their owne at home. After them the braue young *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Percy* was ſent (ill prouided) to the Sea; neuertheleſſe he ventred, and returned (when his commiſsion was expired) with honour.

*Ypod: Neuſt: A deſcription of King *Richards* chiefe fauourites.

Tho. VValſin. in Richard 2. ad A.D. 1386.

(70) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland* was ſurelie full of wickedneſſe and indignitie. For he hauing to wife, a young, faire, and noble Ladie, and the Kings neere kineſwoman, (for ſhee was Grandchild to king *Edward* by his * daughter *Iſabel*,) did put her away, and took one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of baſe birth, called in her mother tongue *Lancecrone*. This intollerable villanie offered to the blood royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, ſome ſay, who deemed that by witchcrafts and ſorceries (practiſed vpon him by one of the Dukes followers) his iudgement was ſo ſeduced and captiuated, that he could not ſee what was honeſt or fit to doe. But where *Princes* are wilfull or ſlouthfull, and their *fauorites* flatterers or time-ſeruers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea and ruinate the greateſt Monarch.

(71) The Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke the matter more to heart, reſoluing to be reuenged for the infamy and confuſion, which was brought thereby vpon his noble kinſewoman. Meanewhile the king, as if he meant to conduct his deare friend, the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *Wales*. There the King deuiſeth with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Treſilian* and others; (who were equally affrayd of the Lords) how to deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and ſuch others, as from whom they thought fitte to bee cleare. Much time being trifled thus away in *Wales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appointed voyage, or rather baniſhment into *Ireland*; were quite forgotten) to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A fearefull eſtate of a Monarchie. Hee among a few, generally ill beloued, and ill aduiſed, and ill prouided; for their whole ſtrength was the king, and theſe emulations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular; he at *Notingham*, they not neere him: but abroad farre-off, the Duke of *Lancaſter* with the flower of the Engliſh forces, and mighty neighbours watching for the ruine of all. The courſe agreed vpon by the King and that ill-choſen *Senate*, was firſt to haue the opinion of all the Chiefe Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treaſon, within whoſe nets and ſprindges they preſumed the *reforming Lords* were; and if the Lawyers (who ſeldome faile Princes in ſuch turnes,) did conclude, that thoſe Articles contained treaſonable matter, then vnder a ſhew of iuſtice they ſhould bee proceeded againſt accordinglie. Theſe Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the laſt ſeditious Parliament, gaue aduiſe to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, *whether by the law*

law of the land, the King might not disanull the Decrees of the last Parliament: they iointly *answered: *he might, because hee was aboue the lawes*: confessing, *that themselues had in that Parliament decreed many things, and giuen their iudgement, that all was according to law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether vnlawfull.* The King thus enformed, appointeth a great Councell to be holden at *Nottingham*, and sent for certaine *Londoners*, some of them such as were beholding to the King for mercie in cases of *attaindour*, to be there empanelled for Quests of Inquirie. The Sheriffes of Shires (being questioned) denied, that they could raise any competent forces against the Lords, their whole Counties were so addicted in their fauour: & being further willed to suffer no Knights to be chosen for the Shires, but such as the King & his Councell should name, they answered, that the election belonged to the Commons who fauoured the Lords in all.

(72) Vpon the 25. of August there met before the King at *Nottingham* these Lawyers, *Robert Trisilian* his chiefe Iustitiar, *Robert Belknap* chiefe Iustitiar of the common Pleas, *Iohn Holt*, *Roger* *Stilethorpe*, & *William Burgh* Iustitiars in the same Court, and *Iohn Lokton* the Kings Serieant at Law: all which being vpon their allegiance charged to deliuer their opinions, whether such * Articles as were there in the Kings behalfe propounded (which Articles comprehended all the points of aduantage taken against the proceedings of the last Parliament, and the displacing of the Lord Chancellor, *Michael de Pole*) contained matter of treason, they all of them answered affirmatiuely, and subscribed; which afterward cost them deare. Iudge *Belknap* foresaw the danger, and therefore was very vnwilling to put his seale to the answeres; saying; *there wanted but a* **hurdle, a horse, and a halter, to carrie him where hee might suffer the death hee deserued; for if I had not done this* (quoth he) *I should haue died for it, and because I haue done it, I deserue death for betraying the Lordes.* The King in the meane space puruaies himselfe of people to fight, if need required.

(73) The Duke of *Gloucester* (sadded with these newes, sent the Bishoppe of *London* to bring his purgation vpon oath to the King, who inclining to credite the same, was in an euill howre diuerted by *De la Pole*. The Duke makes his and their common danger known to the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, & *Derby*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lancaster*. They seuerally gather forces, that vnited they might present their griefes to the King, who to keep them from ioyning, sends the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundel* at *Reygate* in *Surrey*, where hee abode. But by reason of *Arundels* power, it was too dangerous a worke. *Northumberland* returnes, and *Arundel* (admonished by the Duke of *Gloucester* of his farther perill) escapeth in post to *Haringey*, where the Duke and Earle of *Warwicke* had store of people.

(74) As yet no bloud was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords should repaire safe to *Westminster*, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are aduertised by the Bishop of *Elie* and others (who had sworne on the kings behalfe for good dealing to be vsed during the *Interim*) that, at the *Mewes* by *Charing Crosse*, a thousand armed men (which without the Kings priuity Sir *Thomas Triuet* and Sir *Nicholas Brembre* Knights were reported to haue laid for their destruction) attended in ambush. The King sweares his innocency, but the Lords come strong and trust no longer. The King royally adorned keepes state in *Westminster* Hall with manie his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords present themselues vpon their knees, and being required by the Bishop of *Elye* the Lord Chancellour (for the Lord *De la Pole* neuer had that place againe) *why they were in warlike manner assembled at Haringey Parke, contrary to the lawes*, their ioint answere was, *That they were assembled for the good of the King and kingdome, and to weed from about him such Traitors as hee continually held with him.* The traitors they named to bee, *Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuile Archbishoppe of Yorke, Michael at the Pole Earle of Suffolke, Sir Robert Tresilian that false Iustitiar* (quoth they) and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* that false Knight of *London*. To proue them such, they threw downe their gloues, as gages of challenge for a triall to bee had by the sword. The King hereunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way: *This shall not bee done so, but at the next Parliament (which shall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties shall receiue according as they deserue. And now (saith hee) to yee my Lords; how or by what authority durst you presume to leuie force against mee in this land? did you thinke to haue terrified mee by such your presumption? haue not I men of Armes, who (if it pleased me) could enuiron, and kill you like Cattle? Certainely in this respect I esteeme of you all no more, then as of the basest scullions in my Kitchens.* Hauing vsed these, and many the like high words, hee tooke vp his vncle the Duke from the ground, where all this while hee kneeled, and bad all the other rise. The rest of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then shortly to be holden at *Westminster*. In the meane time (that the world might see how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is set forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any trial) of treason obiected, and names those persons for vniust accusers, whom the Lords had before named.

The kings reply.

(75) The factious Lords neuertheless thought not good to seuer themselues, but to keepe together for feare of the worst, which fell out to their aduantage; for the Duke of *Ireland* (with the Kings priuitie) had gathered a power in *Wales* and *Cheshire*, which they intercepting neere to *Burford* and *Bablake*, slew Sir *William Molineux* leader of the *Cheshire* men, and some others, and made the Duke to flie in great feare. Among the spoiles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the Diuell would haue it) certaine letters of the King to the said Duke of *Ireland*, by which their counsels were plainely discouered. The Lords hereupon march with speede vp to *London*, hauing an Armie of about forty thousand men. The King shuts himselfe vp in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his presence. There they (vnreuerently inough) obiect mutability to him and his vnderhand workings; they obiected also, that hee had secretly practised to flie with the Duke of *Ireland* into *France*, and to deliuer vp to the French Kings possession *Callis*, & such pieces as the Crowne of *England* held in those parts. to proue which dishonourable act, they (as some write) produced the French packets intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of disdaine) from the King, and hee yeelded to come to *Westminster* vpon the next day, there to heare and determine farther. The King in signe of amitie stayed his Cosen the Earle of *Derbie* (the same who afterward dethroned him) to supper. O where was the courage of a King? The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw vp fortie thousand men; but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were vp, and the French hung ouer their heads, with no lesse hatred then preparations, no such numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praise, that their most rightful King should by their violence be driuen to consult vpon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The Citie of *London* was also in no little perill at this present by their accesse, which drawne by iust feare was contented to open the gates and harbour the Lords and their partakers. These Lords, who so often are called here the *Lords*, are named in our * *Statute* bookes to be but these fiue; The Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Derbie*, *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, and *Marshal*.

The Lords charge the king with sundry matters.

An. D. 1388. An. Reg. 11.

*Stat. Ann. 11. c. 1.

(76) The next day, hee would haue deferred his

repaire to *Weſtminſter*. This being ſignified to the Kings Lords (for ſo they might bee called, as being more Maſters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious reaſons to perſwade the vſe or neceſſity of his preſence in that place, but contrarie to their allegiance, and all good order ſend him word, *That if hee came not quickly according to appointment, they would chooſe them another King, who both would, and ſhould obey the counſell of the Peeres.* They had him indeed amongſt them, whom (belike) they euen then meant to haue ſurrogated, that is to ſay, the before ſaid Earle of *Derby*, heire to the D. of *Lancaſter*. The Lords certainely had ſo behaued themſelues towards the King, that they well ſaw they muſt bee maſters of his perſon and power, or themſelues in the end periſh.

The rough and harſh behauiour of the Lords.

(77) The King (after a prepoſterous and inuerted manner) attending his Subiects pleaſures at *Weſtminſter*, heauily and vnwillingly is drawne to diſclaime *Alexander Neuil Archbiſhoppe of Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Chicheſter*, the Lords *Souch* and *Beaumount* with ſundry others. Neither was the Male-ſexe onely ſuſpected to theſe curious pruners; the Lady *Poinings*, and other Ladies were alſo remoued, and put vnder baile to anſwere ſuch things as ſhould bee obiected. *Sir Simon Burley*, *Sir William Elmham*, *Sir Iohn Beauchampe* of *Holt*, *Sir Iohn Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Triuet*, *Sir Iames Berneys*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Sir Nicholas Brambre* knights with certaine Clerks were apprehended, and kept in ſtraite priſon, to anſwere ſuch accuſations (what if meere calumniations?) as in the next Parliament at *Weſtminſter* ſhould be obiected.

Perſons remoued from about the King.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was vnwillingly preſent: The firſt day of the Seſſion, all the Iudges *Fulthrop*, *Belknap*, *Care*, *Hott*, *Burgh*, and *Lockton* were arreſted as they ſate in Iudgement on the Bench, and moſt of them ſent to the Tower. The cauſe alleadged was, that hauing firſt ouerruled them with their counſels and directions, which they aſſured them to bee according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gaue contrarie iudgement to that which themſelues had fore-declared. *Tryſilian* the chiefe Iuſtice preuented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the forenoone, had ſentence to be drawne to *Tyborne* in the afternoone, and there to haue his throat cut; which was done accordingly. Sir *Nicholas Brambres* turne was next. This *Brambre* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *was ſaid to haue imagined to be made Duke of new Troy* (the old ſuppoſed name of *London*) *by murthering thouſands of ſuch Citizens, (whoſe names hee had billed for that purpoſe,) as were ſuſpected of likelihood to reſiſt him.* Then *Sir Iohn Salisbury*, and Sir *Iames Bernes* two young Knights, *Sir Iohn Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Steward of the Houſehold to the King, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquier, were likewiſe ſacrificed to reuenge. Sir *Simon Burley* onely had the worſhippe to haue but his head ſtrucken off. Loe the noble reſpect which the gentle Lords had to iuſtice and amendment. This was no age (wee ſee) for a weake or ſlothfull Prince to ſit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, foile and trample the regall authority vnder foote: the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Suffolke* and others, had their eſtates confiſcated to the kings vſe by Act of Parliament, as in the * booke of Statutes may bee ſeene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

Hiſtoria Leceſtren.

Short worke.

The Duke of new Troy or London.

Sr. Simon: Burley

* An. 10. & 11. Rich. 2.

(79) Theſe troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the Scots abroad had opportunity to inuade the North of *England*, vnder the conduct of Sir *William Dowglaſſe*, a noble young knight, a parallel and riuall in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Percy*, whom *Hotſpur* fighting hand to hand ſlew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* comming with an exceſsiue number of *Scots*, tooke *Hotſpur* and his brother priſoners, killing many Engliſh, not without ſuch loſſe to themſelues, that they forthwith returned.

(80) But theſe vnneighbourly hoſtilities ſoone after found ſome ſurceaſe, there being a meeting at *Calis* betweene the Engliſh and French, about eſtabliſhing a peace: and albeit, becauſe the French would haue the Scot and Spaniard included therein, the concluſion was deferred, yet ſhortly after it was reſolued vpon for three yeeres, the Scots being comprehended therein.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himſelfe free to gouerne of himſelfe, without either controlement, or help of any other, then ſuch as hee ſelected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of *England* from *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, (*Alexander Neuill* being attainted and fled) and departs out of the Councell Chamber. After a while hee returnes, and giues it backe to *William Wickham* (the * renowned Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*) who was vnwilling to haue accepted the ſame. Hee alſo puts out ſundrie Officers, ſubſtituting ſuch others as beſt liked him. From the *Councell Table* hee remoued his vncle *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe euill offices betweene them. Yet the king did not preſently credite what was whiſpered into his eare, concerning a purpoſe ſuggeſted to be in the Duke, to raiſe forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was ſatisfied. Neuertheleſſe, he would not ſuffer the Duke to purſue an orderly or any reuenge vpon the Authors, whom indeed it had beene wiſdome to haue puniſhed in an exemplary manner.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke* (whom the popular Lords had made moſt odious to the *Engliſh*) died at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing ſuch goods as hee had there to *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, who alſo breathed out his griefes in baniſhment, and died at laſt in *Brabant*.

(83) The Duke of *Lancaſter* the meane while, returnes into *Gaſcoigne* out of *Spaine*, and not long after into *England*. The ſucceſſe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*) was briefly this. *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* * alledged that *Conſtance* the Dukes wife, was not right heire, but he. For, albeit the Lady *Conſtance* was eldeſt daughter and heire to *Peter* ſonne of *Alfonſe*, whoſe father *Fernand* the fourth was ſonne of *Sanchez* the fourth, and he ſonne of *Alfonſe* the tenth, all Kings of *Spaine* ſucceſſiuely; yet, that neither *Conſtance*, *Peter*, *Alfonſe*, *Ferdinand*, nor *Sanchez* had the right. His reaſon was; for that *Alfonſe* the tenth, (choſen Emperour of *Almaine*) had, before he begat the ſaid *Sanchez*, an elder ſonne called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the daughter of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*, from whom deſcended *Alfonſe de la Cerda* (who entituled himſelfe King, but died without iſſue) and *Fernand*, who had a daughter married to *Iohn*, ſonne of the Infant of Portugall *Emmanuel*, mother to the Lady *Ioane*, wife of King *Henry* the ſecond, father of *Iohn* King of *Caſtile* defendant.

(84) This Apologie made by the *Caſtilian*, would not ſerue; for kingdomes are not vſed to be pleaded for by *Bil* and *Anſwere*; The Engliſh and Portugals ioine their forces. To the Duke (by reaſon of his wiues preſence,) manie did voluntarily ſubmit themſelues; all did not; for *Don* * *Alnarez de Perez* on the behalfe of his Lord, the King of *Spaine*, offred to ſtop the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was ouerthrowne. Other aduentures that warre afforded, but ſickneſſe hapning in the Engliſh Armie, conſumed * many of the principall, and among them the Lord *Fitzwalter*, with other Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and men of armes, almoſt three hundreth. Moreouer the penurie was ſuch, that ſundrie reuolted to the enemy to get reliefe, which being * ſeene of the King of *Portugal*, he told the Duke he would ſet vpon them as Enemies, but hee ſaid no, for that he knew they did it onely for lacke

of

of foode. Thus hauing ſaid, he held downe his head, as he ſate on horſebacke, and wept moſt bitterly, ſecretly powring forth his praiers to almighty God, and moſt humbly beſeeching mercy. From which time forward his affaires in *Spaine* ſucceeded happily.

(85) The warres had beene * ſharpe and tedious, but the end acceptable. For *Don Iuan* king of *Caſtile*, a Prince of no euill conſcience, ſeeing the right which the Duke of *Lancaſter* vrged, and foreſeeing what calamities might happen hereafter, if (as was feared the French ſhould match with him, ſought and obtained a firme peace. The Principall conditions were: That the Lord *Henry*, his ſonne and heire, ſhould marry the Lady *Katherine*, daughter and heire to the Duke and *Conſtance* his wife; That the Lord *Henry* (during his fathers life) ſhould be called Prince of *Aſturia*, and *Katherine* his wife Princeſſe: That * for default of iſſue betweene the young Princely couple, the Crowne ſhould come to the Lord *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, who had married the other daughter of King *Peter*. That the king of *Spaine* ſhould lade *eight Cars with wedges of gold for the Duke, or (as* ſome write) pay two hundreth thouſand nobles, toward the defrayment of the Dukes huge charges; That finallie, he ſhould giue ſufficient Caution for an Annuitie of *ten thouſand pounds, during the liues of the ſaid Duke and Dutcheſſe, to be duly paid to their vſes at the City of **Bayon* in *Gaſcoigne*.

(86) The King, at ſuch time as the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned, was at Reading, whither he had commanded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes haſt, aſwell to preſent his dutie to his Soueraigue, as to be an authour of loue and peace betweene the king and Lords, againſt ſome of whom the King was not thought to be verie fauourably diſpoſed. Which he gratiouſly effected, as ſeeming to addict his mind to offices of piety and publike benefit. Certainely the wiſdome and moderation of the Duke of *Yorke* his brother, were ſuch, in all the late, and other tumults, that he is not ſo much as once named among the factious; which Chriſtian ſpirit if it had raigned in all the reſt, *England* had neuer beene polluted with ſuch infinite bloodſhed of her nobleſt Children; neither had the goodlie fabricke of ſtate, laden with innumerable trophees, falne vnder that moſt hideous *Chaos*, which ſucceeding ages ſaw and ſighed for.

(87) The King vpon the Duke of *Lancaſters* returne, whether hee felt the keeping of *Aquitaine* an vnprofitable burthen, or the abſence of his vncle the Duke, a thing worthie to be purchaſed at anie rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at *London*, he veſted in him that famous Dutchy, by deliuering the *Cap* of State, and *Ducal Rod*; whither hee ſhortly went to take poſſeſsion. His ſonne, *Henrie* of *Bullingbroke* Earle of *Derbie*, loath to ſpend his houres in ſloath, but deſirous to purſue renowne by martiall Acts in forreine parts, ſailed ouer to the warres in *Pruſsia*, where in ſundry enterprizes againſt the *Lithuanians*, he wan great honor, which, by compariſon of King *Richards* Calmnes, prepared a way for him in the Engliſhes affections, to points more eminent.

(88) The Pope now vnderſtood, that the Engliſh State began againe to be ſenſible of Romiſh encroachments; and as in a * former Parliament they had enacted againſt all Collations of Biſhoprickes and dignities by the Pope, with *baniſhment* to all which did accept ſuch Collations, and *death to al that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act*; ſo in this laſt *Parliament*, *another ſeuere Act was made, againſt *ſuch as went to the Pope to procure any ſuch proviſions*. A *Proclamation* alſo was made at *London*, * *that all beneficed men then being in the Court of Rome, ſhould returne by a day prefixed, or looſe all their liuings*. The *Pope* himſelfe (ſaith *Walſingham*) *troubled with* * *ſo great a thunderclap*, ſent with all ſpeed into *England*, to perſwade the King, that ſuch Statutes as had beene thus made in their preiudice, who followed the Court of *Rome*, and ſuch other clauſes as tended to the dammage of that See, ſhould be made void; whereto the Kings anſwere was, that the *Popes Nuntio muſt expect till the next Parliament*. At which Parliament the King, as alſo the Duke of *Lancaſter*, ſeemed to haue ſome reſpect to the Pope, (whoſe meſſenger was their Preſent) but the* Knights of the houſe would not in any wiſe giue their conſents, *that ſuch* *Rome-gadders ſhould without due puniſhment purſue their wonted courſe, longer then till the next Parliament*. To furniſh the Duke of *Lancaſter* into *France*, to treat of a peace, and vpon condition that the King ſhould that yere inuade *Scotland*, large contributions were there made, both by *Clergy* and *Laity*. Hereupon the Lord* *Henry Percy*, *Hotſpur* (who had redeemed himſelf) was called from his charge at *Callis*, and made Warden of the Marches againſt *Scotland*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* ſucceeding in the Captaineſhip of *Calys*. The Dukes chargefull emploiment in *France* bare no other flower, then a yeeres ſhort truce.

(89) The Kings wants ſtill encreaſing with his imploiments, the Londoners (carried away with euill counſell) did a thing moſt vnworthy of their Citie and themſelues, and it might to them haue proued as hurtfull, as it was vnworthy, at ſuch time as the King * deſired the loane but of one thouſand pounds: which was not onely churliſhly denied, but a certaine *Lumbard*, honeſtly offering to lend the ſame, was badly vſed, beaten, and almoſt ſlain. Their liberties for that and other *diſorders are ſeiſed, and their proper Magiſtracy diſſolued, (Guardians being giuen them, firſt Sir *Edward Dallinging*, then Sir *Baldwin Radington*) and their Maior, and ſome chiefe Citizens layed in priſons farre off from *London*. The puniſhment brought the fowleneſſe of their errors to their ſight; but by the Duke of * *Gloceſters* interceſſions (who did not vnwillingly lay hold vpon ſuch occaſions of popularity) the king and Queene are wonne to enter the City, which gaue them triumphall entertainement. The ſea is not ſodainely calmed after a tempeſt, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not without deare repentance, they were at laſt reſtored to their former condition in all points.

(90) The king declaring his purpoſe to croſſe into *Ireland*, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeeres truce by the trauaile of the two Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter* being concluded in *France*. This yeere was farther notable for many great Funerals. *Conſtance* Dutcheſſe of *Aquitaine* and *Lancaſter*, a Lady of great *Innocency and deuotion: the Counteſſe of *Derby* her daughter in law, *Iſabel* the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and a Lady noted for too great a fineneſſe and delicacy, yet at her death ſhewing much repentance and ſorrow for her loue to thoſe peſtilent vanities, left this preſent life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no ſort equall that of the kings, for the loſſe of his owne Queene *Anne*, which about the ſame time hapned at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, whom he loued euen to a kind of madneſſe: but Ladies onely died not; for Sir *Iohn Hawkwood*, whoſe cheualrie had made him renowned ouer the Chriſtian world, did in this yeere depart an aged man out of this world in *Florence*, where his aſhes remaine honoured at this preſent with a ſtately Tombe, and the ſtatue of *a Man at Armes*, erected by the gratitude of that State and City, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (to this day admired amongſt them) was preſerued. The Italian Writers, both * Hiſtorians and * Poets, highlie celebrating his matchleſſe proweſſe enſtyle him,

Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præſidiumq; Solo,

Englands prime honour, Italies renowne,
Who vpheld all Italie from ſinking down.

But

A.D. 1391.

*Tpod. Neuſt.

*Remipetis

*Iob. Stow. calls him Earle of Northumberland.

A.D. 1392. *London* in diſgrace with the King.

*Tho. Wal.

*Fabian & Caxton; but, Stow miſlikes their additions of other diſorders.

*Tpod. Neuſt.

A.D. 1393.

A.D. 1394.

*Tpod. Neuſt. The death of Queene *Anne* and many great Ladies.

The famous Sir *Iohn Hawkwood* dieth.

*Paul. Iouius in Elogijs. *Iulius Feroldus

But the Duke of *Lancaſter* hauing all things ready, ſets ſaile to *Burdeaux*, there, with the conſent of the State to take poſſeſsion of his lately granted Dutchie.

(91) The King doth the like for *Ireland*; where that ſort of the *Iriſh* which are called the wild, had greatly inueſted the Engliſh Pale, and other good Subiects there, to the great dammage of the Crown of *England*. In the times of *Edward* the third, *Ireland* yeelded to the kings coffers* thirty thouſand pounds yeerly, but now things were ſo grown out of order, that it coſt the King thirty thouſand Marks by yeere To reduce the rebellious, himſelfe conducts thither an Armie, attended vpon by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, all the Iriſh being commanded to auoid out of *England*. The terror of the preparatiõs, & ſhining preſence of a king (which aboue al worldly things is pleasãt to the Iriſh) had ſuch effects that ſundry great men were compelled to ſubmit themſelues. To ſupply the Kings wants, growne in the Iriſh expedition, *Edmund* D. of *Yorke*, the Kings vncle, and *Cuſtos* or *Warden* of *England*, called a Parliament at *London* (whither the Duke of *Gloceſter* repaired to declare the Kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Neuertheleſſe, ſo ſtrong a party againſt the Clergy, & Fryarly abuſes of thoſe times diſcouered it ſelfe therein, that the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *London*, and others, preſt ouer Sea to the King at *Dublin*, beſeeching him to returne, the ſooner to repreſſe the *Lollards* (ſo called they the embracers of *Wicliffes* doctrine) and their fauourers, *who ſought not onely* (as they vntruly pretended) *to wring away all the poſſeſsions of the Church, but that which was worſe, to abrogate and deſtroy al Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions*, whereas they aimed onely at the redreſſe of exorbitancy in the Papal Clergy. The King hereupon returnes: by whoſe arriuall and authority, thoſe conſultations of the Laity were laid downe. Sir *Richard Storie* a ſeruant of his had been forward againſt the Prelates; of him therefore hee takes an oath vpon the holy Goſpell, that he ſhould not hold ſuch opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and we (ſaith the King) doe ſweare, that if thou doeſt breake it, thou ſhalt die a moſt ſhamefull death. The reſt hearing the Lion roare ſo terribly, drew in their hornes, and would be ſeen no more.

(92) The King cauſed the body of the late Duke of *Ireland* to bee brought into *England*. His exceeding ioue to him was ſuch, that he commanded the Cypreſſe cheſt wherein his body lay embalmed, to bee opened, that hee might ſee, view, handle, and openly expreſſe his affection. The dead remaines of that noble young Gentleman, (by his birthright Earle of *Oxford*, and by race a *Vere*) were buried at the Priorie of *Colne* in *Eſſex*, there being preſent the King himſelfe, the Counteſſe Dowager of *Oxford*, the Dukes mother, the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie* with many Biſhops, Abbots, and religious perſons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digeſted the hate they bare him.

(93) The Duke of *Lancaſter* was this while in *Aquitaine*, where he had ſought to winne the people with incredible largeſſe, to accept of his Soueraignty, according to the tenor of King *Richards* grant. Little did he then thinke, that within leſſe then ſixeſcore and three yeeres after, an * Ambaſſador of King *Henry* the 8. ſhould write thus of *Burdeaux* it ſelfe, the Capitall City of *Gaſcoign* and *Guien*: *Anglorum nulla ferè veſtigia remanent, &c. There are* (ſaith that learned Gentleman) *ſcarſe any foot-prints of the Engliſhmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refreſhed and reedified, ſuch Armories of the Engliſh as ſtood, were vtterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armories of the Duke of Lancaſter ſtand entire in a Glaſſe-window, and in the eldeſt wall of the City thoſe alſo of England, though conſumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes and Ordinations which were made by the Engliſh, are notwithſtanding obſerued at this day.*

But the Dukes eye could not looke ſo farre into the times to come. Neuertheleſſe wee that ſee theſe things muſt confeſſe, that the beſt kingdome vnder heauen is not ſo worth the getting, as that with the wilfull contempt of God and conſcience any man ſhould ſeeke to purchaſe it.

(94) But while the Duke was thus buſied in Courting the *Gaſcoignes* good will, * who had ſent into *England*, to ſhew cauſes why they ſhould not atturne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at laſt to the point of yeelding,) hè receiues a commandement from King *Richard* to returne, that he might goe with him into *France*; which he obayed. The King keeping his at *Langley* in *Hartfordſhire*, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then loue. Being licenced to depart for a time, he repaired to *Lincolne*, where he a widdower, married his old loue the Lady *Katherine Swinford*, now a widdow. Men did wonder at it, but hee therein obeyed the remorſe of a Chriſtian conſcience, without reſpect to his owne vnequall greatnes; for hauing had ſundry Children by her in his former wiues time, he made her and them now the only ſufficient amends, which the law of God or man enioineth. And further in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an Act to paſſe, by which, ſuch children as he formerly had by his new *Dutcheſſe*, were legitimated; and ſurnamed them *Beufot*, being * foure of them, *John*, *Thomas*, *Henrie*, *Ioane*; the ſecond of which was by the Kings bounty created Earle of *Sommerſet*.

(95) The King, being ſpecially accompanied with thoſe his vncles of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, at a moſt ſumptuous and chargefull enteruiew between him and *Charles* King of *France*, in the parts of *Calis* and *Gynes*, eſpouſed the Lady *Iſabell*, daughter of the ſaid *Charles*. At the deliuery of her, King *Richard*, in the preſence of all the greateſt Princes, Peeres, and Ladies of either nation, gaue the King his father in law great thanks for a gift ſo noble and acceptable, adding, he tooke her vpon the conditions made betweene the two nations, to the intent that liuing in peace and reſt, they might attaine to the eſtabliſhment of a perpetuall amitie, for auoyding the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, which would in likelyhood haue followed, had not at that time affinitie beene contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not aboue ſeuen or eight yeeres old, but the truce was taken for thirty yeeres. Her perſon therefore was committed to the Dutcheſſes of *Lancaſter* and *Gloceſter*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Callis*. From whence, after a ſhort ſtay, the King, his young Queene (with whom he had great riches) and all the glorious companie came ouer into *England*. Their perſons arriued ſafe, but the Kings gorgeous Pauilions, and a great part of his ſtuffe was caſt away by tempeſt in the tranſportation. This iourney (beſides his loſſes at Sea) coſt the King aboue forty thouſand markes.

(96) The outward felicitie of *England* ſeemed at this time verie great, and the rather ſeemed ſo, becauſe it was likelie to continue. In the Duke of *Gloceſters* perſõ that bright proſperity was firſt ouerſhadowed. He, *Vir ferociſſimus & præcipitis ingenij* (as * *Polydor* cenſures him,) *a moſt fierce man, and of an headlong wit*, thinking thoſe times, wherein he had maſtred the King, were nothing changed, though the King was aboue thirty yeres old, forbare not, roughly, not ſo much to admoniſh, as to checke and ſchoole his Souereigne. The peace with *France* diſpleaſed him, that therefore he calumniates. The King had reſtored *Breſt* in *Britaine* to the Duke, vpon reemburſements of the money lent; he tels the King that hee ſhould firſt conquer a Towne, before he parted with any; yet the King anſweres, that he could not in conſcience detaine the ſame, now that the Duke had repaid his loane. There were other things which could not ſo well be anſwered. For a vaine rumor

* that

*Tho. Walſin.

*Froiſſ.

The Du... Lancaſt... ries the L... Katherine ...ford.

An.D.1396.

*Doct. Taylor ex Autographo ipſius. A.D.1526.

An excellent note concerning the vanity of worldly ambition in Princes.

*Polyd. Virg.

A.D. 1... A.reg. ...

*that he ſhould be choſen *Emperour*, put him belike into ſuch a vaine of ſpending, as carried a proportion with that maieſty; his coffers in a ſhort time ſounding like empty Caske, there was no great monied man in whoſe debt he was not, nor any in a manner ſo meane to whome hee was not burthenous.

(97) The King had heretofore complained of this vncle to the Earle of Saint *Paul* a Frenchman, (then in *England*,) whoſe iudgement was, that ſuch inſolency was to be reuenged; but complaining to his other vncles of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, they wiſely aduiſed the King, not to regard his words but his heart, which he and they knew ſincere vnto him. Neuertheleſſe, partly to weaken the intollerable humor of their brother, who like a conſtant Admirer of his owne waies, thought nothing well done, but what himſelfe either did or directed, and partlie to auoid the ſcandall of the Kings bad courſes, they withdraw their preſences from the Court. The King notwithſtanding is the ſame man ſtill, as the Duke of *Gloceſter* thinks; wherefore, he breakes his minde to ſuch as he durſt truſt. *Arundell* in *Suſſex* is appointed the Conſultation-place, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Marſhall* and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raiſe a power to remoue* the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*, and ſuch other as they thought beſt, from about the King, ſo to enact a reformation.

(98) They are charged by * ſome to haue plotted the impriſonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councellours: which, howſoeuer it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet haue beene a neceſſarie conſequent. The bluſtring Duke had breathed out dangerous words; as,* that he would put the King (of whoſe courage he ſpake contemptiblie) into ſome priſon there to ſpend his daies in eaſe and peace, as himſelfe thought beſt. His brethren hearing hereof, brotherlie admoniſh him to beware; but, as it ſeemes, they found him deafe on that ſide. This though ſome of the late Authors write, yet there are both *old and* new, who mention no ſuch matter, but the contrary, not obſcurely teaching vs, that the Dukes ruine was but an effect of old malignities.

(99) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* and Marſhall, a party in the reported plot, though ſonne in law to the Earle of *Arundel*, reueileth the ſame to the King. The Duke of *Gloceſter* is hereuppon ſurprized by *Mowbray* * (lying in wait in the woods where hee was to paſſe) ſent to *Calis* (where *Nottingham* was Captaine) and there impriſoned; the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwicke*, the Lord *Iohn Cobham*, and *Sir Iohn Cheiney*, are arreſted. *Proclamation* is then made that they were not committed for anie old matters, but for hainous things newly contriued, as in the next Parliament ſhould be made manifeſt; *though the euent* (as * *Walſingham* truly ſaith) *declared the contrarie*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the two ſaid Earles are endited at *Nottingham*. The King to maintaine the accuſation of treaſon obiected, had (as ſome ſay) ſuborned *Edward* Earle of *Arundel*, *Thomas Earle Marſhall*, *Thomas Holland Earle of Kent*, *Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington*; *Thomas Beaufort Earle of Somerſet*, *Iohn Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer and Sir william Scroope Lord Chamberlaine*.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at *London*, where the king had a great guard of *Cheſhire* men to ſecure his perſon, and the Lords attended alſo not without ſufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were *Sir Iohn Buſby*, *Sir William Bagod*, and *Sir Henry Greene* knights. In the firſt act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) we find theſe* words. *The commons of the Parliament haue ſhewed to our Soueraigne Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the firſt day of October, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, Thomas Duke of Gloceſter, and Richard Earle of Arundell, traitours to the King and his Realme and his people, by falſe imagination and compaſſing cauſed a** Commiſſion to bee made, &c. and that the ſaid Duke of Gloceſter, and Earle of Arundel, did ſend a great man and Peere of the Realme in meſſage to our Lord the King; who of their part ſaid, that if he would not grant and aſſent to the ſaid Commiſſion,* HEE SHOVLD BE IN GREAT PERIL OF HIS LIFE: *and ſo, as well the ſaid Commiſſion, as the ſaid Statute touching the ſaid Commiſſion, were made by conſtraint, &c.* Wherefore the Commons pray their Soueraigne Lord the King, that the ſaid Commiſſion &c: be vtterly anulled, as a thing done TRAITEROVSLY, &c.

(101) The ſanctuary of former lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifeſt ruine. The* Duke of *Lancaſter* ſate in iudgement as High Steward vpon *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, where, for no other but for the old attempts, (though the other accuſations ſeeme to haue been auerred by the eight *Appellants*) by which, as ye haue heard, ſo many were diſplaced and put to death, hee adiudged him to die that foule death of a common Traitor: but the King ſatisfied himſelfe with onely his head, which was at one ſtroake taken of at Tower-hill. *That he was a traitour either in word or deede, he vtterly did deny, and died in that deniall.* The conſtancy of this Earles carriage aſwell at his arraignement, paſſage, and execution, (as in which he did not diſcolour the honour of his blood with anie degenerous word, looke, or action) encreaſed the enuie of his death vpon the proſecutors. The Earle of *Warwicke* confeſſed with teares, (and as ſome ſay, drawne by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of *Gloceſter* in thoſe ridings and aſſemblies hee was guilty of treaſon. The ſame ſentence was therefore pronounced vpon him. The King neuertheleſſe did only baniſh him into the Ile of *Man*. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* (whom, as the peoples darling, it ſeemed not ſafe to bring to a publike triall) was ſecretlie ſmothered at *Calis* with pillowes and featherbeds.

(102) The *great Parliament* (for ſo it ſeemes to haue beene called, by reaſon of the extraordinarie numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thereunto) was holpen by adiournment at *Shrewſbury*. In it, thoſe Iuſtitiars, who were partly put to death and partly baniſhed, but all attainted (at ſuch time as the Duke of *Gloceſter* and the reſt were in armes,) doe all of them ſtand thereby cleared from diſhonor, and ſuch* Articles as they ſubſcribed, (being, together with their anſweres, ſet downe in the Act) are publikely ratified, and the offendors againſt them pronounced Traitours. Amongſt theſe Articles, one, conteining theſe great Lawyers iudgements concerning the orderly proceedings in al Parliaments, is very obſeruable: **That after the cauſe of ſuch aſſembly is by the Kings commandement there declared, ſuch Articles as by the King are limitted for the Lords and Commons to proceed in, are firſt to bee handled; but if any ſhould proceed vpon other Articles, and refuſe to proceed vpon thoſe limitted by the King, till the King had firſt anſwered their propoſals, contrary to the Kings command; ſuch doing herein contrary to the rule of the King, are to be puniſhed as Traitors.* But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of ſuch as he had extinguiſhed, hauing firſt created himſelfe * Prince of *Cheſter*, made his coſen *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*; the Earle of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumarl*; the Earle of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolke*; the Earle of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; the Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exceſter*; the Earle of *Somerſet* Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the Lord *Spencer* Earle of *Gloceſter*; the Lord *Neuile* Earle of *Weſtmorland*; *William Scrope* Earle of *wiltſhire*; *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worceſter*. The King alſo (ſaith *Walſingham*) added to his *Scucheon Royall*, the armories of Saint *Edward* King and confeſſor.

*Rot. lib. Ad. An. 10. Rich. 2.

*Holinſh.

The Earle of *Arundel* beheaded.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* murthered.

A. D. 1398.

*Lib. Statu. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 12.

*Tho. Walſin.

*Book of ſtatuts. *A. Ric. 2. 21. ca. 12. artic. 6.

*Tho. Walſing. The King (Prince of Cheſter) creates 9 Dukes and other States.

(103) The formoſt in this goodly ranke, being *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, not long after accuſed *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, of certaine words ſounding to the kings diſhonour, which hee ſhould priuately vtter to the ſaid *Henry*. *Polydor* (though very negligently hee makes *Mowbray* the *Accuſer*, and *Hereford Defendant*) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the land in no account, but as much as lay in him ſought to deſtroy them, by baniſhing ſome, and putting others to death. That hee neuer troubled his mind with conſidering how his Dominions were diminiſhed through his Idleneſſe. Finally, that all things went to wracke, as well in peace as war.* But the Duke of *Norfolke*, (who vnleſſe it had beene to feele how the Duke of *Herefords* heart was affected to the king, had little reaſon ſo to complaine) moſt conſtantly denying that euer he ſpake ſuch wordes; it ſhould haue come to a combat within liſts; but the king to auoid (as hee pretended) ſuch deadly fewds as might riſe in the families of two ſuch potent Peeres, but (indeed to bee rid of an enemie with the loſſe of a friend) baniſhed *Norfolke* for euer, and *Hereford* firſt for ten yeeres, then for ſixe. *Walſingham* ſaith that this cenſure was giuen againſt *Norfolke*, vpon that very day in which the yeere before, he (by the kings commandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of *Gloceſter* at *Callis*, whereof the ſaid Duke of *Norfolke* had the Captaineſhip.

*Hiſt. Aug. lib. 20.

*Ypod Neuſt.

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which enſued theſe times; and heare now what is written of ſome Portents or wonders, preſaging the ſame. The * Bay or Laurell trees withered ouer all *England*, and afterward reflouriſhed, contrary to many mens opinion; and vpon the firſt of Ianuary, neere *Bedford* towne, the riuer between the villages of *Swelſton* and *Harleſwood* where it was deepeſt, did vpon the ſodaine ſtand ſtill, and ſo diuided it ſelfe, that the bottome remained drie for about three miles ſpace, which ſeemed (ſaith *Walſingham*) to portend that reuolt from the King, and the diuiſion which enſued.

An. D. 1399.
An. Reg. 22.

*Ypod. Neuſt.

(105) *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, hauing in the yeere before, while he too much* truſted to his owne Forces, been ſlaine with very many others, by * *O-Brin*, and the *Iriſh* of *Leinſter*, at a place called *Kenlis*; *King Richard* determines in perſon to reuenge the bloud of his Noble kinſman, being the man to whom hee meant the Crowne of *England*, if iſſue failed to himſelfe. Hee remembred not how broken an eſtate hee had in *England*, where the peoples hearts were ſtrongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and baniſhment of the Duke of *Hereford*, (whoſe calamitie encreaſed his popularity) or for the like paſſed exaſperations, but for that (to furniſh his Iriſh voyage) he had extorted money on al hands, taking vp carriages, victuals, and other neceſſaries, without any recompence; whereby the hatred of his gouernment grew vniuerſall.

*Tho. Walſin. R. 2.
* Annal. Hibern. apud Cambd.

(106) But the euill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring baite to haſte his deſtruction, by occaſion of the Duke of *Lancaſters* deceaſe, which hapned about Candlemas, and the abſence of his baniſhed ſonne and heire Lord *Henry*. The king (moſt vniuſtly) ſeizeth vpon the goods of that mighty Prince his vncle, & as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determines to baniſh the new rightfull Duke of *Lancaſter Henrie*, not for a few yeeres, but for euer; for which cauſe hee reuoked his *Letters Patents* granted to the ſaid *Henry*, by which his *Atturnyes* were authoriſed to ſue his *Liuerie* (and to compound for the reſpite of his homage at a reaſonable rate; whereby he made it ſeem plaine to the world, that hee had not baniſhed him to auoid diſſentions, but (as many ſaid) to fill vp the breaches which his riote had made in the roiall treaſures, with plentifull (though an vndue) Eſcheate, as that of his deceaſed vncles fortune.

(107) The one ſtedfaſt baſe and buttreſſe of all lawfull Empire, is Iuſtice; that ſupports the kinglie throne. This he ouerthrew, and how then could himſelfe hope to ſtand long? He lands at *Waterford* in *Ireland* with a Nauie of * two hundreth ſhips, hauing with him the ſonne of the late Duke of *Gloceſter*, and of the now Duke of *Lancaſter*, to ſecure himſelfe the rather. * His forces conſiſted much of *Cheſhire men*. But that king is deceiued, who repoſeth his ſafetie in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to bee done elſewhere, was great indeed. His warre in *Ireland* was more dammagefull, then fiſhing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely loſt, but the line, rod, and himſelfe, were drawne altogether into the depthes of irrecouerable ruine. Duke *Henry* ſees the aduantage which King *Richards* abſence gaue him, and vſeth it. In his Companie were *Thomas Arundel* the baniſhed Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew the ſonne and heire of the late Earle of *Arundel*, and not aboue fifteen *Lanciers*. His ſtrength was (where the Kings ſhould haue beene) in the peoples hearts. Neuertheleſſe, the Duke did not ſodainely take land, but houered vpon the Seas, ſhewing himſelfe to the Country people in one place now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recouery of his rightfull Heritage.

(108) *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, whom King *Richard* had left behind him to gouerne *England*, hearing this, cals vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Biſhoppe of *Cheſter*, Lord *Chancellor*, the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, Lord Treaſurer, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Buſhie*, *Bagot*, *Greene*, and *Ruſſell*. Their concluſion was to leuie a force to impeach Duke *Henries* entrance. The aſſembly was appointed to bee at S. *Albans*, which came to worſe then nothing, for the proteſtation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to bee wronged was generall. This made the Treaſurer Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flie to the Caſtle of *Briſtoll*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Cheſter*, from whence he got ſhipping into *Ireland*. Meane while Duke *Henry* lands at a village heretofore called *Rauenſhire*, to whom repaired *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, his ſonne *Henry* Lord *Percie*, lands at *Neuill* Earle of *Weſtmerland*, and many others, who (ſaith *Walſingham*) greatly feared King *Richards* tyrannie. With an Armie of about threeſcore thouſand (multitudes offering their ſeruice) they come to *Briſtoll*, beſiege the Caſtell, take it, and in the ſame the foreſaid Treaſurer *Buſhie* and *Greene*, whoſe heades (at the cries of the Commons) were the next day after their ſurrender ſeuered from their bodies.

(109) King *Richard* was in the City of *Dublin*, when theſe moſt heauie newes arriued. His courage which at no time ſeemed great, was ſhortly none at all. Somewhat muſt bee done: hee leaues the ſons of Duke *Henry*, & of his late vncle of *Gloceſter* (which hee retained as pledges for his owne indemnity) in the Caſtell of *Trim*, and returnes himſelfe into *England*, entending to encounter the Duke before his force ſhould bee too much eſtabliſhed. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumarle*, *Exceſter*, and *Surrey*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincolne* and *Carleol*, and many others. There had beene ſome more hope for vpholding his right, if hee had not made the worlde know, that tenne yeers ſpace was not able to burie in him the appetite of reuenge, which made many forget their owne loyalty to him, and the Crowne. Princes ſee in him the vſe of obliuion: but ſome conſcience of euill deſerts ſeeming to haue taken from him all confidence, he diſmiſſeth his Armie, bidding his Steward *Sir Thomas Percy* & others to reſerue themſelues for better dayes.

(110) His laſt refuge is in *Parlea*. For that cauſe there repaired to him, at the Caſtell of *Conway* in *Northwales*, (for thither he was now come) the late Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Nor-*

Northumberland at the Kings appointment: *The ſum of his demaundes were, that if hee and eight, whome he would name, might haue honourable allowance, with the aſſurance of a quiet priuate life, he would reſigne his Crowne.* This *Northumberland* did ſweare ſhould be: whereupon he forthwith departs to the Caſtle of *Flint* in their company. After a ſhort conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Caſtell of *Cheſter*, being attended by the *Lancaſtrian* Armie. If, to ſpare his peoples bloud, he was contented ſo tamely to quit his royall right, his fact doth not onely not ſeeme excuſable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that it was ſloth, and a vaine truſt in diſſimulation, which his enemies had long ſince diſcouered in him, and for that cauſe, both held his amendment deſperate, and ran themſelues into theſe deſperate Treaſons.

(111) The King did put himſelfe into the Dukes hands vpon the twentieth day of Auguſt, beeing but the forty and ſeuenth from the Dukes firſt landing. From thence they trauell to *London*, where the King lodged in the Tower. Meane while writs of Summons are ſent out in King *Richards* name, for a Parliament to bee holden at *Weſtminſter*, *Craſtino Michaelis*. The tragicall forme of *Reſignation*, you haue * had already in *Edward* the ſecond, of whom this King is a Parallel. There are named to haue been preſent at this wofull-ioyfull Act, *Arundel Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie*, *Richard Scrope Archbiſhoppe of Yorke*, *Iohn Biſhoppe of Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, (who in this ſerious play muſt ſeeme as if hee were but a looker on) the Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Weſtmerland*, the Lords *Burnell*, *Barckley*, *Ros*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergeuenie*, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, &c.

(112) In their preſence *Richard* as yet a King, and in his Tower of *London*, but not otherwiſe then as a priſoner, reades the Inſtrument of his ſurrender, with a ſeeming chearefull countenance, as if he were glad the hower was come, in which hee might taſte what it was to be a priuate man, and (hauing otherwiſe firſt done and ſaid what then he could to put all right out of himſelfe) ſubſcribes it with his hand; but prayes, that his Coſen the Duke of *Lancaſter* might ſucceed him in the regall gouernement, and in token that it was his deſire (for he muſt ſeeme to deſire what hee could not hinder) hee * plucked off his Signet ring, and put it vpon the Dukes finger. Then did he conſtitute the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke*, and Biſhop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, & how willingly, where euery one (*except the loyal & magnanimous Biſhop of *Carleol*) being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the reſignation. Neuertheleſſe, it was not thought inough to haue his Crowne, vnleſſe they alſo publiſhed his ſhame. Thirty * and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his abſence) read; of all which, it was ſaid (for then men might ſay what they liſted) that he had confeſſed himſelfe guilty. In the front was placed his abuſe of the publike treaſure, and vnworthy waſte of the Crown-land, whereby he grew intollerably grieuous to the Subiects. The particular cauſes of the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Lancaſter*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie* and Earle of *Arundel* filled ſundry Articles. They charged him in the reſt with diſſimulation, falſhood, loſſe of honour abroad in the world, extortions, rapine, deniall of Iuſtice, raſures, and embezelling of Records, diſhonourable ſhifts, wicked Axiomes of ſtate, cruelty, couetouſneſſe, ſubordinations, laſciuiouſneſſe, treaſon to the rights of the Crown, periuries, and briefly with all ſorts of vnkingly vices, and with abſolute tyranny.

(113) We may be aſſured, that nothing could then be obiected ſo vntrue or incredible, but would haue gone for current and vndenyable with affections ſo throughly prepared. Hereupon it was * concluded, that in all thoſe thirty and two Articles, hee had broken the *Oath of Empire* taken at the Coronation, & al the States of the Kingdom (ſtrange that ſo many ſhould ſo concurre in diſloyalty vnder pretence of equity) being asked what they thought; did hold that thoſe cauſes ſeemed notorious, and ſufficient to depoſe King *Richard*. Commiſsioners were therefore nominated by conſent of the whole houſe, to pronounce the ſentence of Depoſition; which were, the Biſhop of *Aſaph*, the Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*, the Earle of *Gloceſter*, the Lord *Barkly*, *William Thyrning*, Chiefe Iuſtice of the common Pleas, and ſome others. The forme of pronuntiation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. *We Iohn Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, Iohn Abbat, &c. Commiſsioners ſpecially choſen by the Lords ſpirituall and temporall of the Realme of England, and Commons of the ſaid Realme, repreſenting all the States of the ſaid Realme, ſitting in place of iudgement, &c.*

(114) The definitiue ſentence of *Depoſition* giuen thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine perſons, amongſt whom **William Thirning Chiefe Iuſtice* of the *Comon Pleas* was thoght the fitteſt man, by whoſe lawleſſe mouth that vniuſt doome ſhould be deliuered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the Realme, ſhould renounce to the ſaid *Richard* the fealties and homages heretofore made vnto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and cauſes of their proceedings. The Regall ſeate was now reputed void; whereupon Duke *Henrie* riſeth from his place, and ſtands vpright, that hee might be ſeene of the people, then * ſigning himſelfe with the ſigne of the Croſſe vpon the forehead and breaſt, and inuocating the name of Chriſt, he challenged the Crown and Realm of *England*, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are ſaid to be theſe.

* Ypod. Neuſt.

* Ypodigma. Neuſt.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaſter, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as comming by the blood royall from King Henry, and by] that iuſtice which God of his grace hath ſent to me, by the helpe of my kinſolke and friends, for recouery of the ſaid Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Gouernment and breach of lawes. Ypod. Neuſt.

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one conſent grant, that the ſaid Lord Duke ſhould reigne ouer them. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (brother to the late Earle of *Arundel*) takes him then by the right hand, and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* (the late Earle of *Wiltſhires* kinſeman) being his aſsiſtant, placeth him in the royall throne, with the generall acclamation and applauſes of the people. Laſtly, in full complement of the preſent ſolemnity, the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie* (that we may ſee how the *Diuinity* as well as the *Law* of thoſe times were degenerated into temporizing *Policie*) made a Sermon vpon theſe words in *Samuel*, *A Man ſhall raigne ouer the People.* By occaſion whereof * hee deſcribeth out of the holy Scriptures, *the happineſſe of that Kingdom which is gouerned by a man, and the infelicity of thoſe Reaimes where a Child (whether in age or diſcretion) weeldes the Scepter. The euill whereof as they had dangerouſly felt vnder the late King, ſo they hoped abundantly to enioy the other in King Henry.* To all which the whole Auditorie ioyouſly anſwered *Amen.* Then roſe the affable new Monarch, & among a few other words, *hee gaue the world to vnderſtand, that none ſhould thinke hee would as by way of Conqueſt, diſinherite any man, certaine bad members onelie excepted.*

* Fab. 1. Concord. Hiſt. Holinſh. ex Fab.

A neceſſary proteſtation.

(116) From henceforth hee was taken for King, and all Writs iſſued, and went forth in his name; which diſorderly matters being orderly related to the depoſed Prince in the Tower, by *Thirning* the Chiefe Iuſtice, hee onely vſed theſe words; *That hee looked not after ſuch things, but* (quoth he) *my hope is, that (after all this) my coſen will bee my good Lord and friend.* The Archbiſhop (otherwiſe inexcuſable in thoſe proceedings) yet in his ſaid Sermon ſeemeth gravely

gravely and truly to haue described the cause of this effect; for (quoth hee) *the child or insipient* (which are with him æquiparable) *drinketh the sweet and delicious words vnaduisedly, and perceiueth not intoxication, which they beene mingled with, till hee bee enuironed and wrapped in all danger, as lately the experience thereof hath beene apparant to all our sights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* Being thus brought downe to the show, and littlenesse of a priuate man, wee leaue him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whose violent death ensued before long, and turne ouer to his politike and martiall Successor.

(117) Yet in our way, wee may not quite ouerpasse a cursory consideration of the affaires of the Church vnder this King, which, for auoiding often interruptions of other argument, we haue put off to this last place. For albeit the Kingdome indured great crosses in the affaires of State, yet * some haue thought, that it found as great blessings in matters of religion, which in those daies tooke so deepe root in this our land, by the preaching of *Iohn Wicliffe*, that the branches thereof did spread themselues euen * ouer the Seas: Nor were the *common people* only allured with his doctrine, (though the * *Londoners fauouring of him* is thought by *Walsingham* to haue deterred the Prelates from proceeding against him, and a scholler of his in *Leicestershire*, is said to haue drawn by his preaching, * *all the Laymen in that Countrey*) but (as the same Authour reporteth) sundrie of the *Fryars* themselues fell to him and imbraced his opinions, amongst whom one * being also the *Popes Chaplaine*, so discouered by preaching the *murders, luxuries and treasons* of *Fryars* of his owne *Habit*, that the common people *were astonied with the horror thereof*, and cried out to haue them all *vtterly destroied*; which his accusations he particularlie iustified by publike writing, professing he came forth of that Order, as out of the *Diuels nest*. But that which *Walsingham* much more * admires, is, that *Wicliffes opinions were not onlie entertained in ordinary Cities*, but *euen in the Vniuersity of Oxford it selfe*, where was * *the very top of wisdome and learning*: and where not only two Chancellors successiuely. * Doctor *Nicholas Hereford*, and * *Robert Rugge* were most *earnest maintainers* of *Wicliffes* doctrine, but also, when the pope (to suppresse the same doctrine) sent his * *Bull to the Vniuersity threatning the priuation of all their priuileges, the Proctors and Regents thereof were very doubtfull, whether they should receiue the Popes Bull with honour, or rather reiect it with open disgrace.* Yea, the whole body of that *glorious Vniuersitie* (as the Pope there cals it in his Bull) gaue a glorious * Testimony (vnder their publike seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound learning, orthodoxe opinions, exquisite writings, all farthest from any staine of heresie.

(118) And therefore no marueile, if not onely the Duke of *Lancaster*, with * sundry Peeres and great ones, but King *Edward* 3. himselfe, were (as *Capgraue* testifieth) a fauourer of him, and * *King Richard* 2. and the whole *Parliament* did (according to his instructions) much labour to abrogate the Popes Transcendent power, which was a principall cause of the Popes hatred against him. Notwithstanding to discountenance the truth which he taught, in defence of *Regall Supremacy* against *Papall Vsurpation*, (as also against the *Masse, Transubstantiation, Merit*; against *Adoration of the Hoast, of Saints, Images*; and *Reliques*; against *Fryarly Orders, Pilgrimages, Indulgences*,) many lewd opinions by misconstruction (as his bookes * yet extant, euince) are fathered on him, yea some so monstrous and diabolicall (as, * that *Men ought*, yea, * that *God himselfe ought, to obey the Diuell*) that that any man which heareth them, will presently beliue (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor * dying of a palsie, hath this charitable *Eulogie* or *Epitaph* bestowed on him by a * *Monke*; *The Diuels Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples Confusion, Heretikes Idole, Hypocrites mirrour, Schismes broacher, hatreds sower, lyes forger, Flatteries sincke; who, at his death dispaired like Cain, and stricken by the horrible iudgement of God; breathed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion * of the blacke diuell*: Whereby, Gods best children may learne, not to regard, whiles they liue, the malice of the wicked, nor to respect after their death ought else but their slanderous rancor. And thus we conclude the raigne, though not the life of King *Richard*:

His first wife.

(119) The first wife of King *Richard* the second, was *Anne*, daughter vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, who was crowned Quene the 22. of Ianuary 1384. Hauing beene tenne yeeres his wife shee dyed, without any issue, at *Sheen* in the County of *Surrey*, 1394. whence her body was conuayed and buried at *Westminster*, the seuenth of the Ides of Iune.

His second Wife.

(120) *Isabell*, daughter vnto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a virgin about seuen yeers of age, when shee was affianced vnto King *Richard*, 1396. Neither had her husband (it seemeth) anie nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traiterous Lords, (to compasse their owne disloyall purposes, and gratifie an vsurpers ambition) had dethroned him. What became of this young Ladie, we shall further see in the ensuing storie.

* *Mornay. Myst. iniquit. p. 482.*

* *into Bohemia, opera Io. Huss. To. 2.*

* *Walsi. p. 205. & p. 208.*

* *Ibid. p. 285.*

* *p. 317.*

* *p. 285.*

* *Culmen Sapientiæ & scientiæ. p. 201.*

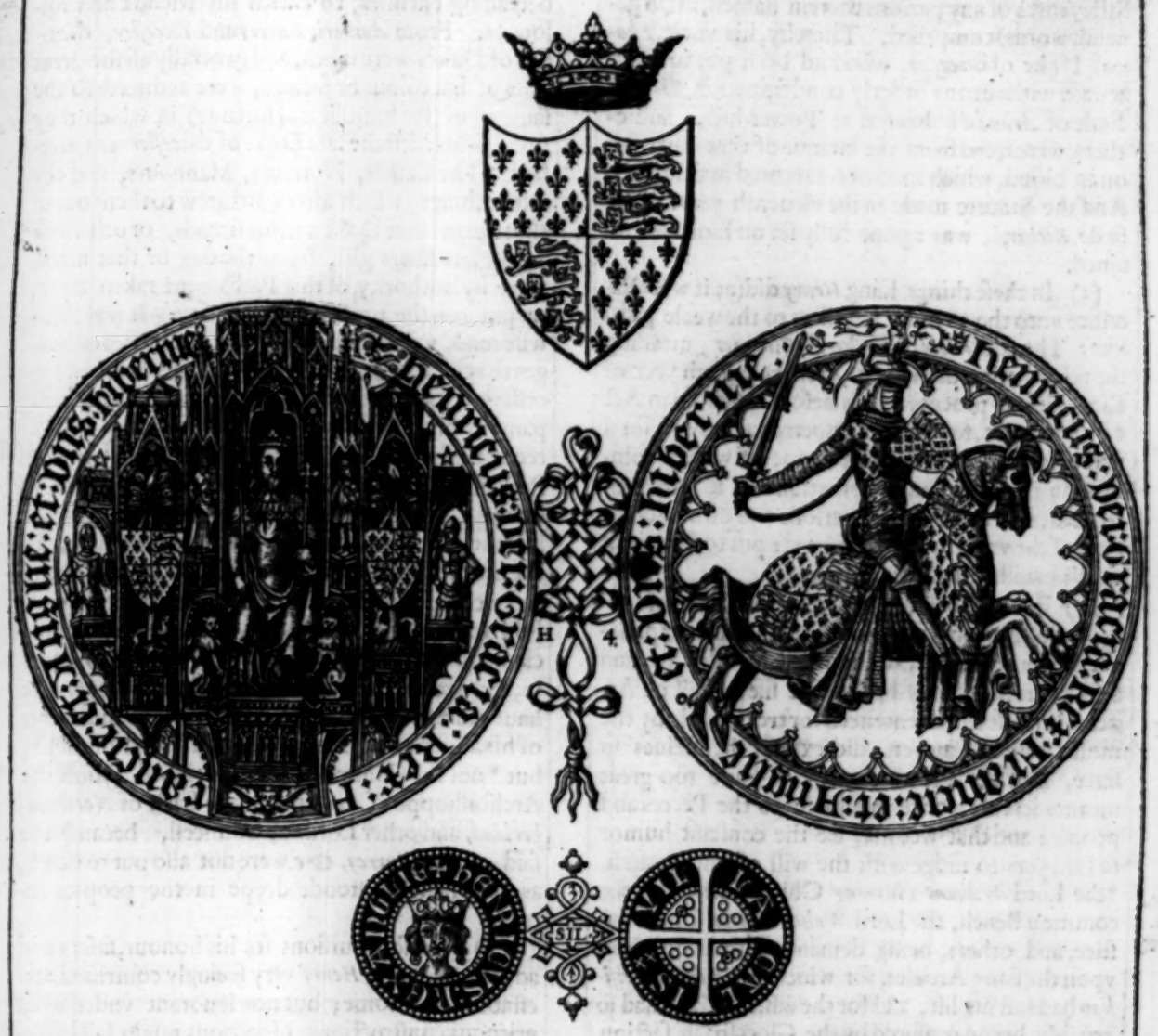
* *p. 286.*

* *p. 201.*

* *Bulla Gregorij ib.*

* *Vide op. Joh. Huss. to. 2.*

HENRIE THE FOVRTH. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE ONE MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XIII.

HENRIE of that name the fourth, hauing thus obtained the title of king, in full accompliſhment of all rites peculiar to Maieſty, had the Crowne of *England* ſet vpon his head, with all worldly magnificence and honour at *Weſtminſter*, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, vpon the * ſelfe day twelue moneth, in which hee had formerly beene baniſhed vnder *Richard* the ſecond. *Power and fauour can ſet vp and maintaine a King, though they cannot create aright!* But ſuch tranſcendent courſes deuiating from all due regulation of Iuſtice, haue been too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had *William* ſurnamed the Conquerour? what right, (we ſpeake of a right of Equity,) had his ſonnes *William* the ſecond, and *Henry* the firſt, while their elder brother liued? what right had that valiant and princely *Stephen*? what was the intereſt of *Henry* the ſecond, during the life of his mother *Mathildis*? or that of King *Iohn*, till his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* died? yea, or that of *Henry* the third, till *Arthurs* ſiſter died in her priſon at *Briſtow*? Howbeit, in this preſent caſe, not only *Richard* the late king, but the houſe of *Mortimer*, claiming from the oncly daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* (an elder brother of *Iohn D. of Lancaſter*) doubly might haue withſtood the legall challenge of this Prince? That obſtacle which grew by *Richard*, was in apparance greateſt, but the other was onely dangerous. *Richard* had no iſſue but the line of *Mortimer* (engraffed by marriage into the houſe of *Yorke*) feeling it ſelfe vnable to preuaile, and during *Richards* life time, hauing no right, ſecretly foſtered in it ſelfe thoſe fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the roofe-tops of both the royall houſes, neuer left burning, till no one principall timber was vnconſumed in either, all the Male-Iſſues which could claime by a direct line, vtterlie lopt downe

* Walſin.

by mutuall massacres and extinguished.

(2) But this wise and valiant Prince *Henry*, besides all other helpes toward the possession of the Crowne in present, had as much strength, as the vnordinate affections and siding of a factious greater part could giue, for translation of a right from one familie to another; which strength (as the basis of his vniustly reared building) he endeauoureth by all the politike meanes he may, to make perpetuall. During therefore the former Parliament, (for *Parliaments, as Kingdomes, giue their voice with power, and he who hath the force, doth commonly carry the effect of right*) he* prouided for their indemnities, who either came in with him, or did afterward adhere to his sides, and doth vtterly abrogate, and make void the Acts made in the one and twentieth yeere of the late King *Richard* the second, for so much as concerned the Attaindors disinherisons, or other forfeytures of any persons therein named, or (in generall words) comprised. Thereby, his vncle, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had been put to death at *Cales* without any orderly condemnation, *Richard* Earle of *Arundel* beheaded at Tower-hill, and others, were freed from the infamie of that corruption in bloud, which followes executed malefactors. And the Statute made in the eleuenth yeere of the saide *Richard*, was againe fully set on foot and reuiued.

* *Lib. Statut. An. 1. Hen. 4. c. 2. 3. 4.*

(3) In these things King *Henry* did (as it were) sacrifice vnto the people, aswell as to the weale publike: The said *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, meaning the reformation of the State, in that eleuenth yeer of King *Richard* procured (as is before touched) an Act of Parliament, to * settle a Superroyall power for a yeere, in certaine Peeres, by vertue of which commission the intended reformation was so farre prosecuted, that sundry great persons and others (fauorites of the vnfortunate King) were put to shamefull death banished and confiscated.

* *Lib. Statut. An. 11. Ric. 2. cap. 1.*

(4) But *Richard* * afterward (by the Duke of *Aumarls* instigation) reexamines all the former passages and proceedings, and satisfied his pleasure and displeasure, as already hath beene shewed; The Articles in those times sentenced for treasonable by the most eminent Lawyers, did extend themselues so farre, that the Prince seemed to haue too great meanes left to worke mischiefe to the Peeres and people: and that wee may see the constant humor in Lawyers to iudge with the will of the greatest, *the Lord *William Thirning* Chiefe Iustice of the common Bench, the Lord *Walter Clopton* Chiefe Iustice, and others, being demanded their opinions vpon the same Articles, for which Sir *Robert Trisilian* had lost his life, and for the which others had so terribly beene censured by the Gloceſtrian faction, affirmed (as *Tresilian* and others did) that the said Commission was against the royall Prerogatiue, and the procurers therof were all Traitors.

* *An. Reg. 21.*

* *So is he and the rest called. Lib. Statut. An. 21. R. 2. cap. 11.*

(5) King *Henry* therefore, in this his first Parliament, reduceth the state of treasons (being crimes of the highest and fowlest nature) to a more certaine head, vtterly abolishing all such as were established by the late King *Richard*. The words of the * Statute it selfe are; *Whereas, in the Parliament holden the one and twentieth yeere of the late King Richard, diuers paines of treason were ordained by Statute, in as much as there was no man which did know how he ought to behaue himselfe, to doe, speake or say, for doubt of such paines. It is accorded, and assented by the King, the Lords and Commons, that in no time to come any treason bee iudged otherwise, then it was ordained by the Statute, in the time of his noble Grandfather, King Edward the third, whom God assoile.* So was that net broken, the perilous estate of Subiects relieued, the people well gratified, and the King hereby became gracious and popular.

* *An. 1. H. 4. c. 10.*

King Henry createth his sonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*.

(6) And that his indulgent magnificence might aswell appeare, as his ciuill prudence, hee (in this Parliament) created *Henry* his eldest sonne Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chester*, by * assent of all the States. To his friend the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gaue the Isle of *Mann*, as that which he had atchieued by Conquest, (so the * cited Record speakes) of Sir *William le Scrope* Knight Earle of *Wiltshire*, beheaded at *Bristol*. The Earle of *Northumberland* had it granted to hold by the seruice of bearing *Lancasters* sword on the left hand of the King at the Coronation. Vpon the Earle of *Westmerland*, hee bestowed the Earledome of *Richmond*. Lastly, as a binding knotte, hee causeth the * Crowne to bee entailed vpon the heires of his body, hauing at that time foure sonnes aliue, *Henrie* Prince of *Wales*, *Thomas*, *Iohn* and *Humfrey*.

* *Belush.*

* *Camd. in Britan. pag. 147.*

* *Holinsh. pag. 514.*

(7) Now, as in the workes of nature, what the Sea drawes from one Coast, it casteth to another; so, others were diminished, as these encreased; the King bereauing enemies, to enrich his friends and followers. From *Aumarl*, *Surrey* and *Exceſter*, the titles of Dukes were taken, and generally all the great ones of that colour or faction, were reduced to the same estate (for honour and fortune) in which they stood, when first the late Duke of *Gloceſter* was arrested. The Castels, Honours, Mannours, and the rest of things, which afterward grew to them out of the ruine of that Duke and his friends, or otherwise by the late Kings gift, from the day of that arrest, were by authority of this Parliament taken away, or put into the present Kings mercy. It was likewise made vnlawful for them to giue liueries or badges to reteiners, or to keepe any about them but necessarie seruants: They were also forbidden, vnder paine of high Treason, to goe about by any way to reenable the late King against the authority of this Parliament, in which the sentence of his depolition was giuen and enacted. Finally, (a thing which laid them open to infinite vexations) whereas, in the time of their late greatnesse, they and theirs were charged to haue done, and patronized manifold wrongs and oppresions, all people (vpon proclamations to that purpose) were willed to come in, and declare their griefes, to the intent they might haue redresse and remedie. With these punishments of his aduersaries, King *Henry* contented himselfe; but * not the Commons who inueighed against the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and other Lords of Councell, because the said *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, *&c.* were not also put to death, as persons who stoode deepe in the peoples hatred.

* *The Ma.*

(8) These prouisions for his honour, safety and aduantage, King *Henry* very seeingly contriued, and established at home; but not ignorant vnder what grieuous constructions his actions might fall in forrain parts, sends honorable Ambassadors to * *Rome*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*, to giue a reason of his doings. To * *Rome*, the Bishoppe of *Hereford*, Sir *Iohn Cheney* Knight, and *Iohn Cheney* Esquier. To *France*, the Bishoppe of *Durefme*, and the Lord *Thomas Percie* Earle of *Worceſter*, and * *William Heron* to *Spaine*, the Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, and Sir *William Par* Knight. To *Germany*, the Bishoppe of *Bangor*, and others. These were armed with all sorts of instructions for iustification of their new aduanced King.

* *Hist. The. Wal.*

* *D. 1400 Reg. 1*

* *Ib. Stu.*

(9) In *France* * was worthily found the greatest difficulty of giuing satisfaction, for that the *French* Kings daughter (the designed wife of the late King) did thereby leese the honour, profite and pleasure of a Monarchies fruition. Shee was as yet scarse twelue yeeres of age, and therefore, * till shee attained to more maturity, the late King had the rather absented himselfe in *Ireland*. *France* therefore tooke these newes roughly, and it seemed that matters tended to Armes, which yet came to nothing, for that King *Charles* relapsed into his old disease of frenzie, and a warre to bee made against so politicke a Captaine as King *Henry*, required a sober man, and not a mad

* *Pulyd. V.*

* *Belush. Hall. Iou. c. 12.*

a mad one. Certainely, in the death of *Richard* which shortly followed, all those tumultuous designs for reuenge, immediately expired.

(10) They of *Aquitaine* (among whom the vnfortunate *Richard* was borne) bare the late king great loue, as being their Countriman. These discontentments were so publike, that *Burdeaux* (the capitall Citie and Presidentiall seat) stucke not openly to say, (as * *Polydor* hath it) *that since the world began ther was neuer a more cruel, vnreasonable, nor wicked fact done; that the good Prince was betrayed by * faithlesse men, and that all law was violated.* Thus do they exclaime, calling to God for vengeance with one voice. Neuertheless the French were deceiued in hoping to conuert these popular passions to their aduantage; for partly by the chiefe * Magistrates wisdome, and principally by the comparison which the people made of the two sortes of gouernment, English and French, that of the English being farre the more sweet and gentle, they continued firme. Much good labour, and many faire promises *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon* was forced to spend in vaine, who by such baites cast into the troubled wits of the Gascoignes, trauailed to draw them to a reuolt. The mischiefe was the better, and more strongly encountred, by the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Percy* * Earle of *Worcester* with competent numbers of men, sent thither to withstand the French practises, and cure the peoples affections, by applying to them the soueraigne balme of reason, or with force to compell obedience.

(11) The first prouocation which was giuen to King *Henrie* was by the Scots, who during the last Parliament exercised themselues in *England*, and took the Castle of *Warcke*; whose Captaine Sir *Thomas Grey* at that time gaue his attendance at Parliament about the common affaires; and the whole North of *England* being also infested with pestilence; the Scots had the more oportunity to range vnencountred. Cause of other ensuing enmities which afterward brake forth, was (as it * seemeth) for that King *Henry* tooke into his protection *George* Earle of *Dunbarre* and other Scots, who fled out of *Scotland* to auoide the displeasure of *Robert* their King, and partly to take open vengeance for wrongs done vnto them. Such oftentimes is the corruption of humane nature, that it will not pardon priuate iniuries for the publike benefite, but thrust the pietie due to our Country vnder the inferior respect of particular interesses. Princes also vpon oblique reasons of state (so bad men call them) which is neuer well founded vpon iniustice, are (for their owne seeming good) contented to hold their neighbours in awe, by possessing meanes of their disturbance, which when time serueth also, they are not slacke to vse, the profite whereof is seldome or neuer durable.

(12) But King *Henry* was scarce warme in his new atchieued soueraignty, when a nest of powerfull enemies beganne to hatch his destruction vnder the shadow of his owne winges. The deposed *Richard* was yet aliue, and howsoeuer rough and headstrong men of the Kingdome approued his downethrow, all others did not; for some moued by neerenesse of bloud, as the Earles of *Kent* and *Huntington* his halfe brothers by one mother; some doubtlesse in conscience (because howsoeuer *Richards* actions were vnworthie of the Scepter, yet the right was onely his, and besides *Henrie* seemed to them not the next heire) others transported with enuie at *Henries* supereminency, and not a few with remembrance of receiued benefites, or hope of bettter fortunes in the change of times, inclined to set him againe vpon the English throne. But they whosoeuer seeke the deliuerance of a Captiue Prince, doe commonly nothing else but hasten his death.

(13) It was our purpose in many great things to haue forborne the testimony of *Walsingham* (otherwise a great light of these times) as one who dedicating his workes to King *Henry* the fifth, sonne to this *Henry*, may be feared to speake the best and most he can, for setting forth the honour of that line; but the leuity and dissonance of later writers, enforceth vs (though with some warinesse,) to follow his light, for that, concerning this great conspiracy it selfe, our late Authours doe fondlie encounter one the other, and some of them (as it must needs be) the truth. The principall Conspirators (if such in so iust a cause may be so enstiled) were such, whose liues in the last Parliament had beene spared, though manie lockes in their periwigs of worldlie honour were plucked away. *John Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and (as *some say) *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, (three the late Dukes of *Exceter*, *Surrey*, and *Aumarl*,) *Iohn Montacute* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *Thomas Lord le Spencer*, late called Earle of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *Carleol*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *Iohn Shenele*, (or *Shelley*) Knights, *Iohn Maudler*, the *Pseudo-Richard*, or * Counterfet King *Richard*, whose Chaplaine hee had been, and resembled him verie neerely. The * Abbat of *Westminster* is (by some) not only named a Conspirator, but the first wheele of all the practise, as mouing the rest; and with him they adde to the former, Sir *Ralph Lumley*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Benedict Celie* Knights. There were sundry others, but those Earles and others first named, were vndoubtedly the chiefe.

The chiefe Conspirators names.
*Iob. Stow Annal.

*Iohn Stowes Annal. ex Anonymo.
*I. Stow ex Anonymo. Hall. Chron. Samu. Daniel l. 2.

(14) The maine point of the plot was to * kil king *Henry* and his sonne, and thereby to restore *Richard* to his rightful dignity; which the more powerfully to effect, (because, though *Henry* were murthered, yet they were assured that the businesse would not take end in a day, or a death) they resolued * to call the *French* into their succors, which they had reason to expect, for that the young Queene *Isabel* daughter to the French king remained at that present in *England*. There was nothing feeble or improbable in all this deuise; the difficulty was how to come so strong into the presence of King *Henry*, that they might ouerliue the *Assassinate*, thereby to finish their enterprize, which as they could not hope for, but with the helpe of a multitude, nor a multitude bee assembled without conuenient Colour, it was resolued, that the pretence of some extraordinary shew in *Christmas* was the fittest.

The chief points of the conspiracie.
*Thom. Walsing.

*Pol. Verg. lib. 21.

(15) Not long before the time of intended execution, the whole Coniuration was discouered, some say by the late * Duke of *Aumarl*, and afterward by the Maior of *London*. Discouered it was, but with so short a warning, that the King scarce found himselfe out of danger, when the Earles of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, (not vnderstanding that the bad odour of their conspiracy was come to the King) enter with 400. armed men about * twylight into *Windsore* Castle, from whence hee was departed to *London*. But God (whose peculiar Wards and Pupils Princes are) hauing deliuered the King out of that most certaine perill, did also sodeinely dissipate the further enterprises of the Conspirators. The Lord *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, one of the chiefe, was not in this defeat at *Windsore*, but houered in *London*, attending the successe, there to raise meanes and men, and to worke such other maisteries as he could, and afterward (for we credit *Walsingham* who liued in that time, and neere the place, and saw, and diligentlie noted things, rather then some * others) vpon the certaine report of the Kings safetie sought to flie away by water.

* Io. Stow Annal.

*Thomas Walsing. Stow saith in the Octaues of Childermas.

*Hal apud Holin. pag. 515.

(16) The two Earles missing their hoped pray, though greatly greeued, yet necessitie and new hopes bid them to dare farther. They therefore come to *Sunnings*. There the young Queene (King *Richards* spouse) lay; where hauing spoken certaine big words, to little other purpose then to giue the poore Ladie a short comfort, and taken King *Henries* Badges from such as wore them, saying King *Richard* was at libertie, and in the midst of an army of one hundreth thousand

The Earles course vpon their plots discouery.

thousand friends at *Pomfret*; they proceed to *Wallingford*, then to *Abingdon*, and so to *Circester*. The rumors vsed by them to encrease their numbers were; *that Henry of Lancaster (meaning the King) was fled with his sonnes and friends to the Tower of London, and that King Richard was escaped.* *Maudlen* also, one of *Richards* Chaplains, tooke vpon him the *person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perilous a fiction. Thus seemed they to fit their words and sute their Arts to the place. At *Sunning*, *Richard* (they said) was at *Pomfret*, for there the guile had beene transparent; but at *Circester*, *Richard* was not at *Pomfret*, but present.

*Ex Anonym. apud Io. Stow. Annal. Holinsh p. 515. Polyd. Verg. lib. 21.

(17) Howbeit the successe was not answerable to the deuise; for, besides that King *Henry* was in the heart of his strengths at *London*, where sixe * thousand men were put into a readines, and would come vpon them like a storme, the Townesmen of *Circester* assailed the Lords, tooke them, and (becavse their Town was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recouer them while the quenching found the people employment,) haled them forth, and without longer tarriance seuered their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington*, with a trustie Knight of his, Sir *Iohn* *Sheuele*, hauing (after the faile at *Windsore*) in vaine attempted to escape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at* *Pitwel* (perhaps *Prittlewel*) in *Essex*, brought first to *Chelmsford*, and lastlie to *Pleshie*, the house of the late Duke of *Gloucester* (whose Ghost a tragicall Poet would suppose did haunt his persecutors for reuenge,) where, partlie also by this Earles instigation, the said *Gloucester* was first arrested. The Commons (out of whose hearts the image of that Duke was not vanished) at * the Countesse of *Herefords* instigation who was the Dukes widdow, tooke satisfaction vpon the Earle, with the escheate of his head, which there was sundred from his shoulders. The Lord *Spencer* called Earle of *Gloucester* (one of the Conspirators) had like execution done vpon him by the Commons at *Bristol*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and some at *London*; where *Iohn Maudlen* (the Counterfeit *Richard*, who as it seemes was a beautifull and goodlie person) and one *William Ferby* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Bishop of *Carleol* neuertheless was by the Kings clemencie preserued aliue after the condemnatory sentence. There were * nineteene in all (whereof two had beene Dukes) put to death for this conspiracy, most of which were men of speciall note.

*Hall. Chron.

*Shellie, as others haue it.

* Fab. Conc. Hist.

*Harst. cap. 119.

*Hall. Chron. Holinsh. p. 516.

(18) The designes and misfortunes of King *Richards* friends being made known vnto him, could not but worke strongly in a soule oppresst with griefe; but whether so strongly as to make him resolue by voluntary abstinence to starue himselfe (as* the fame went) may bee doubted, though it be past doubt that King *Henry* was not sorrie hee was dead howsoeuer. That he was starued seemes verie plaine; though, as it is not certaine, (neither yet vnlikely) that King *Henry* was priuy to so foule a patricide, so neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be starued of purpose, *as starue himselfe.* Master *Stow* (a man for honest industry very praisworthie) saith that king *Richard* was fifteene daies and nights together kept in hunger, thirst, and cold, till hee died. How true that was in the circumstance, who knows? but in the point of staruing hee is clearelie with *Walsingham:* and a *Knight liuing about those times calleth it a death neuer before that time knowne in *England.* *Harding** also, liuing vnder King *Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of staruing.* Master *Cambden* saith of *Pomfret* Castle, that it is a place *principum cæde & sanguine infamis*, but seemes to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practised vpon this King, as made out of the way *with hunger, cold, and vnheard-of torments.* * *Polydore* therefore may in this bee beleeued, who writes of this poore deposed Monarke, that, (which may well

*Too. Walsing.

The late King *Richard* starued to death.

*Ypod. Neust.
*Annal. in H. 4.

*Sir Iohn Fortescue.

*Chron. c. 200.
* In Yorkshire pag. 567.

*Hist. Angl. 20. in fin. Rich. 2.

be called vnheard-of torments) his diet being serued in, and set before him in the wonted Princely manner, he was not suffered either to taste, or touch thereof. Idle therefore seemes * his dreame, who writes hee was murthered in the Tower, and not more credible *theirs, who tell vs of Sir *Peirs* of *Extons* assault, and the murther basely by him acted vpon this most miserable Princes person: but much more are* they to blame who negligently for credit of the fable quote *Walsingham*, in whom no syllable of such a thing is found. Onely * *Hector Boetius* wils vs to believe that *Richard* fled disguised into *Scotland*, was discouered to King *Robert*, and honourably entertained, but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gaue himselfe wholy to contemplation, and both liued, died, and was buried at *Strueling*. Which fond fable hath neuertheless somewhat in it, for that some personated *Richard* might so doe is neither impossible, nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

*Lib. 16.

(19) The late King *Richard* thus cruelly and heinously murthered (for in regard of pining death the seeming fable of his fight with Sir *Peirs* of *Exton* was a sport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage to die with weapon in hand) King *Henry* causeth his dead body to bee brought vp to *London*. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but priuie, (though for thine owne pretended safetie, and for that errors cause which is lewdly mis-called *reason of state*) of such a murther; we doe not see, how the shewing of the people his vncouered face in *Pauls*, did either conceale or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that course was vsed, which may the rather confirme the truth of his enfamishment: for a violent death by braining could not but deforme him too much: and it is most probable that such a death would bee sought, as might least appeare. Surely he is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarisme, as *Richards* enfamishment, feeles not chilling horror and detestation; what if but for a iustly condemned galley-slaue so dying? but how for an annointed King, whose Character (like that of holy Orders) is indeleble? The tragicall spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it moued too much both pittie and enuie) was after a while transported without honor to *Langley* in *Hartfordshire*, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbats of *S. Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither King *Henry* present, (as at the exequies in *London*) and the great Lords and such other as were had* not so much as a funerall feast bestowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fifth, in the first *yeere of his raigne with great honour did afterward cause those royall remaines to be interred in the Sepulture of his Ancestors at *Westminster*. Among the riming Latine verses of his Epitaph, ye may maruell to reade these, considering vpon what points he was triced out of Maiestie and State;

Ecclesiam fauit, elatos suppeditauit,
Quemuis prostrauit, regalia qui violauit.

Fabians English of them.

The Church he fauoured, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his roiall State confound.

The said Author therefore *Robert Fabian*, obseruing the scope of those lines (to dampe their force) doth vnderwrite and annex this Stanza, with much greater discretion then elegancie:

But yet alas, though that this meeter or rime,
Thus doth embellish this noble Princes fame,
And that some Clerke which fauoured him sometime,
List by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Yet by his Story appeareth in him some blame:
Wherefore to Princes it surest memory,
Their liues to exercise in vertuous constancie.

More

More tart and ſeuere is the cenſure of *Gower* vpon this Prince, one of whoſe verſes * *Stow* giues vs thus,

So God doth hate ſuch rulers as, here vicioufly do liue.

That beautifull picture of a King ſighing, crowned in a chaire of eſtate, at the vpper end of the Quier in Saint *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, is ſaid to be of him, which witneſſeth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry* to diuert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedie, prepareth now a puiſſance, therewith to inuade *Scotland*; ſome ſubiects whereof, together with their Admirall Sir *Robert Logon* a Scotiſh Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine Engliſh ſhips. But K. *Henry* may ſeeme to haue done any thing rather, then to haue made a warre; for albeit hee did ſome hurt by * waſting the Country, yet did not the *Scots* offer battel, and the reſt will wel appear in theſe words of *Boetius. *He did ſmall iniuries to the people thereof: for he deſired nought but his banner to bee erected on their wals. He was euer a pleaſant enemy, and did great humanity to the people in all places of Scotland where he was lodged. Finally, hee ſhewed to the Lords of Scotland, that hee came into their Realme rather by counſell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bare to Scots. Soone after hee returned into England.* Whether the remembrance of the curteſies ſhewed to his Father Duke *Iohn*, or the feare of his owne great ſtate ſo neere to an ouerthrow by the late furious conſpiracy, wrought theſe gentle effects, it was not long before the euent ſhewed, that his prouidence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

(21) For albeit the face of *England* ſeemed ſmooth, yet God thruſt a thorne into King *Henries* ſide, when and where he little expected; for the *Welſh*, whom former Kings of *England* had ſo yoaked, and ſubiected, did contrary to all mens expectation, breake forth into open acts of hoſtility, vnder the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation ſurnamed *Glendowr*, of the Lordſhip of *Glendowr* in *Merionithſhire*, whoſe owner he was; the wrath and iuſtice of heauen is alwayes ſo well furniſhed with meanes to exerciſe the mightieſt, thoſe chiefly at whoſe amendment God aimes by chaſtiſement. The originall of ſo great an euill was in the ſeed but little, as but this: *Owen Glendowr*, * whom the Welſh call the ſonne of *Gruffith Vachan*, deſcended of a yonger ſon of *Gruffith ap Madoc*, Lord of *Bromfield*, was at firſt a Student of the common laws, and an *Vtter Bariſter*, (but not therefore an apprentiſe of law, as Doctor *Powell* miſtakes, for an apprentiſe of the law, is hee that hath been a* double Reader) did afterward ſerue the late King *Richard* in place of an Eſquier, & was well beloued of him, but in King *Henries* time (retiring himſelfe as it ſeemes to his Mannour of *Glendourdwy*, the L. *Gray* of *Ruthen* entred vpon a peece of common, which lay betweene *Ruthen* and *Glendowr*, which *Owen* (deſpite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without contention. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) armes hereupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, where he ſcattered the ſaid Lords people, and tooke him priſoner, as hereafter will elſe-where bee touched.

(22) It ſeemes herein that hee had forgotten the lawes which he had formerly ſtudied, and wherin hee had been a licentiate; for ſhortly after, as hee had troden law vnder foot, ſo did he alſo caſt off loyaltie, burning & deſtroying the Lord *Grays* inheritances, and killing ſundry his ſeruants. The King aduertiſed hereof, paſſeth with an Army into *Wales*, burnes, kils, and takes ſuch reuenge as that time would permit. Meanewhile, *Owen* (whom pride & folly armed to the farther ruine of his Country) with his truſtieſt friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inexpugnable faſtneſſes of *Snowdon*, where during this tempeſt, he kept his head ſafe. Shortly after the King with ſuch riches and ſpoiles as thoſe Parts had afforded, returnes, His next moſt noted action was peaceable. For one of the houſe of *Paleologus*, and Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, came into *England* to pray ſome ſuccour againſt the Turke, and vpon the day of S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, was met at *Blackeheath* by King *Henry*, highly feaſted, richly preſented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tilius* * ſaith of his ſucceſſe in *France*, *verbis & promiſſis tantum adiutus eſt*, ſo here his ſpeed was not much better, the point of armed aides, being only therein aſſiſted with words and promiſes.

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeere, * by reaſon of *the numbers of Lolards*, (ſo called) *encreaſing*, the puniſhment for them enacted, was burning. And in the ſame yeere alſo, the Articles of peace beeing firſt agreed vpon betweene the two Nations, *Engliſh* and *French* (notwithſtanding that they had denied to match with the young Prince of *Wales*, * becauſe the former marriage with *Richard* thriued ſo badly) the Lady *Iſabel* who had beene crowned Queene of *England*, as Spouſe of the late King, was now ſent backe into *France* after a moſt princely maner, ſhee being not as yet * twelue yeeres old, had * no dowrie allowed her in *England*, for that the marriage was neuer conſummated. Before ſhee was reſtored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Percie*, before the Ambaſſadors of both the Nations, where they were met betweene *Caleis* and *Boloigne*, proteſted, *That the King of England his Maſter had ſent her to be deliuered to her Father cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwiſe, and that hee would take it vpon his ſoule, that ſhee was ſound and entire, euen as ſhee was the ſame day ſhee was deliuered to King Richard, and if any would ſay to the contrary hee was ready to proue it againſt him by combat.* But the Earle of Saint *Paul* ſaying, hee beleeued it to be true, the Lord *Percie* tooke her by the hand, and deliuered her vnto the Earle, and then the Commiſſioners of *France* deliuered certaine letters of receipt and acquitall. She was afterward married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*.

(24) *Owen Glendowr* perſiſting in his pride and diſobedience made incurſions vpon the Engliſh, doing them great harme, and returning himſelfe without any; but K. *Henries* danger was greater at home; for treaſon had crept into his moſt ſecret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Galtrop* or *Engine* with three ſmall yron pikes, long, ſlender and paſſing ſharpe all of them with their points ſet vpward, but (God ſo diſpoſing it) the King before hee laid himſelfe downe, perceiued them, and thereby auoided that hidden miſchiefe, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

(25) This appeares that the ſplendors of his new regality had drawne vp many thicke and poiſonous cloudes of enuie and practiſe, to darken if it were poſsible the farther brightneſſe thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to ſome extremity. For *Owen Glendowr* vpon the cauſes beforeſaid, waſting the Lord *Reynald Grayes* lands, was encountred by him, as preſuming that *Owen* and his friendes might eaſily be ouercome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight hee loſt very many of his companie, and was himſelfe taken Priſoner. This fortune made the ſwelling mind of *Owen* ouerflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the ſaid Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained hee not his liberty the ſooner, but died (ſay *ſome) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author miſtake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marrie ſo after hee was alſo ouerthrowne by the ſaid *Owen* with the ſlaughter of aboue a thouſand principall perſons of *Herefordſhire*, aſſembled vnder his conduct, to reſiſt the *Welſh* inuaſions, and there alſo himſelfe was by trecherie taken priſoner.

(26) *Walſingham* doth * write, that about this time ſundrie conſpiracies were diſcouered in the yolke (as it were) or embrion; the whole hopes whereof reſted vpon calumniations, and forgery, for

VVarre against Turks neglected by the weſterne Princes.

*Chron de regib. Francorum.

An. D. 1401. An. Reg. 2

* Lib. Stat. H. 4. an. 2. c. 15.

*Polyd. Verg. Hiſt. an. lib. 21.

*Tho. VValſ. *Holinſh. Chron. Froſſard.

The forme of redeliuering Queen *Iſabel* to the French.

The King in danger to be ſlaine or wounded.

An. 1402.

* Fab. Chron. ad A. D. 1400.

* In Hen. 4.

*Polyd.Verg.l.21.

*Holinsh.p.520.

The late king *Richard* though dead, ſuffers not K. *Henry* to reſt.

by the firſt they *traduced (in libels) *Henries* actions, ſo to make him hatefull, and by the ſecond they diuulged that* *Richard* was ſtill aliue, thereby to raiſe an head of ſeparation. *Henry* thus galled in his honour, and endangered in the main, reſolued to ſpare none, vpon whom the crime or concealement was found. The firſt of them that fell vnder his iuſtice, was a Prieſt of *Ware*, with whom was taken a liſt, or roll of names which hee had gathered, ſuppoſing them ſuch as in regard of benefites receiued, would liue and die for King *Richard*, which vanitie of his created trouble to many, till it appeared that he had therein wronged them, as perſons who were vtterlie ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *Walter Baldocke* Prior of *Lawnd*, who confeſt that he had concealed others counſels againſt the King, though himſelfe had acted nothing. A *Frier Minor* alſo being taken with ſome other of his Order for like intendments, was asked, *what hee would doe if King Richard were aliue and preſent?* hee confidently anſwered, *that hee would fight for him till death againſt any whoſoeuer*; which coſt him his life, *being drawn and hanged in his Fryars weeds.* Neither did this hard fortune fall onely vpon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Claringdon* Knight, (reputed the baſe ſonne of *Edward*, late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Eſquier and ſeruant of his, finiſhed the affection which they bare to the deceaſed *Richard* by hanging. Not long after eight *Franciſcan Fryars*, or *Minorites* were taken, conuicted, hanged, and headed for the like cauſes, which made the King an heauy Lord to that whole Order. It is ſaid that ſomewhat before this knot was diſcouered the diuell appeared in the habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church in *Eſſex*, to the incredible aſtoniſhment of the pariſhioners; for, at the ſame time there was ſuch a Tempeſt & thunder with great fire-bals of lightning, that the vault of the church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

Thom.Walſ.Ypod. The Diuell appeares in Eſſex.

(27) But howſoeuer theſe out-branches were pared away, the rootes of all the practiſe lay deeper out of ſight, for the* *Percies*, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Earle of Worceſter*, *and Henrie Hotſpur Lord Percy*, becauſe perhaps they thought they had done wickedly, in helping to ſet vp *Henry*, * beganne to imagine that bloudy miſchiefe, which afterward was proſecuted. This malice, the late ſucceſſe of *Owen Glendowr* againſt the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (taken priſoner, as is ſaid, with no little ſlaughter of his *Herefordſhire* men) did perhaps nouriſh; for that hee ſaw an enemie appeare, who was not vnlikely to proue an able member of a greater rebellion. Certainely the King hauing in *September* led an Armie into *Wales* to take reuenge vpon his Rebels was in great danger to haue periſhed with ſodaine ſtormes and raines, the like whereof none of his people had euer felt or ſeene, ſo that after he had done ſome waſts vpon the Country hee returned. The common fame went that *Owen* was a Coniurer, and had raiſed thoſe hideous tempeſts by helliſh arts; they ſeemed ſo exceſsiue, which (whether true or falſe) did yet impart no little ſtrength to the Welſh faction.

*Cambd.in Northumb.p.675.

*Pol.Verg.lib.21.

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North, where his Lieutenants had two faire victories, the one at* *Niſbet*, and the other at *Halidowne-hill*, neere to a village called *Woller*. And although the firſt was not a ſmall one, yet the other deſerued the name of a iuſt battell and garland. To the Scots, hauing with aboue ten thouſand men (vnder conduct of *Archibald* Earle of *Dowglas*, whom the Scots nick-named *Tyne-man*, becauſe he neuer wanne field, though no ſort of true manhood was wanting in his perſon) made great ſpoiles in *England* as farre as to *Newcaſtle*, and were now vpon returne; *Henrie Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*, the noble *Henry Hotſpur* Lord *Percie* his ſonne, and *George* Earle of *Dunbar* (who fled as you haue heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces of the Countries there about, not meaning to let them to paſſe in ſo ſlight a ſort, oppoſed themſelues. The chiefe feate was wrought by the Engliſh Archers, who firſt with their ſtiffe, cloſe, and cruell ſtormes of arrowes made their enemies footmen breake, and when the noble *Dowglaſſe* deſcended to the charge with his choiſeſt bands, himſelfe being in a moſt rich, and excellently tempered armour, and the reſt ſingularly well appointed, the Lord *Percies* Archers making a retreat, did withall deliuer their deadly arrowes, *tam viuidè, tam animoſè, tam grauiter* (ſaith our Monke) *ſo lively, ſo courageouſly, ſo grieuouſly, that they ranne through the men of Armes, bored the helmets, pierced their very ſwords, beate their lances to the earth, and eaſily ſhot thoſe who were more ſlightly armed through and through.* There were taken priſoners the Earle of *Dowglas* himſelfe, (who notwithſtanding his armour of the beſt proofe, had fiue wounds, and loſt an eye,) *Murdake Stewart* Earle of *Fife* (eldeſt ſonne to *Robert Duke of Albanie*,) *George Earle of Angus*, the *Earles of* Murrey and *Orkney*, the *Lords Montgomerie*, *Erskin*, and *Graam*, with about fourſcore Knights, beſides Eſquiers and Gentlemen. There were ſlaine the Lords *Gourdon*, and *Swyntoun* (*Belinden Boetius* cals them Knights) with ſundrie other men of honour and marke, beſide ſtore of common ſouldiers. The riuer *Tweed*, to ſhew it ſelfe meere *Engliſh*, did likewiſe fight for them by ſwallowing about fiue hundreth in his vnknowne depthes, as they, who fled from the battell, ſought to paſſe. This victory hapned vpon *Holyrood* in haruеſt. The troubles which afterward hapned, did not onely hinder the Lord *Percie* from farther proſecution of ſuch a victorie, but eclypſed the honour hee had gotten now, and gaue his dayes a bloudy & foule Cataſtrophe.

(29) The Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March* next generall heire in bloud to the Crowne of *England* after the death of *Richard* the ſecond, hauing through feare of *Owen* (whoſe priſoner hee was) or hope of recouering his right, or for reuenge (becauſe the King did not ranſom him, married *Owens* daughter, by which hee muſt neceſſarily declare himſelfe an enemie to King *Henrie*, entertained intelligence with his neere kinſmen the *Percies*, and ſundry other his friends in *Cheſhire*, and elſewhere, to what purpoſe will ſhortly appeare. The night in which this Lord *Mortimer* (though ſome referre it to *Owens* birth) was born, all the horſes in his fathers ſtable, are ſaid to haue bin found ſtanding Belly-deep in bloud. A fearefull prodigie, as euen then it ſeemed, but verified afterward in the farre more fearefull euents, when (vpon the quarrell of *Mortimers* title, by which the houſe of *Yorke* claimed,) the horſes of warre did not onely ſtand belly-deepe in bloud, but alſo ſwam therein. The miſchiefe was already begun: for *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (when now his owne and his houſes ſtrengths were mightily encreaſed by this late victory againſt the *Scots*, which he vnder-hand ſeemes to haue conuerted to his ſecret priuate ends,) cloſely * animated his brother the Earle of *Worceſter*, and his fiery ſpirited ſon, againſt the King, to both their confuſions.

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Iane* of *Nauarre*, widdow of *Iohn de Mortfort* Duke of *Britaine* named the Conquerour (*who died the yeere before) by whom ſhe had iſſue both ſons and daughters, but by the King none. He met, and married her at *Wincheſter*, and crowned her Queene at *Weſtminſter*. The King was not truſted with the cuſtody of any her three ſonnes, *Iohn*, *Richard* & *Arthur*, who remained in *France*.

(31) Euents are the beſt interpreters of propheſies and prodigies. Strange was that which * *Walſingham* hath written of a fatall *Spectrum* or *Apparition* in the ſummer time betweene *Bedford* and *Bickleſwade*, where ſundry monſters of diuers colours, in the ſhapes of armed men were often ſeene to iſſue out of the woods at morning and at noone; which to ſuch as ſtood farre off ſeemed to encounter one

one the other in moſt terrible manner, but when they drew neer, nothing was to be found. Of another nature were the fiery attempts of the *Percies*. The firſt of them who diſcouered in armes his mortall hatred, was the noble *Hotſpur*, who (vnder *colour of the Scottiſh warre) made head about *Cheſter* and the marches of *Wales*. To him (by the priuitie of *Hotſpurs* father,) repaires the naughtie old man the Earle of *Worceſter*, leauing the young Prince of *Wales* and the Princes houſhold, ouer both which (for their better Gouernment) the King had placed him. Now was the torch of warre lighted vp, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-maſter the Earle of *Northumberland* was not ioined to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewſbury*, to make thereof a Seat of warre.

(32) Colourable cauſes of their armes were the ordinarie paintings of the like attempts. Care of common-wealths reformation, and their owne ſafeties; for hauing firſt proteſted their intentions not to be the breach of loyaltie, they pretend and by letters ſent about, doe ſignifie. 1. *That * the publike monie was not employed vpon the pretended defence of the kingdome, but vnduly waſted.* 2. *That by reaſon of bad tongues about the King they durſt not approach him, to declare their innocency, vnleſſe the Prelates and Peeres of the Realme did firſt intercede for them.* 3. *That they tooke armes onely to guard their owne heads, and to ſee the Kingdome better gouerned.* Theſe Articles had the place of the Huske, but the kernell of the enterprize had principallie theſe. 1. *To thruſt King Henry out of his ſeat, and conſequently to depriue him of life.* 2. *To aduance the title of the Lord Mortimer Earle of March their * neereſt Allie:* for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by *Philip* daughter to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. 3. *To take reuenge of King Henry, for ſeeking to drawe the chiefe benefit to himſelfe of the victory at Halidowne hill, whoſe principall priſoners he required,* and for ſuch other priuate grudges. 4. *To ſhare the Kingdome betweene Mortimer, Percy and Owen Glendower.* Concerning which partition it is in ſome found written, that Indentures tripartite were ſealed, ſhowing that *South-England ſhould remaine to Mortimer, North-England to Percy, and Wales beyond Seuern to Glendower.* But *Archembald Earle of Dowglas* (who did his Countrey good ſeruice by making one in our Combuſtions,) by common conſent was allowed for his ſhare to be free from ranſome, and to haue *Berwicke*.

(33) This (in our Engliſh Adages) is called to reckon without our hoſt, or to count our chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would haue it ſo, yet who doth not eaſily ſee what a wild horſe a kingdome (ſo gotten) is, and how hard to ſit, and not to manage onlie? Yet it ſeemeth, that if *Mortimer*, hauing ſo iuſt a title to the Crowne, had openlie profeſſed the cauſe of his attempt againſt King *Henry*, it might iuſtlie haue beene exempted from all ſtaine of diſabilitie. But this partition is * ſaid to haue beene wiſely built vpon a ſound Welſh propheſie of *Merlins: as if King Henry were the Mowldwarp curſed of Gods owne mouth, and Mortimer, Percy and Glendower, the Dragon, Lyon, and wolfe, which ſhould diuide this Realme betweene them.* Surely the Welſh hauing any hand in ſuch a partition, it is not likelie they could thinke it had the right feete, if it ſtood not vpon the ſuppoſed *Merlins* his ridiculous coſenages and riddles. The Engliſh (not to be behind in leaſings,) doe in the meane time euery where ſpread *that* * *Richard was ſafe aliue and in the Caſtle of Cheſter.* Who can wonder that this name ſhould be ſo gratious, as if alone it were enough to haue ſhaken *Henry* out of his State? when *Nero* himſelfe had ſo many fauorites, that twenty yeeres after his death an obſcure fellow faining himſelfe *Nero*, was ſo backt and countenanced by the *Parthians*, and others, * that not without much difficulty the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

* *Suet. in Ner. lib. 6. capolt.*

(34) On the other ſide King *Henry* aſſailed with ſo vnexpected ieopardies, defends his cauſe by letters, and ſtrongly puts the blame vpon the accuſers, ſaying, *That he maruelled exceedingly, ſeeing the Earle of Northumberland, and Henry his Sonne had the greateſt part of the publike moneys deliuered to them, for defence of the borders againſt Scotland, why they ſhould make that a quarrell, which was a meere calumnie.* And to take away all pretence of feare from the Conſpirators, hee ſends to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, and to the hot Lord *Percie*, a *ſafe conduct* vnder his roiall Seale, by which he ſecures their acceſſe, but *vnbridled raſhneſſe* (ſaith *Walſingham*) *deſpiſing the roiall clemencie, did put on the rigour of rebellion.* Meane while the King armes with all ſpeed againſt the enemie, the rather at the counſell of *George* Earle of *Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wiſe friend) aduiſed him ſo to doe, before their aduerſaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his ſonne the young Prince of *Wales*, and a very noble fellowſhip, was now aduanced within ſight of *Shrewſbury*, as the gallant *Percie* ſtood ready to aſſault the Towne. But ſo ſoone as the roiall Standard was diſcouered, that enterpriſe was left off, and he drew out his people (being about fourteene thouſand choice and hardie bodies of men) to try the fortune of war againſt a well tride warrior.

(35) Peace notwithſtanding (by the exceeding tenderneſſe of the King) had enſued, but that the miſcheeuous Earle of *Worceſter*, by miſreporting and falſifying his Soueraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into ſudden battell. If there were any praiſe or good example to bee drawne out of ſo deteſted bloodſhed, as that of *ciuill warre*, we would willingly deſcribe vnto you the order and actions, but we cannot too ſoone paſſe ouer ſuch mournfull obiects, which are rather to bee celebrated with teares then triumphes. There is no doubt but *Percie*, *Dowglas*, and the reſt fought terrible. Why ſhould we admire that in them? So doe Lyons, Tygers, & Beares, and yet wee admire them not. Where was dutie, where conſcience, where the other reſpects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of vs honour, or imitate them, in whoſe eyes the price of Engliſh blood is ſo vile, as that (for priuate fanſies) they can bee content to confound all regards, and make ſport for common foes, with mutuall maſſacres. Therefore wee will content our ſelues with the knowledge of Gods part in this daies worke, who gaue the garland to the King, though the firſt arrowes flew from the *Percies* Archers.

Thomas Percie Earle of *Worceſter* cauſe of the battell at *Shrewſbury*.

(36) The Kings courage was not ſmall in the fight as neither was the danger, the yong Prince of *Wales* alſo (being then firſt to enter himſelfe into the ſchoole of blood and battell,) gaue no ſmall hopes of that perfection which afterward ſhone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Percy* and Earle *Dowglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two brauer Champions) in ſteed of ſpending themſelues vpon the multitude, ſet the point of their hopes vpon killing the King, as in whoſe perſon they were ſure ten thouſand fell. For this cauſe they moſt furiouſly ruſhed forward with ſpeares and ſwords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, diſcouering their purpoſe, drew the King from the place which he had choſen to make good, and thereby in likelyhood for that preſent ſaued his life, for the Standard royall was ouerthrowne, and (among other valiant men) the * Earle of *Stafford*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, the Kinges Knight and the Standard-bearer himſelfe was ſlaine, ſuch was the fury of theſe ſodaine thunderbolts. That day the *Dowglas* ſlew with his owne hands three in the Kings Coat-armour, (perhaps ſome in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Boetius* yet ſaw a fourth. Sure it is, that manie of the ſubiects thought the King was ſlaine, and not a few * ranne

The terrible battel at *Shrewſbury*.

* *Thomas Walſing.*

Hotſpurre and *Dowglas* onely ſeeke to encounter the Kinges perſon.

* *Tho. Walſing.*

* *Lib. 16.*

* Many thouſands together ſaith *Walſingham*

our

out of the field. Who notwithſtanding, like a valiant Prince, did reenforce the fight, performing maruels in armes with his owne hands. The ſlaughter could not be ſmall on both ſides, the Archers ſhooting ſo continually, and the men of armes doing their vtmoſt for about the ſpace of three whole houres.

(37) That which gaue an end to this wofull worke was the death of *Hotſpur*, who ryding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an vnknowne hand) ſuddenly killed, with whoſe fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart) the courages of all others fell into feete, which now altogether they truſted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the miſguided multitude, ſuffered them to ſhift for themſelues. The Earles of *Worceſter* and *Dowglas*, *Sir Richard Vernon*, the Baron of *Kindlaton*, and diuers others were taken. Of the Kings ſide was ſlaine (beſides the Earle of *Stafford*) ten new Knights, whoſe names (as dying in an honeſt cauſe) deſerue immortality, and were Sir * *Hugh Shorly*, *Sir Iohn Clifton*, *Sir Iohn Cokain*, *Sir Nicholas Gauſel*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, *Sir Iohn Caluerly*, *Sir Iohn Maſſie*, *Sir Hugh Mortimer*, *Sir Robert Gauſell*, and *Sir Thomas Wendeſley*, who dyed of his hurts not long after, as moſt of the other did about the Standard; all which fighting for their ſpurs, (as being knighted but that morning) bought them with the honourable loſſe of their whole bodies; there were alſo ſlaine many Eſquires, & Gentlemen, and about one thouſand and fiue hundreth common ſouldiers, beſides three thouſand ſorely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that ſecond *Mars*, the Lord *Percy* (who drew a ruine after him ſutable to his Spirit and greatneſſe) there fell moſt of all the Eſquires and Gentlemen of *Cheſhire*, to the number of two hundred, and about fiue thouſand common ſouldiers. This battell was ſtricken neere to *Shrewſbury* vpon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, and the *Eue* of Saint *Marie Magdalen*.

(38) The Earle of *Worceſter* (the ſeducer and deſtroier of his noble Nephew *Hotſpur*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to haue dyed) *Sir Richard Vernon* Knight, and the Baron of *Kinderton* had their heads cut off vpon the Monday following. *Hotſpurres* body had beene buried by permiſſion, but vpon other aduiſe, the King cauſed it to be drawne out of the graue, beheaded, quartered, and the parts ſent into diuers Cities of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings aide) was empeached by the Earle of *Weſtmorland*, and *Robert Waterton* who had raiſed a great hoſt. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friend, wheeles about, and returnes to his Caſtle of *Warkworth*. But what can be ſecure to a ſubiect againſt the victorious armie of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifeſtly feeling the irrecouerable maimes of his houſe in the loſſe of his ſonne and brother, and therefore ſhaped his courſe accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, hauing ſetled the ſtate of things in the Marches about *Shrewſbury*, ſets forward to the City of *Yorke*, from thence to take order for ſuch perils, as he foreſaw might happen. He ſetled himſelfe the more ſeriouſlie and entirelie to this needfull worke; for that his Ambaſſadors had effected an abſtinence from warre with *France*, till the firſt of March, which paſſing ſpace though it might ſeeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then ſo full of dangerous perturbations. While hee was at *Yorke*, he commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in perſon, which he accordingly did vpon the morrow after the day of *Saint* * *Laurence*, and that alſo with a ſmall traine in the nature of an humble ſutor. He could not in reaſon hope for the wonted familiar fauour of the King, neither had he yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned, though his meanes and liberty was abridged, the King allowing only neceſſary maintenances. The life of Princes is like a perpetuall motion. The Northerne Countreys are now ſetled, but hath the King therefore any the more reſt? Nothing leſſe; for *Wales* & the troubles thereof call him thither. What ſhould he doe? Money the Cement and ſoldure of all ſuch actions, (for Armies cannot otherwiſe bee held together) vtterly failes. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſees the needs and vſes of his Soueraigne, and like a Father ſupplies him with a Tenth, which the Clergy at their Metropolitans motion, conſent to giue: vpon the ſtrength whereof, the King knowes how farre hee may proceed againſt the *Welſh* in his good time.

(39) Toward the reliefe of theſe his neceſſities, the valiant exploits of *William de Wilford* an Eſquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the King vpon the narrow Seas, brought ſome aſsiſtance, certainely ſtore of contentation; for he tooke forty lawfull prizes laden with yron, oyle, ſope and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thouſand tunne vpon the Coaſtes of *Britaine*, and in his returne ſet fortie ſaile on fire; and to make the *Britains* know that hee was not only a man of his hands at Sea, he comes on ſhore at *Penarch*, burnes Townes and houſes about ſixe leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them at the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which he conſumed with flames and waſted the land for three miles about. The French not to ſeeme ſlow to like miſchiefes, land at the *Wight*, but were compelled with loſſe to betake themſelues againe vnto their Fleet, with farre worſe ſucceſſe then the *Britons* vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plimmouth* inuaded, tooke and burnt it.

(40) The King hauing humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort as you heard, lookes againe vpon him with an eye of compaſsion and fauour, not without a ſecret reſpect to his owne ſafety; and he had little appetite to augment enmities, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gratious vſage of that Earle, (for he reſtored him fully to all) he now thinkes thoſe North parts ſufficiently ſecured. This reſtitution was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London* about the midſt of Ianuary, where the King obteined an vnuſuall Taxe or Subſidy, of which (that it might not be drawne into example) no record, nor writing was ſuffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the king thus drew into the Eſchecquor, he had occaſion to beſtow at this time. For, there preſented themſelues vnto him, a boiſterous troupe of plaine *Weſtern-men*, who brought to the kings view three Lords, and twenty knights of note; Theſe were priſoners, whom the Countrey people about *Dartmouth* in *Deuonſhire* had gotten in plaine fight. The king was therefore giuen to vnderſtand, that the Lord of *Caſtel* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plimmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on ſhore with his forces, where theſe and the like people fiercely encountred him; at which time their *Women* (like *Amazons*) by hurling of flints and pebles, and by ſuch other artillery, did greatly aduance their huſbands and kinſefolkes victory. The Lord of *Caſtel* himſelfe and many beſides were ſlaine, theſe other were ſaued as more of them might haue beene, but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pitty. They therefore in reward of this hazard and ſeruice, doe pray they might reape ſome commodity by their Captiues. It was but reaſon; wherefore the King, who tooke pleaſure to talke with the luſty *Weſtern-men*, himſelfe, cauſeth their purſes to be ſtuft with golden Coyne, reſeruing the priſoners to repay himſelfe with aduantage out of their ranſomes. The like good fortune againſt *Owen Glendowr* and the Welſh would haue gladded him indeed; but they burne and deſtroy the Marches, they kill and captiuate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Caſtles, ſome of which they raſe, and fortifie others.

The King vſeth his victory mercifully.

* *Holinſh. p. 513. Iohn Stow* names alſo *Sir Nicholas Langford*, and cals the two *Gauſels* not *Gauſels*, but *Gentels* and brothers.

The great deſtruction of *Cheſhire* Gentlemen.

* *Auguſt.* 10. The Earle of *Northumberland* pardoned of his life.

Wilford [illegible] captaines [illegible] thouſand [illegible] of good [illegible] dities.

AD. 1[illegible] The Earle [illegible] *Northumb.* reſtored.

The Com[illegible] men about [illegible] mouth kill [illegible] French Ge[illegible] and pri[illegible] King with [illegible] honorable [illegible] ners.

Owen Glen[illegible] and the [illegible] waſte the [illegible] ches.

others. Neither came these euils single, for the *Flemings* and *Britons* tooke certaine Merchant ships of *England*, and either slew or hung the Sailers.

(41) It is more strange that King *Richard* was not suffered to be dead, after he had so long a time been buried. *Serlo*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber, hauing heard that King *Richard* (his royall and gracious Master) was secretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the fauour of the French Court to see him, but it was not worth his so much loue and labour; for hee that bare the name, was but an Impostor. Loath yet to let the opinion die, because it might do King *Henry* harme; *Serlo* affirmes that *Richard* was aliue. What cunning madnesse is so great which hath not some great fooles or other to support it? The old Countesse of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needs perswade her selfe and others in *Essex*, that *Richard* was aliue: certaine it is, that shee desired it might be true. To make others more firmly beleeue the same, she secretly gaue siluer and gilt Harts (the badges which King *Richard* vsed to bestow vpon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the deuise held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serlo* seeing the necessity of greater friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that Sir *William Clifford* knight, Captaine of *Berwicke* had receiued sundry fauours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to bee furnished with money, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford* farre otherwise minded, seizeth vpon *Serlo*, as a fit meanes to reconcile himself with the King, in whose high displeasure he stood, (for that hee had continued his charge in *Berwicke* contrary to expresse commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Castle of *Pomfret*, beeing weakened with these rumors, and suspecting that the chiefe nest of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his grandchildren (as pledges) to assure the King of his loyalty: thither also Sir *William Clifford* brings poore *Serlo*, who both confesseth the practise, as also that hee had a guiltie hand in the murther of the Duke of *Gloucester*, which made him farre more odious then the other forgery. The crimes being manifest, *Serlo* is drawn frō *Pontefract* beginning his pain, where he had his doom, & at *London* knits vp the Tragedie in an halter. The Countesse of *Oxford* for this falshood lost al her goods being moreouer committed to close prison. To make this imposture the more probable & passable, *Serlo* had caused K. *Richards* signet to bee counterfeited, wherwith he sealed sundry consolatorie and exhortatory letters to his friends, indited in K. *Richards* name; wherupon many in *Essex* gaue credit to the Countesse, & among the rest som Abbots of that Countie. Into this smoke did al the deuise euaporate.

(42) And no lesse smokie was both the deuise & successe of certain in the Parliament (held this year at *Couentry*, & called the **lack learning Parliament*, either for the *vnlearnednesse* of the persons, or for their *malice* to learned men) where, to supply the Kings wants, a bill was exhibited against the *Temporalties of the Clergie*; but by the courage of the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, (who told them, *it was the enriching of themselues, not of the King, which they respected in their sacrilegious petitions*) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed *to leaue the Church in better state then he found it, rather then in worse*,) their motion vanished to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is obserued, that **a Knight* the chiefe speaker in this bill against the Clergy, had beene himselfe a *Deacon*, and so himselfe first aduanced by the *Clergy*. With great reason therefore did our forefathers distinguish the people into the *learned* and *lewd*, infetring truely that such commonlie were *lewd*, who were not learned, and that *lewd* and *wicked* were but two words of one signification, as in this *Parliament* well appeared, whose *Commons* might enter *Commons* with their cattel for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

(42) Twise after this, betweene *Christmas* and *Palmesunday*, the King assembled the States againe, once at *London*, and then at Saint *Alban*, for the cause of money, but with much distast, the Peeres of the land rising from the last Session thereof meanely contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterprisers ruine. *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, one of the chiefe men which disliked the carriage of publike matters, drawes *Richard le Scrope* Archbishoppe of *Yorke* into a conspiracy, in ful hope that *Henrie Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *Yorke*, and the common people would assist their cause, which was glosed with the specious pretence of redressing publike abuses, hapning through the Kings default. The Earle of *Westmerland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle *Marshall* and the Archbishoppe were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiuing himselfe too feeble, he betakes himselfe to fraud, and by faining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and presented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about *Whitsontide* comes to *Yorke*, where (albeit the Earle of *Westmerland* had promised them their liues) aswell the Archbishoppe, as the Earle Marshall were beheaded. But the next yeere the Pope excommunicated all such as had a hand in putting the Archbishoppe to death. It was said of *Tiberius* **Caesar* in a Satyricall libel,

-regnabit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.
Who, first Exilde, is after crown'd,
His raigne with bloud will much abound.

(44) This the King verified in his person, who comming out of banishment, could not support his Title and estate, but by shedding much bloud of subiects. For not contented with those two liues, he pursueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* with an inuincible Armie of seuen and thirty thousand men: but they vnable to make head against so mighty a force, take *Berwicke* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the sound whereof, they both distrustfull of their safety, flie into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Flemming* entertaines them. *Berwicke* vpon hope of succours out of *Scotland*, (which gladly nourished the English miseries, and the Englisn theirs) refused to render, whereupon the King plants a battering piece against a Tower in the wall; which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one shot, so did it quite ouerthrow all the defendants courages, who presently yeelded the place vpon hard and desperate terms, for they were partly hanged, and partly emprisoned. After **Berwicke* was thus recouered, the king takes *Alnwicke*, & all other Castles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happines would shine vpon him in *Wales*, he crosseth ouer thither, where it fell out far otherwise, not by the manhood of the *Welsh*, but by the sodaine rage of waters which destroied his carriages and about fiftie wains (as was said) laden with much treasure: therfore he returns to *Worcester*. *Owen Glendowr* the chief captain of the *Welsh* natiō, expecting & fearing a reuenge had before this time confederated himselfe with the French, who in 140. ships arriued at *Milford* hauen to the aid of *Owen*, hauing well neere first lost all their horses in the passage for want of fresh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henrie de Pay* (by what meanes appeares not) burnt fifteen of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by laying siege to the Towne of *Carmarden* in *South-Wales*, which, the Garrison being permitted to depart with bagge and baggage, was yeelded.

(45) The King being againe in need of money, after long vnwillingnesse and delay, the Parliament furnished him, rather ouercome with wearinesse in contradiction, then for any great good will. Some of his treasure was employed, as it seemes, vpon secret practises with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolfe* might bee deliuered into his hands, in exchange for some *Scots*,

An. 1405.

Mowbray Earle Marshall and *Scrope* Archbishop of *Yorke* rise to redresse abuses, and lose their heads.

* Suetan. lib. 3. cap. 59.

The King pursues the Earle of *Northumberland*.

The first time that a gunne is vsed in *England*. *Tho. Walsing. In Hen. 4.*

The French with seuen score ships arriue in *Wales* to aid *Owen Glendowr*.

A.D. 1406. An. Reg. 7

whereupon they fled into *Wales*, and the *Scots* missing their purpose, slew *Dauid* Lord *Flemming* for discouering their intention to his distressed guests, (as by the lawes of honour and hospitality he was obliged) which filled *Scotland* with ciuill discords. To auoide the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of *Scots* sent his sonne and heire by sea into *France*, whom, together with the Bishoppe of *Orkney* certaine Mariners of *Cley* in *Norfolke* surprized at sea, and presented to the King, who committed him prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Meanewhile the French prosecuting their affaires in *Wales*, sent thither eight and thirty shippes full of souldiers, of which number the English tooke eight (the rest escaping in great feare to *Wales*,) and not long after other fifteene saile laden with waxe and wine. This fortune though good, was nothing in regard of the seruice which *Henry Pay*, with certaine shippes of the Cinque Ports, and about fifteene other, exployted vpon a great Fleet, containing sixscore saile, whose ladings were yron, salt, oyle, and *Rochel* wine. The same times was a felon put to death for hauing in many places of *London*, dared secretly to set vp bils, containing newes that King *Richard* was aliue. The fearefull plague of pestilence slew multitudes of people through the Realm, chiefly in *London*, where, within a short space it destroyed thirty thousand. That most renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knolles*, who had led so many liuing men to their honourable deaths in battel, was now captiued himselfe by death vpon the fifteenth day of August. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great warres of *France*, vnder *Edward* the third, but spred and setled it selfe by good workes, among which the goodly stone-bridge at *Rochester* in *Kent* was one.

A. D. 1407.

King Richard spred to be aliue

Sir Robert Knolls dieth.

(46) In the meane space, the wars of *Wales* were managed by Prince *Henry*, who tooke the Castle of *Aberistwith*; but *Owen Glendowr* soone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thrust into it a Garrison of his owne. Thus *Owen* prospered for a time; but the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* forsaking *wales*, and seeking to raise a force in the North, were encountred by the Sherife of *Yorkeshire*, who after a sharpe conflict slew the Earle in the field, and so wounded the Lord *Bardolf*, that hee died thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being first ignominiously carryed through *London*, was fixed vpon the Bridge. The King hauing thus vanquished his chiefe enemies, went to *Yorke*, where inquiries were made for the Earles adherents, of which he condemned, ransomed, and emprisoned many. The Abbot of *Hales*, because hee was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had sentence to die, which was executed vpon him by hanging. In forraine and transmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt successe; for *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, at the siege of *Briant* in *Britaine*, was strucken with a quarrell into the head, whereof hee died; but yet after he had first taken the said Castell, and leueld it with the earth.

(47) The peace of Christendome hauing beene long tempestuously troubled by a Schisme, raised by ambition of opposite Popes, wherof the one was chosen at *Rome*, the other at *Auinion*, by contrarie factions of the Cardinals; A generall Councel was summoned to bee held at *Pisa* in *Italie*, whither the King of *England* sent his Ambassadors, and the *Clergy* elected *Robert Alum* * Chancellour of *Oxford*, & Bishoppe of *Sarum*, to signifie, * that *vnlesse both the Popes would giue ouer their Papacie, neither of them should thenceforward be acknowledged for Pope.* The King in his letter then sent to Pope *Gregory*, chargeth him (as *Platina* likewise doth) with *Periury*, and that this Papall emulation had beene the cause of the murther of * *more then two hundreth and thirty thousand Christians slaine in warres.* There assembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander* 5. (a man* trained vp at *Oxford*, where hee

An.D.1409.

Platina.

**Ypod. Neust. p. 566.*

* *Antiq. Britan. ecclesiæ.*

* *Walsing. Ypodig. p. 569.*

An.D.1410

* *Baccbalaureus*

tooke degree in Theologie) reiecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King also cals his Parliament to find out meanes for more money, to the custody and charge whereof hee ordained Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Treasurer, as *Thomas Beaufourt* the Kings halfe brother, Lord Chancellour. In which Parliament was reuiued the sacrilegious Petition of spoiling the Church of *England* of her goodly patrimonies, which the pietie and wisdome of so many former ages had congested. But the King (who was bound by oath and reason to preserue the flourishing estate of the Church) detested their wicked proposition, and for that cause denied all other their requests. The Duke of *Burgundies* prouisions which he had made to reduce *Caleys* to the French dominions, & stored at Saint *Omars*, were consumed with casuall fire to ashes.

(48) About these times the great and bloudy factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleance* brake forth. The cause was for a murther committed vpon *Lewis* (brother to the French king, and father of the said Duke of *Orleance*) as he came late one night from the Queenes lodging, who at that time lay in of a child. The murtherers* to preuent pursuit, strewed galthrops behind them. The Duke of *Burgundie* iustified the fact, for that *Lewis* had (as hee said) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his seat, vpon pretence that hee was as vnfit to gouerne as euer *Childericke* was, whom Pope *Zacharie* pronounced against. This prepared the way for that scourge wherwith God meant to chastice the pride and sinnes of *France*. Each partie sought to fortifie it selfe with friends, aswel at home as abroad. The Duke of *Burgundie* had the King and the Dolphin on his side; the other had the Kings of *Nauar* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berrie* and *Britaine* with many of the mightiest Earles and Lords. The Duke of *Burgundie*, (who together with the King and the face of gouernment, kept in *Paris*) perceiuing his aduersaries strengthes to bee more then his owne, offers to the King of *England*, a daughter of *France* in marriage with the Prince, and many great promises, so as hee would ioyne in defence of the King, & send ouer competent forces; whereunto hee is said to haue answered: *Our aduise is, that you should not in this case aduenture battell with your enemie, who seems to prosecute a iust reuenge for the death of his Father; but labour to asswage the displeasure and anger of the exasperated yong man, by all the good meanes which are possible. If that cannot bee, then stand vpon your guard, and draw into place of most safety, with such force of men as may best serue for your defence. After all this, if hee will not bee appeased, you may with the better conscience encounter him, and in such case wee will not faile (more fully) to assist, acccording as you request.* For the present he sent ouer the Earls of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many men of Armes, with plenty of English Bow-men, who came safe to *Paris*, where they in nothing diminished the ancient glory of their nation, but behaued themselues valiantly.

(49) The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Peeres of his faction, seeing their successe, consult how to draw the King of *England* from their enemie, and thereupon send ouer one *Falconet* and others, with solemne letters of credence, whom they made their *irreuocable "Procurators, to entreat, agree, and conclude,* (on "their behalfes) *with the most excellent Prince, Henry "by the grace of God King of England, and his most no- "ble sonnes, &c. for the restitution and reall redeliuerie "of the Dutchie of Aquitain, with all the rights and "appurtenances, which (as it affirmed) are the inheri- "tance of the said most excellent Lord the King of Eng- "land, by them to bee made and done, &c.* The Ambassadors hauing shewed forth this *Proxie*, exhibited the points of their negotiation in these Articles, by which wee may see how farre the desire of reuenge will transport great minds. 1 *They offer their bodies to be imployed against all men for the seruice of the*

King

King of England, sauing their faith to their owne Soueraigne, as knowing the King of England would not otherwise desire them. 2. *Their Sonnes, daughters, nephewes, Neeces, and all their Cosens to bestow in marriage at the King of Englands pleasure.* 3. *Their Castles, Townes, treasure, and all their goods to be at the seruice of the sayd King.* 4. *Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergy and wealthy Burgers; who are all of their side; as by proofe (they said) shall well appeare.* 5. *They finally offer to him the Dutchy of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as euer his Predecessors enioyned the same, without excepting any thing; so as they themselues will hold, and acknowledge to hold their lands in those parts, directly of the said King, and deliuer as much of them as they can into his possession, and will doe their vtmost to conquer the rest for him.* Vpon condition on the other side. 1. *That the King of England and his Successors should assist the said Lords, against the Duke of Burgundy for the murther committed vpon the person of the late Duke of Orleance.* 2. *That he should assist against the said Duke of Burgundy and his fauourers, till they had repaired all the losses which they, their friends and tenants had sustained through that occasion.* 3. *That he should help to settle the quiet of the realme, &c.*

(50) These Offers being put into the balance with the Articles, vpon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obteined succours, ouerweighed them so farre, that about the midst of August, before all those which had beene sent with the Earle of *Arundel* to the contrarie part, were returned into *England*, aydes were decreed to the Duke of *Orleance*, to the wonder of all men, who vnderstood not the secret, so that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward Duke of Yorke*, the Earle of *Dorset*, and very many other principall men with a competent puissance were sent ouer to ayde the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Angolesme* remaining hostage in *England*, for the sure payment of one hundred and nine thousand Crownes for performance of the other Articles: They came on shore in *Normandy*; but, whither the confederates moued with the perill into which their Country & Nation should by these meanes be precipitated, or for some other causes, (though none indeed so iust, as the sorrow and shame for their so disloyall a combination with the Capitall enemies of *France*,) the Duke of *Orleance* (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time and place, whereupon the English burnt, spoiled and tooke much riches in the Castles, Countrey and good Townes, therewith to satisfie themselues, till the Duke of *Orleance* should see them payd. At last yet the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleance* came to a treaty, after which the English campe rose peaceably and marcht into *Aquitaine* there to winter it selfe, the Duke of *Orleance* returning to his owne. While these matters were in hand, the Lord of *Heyle Marshall of France* with many other Lords, and about foure thousand * men of armes layd siege to a certaine strong place in *Gascoigne*; which *Sir Iohn Blunt* Knight, with three hundred souldiers not onely defended, but draue them also from the siege, taking prisoners twelue of the principall and about sixe score other Gentlemen. * The King liued not to see the carriage, and fortune of these warres, for falling sicke at *Eltham* in the Christmas time (at which our ancient authors begin to draw the circles of their yeeres) but recouering himselfe a little, he repaired to *London* about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament; the end whereof he liued not to see, but vpon the twentieth day of March finished his short, but politicke and victorious reigne, in peace and honour, had not the iniustice of his first entrance left a dishonorable staine vpon his worthiest actions.

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell vs a strange Story, the truth whereof must rest vpon the reporters. The King, say they, lying dangerously sicke, caused his Crowne to bee set on a Pillow at his beds head, when suddainely the pangs of his *Apoplexie* seizing on him so vehemently that all supposed him dead, the Prince comming in, took away the Crown; which, his father reuiuing, soone missed; and calling for his sonne, demanded, what he meant; to bereaue him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldlie replied; Long may you liue Soueraigne Father to weare it your selfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inherite another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne, but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon he set the Crowne againe where he found it. Oh sonne, (quoth hee) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgiue me the sinne; howsoeuer it was got, sayd the Prince, I meane to keepe and defend it, (when it shall bee myne) with my sword, as you by sword haue obtained it. Which the King hearing, hee entered discourse of aduise, shewing him that hee feared some discord would arise betwixt him and his brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*, who with better respect had borne forth his youth then Prince *Henry* had done, and whose distemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time stayed. If my brethren (quoth *Henry*) will be true subiects, I will honour them as my brethren, but if otherwise, I shall assoone execute iustice vpon them, as on the meanest of birth in my Kingdome. The King reioycing at this vnexpected answere; both prudently and Christianly charged him "before God, to minister the law indifferently, to "ease the oppressed, to beware of flatterers, not to "deferre iustice, nor yet to be sparing of mercy. Pu-"nish (quoth hee) the oppressors of thy people, "so shalt thou obtaine fauour of God, and loue "and feare of thy Subiects, who whiles they haue "wealth, so long shalt thou haue their obedience, "but made poore by oppressions, will be ready to "make insurrections. Reioyce not so much in the "glory of thy Crowne, as meditate on the burthe-"nous care which accompanieth it; mingle loue "with feare, so thou as the heart shalt be defended "in the midst of the body: but know, that neither "the heart without the members, nor a King with-"out his Subiects helpe is of any force. Lastly "my sonne loue and feare God, ascribe all thy victo-"ries, strength, friends, obedience, riches, honour "and all, vnto him: and with the *Psalmist* say with all "thankes, *Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs but to thy holy "name be giuen the laud and praise.*

*(52) Vpon what soile these most Christian, true and excellent Councels fell, the following life will shew, being nothing else, but a full representation in act, of such things, as are here in precept only, shewing to the world how diuine a beautie Christian goodnes hath.

His Wiues.

(53) The first wife of King *Henry* the fourth, was *Mary* one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Essex* and *Northampton*, Constable of *England*, &c. Shee dyed An. D. 1394. before he came to the Crowne.

(54) His second wife was *Ioane*, Queene, daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *Nauarre*, shee being the widow of *Iohn de Montford*, Sirnamed *Stremi*, Duke of *Britaine*; and died without any Children by King *Henry*, at *Hauering in the Bower* in the County of *Essex* 1437. the tenth day of Iulie in the fifteenth yeere of *Henry* the sixt, and was buried by her husband at *Canterbury*.

His Children.

(55) *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Chester*, and afterward King of *England*, whose glorious life and acts next insue.

(56) *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, President of the Councell to King *Henry the first* (his brother,) and Steward of *England*. He was slaine at *Beaufort* in *Anion* without any issue. He married *Margaret* daughter

daughter to *Thomas Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, the widow of *Iohn Beauford*, Earle of *Somerset*.

(57) *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, Duke also of *Anion* and *Alanson*; Earle of *Cenomannia*, *Harecourt*, of *Kendall* and *Dreux*, *Viscount Beaumont*. He married first with *Anne*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*. Secondly with *Iacoba*, daughter to *Peter de Luxemburgh* Earle of Saint *Paul*. And died without any issue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Gloucester*, was Protectour of the Kingdome of *England* for 25. yeeres, in the time of King *Henry* the sixt, in whose first yeere hee styled himselfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey by the grace of God, sonne, brother, and vncle to Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earle of Henault, Holland, Zeland, and Pembroke; Lord of Friesland, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdome of England, Protector and Defendor of the same Kingdome, and Church of England.* Hee was a man, who nobly deserued of the common wealth and of learning, as being himselfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and benefactor of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, where hee had beene educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. Hee married first *Iacoba*, heire to *William* Duke of *Bauaria* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had first beene lawfully troth-plighted to *Iohn Duke of Brabant*, and therefore was afterward diuorced from the said *Humfrey*. His second wife was *Elianor* daughter to *Reginald*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. Queene *Margaret*, wife to King *Henry* the sixt, repining at his great power in swaying the King & state, secretly wrought his ruine, hee being murthered in his bed at *Bury*, dying without any issue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar error is that he lyes buried in Saint *Pauls*.

Cambd. Brit. in Glocest.

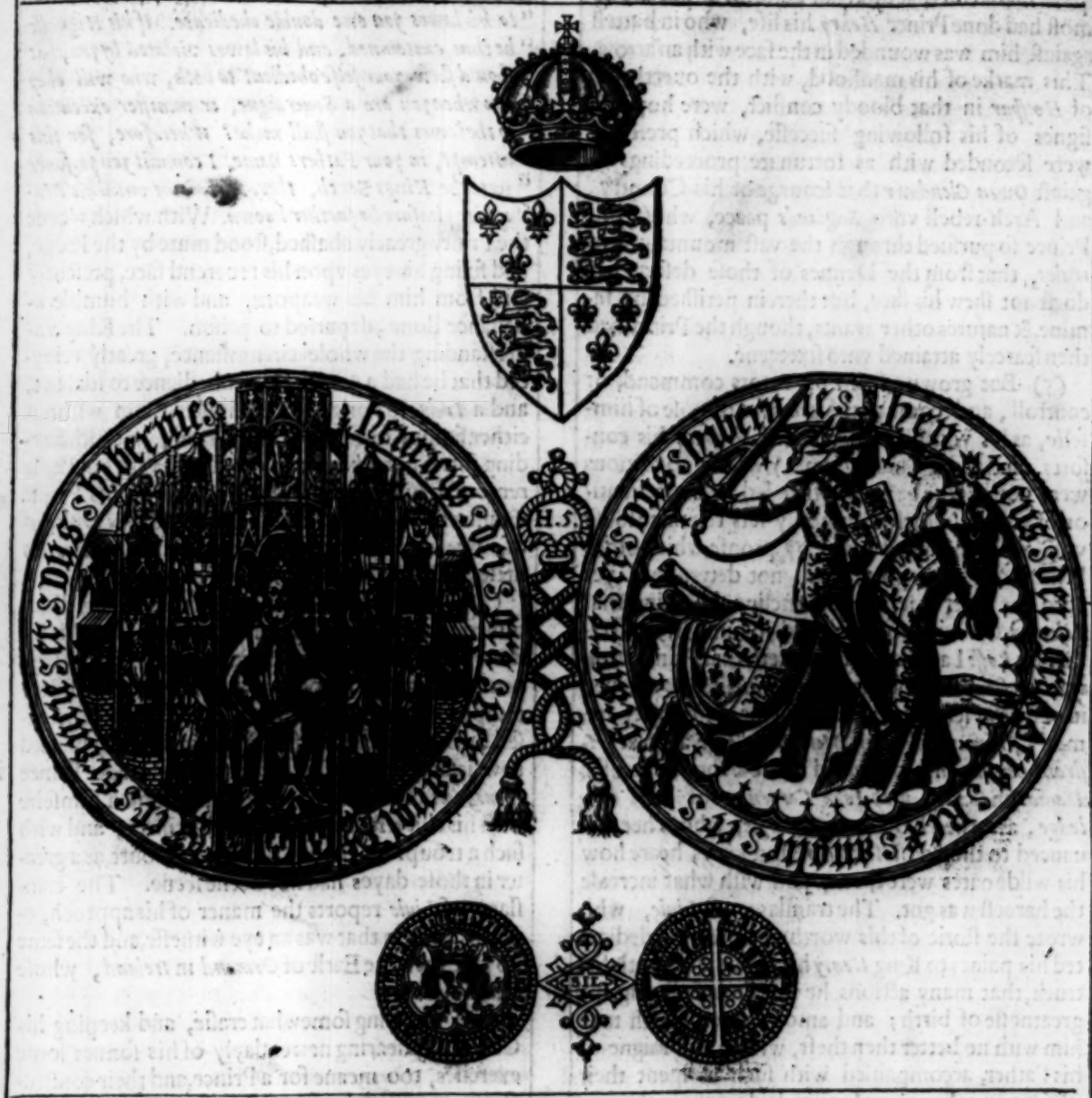
(59) *Blaunch* married to *William Duke of Bauaria*, and Emperour.

(60) *Philip* married to *Iohn* King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

HENRIE

HENRIE THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE TWO AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 52



CHAPTER XV.

AMongst the many Monarchs of this most famous Empire, none is found more complete with all heroicall vertues then is this King, of whose life by order and succesſe of ſtory wee are now to write; which is *Henry* of that name the fifth, the renowne of *England*, and glory of *Wales*. Of whom, what was ſpoken of *Titus* in the flouriſhing times of the *Romans*, may for the time of his raigne be truly verified in him: both of them being *the louely darlings, and delightfull ioy of Mankind*. But as *Titus* is taxed by his ſtory-Writers, in youth to haue been riotous, profuſe, waſtfull and wanton, *for which* (as he ſaith) *with the diſlikes of men he ſlept into the throne*; ſo if wee will beleeue what others haue writ, *Henry* * was wilde whiles hee was a Prince, whoſe youthfull prankes as they paſſed with his yeers, let vs haue leaue here to rehearſe, and leaue them motiues to our owne vſe, as hee made them for his.

(2) His birth was at *Mowmouth* in the Marches of *Wales*, the yeer of Chriſts aſſuming our fleſh, 1388 and the eleuenth of King *Richards* raigne, his father then a Subiect, and Earle of *Derbie*, *Leiceſter*, & *Lincolne*, afterwards created Duke of *Hereford*, in right of his wife, then of *Lancaſter*, by the death of his father; and laſtly by election made the Soueraigne of *England*, (that vnfortunate *Richard*) being depoſed the Crowne. His mother was *Mary*, ſecond daughter and coheire of *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, high Conſtable of *England*, * as we haue ſaid.

(3) His young yeeres were ſpent in literature in the Academie of *Oxford*, where in Queenes Colledge he was a Student vnder the tuition of his vncle *Henry Beauford*, *Chancellour* of that *Vniuerſity*, afterwards Biſhoppe of *Lincolne* and *Wincheſter*, and laſtly made Cardinall by the title of *Euſebius*. But his Father obtayning the Crowne, and himſelfe come

Edw. Hal.

Henry borne at Mowmouth in Wales.

* *Recor. of Tower. 4 Hen. 5.*

Ioh. Roſſe of Warwic. in lib. de Regibus.

Prince Henries Education.

come to the age of twelue yeeres, had the ſucceſsion thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and accordingly was created Prince of *wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and preſently had the Title of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine* conferred vpon him, the better to effect the thing then intended, which was to haue obtained in marriage young Queene *Iſabel*, late wife to the murthered King *Richard*, daughter of *Charles* the ſixt, King of *France*.

Holinſh.

Richard Grafton.

(4) From *Oxford*, Prince *Henry* was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* then Earle of *Worceſter* made his Gouernour; but being himſelfe falſe to the Father, could giue no good example vnto the ſonne, whoſe hoſtile attempts in the field of *Shrewsburie* coſt that diſloyall Earle his head, and almoſt had done Prince *Henry* his life, who in battell againſt him was wounded in the face with an arrow. This marke of his manhood, with the ouerthrow of *Hotſpur* in that bloody conflict, were hopefull ſignes of his following ſucceſſe, which preſently were ſeconded with as fortunate proceedings againſt *Owen Glendowr* that ſcourge of his Country, and Arch-rebell vnto *Englands* peace, whom this Prince ſo purſued through the vaſt mountaines of *wales*, that from the Dennes of thoſe deſerts hee durſt not ſhew his face, but therein periſhed by famine, & natures other wants, though the Prince had then ſcarcely attained vnto ſixeteene.

Edward Hal.

Thom. Walſing.

Rich. Grafton.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or controll, and come to the yeers for diſpoſe of himſelfe, as his youth ſtood affected, ſo were his conſorts, and thoſe (many times) whoſe conditions were none of the beſt; whether led by an inclination of youth (which commonly lets the raine looſe vnto *Will*) or, to know that by proofe, which other Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet vnto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that *Salomon* the wiſeſt of Kings did ſo himſelfe; and rather by *Roſſe* I am lead, who writeth that Prince *Henry* in *Oxford* had in great veneration, ſuch as excelled in vertue or learning, and among many, two hee nameth, *Thomas Rodban* of *Merton Colledge* a great *Aſtronomer*, by him preferred to the Biſhopricke of *S. Dauids* in *Wales*, and *Iohn Carpenter* of *Oriel Colledge*, a learned Doctor of *Theologie*, whom hee aduanced to the *See* of *Worceſter*. But let vs heare how his wilde oates were ſpent, and with what increaſe the harueſt was got. The tranſlater of *Liuie*, who wrote the ſtorie of this worthy Prince, and dedicated his paines to King *Henry* his ſonne, affirmeth for truth, that many actions he did, farre vnfitting his greatneſſe of birth; and among other, doth taxe him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of his Father, accompanied with ſuch as ſpent their wits vpon other mens ſpoiles, laide waite in the way for his Rents receiuers, and robd them of that which indeed was his owne, when ſometimes in ſhufling he nothing was ſpared, but bare away many knocks. the lenders whereof hee would frankly reward, when they complained vnto him of their loſſes receiued, which euer were abated in the foot of their accounts.

Eccleſ. 2.

Iob. Roſſe.

(6) Our learned Knight *Eliot* ſetting his pen to portrait a perfect Gouernour, recordeth a ſtory, retaining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof let it lie vpon himſelfe. It chanced (ſaith he) a ſeruant of his to bee arraigned for felony at the *Kings Bench-Barre*, where ſtanding ready to receiue ſentence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and poſted thither, where finding his ſeruant made ſure for ſtarting, commanded his fetters to be ſtrucke off, & the fellow arraigned to be freed the Court. All men amaſed at this his approach and ſpeech: the *Chiefe Iuſtice* ſtood vp, and ſhewed the Prince that his ſeate was the Kings, that lawes were the ſinewes of the Common-wealth, that himſelfe was ſworn to doe Iuſtice, and muſt yeeld an account for all that he did, that he honored him as the eldeſt ſonne of his Soueraigne, and Prince, but to ſet free the priſoner, hee could not, hauing ſo apparantly endangered his life to the law; and therefore deſired the Prince, if hee held him in ſuch eſteeme, to ſaue him by pardon from the King, and not to infringe the law, which he told him plainely he ſhould not doe.

Sir Tho. Eliot Gouernour.

(7) The Prince enraged to haue the deniall, aſſaied himſelfe to ſet free the Priſoner, which the Chiefe Iuſtice forbadde, commanding him vpon his allegiance to ceaſe from ſuch riot, and to keepe the Kings peace: whereat Prince *Henry* in a furie ſtept vp to the Bench, and gaue the *Iudge* a blow on the face, who nothing daunted, ſate ſtill, and with a bold "countenance, ſpake thus to the Prince, *Sir I pray you* "*remember your ſelfe, this ſeat of iudgement which here* "*I poſſeſſe, is not mine, but your Fathers, to whom and* "*to his lawes you owe double obedience. If his Higneſſe* "*be thus contemned, and his lawes violated by you, that* "*ſhould ſhew your ſelfe obedient to both, who will obey* "*you when you are a Soueraigne, or miniſter execution* "*to the lawes that you ſhall make? Wherefore, for this* "*attempt, in your Fathers name, I commit you priſoner* "*vnto the Kings Bench, there to remaine vntill his Ma-* "*ieſties pleaſure be further known.* With which words the Prince greatly abaſhed, ſtood mute by the Iudge, and fixing his eyes vpon his reuerend face, preſently laid from him his weapons, and with humble obeiſance done, departed to priſon. The King vnderſtanding the whole circumſtance, greatly reioyced that he had a *Sonne* of ſuch obedience to his laws, and a *Iudge* ſo vpright to adminiſter them without either fauour or feare of the perſon; notwithſtanding for this, and other like actions of his youth, he remoued him from being *Preſident* of his Priuie Councell, and placed in his ſtead *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his ſecond brother; to Prince *Henries* no little griefe and diſcontent.

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing diminiſhed, but his Court frequented more then his fathers, which bred ſome ſuſpition in the crazie kings head, leſt among his other wild parts, hee would attempt to play with his *Crowne*; which was encreaſed by his domeſticall flatterers, who dayly buzzed new iealouſies into his eares. This made Prince *Henry* (as *Otterborne* noteth) to ſtrengthen himſelfe with his chiefeſt friends, and well-willers, and with ſuch a troupe repaired to his fathers Court, as a greater in thoſe dayes had not beene ſeene. The tranſlator of *Liuie* reports the maner of his approch, euen from him that was an eye witneſſe, and the ſame no leſſe then the Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, whoſe relation is this.

(9) The King ſomewhat craſie, and keeping his Chamber, hearing newes dayly of his ſonnes looſe exerciſes, too meane for a Prince, and their conſtructions euer made to aime at his Crowne, he both beganne to withdraw his fatherly affection, and to feare ſome violence againſt his owne perſon: which when Prince *Henry* heard of, by ſome that fauoured him of the Kings Councell, in a ſtrange diſguiſe hee repaired to his Court, accompanied with many Lords and noble mens ſonnes. His garment was a gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of *Eylet-holes*, and at euery *Eylet* the Needle left hanging by the ſilke it was wrought with: about his arme he ware a *dogs-collar* ſet full of *S.S.* of gold, the *Tirets* thereof being moſt fine gold. Thus comming to *Weſtminſter*, and the Court of his Father, hauing commanded his followers to aduance no further then the fire in the hall, himſelfe accompanied with ſome of the Kings houſhold, paſſed on to his preſence, and after his duty and obeyſance done, offered to make knowne the cauſe of his comming. The king weake then with ſickeneſſe, and ſuppoſing the worſt, commanded himſelfe to bee borne into a withdrawing Chamber, ſome of his Lords attending vpon him, before whoſe feet Prince *Henry* fell, and with all reuerent obſeruances, ſpake to him as followeth.

(10) "Moſt gracious Soueraigne and renowned father,

"father, the ſuſpition of diſloyalty, and diuulged "reports of my dangerous intendmentes towardes "your royall Perſon and Crowne, hath enforced at "this time, and in this manner, to preſent my ſelfe "and life at your Maieſties diſpoſe. Some faults and "miſpent time (with bluſhes I may ſpeake it) my "youth hath committed, yet thoſe made much more "by ſuch fleering pickthanks, that blow them ſtron-"ger into your vnwilling and diſtaſtiue eare. The "name of *Soueraigne* ties alleagiance to all, but of a "*Father*, to a further feeling of natures obedience; "ſo that my ſinnes were double, if ſuch ſuggeſtions "poſſeſſed my heart: for the Law of God orday-"neth, that he which doth preſumptuouſly againſt "the Ruler of his people ſhall not liue, and the child "that ſmiteth his father ſhall die the death: ſo farre "therefore am I from any diſloyall attempt, againſt "the perſon of you my *Father*, and the Lords an-"nointed; that if I knew any of whom you ſtoode "in the leaſt danger or feare, my hand according to "duety ſhall be the firſt to free your ſuſpition; yea "I wil moſt gladly ſuffer death to eaſe your perplex-"ed heart; and to that end I haue this day prepa-"red my ſelf both by confeſſion of my offences paſt, "and receiuing the *bleſſed Sacrament*. Wherefore I "humbly beſeech your Grace to free your ſuſpition "from all feares conceiued againſt mee, with this "dagger, the ſtabbe whereof I will willingly receiue "here at your Maieſties hand, and ſo doing, in the "preſence of theſe Lords, and before God at the day "of iudgement, I clearely forgiue my death. But the King melting into teares, caſt downe the naked dagger (which the Prince deliuered him) and raiſing his proſtrate ſonne, embraced and kiſſed him, confeſsing his eares to haue beene ouer-credulous that way, and promiſing neuer to open them againe againſt him. But the Prince vnſatisfied, inſtantly deſired, that at leaſt his accuſers might be produced, and if conuicted, to receiue puniſhment, though not to the full of their demerites; to which requeſt the King replied, that as the offence was capitall, ſo ſhould it bee examined by the *Peeres*, and therefore willed him to reſt contented vntill the next Parliament. Thus by his great wiſdome he ſatisfied his father from further ſuſpition, and recouered his loue that neerely was loſt. Hetherto of *Henry* as he was Prince (ſome other of whoſe youthly actions we alſo touched in his fathers raigne) and now to his Acts after he was King.

(11) *Henry* ordained ſucceſſor, and ouerſeer of his dying Fathers Teſtament, had in his entrance ſo fortunate proceedings, as hee ſeemeth to exceed all his Predeceſſors; his Nobles proffering the oath of their Alleagiance, before himſelfe had made his, for the iuſt gouernment of the *Common-weale*, which ſo farre was from *acceptation*, that hee deſired God neuer to admit him to the Crowne, vnleſſe he ſhould to his glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good of the *Subiect*. The day of his entrance and of his Fathers death, being the twentieth of March, and yeere of Chriſts Incarnation, according to our account, 1412. on the ninth of Aprill following hee was ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* performing the roiall Ceremonies: which no ooner was ended, but to beginne a good gouernment, hee beganne with himſelfe, baniſhing from his preſence and Court the vnbridleled youthes which had beene his conſorts, commanding them either to change their manners, or neuer to approch within ten miles where hee lay. Then choſe hee worthy and prudent men for his *Councell of Eſtate*, and aduanced his *Clergie* with dignity and power: being himſelfe as zealous in *deuotion*, as liberall in building, and indowing of places for deuotion of others. His Iuſtice was found of all that ſought it; *for euery day after dinner for the ſpace of an houre, his cuſtome was to leane on a cuſhion ſet by his cupbord, and there himſelfe receiued petitions of the oppreſſed, which with great equity he did redreſſe.*

And for a further teſtimony of his tender and compaſſionate heart, the ſlaughtered body of K. *Richard* ouer-meanely enterred at *Langley*, in great eſtate he remoued into *Saint Peters Church* at *Weſtminſter*, and there laid him enſhrined by Queene *Anne* his firſt wife (as himſelfe had deſired and prepared) founding a weekely memoriall to bee celebrated, and ſix ſhillings eight pence thereon diſtributed vnto the poore, and yeerelie twentie pounds giuen vpon his anniuerſarie day, beſides foure tapers to burne before his monument day and night for euer. And ſo neerely did his death touch this innocent King, that hee ſent to *Rome* to bee aſſoyled from that guilt of his fathers Act, by the Popes holineſſe, then accounted another God; whoſe penance enioined, he willinglie performed, and afterwards purpoſed to haue made warre in *Paleſtina* againſt the enemies of Chriſt; for which end, hee ſent Sir *Hugh de Launy* of *Henault* to *Ieruſalem*, to diſcouer the ſtate of things there; but before his returne he was departed to the heauenly *Ieruſalem* himſelfe. *Rob. Fabian.*

(12) The obſequies of his Father being ſolemnized at *Canterbury*, and the King in perſon attending the Corps, fitte occaſion was giuen vnto Archbiſhoppe *Arundell* to complain of the *Wickliffians*, (then termed *Lollards*) great rubs in the wayes of the Clergies pride and proceedings; whereof Sir *Iohn Oldcaſtle* was thought a chiefe, who by his marriage contracted with a kinſwoman of the Lord *Cobhams of Cooling in Kent*, obtained the title thereof, a man ſtrong and valourous, and in eſpeciall fauour with his Prince. This Knight in their Synode aſſembled at *London*, immediately after the Kings Coronation, was accuſed by them to haue rent Chriſts ſeameleſſe coat, in maintaining *VVickliffes* doctrine to bee taught, eſpecially in the Dioceſſe of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Hereford*: againſt whom alſo ſome choiſe *Inquiſitors at Oxford*, appointed for *Hereſies* (though *that whole Vniuerſity had formerly vpheld both *Wickliffe* and his doctrine,) informed and preſented his name with two hundred forty ſixe concluſions, which they had collected to be *hereticall*. *Polychron.* Vpon Trinity Sunday. *Nich Vigenar. in hiſt. de l' Egliſe.* *Fox in Acts and Monuments. *Oper a Iob. Huſſ. To. 2.*

(13) The King incenſed (by the Archbiſhoppes ſuggeſtions) againſt theſe diſcontented diſcipliners, was further made beleeue that they themſelues had ſet vp billes in diuers places, threatning that an *hundred thouſand perſons* were ready for armes, againſt all that withſtood their reformation, and among theſe that *Oldcaſtle* his Knight was reputed the chiefe. The King graciouſly inclined, heard the Archbiſhops complaint, and being at *Kennington* promiſed to conferre with the Lord *Cobham* himſelf, which accordingly hee did, inſtantly willing him to ſubmit himſelfe to the cenſure of the Church and obedience of the Archbiſhoppe: but *Cobham*, no turne-coate from his profeſsion, humbly told the King he owed his ſubiection only vnto his Maieſty whom God had placed in theſe his Dominions, as his onely *vice-gerent* to gouerne his people and Subiects, and that himſelfe forced nothing *Romes* leaden ſword, vnſheached by the Pope (that Antichriſt) againſt the Lords ſeruants, nor would ſuffer the key of *Canterbury* to open the cloſet of his conſcience, where the ſpirite of God was reſiding, bearing witneſſe with his, that hee ſtood in the truth, for whoſe defence as his Champion, he was ready to liue or die. *Thom. Walſing.*

(14) This anſwere receiued, was ſo deliuered vnto the Archbiſhoppe, with power to cite, examine and puniſh, as their owne Canons in ſuch caſes had decreed. The Lyon thus laid for, whoſe paw they ſtill feared, was ſerued by proceſſe to appeare in the Archbiſhops Court, and the ſame deliuered by one *Butler* a ſeruant of the Kings Priuy Chamber, for that the bold Sumner durſt not doe it himſelfe, and the Archbiſhoppe (diligent leſt he ſhould forget the day) cauſed his letters cicatorie to be ſet vpon the gates of the Cathedrall Church of *Rocheſter*, which were preſently torne downe, and others againe ſet vp, were againe pulled off, to the *Acts and Monuments.*

great

great offence of the Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as knowing their malice and his own danger) was condemned of contumacie, and afterwards in a *Synode* at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced an Heretike, where himselfe then enacted that hereticall decree, *that the holy Scriptures should not bee translated into the English tongue.* But marke the iudgement that fell vpon his own tongue, whose rootes and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throate, that he could neither speake nor swallow downe meat, but in horror lay languishing, till lastly he so dyed starued by famine.

Oldcastle pronounced an heretike.

Tho. Walf. Antiq. Britan.

Ex libro Wigorn.

Archbishop *Arundels* death.

(15) In the meane time the Lord *Cobham* wrote his * *Beliefe*, which was very Christianlike, and presented it himselfe to the King, who (being much prepossessed) in no wise would receiue it, but suffered him to bee summoned in his presence, and priuie Chamber, when the Knight for his purgation offered an hundred knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to his degree of Order, and law of Armes, he required the single Combat to fight for life or death, with either Christian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Councell onely excepted. This notwithstanding could not be suffered, but needes must he appeare before the Archbishop his Iudge: where, after diuers examinations (in all which hee most religiously iustified himself & his profession) he was condemned of *Heresie*, and committed Prisoner vnto the Tower of *London*, whence shortly he escaped, and got into *Wales*. Vpon which escape great feares were conceiued, especially of the Clergy, the causers of his troubles, and mortall Enemies to him & his welwillers, for the king was confidently (but as it seemeth malitiously) informed; that *Oldcastle* with his adherents laid for his life, & that in S. *Giles* Fields neere vnto *Holborne* twenty thousand were to assemble in hostile manner, with an intent to destroy the Monasteries of *Westminster*, *Saint Albans*, all the religious houses in *London*, and the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules*. The King therefore in person himselfe after midnight with a great Army came into these fields, where (if wee will beleeue their professed enemies) fourescore of that faction were apprehended, who sayd they came to seeke the Lord *Cobham*. But as the answerer of *Copus* from more ancient times hath obserued, that in daies of persecution, such assemblies often had beene made to heare the Gospell preached, which otherwise they could not enioy: so in this place * then ouergrowne with bushes and vnfit for battell, those few were in likelyhood assembled vnto *Iohn Beuerly* a godly man their Preacher, without any intent of treason, hauing for their Chieftaines no greater persons then Sir *Roger Acton* a Knight of no great account, a Minister, and a malt man. But their Apologies we leaue to*others; onely the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, though the King by Proclamation had promised a thousand markes to his taker, besides many liberties to the City or Towne, that would disclose him; *whereby* (saith *Walsing*:) *it may be ghessed, that the whole Kingdome, well neere, embraced his opinions which that Fryar cals his madnesse*: Thirty seauen of that assembly were condemned, whereof seauen were consumed with fire and strangled, *Acton*, *Beuerley* and *Murly* were likewise executed.

The offers of the Lord *Cobham*.

Rob. Fabian.

Touching *Oldcastles* innocency from Treason, see *Foxes* defence against *Cope* in Martyrologie.

Iohn Stow

Iohn Fox in Acts and Monuments.

*then called Thicket fields.

*See *Fox* at large.

Ypodig. Neust.

(16) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his fauours towards his Clergy, so is his Princely pittie in the commiseration of young *Percies* distresse, whose father *Hotspur* slaine at *Shrewsbury* (as we haue said) and hee by his Grandfather sent into *Scotland* for security, was there notwithstanding deteined a Prisoner, for that *Iames* their King was forcibly kept in *England* by *Henrie*, and as they tooke it against all Iustice. But fit occasion being offered for young *Percies* release, and exchange made betweene him and *Alrede* sonne of *Robert Duke of Albany* (who had beene taken prisoner at the Battell of *Halidon*) the king restored him not only in blood, and to grace in his Court, but also inuested his person with the Title and State of his Grandfather, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull seruice attained of that honourable family.

Tho. Walf. Bishops of Saint *Davids.*

(17) Vpon Archbishop *Arundels* death, starued by famine as wee haue said * *Henry Chicheley* a stout Champion also against *Wiclisses* doctrine, was with the Kings consent, by the Monkes of *Canterbury* elected their Archbishop, which the politicke Elect neither accepted nor refused, but left it to the will and pleasure of the Pope: who first tooke snuffe that it so farre proceeded without his direction, yet was soone pacified by *Chicheleys* submission, and (as saith mine Author) with other Gratulations besides. The man though not so rich by birth as *Arundle* was, yet as strong for the Clergy, and more gratious with his Prince as the sequele proued.

Iohn Stow

Iohn Fox in Acts and Monuments.

*then called Thicket fields.

(18) The first assaies of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at *Leicester*, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands giuen to religious houses and spirituall persons for deuotion were either superfluous, or disorderly spent; whose reuenues (if better imploied) would suffice for the defence of the Land, and honor of the king; fifteene Earles, fifteene hundred knights sixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Almes-houses, for the reliefe of impotent and diseased persons, and vnto the kings Coffers twentie thousand pound by yeere. Which Bill (saith *Hall*) made the fat *Abbots* to sweat, the proud *Priors* to frowne, the poore *Friers* to curse, the silly *Nunnes* to weepe, and indeed all her Merchants to feare, that *Babell* would downe.

Tho. Walf.

(19) To stop the breach of which searching spring, no better meanes could be found, then to diuert the Parliament with other businesses, and to driue other proiects into the kings minde; whose "head (as this new Archbishoppe there tolde him) "had the best right to the Crowne of *France*: for "not onlie the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, "and *Anion*, the Counties of *Gascoigne*, *Maine*, "and the rest, were his lawfull) though vnlawfullie "detained) inheritance; but therewithall the whole "Realme of *France*, as true heire vnto his great "Grandfather king *Edward* the third, and vnto "*Philip the faire*, in right of his mother Queene *Isabell*, the only daughter and Child liuing of the "said French king. As for the law *Salique* alleaged "against the Englisli claime, he affirmed, that Text "touched only those parts in *Germany*, which lay "betwixt the riuers *Elbe*, and *Sala* conquered by "king *Charles* the great, who placing his French "there to inhabite, for the dishoneste liues of those "Germaine women made this law. *In terram Salicam Mulieres ne succedant*, which the *Glosse* did "falsly expound for the whole kingdome of *France*. "Whose practise notwithstanding he shewed to be "the contrary, by many experiences both in king "*Pepin* which deposed *Childericke* by the claime of "heire Generall (as descended of *Blithild* daughter "to *Clothar* the first,) and by *Hugh Capet*, who, vsurping the Crowne vpon *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* "(the sole heire male of that line from *Charles* the "great) to make his claime good (which indeed was "starke naught) deriued himselfe as heire to the Lady *Lingard*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, sonne to "*Lewis* the Emperour, that was sonne to *Charles* the "great. King *Lewis* also called the Saint; (who was "the heire to the vsurper *Hugh Capet*) could not bee "satisfied in conscience, how he might iustly keepe "and possesse the Crowne of *France*, till he was fully instructed that *Isabell* his Grandmother was "lineally descended of the Lady *Ermengard* daughter and heire to the aboue named *Charles Duke of "Lorraine*, by the which marriage the blood and "line of *Charles* the great was againe vnited, and restored to the Crowne of *France*. Whereby (said "the Archbishop) it most manifestly appeared, that the

" the title of *Pepine*, the Claime of *Capet*, the poſſeſ-
" ſion of *Lewis*, yea of the French Kings themſelues
" to this day, deriue their onely rights from the
" heires femall, and that this pretended Law *Sali-*
" *que* was but a ſhifting deuiſe to debarre the Eng-
" liſh Kings from the claime of the French Crown.
" Which excluſion howſoeuer they pretend to bee
" right, yet the law of God (ſaid he) hath made it
" meere wrong, which with better regard of the Sex
" alloweth the woman to inherite her fathers poſ-
" ſeſſion, as we ſee in the practiſe of that ſtate, where-
" of Chriſt himſelfe is called king, where the fiue
" daughters of *Zelophehad* for want of heires males,
" were admitted to ſucceed in their fathers inheri-
" tance, allotted them in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*; and
" a law made by the Lord himſelfe, that if a man di-
" ed and had no ſonnes, then his inheritance ſhould
" be tranſferred vpon his daughters. Neither is it to
" be doubted but that the daughter of *Sheſham* was
" the ſole heire vnto her fathers patrimony, he dying
" without iſſue male; though ſhee married an Egyp-
" tian, whoſe poſterity had their poſſeſsions among
" the Tribe of *Iudah*, euen to the Captiuity of *Babi-*
" *lon*: ſo that if ſuch a law were, as in truth there was
" no ſuch, better were the breach by the warrant of
" diuine direction, then the continuance by colour of
" ſuch preſcription, ſeeing God hath ordained aſwell
" for the daughter as for the ſonne.

(20) The Archbiſhops vnexpected but not vnpremeditated Oration thus ended, ſo ſtirred the blood of the young Couragious King, that his heart was all on a flame; and ſo tickled the eares of his Auditory, as they preſently conceiued that *France* was their owne; the Title whereof deſcending from *Iſabell*, the mother of the famous third *Edward*, and ſhee the daughter and ſuruiuing heire vnto *Philip the faire*; his right was, lineally deriued thence as followeth, firſt *Philip* by *Ioane* his firſt wife intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, had three ſonnes and one daughter, namely *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, all three ſucceſsiuely Kings, and this Lady *Iſabell*, by whom the Engliſh claime: his ſecond wife was *Conſtance* the daughter of the King of *Sicil*, who bare him a ſonne after his owne deceaſe which liued not many daies after his father. *Lewis* his eldeſt ſonne and tenth of that name ſucceeded *Philip* in the Kingdome of *France*, and by *Margaret* his wife the daughter of *Burgundy* had his daughter *Iane* intituled Queene of *Nauarre*, who made claime alſo vnto the French Crowne, but neuer attained it; ſo that her Title fell with her death. *Lewis* by his ſecond wife *Clemence* of *Sicil*, had a ſonne named *Iohn* borne vnto him, but preſently both father and ſonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his ſecond brother; who by the name of *Philip* the fift, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne, of *France*: his wife was *Iane* the daughter of *Burgoine*, who bare vnto him only foure daughters.

(21) Vnto King *Philip* ſucceeded his brother *Charles the faire*, the fourth of that name, whoſe firſt wife was *Blanch*, detected of incontinency and brought him no fruite, his ſecond wife was *Marie* daughter to *Henry Luxenbourg* the Emperour, who bare him a ſonne that dyed ſoone after birth, and the mother likewiſe ſhortly came to her graue. *Margaret* the daughter to the Earle of *Eureux*, was his third and laſt wife, who at his death hee left with Child, and thus the three ſonnes of *Philip* were branched, raigned, and died, whom Queene *Iſabell* their ſiſter ſuruiued, and in that right her ſonne King *Edward* the third, by his royall conſanguinity whilſt the Crowne ſtood thus at ſuſpence, till a Prince ſhould be borne, claimed to be Regent in the *Interregnum*, and in the nonage of the looked for iſſue, againſt which, *Philip de Valois* ſonne of *Charles* the hardy, who was brother to *Philip the faire*, being a ſecond branch from *Hugh Capet*, and firſt Prince of the blood of *France*, maintained that the Regency of the male (if ſo he were borne) as alſo of the Realme (if a daughter or the ſonne dyed) belonged onely vnto him as the next in blood. The ſtate thus ſtanding, and a daughter borne, *Philip* was ſaluted and proclaimed King, no other right alleaged then this foiſted and falſely termed fundamentall law *Salique*, for no otherwiſe doth *Ottoman* the French famous Lawyer eſteeme of that vngodly and vniuſt Ordinance, if any ſuch had beene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus apparant, and ſufficient poſſeſsions to be had in *France*: the Bill of complaint againſt the Clergies exceſſe was quite daſht, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it vnreaſonable to pull the Prouiſions from their natiues and brethren, when as the Circuit of their inheritanee extended more large in compaſſe: and therefore with the *Danites* they determined no longer to ſit ſo pent with increaſe, ſeeing God had giuen them another Kingdome, but would free their own ſtraitneſſe by dint of ſword, and ſpread their Tents wider in the Continent of *France*: Neither was there any motiue more forceable in conference, then was the ſucceſſe of thoſe intruding Princes, who aſſaied the Crowne by that vniuſt claime of law *Salique*. *Iudg. 18.*

(23) For did not the ſword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King *Edward*, the claimer cut downe the flower of *France* in the Battell of *Crecie*, with the ſlaughter of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, of *Charles* the French Kings brother, of *Iames Dolphin of Viennois*, the Dukes of *Lorrayne*, and *Burbon*, the Earles of *Aumarle*, *Sauoy*, *Montbilliard*, *Flanders*, *Niuers* and *Harecourt*, the *Grand Priour of France*, the Archbiſhop, and *Zanxinus* and *Noyone*, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500 with 30. thouſand of the French Souldiers, and *Philip* not able of himſelfe to defend himſelfe, inciting *Dauid* of *Scotland* to inuade and weaken *England*, therein did but only vexe his owne ſpirit, for in that attempt the Scottiſh King was taken priſoner and brought ſo to *London*, leauing *Philip* to ſtruggle with his hard fortunes in *France*, which with bad ſucceſſe hee did to the day of his death. *Io. Serres.*

(24) *Iohn* his ſonne by the ſame title and claime felt the ſame ſtroake of iuſtice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre *Edward* ſurnamed the blacke Prince, the ſonne of *Englands Mars*, who farre inferiour to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marſhall power, when at the battell of *Poitiers* the French royall Standard was ſtroke downe, an hundred Enſignes wonne by the *Engliſh*, the Conſtable, Marſhall and great Chamberlaine of *France* with fifty two Lords and ſeuenteen hundred Gentlemen ſlaine in the field. King *Iohn* himſelfe, his ſonne *Philip*, two Biſhops, thirteene Earles, and one and thirty Lords taken priſoners by the Prince, to his great praiſe and confirmation of his iuſt cauſe. *Io. Serres*

(25) Nor was the puniſhment of the father any whit leſſened in King *Charles* the ſonne then raigning, who beſides the inteſtine warres in his own dominions was by Gods iuſt iudgement ſtrucke into a Lunacy, being vnable to gouerne himſelfe much leſſe his Kingdome, vpon which aduantage (as the French would haue it) King *Henry* now plaied; though it be moſt certaine he ſought his right farre otherwiſe, for ſo it ſtandeth vpon record dated the ninth of February and firſt of *Henry* the fift his raigne, that he ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto the *French* King, who could not bee admitted to his preſence, and him whom they imployed to procure acceſſe was by the *French* committed to Priſon: whereat King *Henry* moſt iuſtly conceiued a grudge. *Paulus Æmilius* their owne Story-writer ſaith, that *Henry* King of *England*, *ſent honorable Ambaſſadors to demand in marriage the Lady Katherine daughter vnto the French King*: which (as he ſaith) was neglected with this anſwere, *that the King had no leaſure to thinke on that buſineſſe*: whom *Franciſcus Roſenius* doth further inlarge, ſaying, *the King ſcornefully ſmiling anſwered that France was neither deſtitute of Dukes, nor hee at* *Ex Record. apud Weſtm.* *P. Æmil.* *Fr. Roſen.*

leasure to thinke of the Propoſition; and being iealous leſt *Burgoigne* would match his daughter with *Henry*, ſent him a command to the contrary, and again at their Concluſion of peace, expreſly enioyned the ſaid Duke, and all other Princes of the bloud, not to make any alliance of mariage with *England*, whereby K. *Henry* was further exaſperated againſt *France*. And laſtly, by his counſell and conference vpon the Archbiſhops Oration ſent a Summons and demand of the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Guyen*, & *Anion*; in deriſion whereof, as *Caxton* recordeth, the *Dolphin* of *France*, ſent him a Tunne of *Tennis Balls*, as Bullets moſt fit for his tender hands, who had ſpent his youth (as he thought) more among Rackets, then regard of his perſon or matters of State: ſo forward is man to be an Actor in common miſeries, when the Fates haue made the Subiect of the Scene Tragicall, that hee drawes the hand of *Deſtinie*, ſooner to ſtrike, and heauier to fal vpon that proiect decreed to bee caſt downe: for by theſe diſdains and vnprincely dealings the Crowne of *France* was graſpt by the Engliſh hard hand, and that faire ſoile ſtained with her Natiues owne bloud: for the Preſent receiued as it was ſent, had promiſe to bee repayed with balles of more force, whoſe ſtroke ſhould bee ſuch as the ſtrongeſt gates of *Paris* ſhould not be rackets ſufficient to bandy the rebound.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

Nich. Vegetus. Will. Parradin. in Annal. de Burgoin. Caxton Chron. Bimbam.

Ex Record. Weſt.

(26) Grudges thus growne, and warres in preparing, the French thought it fitteſt to make *Scotland* their friend, whom they incited to moleſt the Engliſh Marches, which accordingly was done, and that with ſuch violence, as it was a queſtion decideable, whether of the Kingdoms was firſt to be dealt with *Weſtmerland* thought it ſafeſt to checke the *Scots* as the neerer and continuall backe-friends. But *Exceſter* held it better policy to beginne with *France* the ſtronger, eſpecially now diſquieted through the factions of *Burgundy* and *Orleance*, and vnto this the moſt voices gaue way, whoſe forwardnes was ſuch, that the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the temporall Lords their aides to the King, as followeth.

An. D. 1414.

Ypod. Neuſt.

The Earles { *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland.* } 40 men at Armes & 120 Archers a peece

The Earles { *Warwicke*, *Stafford.* } 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Earle of Suffolke, a ſhippe, 20. men at Arms, and 40. Archers.

The Earle of Abergaueny 20. men at Armes, and 20. Archers.

Ex Record.

The Lords { *Louell.* *Barkley.* *Powis.* *Camois.* *S. Iohn,* *Burrell.* } A ſhippe, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lords { *Fitzwater.* *Darcie.* *Seymour.* *Roſſe.* *Willoughbie.* } Halfe a ſhippe, 20 men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lord Morley, 6. men at Armes, and 12. Archers.

The Lords { *Seales*, *Randolph*, } Proffered to attend the King in their perſons without entertainement.

The whole number thus granted and appointed, amounted to of { *Men at Armes.* 346 *Archers.* 552 *Ships.* 9½

To put back the Scots, Sir *Robert Vmfreuile* was ſent who in a skirmiſh vpon *Mary Magdalens* day tooke 360 of them priſoners, and with great ſpoile returned to *Rocksburough* Caſtell whereof hee had charge; the newes whereof K. *Charles* vnderſtanding, and the great preparation made againſt *France*, being better aduiſed vpon the dangerous euent, ſent his Ambaſſadors into *England*, whereof the Archbiſhoppe of *Bourges* was principall, who at *Wincheſter* made offer of money, and ſome other Territories (but none of the beſt) with the Princeſſe Lady *Katherine* to be giuen in marriage vnto King *Henry*, ſo that he would diſſolue his Armie and conclude a peace. To this Oration the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie* made anſwere, that his King demanded the *Dutchies* of *Aquitaine* and *Anion*, with the other Seignories anciently appertaining to his Progenitors the Kings of *England*, which as they were his moſt rightfull and lawfull inheritance, ſo would hee with all poſſible diligence endeauour (if not otherwiſe) by fire & ſword to recouer, which his aſſertion the King himſelfe in preſence confirmed.

Iohn Hardyng Regn. VI.

(27) But *Burges* the Archbiſhoppe preſuming more vpon his Prelacy, then reſpectiue vnto whom hee ſpake, with an vnreuerend boldneſſe (liberty obtained) ſeconded his Ambaſſage with the termes of an Herauld, and with bended browes thus ſpake to "the King: *Thinkeſt thou ô King wrongfully to put* "*downe and deſtroy the moſt Chriſtian, the moſt renow-* "*ned, and the moſt excellent King of all Europe, both in* "*bloud and preheminence, or thinkeſt thou that our migh-* "*ty Soueraigne Charles hath offered thee lands, ſummes* "*of money and poſſeſſions with his moſt beautifull daugh-* "*ter, either in feare of thee, of thy Engliſh Nation, or of* "*all thy well-willers whomſoeuer? I tell thee no, but* "*moued in pitty as a louer of peace, and to ſaue the ſhed-* "*ding of chriſtian bloud, hath made thee theſe offers: &* "*his cauſe being ſupported by equity and truth, God and* "*his good Subiects he truſteth will ſet a period ſoone to* "*thy quarrell. Wee therefore his Ambaſſadors demand* "*thy ſafe conduct to paſſe out of thy Realme, and that thou* "*wilt write thine anſwere, and ſend it vnder thy ſeale.*

Enguerrant Monſtrel.

(28) *Henry* no whit daunted with his big looks and words, anſwered the Archbiſhoppe with milder "and better ſet termes; My Lord (ſaid he) I little "eſteeme of your gallant brauadoes, and leſſe weigh "your imagined power or French bragges. I know "my owne right to your Region, and ſo doe your "ſelues, vnleſſe you will deny a moſt apparant truth: "the ſtrength of your Maſter you dayly ſee, but "mine as yet you haue not taſted, he (you ſay) hath "many louing ſubiects and friends, and (God be "thanked) I haue both as well affected to mee, with "which, ere long I hope to make the higheſt crowne "in your Country to ſtoope, and the proudeſt Mi-"ter to kneele downe: And ſay to the Vſurper your "Maſter, that within this three monethes, I will "enter *France*, not as into his land, but as into mine "owne lawfull patrimonie, entending to conquer "it not with bragging words, nor flattering orati-"ons, but by power and dint of ſword, through "Gods aſſiſtance in whom I truſt: and I aſſure you "I will not ſpeake the word, the which I will not "write and ſubſcribe, nor will I ſubſcribe to that "to which I willingly will not ſet my ſeale. There-"fore your ſafe conduct ſhall bee diſpatched, and "mine anſwere in writing deliuered, which once "receiued you may depart into your Country, when "I truſt ſooner to viſite you, then that you ſhal haue "cauſe to bid me welcome.

Holinſh.

(29) The Statute enacted, the firſt of his raigne hee now put in execution, and commaunded the French out of his land, according to that made the 13. of *Richard* 2. which diſabled the Alien Religious to enioy any Benefices within *England*, and now fearing to nouriſh a ſnake in his boſome, King *Henry* forbad the French from all preferments Eccleſiaſticall, and thoſe Priors Aliens conuentual, who had inſtitution and induction, to put in ſecurity, not to diſcloſe, or cauſe to be diſcloſed, the counſell nor ſecrets of the Realme: and that the French might

Ex Pat.

hold

hold his dealings honourable, and open, hee sent *Antilop* his pursevant at Armes, vnto King *Charles* with letters of defiances: next making Queene *Ioan* his mother in Law the Regent of the land, he drew his forces vnto *Southampton*, commaunding his followers there to attend him in readinesse by the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptist* ensuing.

(30) *Charles* the French King expecting present invasion, sent his Ambassadors vnto *Iohn* the sixt Duke of *Britain*, who had married his daughter with an hundred thousand Crowns, to leuie forces for his aide, and a Iewell worth fiue thousand Crownes more to himselfe, which the Duke promised to come in person to performe. And as it is reported, King *Charles* sent to *Scrope*, *Grey* and *Cambridge* (all three in especiall fauour with the King) a million of gold to betray *Henry* into his hands, or to murther him before hee should arriue in *Normandy*. These to make their faction stronger, though *Scroope* was Lord Treasurer, *Grey* a Priuie Councellour, & *Cambridge* the sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, meant to draw in, *Edmund* Earle of *March* the sonne of *Roger Mortimer*, and lineally the heire vnto *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the next in succession for the house of *Yorke*, and reuealing their intended purpose, forced him to sweare to their secresie, which if hee refused, they threatned his death; whereupon he required but an howres respite, which hardly granted, he went to the King and reuealed the conspiracie, euen the night before the day that hee meant to put to sea.

(31) The parties apprehended and brought before him in presence of many nobles, King *Henry* "thus spake; With what horrour O Lord may anie "true Englishman consider that you for pleasing of "a forreine enemy, should imbrue your hands in "our blood, as also in the blood of our brethren, "to the ruine of your owne natiue soile! reuenge "herein touching my person though I seeke not; "yet for the safegard of you my deare friends, and "for due preseruation of the Realme, I am by place "and office to minister remedy against these Offen-"ders; Get you hence therefore you miserable "wretches, to receiue the iust reward of your de-"serts, wherein God giue you repentance for your so "foule sinnes.

(32) Notwithstanding this their offence, their inditement as it standeth in the Record, includes matter of other quality: *that, Richard Earle of Cambridge of Conesburgh in the County of Yorke, and Thomas Grey of Heton in the Countie of Northumberland Knight, for that they in the twentieth of July and third of King Henry the fifts raigne, at Southampton had conspired together with a power of men, to haue lead away the Lord Edmund Earle of March into Wales, and to haue procured him to take the Gouernment of the Realme, in case that King Richard the second were dead; with a purpose to haue put forth a Proclamation in the name of the said Earle as heire to the Crowne, against King Henry by the name of Lancaster vsurper, and further to haue conuayed a Banner of the Armes of England, and a certaine Crowne of Spaine set vpon a Pallet (layd in gage to the sayd Earle of Cambridge) into Wales; As also that the said conspirators had appointed certaine into Scotland, to bring thence one Trumpington, and another resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance, King Richard. And Henrie Scroope of Masham in the Countie of Yorke was likewise indited as consenting to the Premisses.* Thus well appeared their purpose, though *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, considering the possibility of his owne issue had secretly carried that businesse: whose sorrowfull letter of his owne hand writing, as it came to ours, we thinke not amisse here to insert.

Most dreadfull and Soueraigne Liege Lord, I Richard Yorke your humble subiect, and very Leigeman, beseech you of grace, of all manner of offences which I haue done or assented vnto, in any kind by stirring of other folke, egging me vnto, wherein I wot well I haue highly offended to your Highnesse, beseeching you at the reuerence of God, that you like to take mee into the hands of your mercifull and pitteous grace, thinking yet will of your great goodnes my Leige Lord: my full trust is, that you will haue consideration (though that my person be of none valew,) your high goodnesse (where God hath set you in so high estate) to euery Leigeman, that you longeth, plentiously to giue; that you like to accept this my simple request for the loue of our Lady, and the blessed holy Ghost, to whom I pray that they moue your heart euer to all pittie and grace for their high goodnes. Notwithstanding this his humble petition vpon the sixt of August following, hee, with *Scroope*, and *Grey*, were beheaded, and his body with head enterred in the Chappell of *Gods-house* in *Southampton*; whose apprehensions, arraignements, and deaths, were so followed each after others, as the *French* knew not, but that the treason had successe, and their returned Ambassadours told it for certaine, that King *Henry* had either dismissed his Army, or (which was thought more true) himselfe was slaine by the Conspirators; so easie an entrance hath babling report into the wide eares of credulous desire.

(33) But King *Henrie* now ready to embarke his men, vpon Wednesday the seauenth of August with fifteene hundred Saile tooke to Seas, attended with sixe thousand speares, and twenty foure thousand footmen besides Gunners, Enginers, Artificers and Labourers a great number, and the fifteenth of the same month cast Anchor in the mouth of *Seyne*, at a place called *Kideaux*, about three miles from *Harflew*, where he landed his men; and falling deuoutly vpon his knees, desired Gods assistance to recouer his right, making Proclamation vpon paine of death, that Churches should be spared from all violence of spoile, that *Churchmen*, *women* and *Children*, should not be hurt, abused or wronged: then giuing the order of Knighthood to many of his followers hee assigned his Standards to men of most strength and courage, which done he tooke the hill neere adioyning, and thence sent his spiall to the Towne of *Harflew*, making that the first assay of his fortunes in *France*. But before we enter any further discourse in the affaires of that Kingdome, it shall not be amisse to speake of things commenced in *England* before that King *Henry* tooke to the Seas.

(34) The Churches throughout Christendome, hauing beene disquieted the space of twentie nine yeers, and now growne intollerable, through the schismaticall ambitions, maintained by three Papall Monarchs, mounted into *Saint Peters* seate, each of them grasping the Chaire with so fast a fist, that the ioints thereof were forced asunder; and the triple Crowne so battered with their thunderbolts of their curses that it was flatted and made vnfit for any of their heads. The persons arreared were *Iohn* 23. by the *Italians* elected; the second was *Gregory* 12. whom the *French* had set vp; and the 3. was *Benedict* 13. preferred to the place by the *Spaniard*. These striuing for the helme, the ship was so steered, that her wracke was apparant vpon these raging and vnquiet Seas. To preuent which the Christian Princes put their helping hands, and by a generall consent, ordained a generall Councell to bee held at *Constance* in *Germany*, which began in February 1414 and continued aboue the space of three yeeres; whereunto were assembled besides the Emperour, the Pope and the *Palsgraue* of *Rheine*, foure *Patriarks*, twentie seauen Cardinals, forty seauen Archbishops, one hundred and sixty Bishops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen with their attendants aboue thirtie thousand.

(35) Vnto this Councell King *Henry* sent *Richard Clifford* Bishop of *London*, *Robert Halam* Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, made Cardinall, and died at the same Councell. *Iohn Keterich*, Bishop of *Couentree* and *Lichfield*, *Nicholas Bubwith* Bishop of *Bath* and Wels. *Iohn Wakering*, Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert Maskall*, Bishop of *Hereford*, *Stephen Patrington*, Bishop of S. *Davids*; the *Abbot* of *Westminster*, and *Prior* of *Worcester*, in company of whome, and for whose greater honour

Hardin 1500. *Joh. Stow.* 1600. *Holinsh.* 1000. *Grafton* 140. *Ould-Manuscr.* 1500. *Caxton* 1500.

Nichol. Gilet.

Titus Liuius.

Gonsale de Illescas Hist. Pontif.

Platina.

Nicol. Doglian in Theatro Vniuersal de Princ.

Sebastian Munster.

Francis Godwin vpon the liues of the Bishop.

honour, *Richard Earle of Warwicke* was ſent, themſelues and attendants amounting to eight hundred horſe: ſo as it ſtood in ſuſpence whether their honorable preſence more graced the aſſembly, or their learning or Iudgement bettered the whole body of the Councell: inſomuch that two of theſe Biſhops were there made Cardinals, and of the thirty in beſt eſteeme appointed to aſsiſt the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, *London*, *Couentree*, *Bath*, and *Wels* were choſen, wherein *Robert*, *Biſhop of London* was firſt nominated for Pope, and he firſt nominated him that ſucceeded, which was *Otho Collonna* by the name of *Martin* the fift. Whoſe Coronation with great magnificence was celebrated of the fiue nations aſſembled, and this honour giuen to the Engliſh, that the *Prior of Saint Iohns* was a ſupporter of the triple Crowne. Touching the decrees that this Councell enacted, let it ſuffice vs to know that *Wicliffes* bookes were condemned for hereticall, that *Iohn Hus* (notwithſtanding the Emperours ſafeconduct) and *Ierome of Prage*, were both of them burned. The holy maide *Bridget* canonized a Saint, and that *England* was made a nation in rancke before *Spaine*.

La mur. des Hiſtor.

Nicol. Dorlio. Sebaſt. Munſter

(36) The deaths of theſe two diuines manie lamented, eſpecially the *Bohemians*, who had reaped much fruite from the ſeed they had ſowen, for whoſe doctrine they ſent a defence vnto the ſame Councel, and often became humble Petitioners for their liues, as largely appeareth in their letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truly bee verified that the blood of the Martyrs is the ſeed of the Church, which ſo increaſed in the parts of *Bohemia* that Pope *Martin* fearing all would be mard (*Ziſca* the ſcourge of the Papacy then in Arms to defend them) ſent for aid out of *England*, to repreſſe the *Lollards* (as hee termed them) and publiſhed his Buls againſt thoſe *Huſſites*, with as terrible roarings as vſually were his *Croyſadoes* againſt the Turkes.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Nicol. Vigniew.

(37) His Legate for theſe holy warres, he made *Henrie Beaufort*, the rich *Cardinal of wincheſter*, who with foure thouſand Engliſh aſsiſted with a ſubſidie of the Clergies Grant, did there verie valiantly for certaine months together, vntill hee was recalled by the Pope: wherein Countie *Ziſca* (though euer a victor) loſt both his eyes, and being blind led forth his army with ſuch terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oft-times was ſufficient to attaine victory without any ſtroake, inſomuch as hee commanded his owne skinne to bee flead off after his death, and to bee made the head of their drum, affirming that the very ſound thereof, would driue the enemy out of the field. But from theſe Church matters and Prelates proceedings, let vs returne from whence we haue ſtept, and continue the affairs of our famous K. *Henry* hauing now ſet footing in *France*.

Godwin Catal. of Engliſh Bbs.

Edward Hall.

(38) His followers and fellowes in theſe new begunne warres were his two brethren the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloceſter*, as alſo his vncles the Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Dorſet*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent*, *Cornewall*, and *Huntington*, beſides a moſt noble fellowſhip of the other Lords, Barons and men at armes: with theſe from *Kideaux* hee marched towards *Harflew*, affecting that Towne the firſt, being a port commodiouſly ſeated vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Seyne*, and a ſafe entrance vnto his intended Conqueſt, aſwell for the landing of his men, as to hinder the paſſage vnto *Roane* and *Paris*, both which receiued traffique by the ſame Riuer.

Enguerrant de Monſtrelet.

Iohn Harding

(39) The Towne being ſeated betwixt two hils, that next the Sea the King tooke, at the foote whereof, he cauſed a deepe trench to be caſt, bringing in water to impeach the bottome, and raiſing the rampier to a great thicknes, whereon he erected many ſconces of earth like vnto Caſtles, ſet thicke together: for betwixt them, there was not aboue a cubite wide, for the Souldiers to ſally as occaſion ſerued: the trench thus finiſhed, from the rocke to the Sea, his horſes, munition, and victuals all brought a ſhore, with his whole armie, the King marched vp the hil, and from the height preſented himſelf before *Harflew*. His brother *Clarence* hee ſent with certaine Regiments of horſe and foote, to lodge vpon the other hill, which before he could approach, (by reaſon of the nature of the ground and way) hee was forced to march fullie nine miles: which hill attained, he commanded his ſhips to caſt anchor as neere the Towne as with ſafety they might, whereby the place became beſieged both by land and Sea, then mounted he his Artillery, began his mines, brought his workes cloſe to the Counter-ſcarfe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fill it, and preſently wanne the baſe Towne.

(40) Within the Towne it ſelfe *Mounſieur Gracourt* was Generall accompanyde with *Gwylwy de Stonteuile Chaſtellaine de Beauuais Lionet de Bruequemount* and others to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Townes-men iſſued out of the *Baſtile*, vpon that quarter where *Huntington*, and *Cornwall* lay, by whom with loſſe on either ſide, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, ſome breaches made, and fireworkes ſhot into the ſtreetes, to no little annoyance of the beſieged; but nothing diſmaied them more, then did the Mines made vnder the wals: againſt which though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the beſiegers, yet they ſaw it little preuailed, the wals being ready to fall, and ſuch batteries therein already made, as they well perceiued K. *Henry* was reſolued to carry the towne by aſſault: wherupon *Monſieur de Gracourt* foreſeeing the eminent danger, demanded a Parley, promiſing to render the towne if it were not relieued by a certain day aſſigned.

Le tiers de la Prance.

(41) And albeit that *Iehan de Boneigunlt*, and *Charles de Albuet* Marſhall, and Conſtable of *France*, the one at *Caudebue* Caſtell, the other in *Harflew*, either of them hauing in their companies one thouſand and fiue hundred men at Armes, were yet ſo curbd by the Engliſh, that no great ſeruice they did, and leſſe hope was looked for from the French king, whoſe ſtrengthes were not ready as the *Dolphin* returned anſwere, either to remoue or relieue the ſiege at *Harflew*; whereupon the twenty two of *September*, *Gracourt* the Gouernour with twenty foure ſelected Captaines and Burgeſſes came to King *Henry*, who ſate in his Pauilion vnder a cloth of eſtate, his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyme* vpon his right hand, bearing his casket, whereon was an imperiall Crowne ſet with ſtones of great price: The Gouernour and the reſt proſtrating themſelues at the Kings feet, deliuered vnto him the Keyes of the town, acording to the couenants betwixt them compriſed, which was a reſpite for fiue dayes, and then if no ſuccour came to ſurrender the towne vnto the king, & to deliuer into his hand thirty of their chiefeſt perſonages to ſtand for life or death at his own pleaſure, the reſt to depart without armor, weapons, or any of their goods.

Thom Liue

Alain Char ſecretary Charles 7. Prance

Hiſtor. Normā.

Iohn Bar

Holinſh.

Septemb.

Hiſtory of manſy.

Will. Pont. Anal. de Engl.

(42) *Harflew* thus ſurrendred in ſo ſhort a ſiege continuance, the King ſent *Thomas* Earle of *Dorſet* with ſufficient troupes to poſſeſſe the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and Saint *Georges* banner vpon the principall Ports, and aſſured the Towne with guards competent. Moreouer, he ſent the ſaid *Monſieur de Gracourt*, and with him *Gwyen* King at Armes vnto the Dolphin to let him know, *that hee would ſtay eight dayes in Harflew, to expect his comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himſelfe was well inclined, if hee were not obſtinate, for his purpoſe was not to demand more then his right, and if they could not accord, for the ſparing of Chriſtian blood, he was pleaſed to decide the quarrell by ſingle combat betweene them two.*

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Caeſars* into *Rome* with Coronets, Enſignes, and Triumphes, attending his Chariot, but in a more humble

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humble manner hee paſſed along the ſtreetes *barefooted*, vntill hee came to the Church of Saint *Martine*, where with great deuotion hee gaue moſt humble thanks vnto God for this his firſt atchieued enterpriſe. Then that the Towne might be *Engliſh*, and free from French dangers, hee made proclamation, that whoſoeuer of his *Engliſh* Artificers would tranſport themſelues vnto *Harflew*, houſes ſhould there bee giuen to them and their heires; whereby in ſhort time the towne was repeopled with Engliſh Artiſans. Here King *Henry* abode the ſpace of twelue or fiftteene dayes, expecting an anſwere of his meſſage ſent to the Dolphin; but the time prefixed (and more dayes exſpired) hee commanded his ſouldiers to furniſh themſelues with victuals for eight dayes, leauing his vncle *Thomas Beauford* Earle of *Dorſet* Gouernor of *Harflew*, himſelfe with two thouſand horſe, and thirteen thouſand foot, marched towards *Callis* through the Counties of *Caux* and *Eu*.

(44) The French Court notwithſtanding it ſwarmed with factions (whileſt vnder a weake and braine-ſicke King) the great ones ſought to make themſelues greater, and the common enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, his brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicil*, the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* aſſembled at *Roan*, and in Councell concluded, that the Engliſh ſhould bee fought with, before they got *Callis*, and forthwith decreed to endammage King *Henry* on his way, which preſently was attempted. For beſides their continuall skirmiſhes vpon his marching Army, they brake down the Bridges, plained the woods, intrenched the wayes, ſtrucke ſtakes in the Foords, and in places of aduantage, laid ſtore of ſouldiers to empeach his paſſage, and conuayed all victuals out of the Countries, through which hee ſhould goe; whereby they well hoped, as a Deere taken in the toile, ſo both hee and his hoaſt ſhould haue beene inſnared, who now was approached to *Virron*, with purpoſe to haue paſſed the riuer *Soame* at *Blanchetague*: but there the French had fortified againſt him, ſo as hee well ſaw that was not the way; and thereupon changing his Counſell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Baillew*, with an intent to haue paſſed the riuer at *Port le Remy*, but that alſo guarded, he kept along the Riuer to *Hargeſt*, the French Army marching vpon the other banke, vnder the leading of *Charles de Albret* Conſtable of *France*.

(45) *Henry* ſtill ſeeking to get ouer *Soame*, meant to aſſay it, euen to the head, and paſſing by *Amiens*, *Bowes*, and *Corbie*, in a valley adioyning, there lodged his hoaſt, where hee commanded his Archers to prouide ſtakes ſharpened at both ends, which afterwards ſtood them in ſingular good ſtead: Then hearing by his ſpials that the water was paſſable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintins*, hee got ouer the riuer. His ſouldiers both weary and faint, many of them ſicke, and their prouiſions ſpent ſome twelue dayes before, were forced to feed vpon nuts, roots, and Berryes, ſuch as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne in their way.

(46) The day they ſpent with great toile and long march, the nights were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwayes ſtanding vpon their owne guard, and the French alwayes ſwarming about them without intermiſsion. Theſe things moued *Henry* as the French Writers report, *to proffer the reſtitution of Harflew, with other holds in Normandie, and to make ſatisfaction for the harms done in France, to ſuffer him free paſſage vnto his Towne of Callis.* But certaine it is, that great reliefe hee got by the iuſtice and piety that hee vſed in thoſe parts: for albeit hee was in the middeſt of his enemies, and his Souldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation vpon paine of death, that none of his Army ſhould rob any Church: wherein a ſouldier offending, hee cauſed reſtitution to be made, and commanded the ſtealer to be put to death: the fame of which piety moued the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifully to ſupply the fainting Engliſh with their owne prouiſions.

(47) But the Nobility vnderſtanding that the *Engliſh* had got ouer *Soame*, the Conſtable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, ſent vnto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell vpon Thurſday following; which the Engliſh King granted, but therein failed, ſaith the French Secretarie, and tooke his march towards *Callis* without any ſtay. True it is, that *Henry* was not deſirous of fight, his impediments being ſuch as wee haue ſaid, and therefore returned anſwere, that he meant to keepe on his march vnto *Callis*, and would not ſeeke them: but if they would diſturbe him, he committed the iſſue thereof to God, aſſuring himſelfe that it would bee to their owne great danger and perill, and ſo paſsing forward to *Forceuil*, to *Bonyers-Leſtaillon*, to *Baugy*, vpon thurſday the 24. of October, hee came to *Azincourt*, where the French in a field of aduantage (purpoſely choſen) in the County of Saint *Paul*, and neere vnto *Azincourt*) had pitched their Banner royall, with an infinite hoaſt, whereof the Conſtable of *France* had the conduct.

(48) His power (ſaith *Parradin*) conſiſted of an hundred and fifty thouſand horſe (beſides them for carriages which were innumerable) wherein were ten thouſand men at Armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noblemen, Knights, and Eſquiers. The Vantgard was led by the Conſtable, the Dukes of *Orleance*, and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Bouciquals* the Marſhall, *Dampier* the Admirall, *Guychard* Dolphin *de Auuergne*, and *Cluuet of Brabant*. The maine battell, by the Duke of *Barre*, the Earles of *Alenzon*, *Neuers*, *Blaumont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre*, and *Rouſſe*. And the reregard by the Duke of *Brabant* Earles of *Marle*, *Furquenberge*, and *Mounſieur de Lornay*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur Earle of Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Count de Vendoſme* great Maſter of *France*, whoſe particular retinues *Franciſcus Roſienius* doth largely *declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (ſaith *Parradin*) ſixe times to exceed the *Engliſh*, but *Peter Diuers* eſteemed them to bee ten times more.

(49) King *Henry* ſeeing himſelfe ſo farre ingaged, and many of his men ſicke of the fluxe, ſent the ſecond time vnto theſe aſſembled Princes his proffers, to ſurrender *Harflew*, and what elſe he had won, ſo as without diſturbance he might depart for *Callis*. Whereunto the Conſtable and Marſhall were willing, but the other young Princes deſpiſing the ſmall number of their aduerſaries, refuſed all conditions of peace, and were not onely negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an aſſurance of victory diuided the pray, diſpoſed of priſoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry the captiue King in triumph; commanding the Cities and Townes adioyning to ring their bels, and to render thankes vnto God, who had deliuered their enemies into ſuch place of aduantage as an aſſured victory muſt preſently follow: and ſo confident were they thereof, that they ſent to King *Henry* to know what ranſome he would giue. But ſaith *Chartier*, what anſwere the King made, is vncertaine: for that all who were priuie thereunto, were ſlaine, the Duke of *Orleance* only excepted, and he a priſoner retained in *England*. They alſo ſent for King *Charles*, and the *Dolphin* his ſonne (then reſiding in *Roane*) to come in their perſons vnto the battell, that ſo they might haue the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Bery* was highly offended, and aduiſed the contrarie, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himſelfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *Iohn* vnfortunately was taken by the *Engliſh*, which proued (as he alleged) a great breake-necke vnto *France*.

(50) The face of theſe hoſts were diuers and

Iohn Harding.

Alain Chartier.

The fight was not of Henries ſeeking.

Engerrant.

Agincourt in the county of Saint *Paul*.

Par. in Annal. de Burg.

Le tiers volum de comment. de Francia.

The chiefe commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bourbon.

Their number 6. times, yea ten times more then the Engliſh.
**In Stemmata Barri Ducum.*
**In Rerum Brabanticarum.*

Parradin.

Alain Bouchart in Annal. de Bret.

Bertrand de Argentre hiſt. de Bretaine.

The French thought themſelues inuincible. *Polyd. Verg.*

They ſend to *Henry* for his ranſome as if they were ſure to conquer. *Alain Chartier* Secretary *au Roy Charles 7.*

The Counſell of Sage men neglected.

The *French* glorious in shew but the *English* conquerors.

indifferent, the French gallant, fresh, and through vaine hope of honour, already mounted aboue men of meane rancke, the *English* weake, weary and sore starued, made no such shew, and yet their courage no lesse then the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphes, and other like sports, distributing their Captiues, diuiding their spoiles, and decreeing none to bee saued but the King, and his nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their arrowes, sharpening their speares, buckling their armours, and refreshing their bodies for the next day; and besides other obseruances, by the light of the great fiers made in the *French* Campe, the *English* decerned what was therein done, and tooke the aduantage of their order and ground.

Caxton. Chron.

The *English* discerned what was done in the *French* army. *P. Aemil.*

(51) The morning approached, the *French* tooke the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easie and certaine victory (as they tooke it) their greatest strength consisting in horse. Against whose violence King *Henry* commanded two hundred strong bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deepe ditch full of water might secure them from the horse, and the bushes couer them from sight. These hauing stakes prepared and shod with Iron at both ends, were appointed to sticke them slope-wise in the ground, yet so that they might bee remoued as occasion was ministred, to guarde them from the danger of the horse: which policy accomplished, King *Henry* (whose hope was in God, and the goodnesse of his cause) about ten of the clocke raunged his *English*, against the *French* then in field: he disposed his host into three battels, placing his bow-men on both sides of the maine.

Alain Bouchart. en les Annales de Bretagne.

The *stratagem* with stakes.

Guil. Parradyn.

(52) The vantgard, consisting of Archers, was led by Lord *Edward*, (his cosen) the Duke of *Yorke*, & with him the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. In the maine Battell all in compleate and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royall atcheiuements of *England* and *France*, vpon his helmet he ware a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with pearle and stones of an vnestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage carreird as he went, the bridle and furniture of Gold-smithes worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the *English* Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royall Standard was borne, and many other banners in warlike order waued with the winde.

Tho. Walsing. The chiefe Leaders of each part of the English army.

The noble abilliments of King *Henry* in the maine Battell.

(53) The *French* had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their points to haue runne through the *English* squadrons; altogether relying vpon their horsemen, and shining in bravery with an incredible excesse. And surelie the beauty and honourable horror of both the Armies, no heart can iudge of, vnlesse the eye had seene it, the *Banners*, *Ensignes* and *Penons* streaming in the ayre, the glistering of armours, the varietie of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forrests of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodlie a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloody blast was as the bullet ramd into the Canon, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as the stroake of death felt by the aimed-at marke.

Titus Livius.

The admirable and glorious fight that both armies made.

(54) The Battels thus raunged a while stood still, and faced each other euen in the face: The *French* (whether vpon errour like to that of *Pompeis* at the Battel of *Pharsalia*, where *Caesar* was victorious, or to draw the *English* farther from their aduantage of ground, is altogether vnknowne) but certaine it is, that King *Henry* was resolued to open his way for *Callis* ouer the Enemies bosome, or else to die: and thereupon with a cheerefull countenance and words full of courage, he comforted his followers and said. "My most faithfull Companions and worthy soul-"diers, we now goe into the field of honour, and to "the worke of manhood, which your great valours "so long haue expected and praied for; loe the day "is now come, and your worke the noblest in the "world; poure forth therefore your vtmost forces, "that ages may know what the lance, the Axe, the "sword and the bow can doe in the hand of the va-"liant: Whosoeuer therefore desires riches, ho-"nour, and rewards here he shall find them. *Nimi-"rum hac medio posuit Deus omnia Campo.* When hee had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselues vnto God euery man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortality, (being thereof made) or of the holy Communion whereof hee was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolued, arising, the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to aduance forward, saying, *because our iniurious enemies doe attempt to shut vp our way, let vs vpon them in the name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the best houre of the wholeyeere.*

Io. Serres

(55) The ranging of the Battell King *Henry* committed to an old experienced Knight called *Sir Thomas Erpingham*: who with a warder in his hand lead the way, which when he saw time hee threw vp into the aire, whereat the whole army gaue a great shout; which done, he alighted frō his horse, & came to the King, who was in his place on foor. The *French* beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the *English* perceiuing, made forward and came on, giuing another shoute, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the aire with a shower of sharpe arrowes, most fearefull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt, and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable Courage; the most of them for nimblenes being but halfe clothed, without hat, and bare-legged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants, as he that ere while could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long arrow to the verie head, whose roauing marke was the flancke of the *French*, so rightly aimed at, and so strongely stucke on, that their sides were altogether larded with arrowes, whereby the vantgard was instantly distrest, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to vse their weapons at any aduantage. Their wings likewise assayd to charge the *English*, but *Mounsieur de Lignie* in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced back: and *Guilliaum de Surreres* charging home, in the other, was slaine. The Battalions now brokē, for safety fled to the Main, where they breed both feare and confusion by the vnruline-sse of their wounded horses, so galled with arrowes as they could not be gouerned.

King *Henry* seeketh to passe *Calis*.

(56) The first troope of the French horse, were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed, and meant to haue burst through the Archers with a violent course, but they giuing backe left their sharpe pointed stakes sticking, which till then were vnseene; the *French* supposing the Archers had fled, came on with their horse vpon the spur, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble vnder their thundering feet, and being forced forward, without foresight of danger carried their proud Riders into the iawes of destruction: for falling by troopes vpon those goaring stakes, they were miserably ouerthrowne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrowes still whisling in the aire sparkled fire in their fals from the helmets of the *French*, and with their steeled heads, rang manie thousands their knels that dolefull day, who like to corne cut downe with the sith, fell by whole plumps in that fatall field; the *English* still following the aduantage: against whome *Anthoine Duke of Brabant*, hoping by his example to encourage others (followed with a few) turned head, and brake into the *English* Battell, wherein manfully fighting hee was slaine.

Tho. Walsing.

(57) With the like manhood *Duke Alenzon* a lusty French Lord, pressed into the Battalion where King *Henry* fought, and incountering *Humfrey Duke of Glocester* the Kings brother, both wounded

ded and ouerthrew him, to whose rescue if *Henry* had not come, he had died more honourablie then afterward hee did, for King *Henry* bestriding him, deliuered his said brother from danger, and wanne himselfe much honour by the deed. *Alenzon* then coped with King *Henry* in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so surelie laid on, that therewith his helmet was battered vnto his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with redoubled strength, stroke the French Gallant vnto the ground, and slew two of his men that seconded their Master. The Duke thus down, cried to the King, I am *Alenzon*, whom *Henry* sought to haue saued, and so had done, had not the deafe eares of reuenge stopt all sound of life, against him, that so had endangered their Souereigne Lord.

(58) The *French* Reregard surprised with feare, at the disaster of the vantgard, and the maine battell fled, not striking one stroake (except some principall leaders and they not many) the English horsemen fetched a compasse and wheeled about vpon their backes, which no sooner was perceiued, but that the taxe of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of *Walsingham* doth manifestly appeare: *The way* (saith he) *is at length made by fine force; the French did not so much giue place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they saw those beaten indeed vnder foote, whom they reputed inuincible, their minds forthwith grew amazed, and such an icie feare slyd through their marrow, that they stood still like senselesse Images, while our men wrested weapons out of their hands, and slew them therewith as beasts. Slaughter then had lost the stay of it selfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the warre was made at throates, which (as it were) offered themselues to be cut, neither can the English kill so manie of the enemies, as may bee killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almost perished, by the hands of those few, whom immediately before they held in most extreme contempt.* But the sword now made weary and drunke with blood, all danger past, and humanity retired, prisoners were taken, and liues spared, which hitherto was neglected, least mercy might haue proued the destruction of themselues.

(59) Whilst the King was thus busied, & the successe of the battell in dispute, his carriages (but slenderly garded) by the *French* were assailed, & all made spoile of, that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize, were *Robinet de Bourneuille*, *Rifflant de Clumasse*, and *Isambert de Agincourt*, with sixe hundred Peasants, who had turned their faces at the first brunt of Battell, as men of better practise to pilfer, then to purchase by manhood the spoiles of the field. Where among other things they found a rich Crowne and sword, which they bare away in triumph-wise, fayning that King *Henry* was taken, and as a prisoner followed their troopes, the sight of certaine *English* prisoners by them taken and led away cõfirming the report more strongly in the beholders conceit. But King *Henry* breathlesse, and in heat of blood, seeing certaine new troopes of the King of *Sicils* appeare in the field, and the same strong inough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as hee had cause) that the *Bourbon Battalion* vpon sight of fresh succours would gather into a body, and againe make head, considering withall how his men were ouer-charged with multitudes of Prisoners, who in number surmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once, to guard and to fight, and that the prisoners would be ready vpon euery aduantage to take armes and free themselues from their takers: these and other necessities constrayning, King *Henry* contrary to his wonted generous nature, gaue present commandement that euery man should kil his Prisoner, which was immediately perfourmed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in Order, hee sent his Heraulds vnto these troopes assembled, commanding them forthwith to come vnto Battell, or else to depart the field, either of which if they delaied, he threatned to reuenge with their deathes, without any redemption or mercy; at which seuere sentence their hearts were so daunted, that with shame and dishonour they departed the field. The base surprisall of the Kings carriages, (the only cause as some alleage of the *French* prisoners death) was so ill disgested by the *French* themselues, that the Duke of *Burgundie* imprisoned the Actors thereof, and was minded to haue put them to death, had not his sonne the Count of *Charolois* mediated for them, vnto whom they presented King *Henries* rich sword, the guards whereof was gold set with stones of great price.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

The Duke of *Burgundy* imprisoneth the robbers of King *Henries* carriages but pardons their liues at *Count Charolois* request. *Typdig. Neust.*

(60) The day almost spent in spending *French* blood, and euening approaching neere the set of the Sunne, the field cleared, and no enemy seene, the retreate was sounded, and all were assembled to giue thankes vnto God; which done, while his souldiers pillaged the dead, King *Henry* sent for *Montioy* herault at armes in *France*, and for other heraulds both *English* and *French*: vnto whom he said, *we haue not of our selues made this great slaughter, which the sword in our weake hands hath laid at our feete, but the Arme of God for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath doneit, whose blood let now rest vpon their owne heads, and wee guiltlesse in following our right*: and then demanding the name of the place, was answered, it was *Azincourt*, then said he, to all posterities following, *this Battell shall be called the Battell of Azincourt*. Thus dismissing the heraulds, he returned to *Maisoncelles*, where he lodged the night before. The spoile was great, and the pray rich in armours, iewels, and apparell, for which by the Countrey Peasants many (left as dead) were stripped starke naked, who afterward crept from the place, but most of them mortallie wounded without reliefe, lay in great dolor and died in the ditches: so certaine is the calamity of warre, and vncertaine the sword till it bee quietlie sheathed.

King *Henry* acknowledgeth God the giuer of victory.

God deliuereth a nation into the hands of the destroier for their sinnes.

Enguer. de Monstrelet.

(61) King *Henry* lost his cosen *Edward Duke of Yorke*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* that day, besides some others, the *Frẽch* writers say three or foure hundred, yet *Caxton* will haue them but twenty and sixe: and *Paulus Æmilius* addeth to the two slaine Lords, two Knights and only ten priuate souldiers, without anie more; vnto whom an ancient manuscript addeth * *Dauid Gam* an Esquire, and twenty eight priuate souldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the *English* died that day.

Nich. Gille. Latiers volume de Cron. Franc.

The small number of *English* slaine.
Tho. Walsing.
Ex Manuscript.

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the *French*, slaine at this Battell, yet diuers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as wee cannot certainely set downe, yet as wee haue many Collections we will deliuer the same in part, and referre the rest to be seene vpon the record: Only naming the Officers and Leaders in the same field either slaine, or taken Prisoners, by this famous King *Henry* in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

The names of great persons either slaine or taken prisoners.

Charles D'Albert, high Constable of *France*.
Geoffrey Bouciqualt Marshall of *France*.
Iaques Chastillon Admirall.
Guiscard Daulphin of Arragon great Master of the Kings Horse.
Edward Duke of Barre.
Anthoine D. of Brabant.
Duke Alenson.
Count Neuers.
Count de Marle.
Count de Vaudemont.
Count de Blaumont.
Count de Grandpre.
Count de Roussie.
Count de Farquembourg.

Lewis de Bourbon.
Sig. de Preaux.
Robert de Barre.
Iehan de Barre.

Great Lords.

Sig. de Croy.
Sig. de Helly.
Sig. de Auxi.
Sig. de Brimeu.
Sig. de Poix.
Sig. de Lourey.
Sig. de Rainevalt.
Sig. de Longueuall.
Sig. de Inche.
Sig. de Neufuille.
Sig. de Dampierre.
Sig. de Morenill.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Enguerrant.

Vidame

Vidame de Amiens. | *Mes. de Moreul.*
Mes. Alain. | *Mes. de Poix.*
Mes. de Sauefes. | *Mes. de Bethune.*

Iehan Tillet. Bertrand de Argentre. La. Mar: Nichol. Gilet. Legend. Fland. Chron. Franc. 3. vol.

To bee ſhort, *Iehan Tillet* ſaith, that there were ten thouſand ſlaine, and almoſt as many more taken: and moſt of their owne writers account the ſucceſſe of this Battell to be with the ſlaughter of foure thouſand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Eſquires: but the hiſtory of *Normandy* accounted eight thouſand to be ſlaine of that ranke, whereof an hundred and twenty bare Banners: among whom died foure Dukes, nine Earles, one * Archbiſhop, and ten thouſand common ſouldiers, as the Heraulds relation in that behalfe hath reported.

**Of Sens. The number of Dukes, Earles, &c. ſlaine.*

(27) Priſoners of account taken in this field, were *Charles* the Duke of *Orleance*, and *Iohn Duke of Bourbon*, *Arthur Earle of Richmond*, extremely wounded and left for dead, as he lay gaſping among the ſlaine, was by the *Engliſh* recouered and reteined their Priſoner. *Louis de Bourbon Cont de Vendoſme* was there taken Captiue, was *Charles Earle of Eu*, being carried into *England*, where hee remained priſoner twenty three yeres. Others of great account were likewiſe taken and put to ranſome, as *Edward de Rouen*, *Oliuer de la Feild*, and *Iehan Giffart*, with theſe and many more the next day King *Henry* marched to *Callais*, leauing the *French* to ſearch for their wounded, that in ditches and buſhes had made their heauy beds: In commiſeration whereof, the *Counte Charrolois* extreme penſiue for the loſſe of his vncles, and other his friends, in charity came to the field, and cauſed the dead to be buried, the charge whereof he committed to the Abbot of *Rouſſiauille* and the Bailiffe of *Ayre*, who incloſed a peece of ground with a deep ditch of two hundred and fifty yards ſquare, fenſing it with an hedge of thornes againſt the rauenings of dogs and wolues. Wherein were interred fiue hundred and eight thouſand Chriſtian carcaſes, in regard whereof it was ſanctified by the Biſhop of *Eſguines*, and made a Churchyard.

Denis Sauag.

Bertrand de Argentre in hiſt: Brit.

Iehan Tillet.

Alain Bouchart Annal. de Bret.

Will. Parradin. Annal. de Burgois.

Hiſtory of *Normandy.*

5800. ſlaine *French* buried in one plat of ground.

Alain Bouchart Annal. de Bret.

(28) The Duke of *Britaine* with his forces was come to *Amiens* within two daies march of *Azincourt* to ayde King *Charles*, but the *French* vpon a conceiued aſſurance of victory, would not ſtay his comming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the *Engliſh*, diſmiſſed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre betweene *England* and *France*. Now King *Henry* vpon Saturday the 26. of October, being the next day after Battell, tooke his march towards *Callis*, but in paſſing the field wherein they had fought, he cauſed ſearch for all the *Engliſh*, which he cauſed to be enterred according to their eſtates. But the Bodies of his ſlaine coſen the Duke of *Yorke*, and of *Michael de la Poole Earle of Suffolke*, hee tooke away thence, carrying them both into *England*, and ſo paſſing to *Guiſnes* with his Priſoners hee entred *Callis*, whither, thoſe left at *Harflew* reſorted, to pay their ranſomes to them aſsigned.

Hiſtory of *Normandy.*

Stowes Annal.

Grafton.

(29) His hoſt now refreſhed and courage augmented, it was diſputable in Counſell, whether the King ſhould returne againe into *France*, to purſue his enterprize already begun, or elſe to imbark for *England*. But the time of yeere ſpent, the winter wet, and the field Camps very much ſubiect to fluxes, wherewith many of his ſouldiers were as yet infected, and more vnhealed of their wounds; it was thought fitteſt to make for *England*, and the ſooner, for that victuals became ſomewhat ſcarce in *Callis*. Theſe things premiſed, King *Henry* vpon the ſixteenth day of Nouember ſpread ſayles for *England*, and in the paſſage was met with ſuch ſtormes, that his *French* Priſoners were in as great feare, as they had beene in danger at the Battell of *Azincourt*: but arriued at *Douer* and all dangers paſt, vpon the three and twenty of Nouember in triumph wiſe hee made his entrance into *London*, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoodes, the gates and ſtreetes weere garniſhed with Pageants, and the Conduits plenteouſly powring forth ſweet wines. The religious men met him with proceſsion, and foureteene mitred Biſhops attended his approach vnto Saint *Paules*, where, out of the Cenſers the ſweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunninglie ſet by note: in all which the honour was aſcribed only vnto God, the King ſo commanding it. And ſo farre was he from the vaine oſtentation of men, that he would not admit his broken Crowne, nor bruiſed armour to be borne before him in ſhew, which are the vſuall Enſignes of warlike triumphes. The Citie preſented him a thouſand pound in gold, two golden baſons worth fiue hundred pound more, which were receiued with all Princely thankes.

King Henry returneth into England.

He and his company in danger at Sea. Tho. Wal.

The King is receiued of London with great ſtate.

(30) And now to doe the laſt office of a ſouldier for thoſe two noblemen ſlaine at *Azincourt*, hee willed the body of the Duke of *Yorke* to be interred in his Colledge at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonſhire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordſhire*, commanding moſt of his Biſhops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in *London*, whereunto likewiſe reſorted his vncle *Dorſet* the Gouernor of *Harflew*, whom for his good ſeruice done, he created Duke of *Exceter*, and gaue him a thouſand pound by yeere out of his owne Exchecquer: but in his abſence ſome attempts were made by the French againſt the ſaid Towne, whereby he was enforced the ſooner to returne.

(31) The calamities of theſe times by the ſtirred ſchiſmes of the Church, and theſe bloody warres among Chriſtian Princes, *Sigiſmund* the Emperour a man of great wiſdome and integrity, much lamented at the Councell of *Conſtance*, & as another *Conſtantine* ſollicited the three ſtiffe ſtirring Popes vnto vnity, but failing of that purpoſe, from thoſe farre parts he trauelled into *France*, and thence into *England*: ſeeking to make peace betwixt theſe two Weſterne Monarchs, the better to withſtand the common knowne enemie of Chriſtendome the Turke. King *Charles* he ſollicited firſt, finding him in words very forward, with many faire ſhewes to imbrace the motion, whereupon taking with him the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* as Ambaſſadour from the *French* King, came vnto *Callis*, where he was moſt honourably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and diuers other Lords ſent thither by King *Henry* to attend him, as alſo thirtie of his talleſt ſhippes to waft him to *Douer* gallantlie rigged and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Glocester* accompanied with many of the nobility, was appointed to receiue him at *Douer*, where they attended his comming.

(32) The Emperour arriued, and ready to take land, *Glocester* and the other Lords with their drawne ſwords entred the water, and thus ſpake to the Emperour, that if his Imperiall Maieſty intended to enter as their Kings friend and a mediator for peace, they would receiue him with all willingnes accordinglie, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to reſiſt and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being moſt mildely anſwered by *Sigiſmund*, he had preſent acceſſe, and by them was attended towards *London*.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King *Henry* greatly reſpected, as well for his owne worths, and the amity held euer with the houſe of *Beame*; as alſo for that he had married * *Barbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zilie* the Kings Coſen *Germane* remoued. His entertainement was Princely, and * charges altogether borne by King *Henrie*, who the more to honor him at *Windſore*, ſolemnly enſtalled him Knight of the Order of Saint *George* or *Gartar*, with a moſt ſumptuous feſt purpoſely prepared, at which the Emperour ſate in his Collar and Robes; but not foreſlowing the cauſe for which he came, hee inſtantlie vrged the peace for *France*, wherein he was gentlie heard

heard by the *English* King, but vpon new displeasures for some losse of men in the Territories of *Roane*, the motion at that time was dasht, and would not proceed, least (as King *Henrie* alleaged) the *French* should suppose that a small losse had weakened his spirits: yet the Emperour continuing his intercession for peace, had brought it to that passe by his pithy perswasions, as had not the *French* at that verie instant besieged *Harflew* both by Sea and land, it had beene effected.

(34) For not long before *Thomas Earle of Dorset*, hauing made a roade into the County of *Caux*, was set vpon by the Earle of *Armigrace* Constable of *France* with other strong men at Armes neere vnto *Vademont*, who so distressed the *English*, that *Dorset* tooke into a Garden for defence, and hauing had priuate conference there with the Constable, early before day, departed with the losse of * foure hundred men. *Armigrace* puffed vp by his got victory, with his French powers followed the *English* in a hasty march toward *Harflew*, and vpon the lands intercepted their passage, where betwixt them a cruell conflict was performed, with the ouerthrow of the *French*, and flight of the Constable, who retired to *Monstreuillier* for safety.

(35) This his vnlucky attempt he tooke greatly to heart, and therefore purposing to repurchase again his honor, he determined for *Harflew*, where hee set downe his land siege, before the *English* Garrison within, were well aware, when also the *Vicount Narbon Vice-Admiral of France*, with a Fleete of tall ships entred the hauen, so that the Towne was begirt on euery side as we haue said. King *Henry* hearing of these newes, called home his Ambassadours, which were the Bishop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* in commission then at *Beauuois*, and in conference for a Peace; and the Emperour well perceiuing that the *French* plaid vpon aduantage, and that King *Henry* was not of temper to turne edge at their strokes, saw it vaine to prosecute the peace for *France* further, and therefore sought to enter league with the *English* himselfe, vnto the which King *Henry* was so willing as he confirmed the same vpon these Articles following.

(36) That the said Emperour & King, their heires & successours * shou'd be friends each to other as Allies and Confederates against all manner of persons of what estate or degree soeuer, the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope for the time being only excepted (for he was the Master Bee that then lead the swarme.)

(37) That neither themselues, their heires nor successours should be present in Counsell or other place, where either of them, their heires or successours might sustaine dammage in lands, goods, honours, states or persons: and that if any of them should vnderstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or if that lay not in their powers, they should aduertise the others thereof with all conuenient speed. That either of them, their heires and successours should aduance the others honour and commodity without any fraud or deceit. That neither of them, nor their heires or successours should permit their subiects to leauy warres against the others. That it should be lawfull and free for each of their subiects to passe into the others Countrey, and there to remaine and make merchandize either by Sea or land, paying the Customes, gables, and duties due and accustomed according to the Laws, and Ordinances of the places, and Countreys where they should traffique. That neither of the saide Princes, nor their heires, nor successors should receiue any rebell, banished man, or traitour of the others willingly, but should cause euerie such person to auoid out of their Countreys, Realmes, dominions, and Iurisdictions. That neither of the said Princes, their heires nor Successors shou'd begin any other warres against any other person, other then such as they had warres with at that present without the consent of the other his Confederate, except in defence of themselues, their Countreys and subiects in case of inuasion made vpon them. That it should be lawfull for the King of *England* to prosecute his warres against *France* for the recouery of his right, as should seeme to him expedient, and for the Emperour, for the recouery of any part of his right reteined by the *French*. Lastly, that either of them should assist other in recouery and Conquest of their rights, lands and dominions, withheld and kept from them, by him that calleth himselfe King of *France*, and others, the Princes and Barons of *France*. These conclusions and agreements bare date the 19. of October, in Anno 1416. In the meane while the *French* that had felt the hard hand of the *English*, and seeing that *Henry* had with-drawne his commissioners for peace, King *Charles* made a league with the states of *Genoua*, requiring their aide against this dangerous enemie, who supplyde him with sixe hundred Crosse-bowes, and eight tall ships of warre, and as many gallies with munition and victuals. These wafting the Seas with many brauadoes, King *Henrie* in person meant to haue mette with himselfe, but the Emperour disswading his purpose, the charge of that Enterprize was committed to *Iohn Duke of Bedford*, accompanyde with the Earles of *March*, *Marshall*, *Oxford*, *Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Arundell*, *Deuonshire*, and *Salisbury*; these falling vpon the County of *Narbon*, a fierce encounter was begun, and long fought, till at length the victory fell to the *English*, so that the *French Nauy* was most of them battered, suncke and taken; amongst others three great Carricks of the *Genoaes* were sent to *England*, with whom the bastard of *Burbon* was brought away Prisoner; & the *Viscount de Narbon*, *Le Sire de Montaine*, and *Le Sire de Berrar* chased into *Britaine*. This victorie obtained, the Duke past forward to the Towne of *Harflew*, and refreshed it with victuals without anie impeachment; for *Armagnac* the Constable hearing how his Consorts had kept tune on the Seas, thought it not best to set to their note, least his meane would not be heard, the base of this musicke sounding too deepe, and therefore he put vp his pipes, and got him to *Paris*. This seruice performed was so commended by the Emperour, as he openly said, that Realme was happy that had such a King, but the King more happie that had such Subiects, and euer after held *Bedford* in a most speciall account.

Agostino Giustiniano Vescouo di Nebio.

Paul. Aemilius Alain Charriet. Secretarie.

French Navy ouerthrowne.

History of Normandy. *La Mer des Histories.*

(38) His affaires now finished, and Princely entertainements thankefully receiued, he prepares for his returne toward *Germany*, and King *Henry* to doe him the more honour would needs accompany him to his Towne of *Callis*, whither after their arriuals the Duke of *Burgogne* repayred to doe his homage vnto the Emperour, which *Burgogne* some moneths before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of *Warwick* in the behalfe of King *Henry*, for the Counties of *Flaunders* and *Arthois*. *Henry* therefore in hope of a further friendship with him, sent his brother the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earle of *March* vnto Saint *Omers* to lye hostages with the County *Charrolois*, for *Burgognes* passage and safe returne, with whom hee sent *Warwicke* to conduct him to *Callis*.

The Emperour applaudeth the felicity of *England*.

He prepareth for *Germany*.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Fland.

(39) His entertainement was honourable both by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably he receiued, and vnto *Sigismund* performed his homage, and with *Henry* renewed the truce for the time of two yeres, both which were so distastiue to the *French* stomackes, that the Emperour is taxed, he came not with an intent to worke the good of *France*, but rather to augment her miseries by animating *Burgundy* to bandy against *Orleance*: and that King *Henry* was puft with an humor of pride, his affaires so prosperous against a weake King. But this busines ended, *Burgundy* returned to *Graueling*, *Henry* into *England*, and the Emperour toward *Germany*, being wafted into the low Countreys with the Kings Fleete

The Duke of *Burgundy* doth homage to the Emperour and taketh a truce with K. *Henrie*.

Iob. Serrel in vit Charles 6.

and attended vpon by the Kings ſeruants.

Enguerrant de Monſtrel.

(39) At *Calis* King *Henry* had made great proffers vnto *Burgundy* to enter with him into the warres againſt *France*, promiſing him part of his Conqueſts, and to ſpare and fauour all his yaſſals, allyes, and friends, but *Burgundy* refuſing the offers, remained his enemy for *France*, howbeit he ſent Embaſſadors into *England* to treat a continuance of the truce, which was granted to his Commiſſioners to indure from the next Michaels-tide vnto Eaſter enſuing, which was confirmed at *Portcheſter* the 23. of Iulie and yeere of Chriſt 1417. For the ſigning whereof King *Henry* ſent the keeper of his priuy Seale to *Amiens* where the Duke of *Burgundy* deliuered the ſame ſigned, which beganne in this ſort. *Iohannes Dux Burg. Comes Flandria, Arthuſia & Burgundia, Palatinus, Dominus de Salinia & Muchlinia vniuerſis preſentes literas inſpicien: ſalutem, &c. datum in villa Ambianenſis 17. die Menſis Aug.* 1417. This notwithſtanding the ſaid Duke reuerted, and in Nouember following made a league (whereunto he was ſworne) with the King and *Daulphin* of *France* againſt *England*, which his doings King *Henry* tooke nothing well. But his proceedings proſpering in *France* hee called a Parliament at *London*, where the Lord *Chancellor*, *Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinall, in the Kings behalfe made an eloquent Oration, declaring the great deſire his Maſter had to make Peace with the *French*, which their King notwithſtanding reſiſted, and againſt the law of Armes denied vpon ranſome to render his priſoners taken at *Agincourt*, ſo that the peace which was to be expected muſt be with the ſword, concluding with this ſaying. *Let vs make warre that wee may haue peace, becauſe the end of warre is peace.* Whereunto the whole body conſented, and granted to the King a Subſidie and a Tenth which was graciouſly accepted, but was farre too ſhort to defray the great Charge, ſo that he was forced to paune his Crowne vnto the ſaid Biſhoppe *Beaufort* his vncle, for a great ſum of money, as he did certaine Iewels to the Lord Maior of *London* for ten thouſand Marks.

Burgundy maketh a truce with *England*, but afterwards with *France* contrary to his Oath.

Denis Sauage

Parliament Roll. 5. H. 5.

A ſubſidy granted the King for his warres in *France*.

(40) Money thus got and the Seas made ſafe, King *Henry* purpoſed further to follow his fortunes in *France*, his aduantages many (as the *French* would enforce) through the weake-braind King, not able to correct the Factions of the *Burgundion* and *Orleance*, which troubled all *France*; and the death of *Lewis* the *Daulphin* whoſe funerall might haue beene ſolemnized by the mourners from *Agincourt*, his death (as was thought) happening immediately vpon that diſtaſture; and to heape more diſtractions vpon the miſerable *French*, *Iohn* the Kings ſecond ſonne and new made *Daulphin* ſhortly left both his title and life, who together were entombed at *Compeigne*. Theſe, ſay the *French*, were the bane of the State, and the baits that made King *Henry* to bite; Notwithſtanding wee ſhall finde them but curtaines to ſhadow the light if we looke into the proiect with an indifferent eye, for the Kings weakenes was ſupported by *Burgogne Armagnac* and other potent eſtates; *Burgundy* by Oath, made a mortall enemy againſt King *Henry*. *Orleance* in *England* a priſoner and without racket in hand could not bandy the Ball to marre the *French* plea: and as touching the deathes of the two *Daulphins* their raked vp aſhes kept in the ſparke that afterward was the only light of *France*, for theſe, (though Crowned) were not the pillars of ſtrength able to ſuſtaine the great weight of that Empire: The firſt a Prince of little valour, and great toyle, preſuming to know much, and vnwilling to learne, buſying himſelfe with his ſelfe, and by his inſufficiency rather troubled then managed the eſtate. The other, none of the wiſeſt and of nature ſo remiſſe, that he was euer ready (as waxe) to take the ſtamp of anie impreſſe, but as the prouerbe is, let the looſers haue leaue to ſpeake, and vs to relate our *Engliſh French* buſineſſes.

King *Henry* had three great aduantages for the better conquering of *France*.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Flan.

Iob. Serres hiſt. Franc.

(41) All now in a readineſſe, King *Henry* with a puiſſant armie prepared his ſecond expedition into *France*, his Fleete conſiſting of fifteene hundred ſaile, many Lords and men at Armes, the muſter role ingroſſed with twenty fiue thouſand fiue hundred twenty ſeauen ſouldiers, euery fourth being a horſeman, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers and Labourers: But before his departure he ordained his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* to be the Protector of *England* in his abſence, which done vpon the 28. of Iulie he tooke to Seas, the ſailes of his owne ſhip, being of purple ſilke moſt richly embroydered with gold: and the firſt of Auguſt arriued in *Normandy* to ſuch terrour of the inhabitants that they fled further into the maine, leauing the Countrey bare of men and beſtiall: Inſomuch that twentie fiue thouſand families of them repayred into *Britain*, ſo dreadfull was the approach of the *Engliſh*.

(42) No ſooner King *Henries* foote had touched the ſhoare, but to the incouragements of his Marſhal followers, he dubbed forty eight knights, and then ſending to view *Harflew* laid his ſiege againſt *Conqueſt*, the ſtrongeſt Caſtle in *Normandy*, which hee tooke the 16. of Auguſt, and gaue both it and the whole demaines belonging, vnto his brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*: And vnto *Salisbury* the leader of his ſecond battell, he gaue the Caſtle *Aumbellers*, which at the ſame time he had wonne, as alſo that of *Louers* vnto the Earle Marſhall, and theſe were the firſt that were inueſted with any reuenew in *France*.

(43) *Caen* to withſtand the enemie was ſtrongly fortified, well mand, and victualled, ſo that nothing was wanting needfull for defenſe: yet the King ſate downe before it, and his battery not working the expected effect, he attempted it by mine, and ruinated ſome parts of the Wall: Notwithſtanding the defendants made ſtiffe defence, and manfully put backe the entrance or ſcale. Neuertheleſſe *Henry* ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, vnwilling to carrie it in fury, which muſt bee the deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to ſaue, and to make his true ſubiects, ſummoned them by an Herault, and promiſed them mercy: which they in hope of reliefe vtterly deſpiſed: hereupon his entry was forced, and great ſlaughter made, till the King ſtaied his ſouldiers furies, and cauſed the Citizens to diſarme themſelues, ſetting a ſtrong guard aſwell to keepe the ſpoilers from pillaging, as the Townesmen from all hoſtile attempt: and they that did, were either put to death or ranſome, which was freelie diſtributed among his Captaines and ſouldiers, by which regular action King *Henrie* got him the eſtimation of a great Captaine, and an vpright Prince.

(44) But whether by the working of the *French*, or by inſtigation of the diſcontented reformaliſts (as *Walſingham* hath it) The *Scots* would worke wonders in reuiuing a dead King *Richard*, that ſhould indammage the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, and diſpoſſeſſe King *Henry* of his Crowne: who now abſent and forward of Conqueſt in *France*, at home was endangered by theſe his emulating neighbours, and his confines in hoſtile manner entered vpon, by the Duke of *Albany*, together with the Earle *Dowglas* the *Scottiſh* Leaders: Theſe bringing with them their ſtage-like K. *Richard*, laid ſtraite ſiege againſt *Roxborough*, and *Barwicke*, where all aſſaies were attempted, by vndermining the wals, and turrets, all extremities vſed and nothing left vnattempted, that might annoy either by Sea or by Land.

(45) But *Beauford Duke of Exceſter* being at *Bridlington* in doing his deuotions, had preſent newes of this preſent neceſſity, and therefore ſcarce come to the end of his Orizons, he layd by his Beads and tooke to his armour, which was not ruſty with lying, ſo lately put off, neither did *Iohn Duke of Bedford* the Protector, foreſlow any time, but with fiue thouſand ſtrong, repaired into the *North*, where, with the Earles of *Weſtmerland* and *Northumberland*, his

his power was increaſed, vnto whom alſo the Archbiſhop of *Yorke Henry Bewet* ſided, with age ſo decrepit, that he was borne into the field in his Chaire, the fame of whoſe comming, and the feare of their worthy Generals ſo daunted the *Scots*, that leauing their ladders and other engins of warre, in the night they broke vp their ſiege, and well was he that could firſt attaine *Scotland*.

(46) The Kings affaires thus effected in the *North*, the Clergies eye-ſore was alſo ſomewhat eaſed by the apprehenſion of Sir *Iohn Ouldcaſtle* their diſturber in the *South*, who not contented to ſet the *God of Rome* at nought, but likewiſe defaced the faces of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanyes and other like maſſe bookes; a matter indeed of ſuch moment, that the Abbot of *Saint Albans* (in whoſe precinct they were taken) ſent theſe poore miſuſed and ſcratched faced pictures, to complaine of their iniuries vnto the King, but his peace not broken, for no blood was drawne, he remitted the offence and puniſhment thereof vnto *Chichley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſent them to *Paules* Croſſe to ſhew their Countenances vnto the people, the Preacher that day being their mouth, inſinuating the offence to be done vnto the triumphant Saints in heauen.

(47) A Parliament aſſembled by the Regents authority for the ſupply of mony to maintaine the warres in *France*, a matter of as great importance was therein to be paid, and that was the apprehenſion and iudgement of the Lord *Cobham*, with a conſideration of reward for his taker the Lord *Poweſſe* in *wales*, from whence ſore wounded he was brought to *Weſtminſter* before the Lords, and hauing heard his conuictions would not thereunto anſwere in his excuſe, vpon which record and proceſſe, it was adiudged that he ſhould be taken as a traitour to the King and the Realme, that hee ſhould bee carried to the Tower of *London*, & from thence drawn through the ſtreetes vnto Saint *Giles* fields, and there to bee hanged, and burned hanging, which accordingly was done. That *N. D.* author of the three conuerſions hath made *Ouldcaſtle* a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebell, and his authority taken from the *Stage-plaiers*, is more befitting the pen of his ſlanderous report, then the Credit of the iudicious, being only grounded from this Papiſt and his Poet, of like conſcience for lies, the one euer faining, and the other euer falſifying the truth: that *Copus* hath made the Lord *Cobham* a Traitour: and *Stow* from *Otterborn* alleageth Indentures drawne betwixt him and the *Scots*, to bring in a Counterfeit *Richard*, and to inuade the land with forraine power, that he acknowledged no King but the ſame Counterfeit in *Scotland*, and made himſelfe a falſe Chriſt in riſing againe the third day (as *Walſingham* will haue it) I am not ignorant: but his attainture of Treaſons, I leaue it to the anſwere of Maſter *Fox*, who largely handled it: and for his combination with the *Scots*, vnto the letter of King *Henries* owne hand, who hauing intelligence of the *Scots* intent, and the meanes by which they meant to worke, ſignifieth vnto his brother and vncle in theſe wordes, as from the Originall is taken.

Part of a letter written with King Henrie 5. his owne hand to the Duke of Exceſter.

*Furthermore I will that ye commune with my * brother, with the * Chancellour, with my Coſen of Northumberland, and my Coſen of Weſtmorland, and that yee ſet a good order and ordinance for my North-Marches, and eſpecially for the Duke of Orleance, and for all the Remnant of my Priſoners of France. And alſo for the King of Scotland, for as I am ſecretlie informed by a man of right notable eſtate in this land, that there hath beene a man of the Duke of Orleance in Scotland, and accorded with the Duke of Albany that this next ſummer hee ſhall bring in the manuell of Scotland to ſturre what he may. Alſo that there ſhould bee founden waies to the hauing away ſpecially of the Duke of Orleance: and alſo of the Knights, as well as of the remnant of my foreſaid Priſoners, that God defend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleance be kept ſtill within the Caſtle of Pomefret without going to Roberts place, or to any other diſport, for it is better he lacke his diſport, then wee were deceiued; of all the Remnant doth as ye thinketh.*

(48) Wherein we ſee the Complot, but heare not a word that it ſhould be of *Cobhams* compoſing. But as I affect not to iuſtifie the wicked, nor to make crooked things ſtraite, ſo am I farre from diſcrediting authorities; only the eye of thoſe times looking through the thicke foggy Cloudes, made the Sunne (which is bright in it ſelfe) to ſeeme in their ſights all bloody and darke.

The ignorance of thoſe times being ſo generall in all places, the truth was but dimly diſcerned.

(49) The like troubles (though not for the like cauſe) happened vnto Queene *Ioane* in the Kings abſence, and time of *Bedfords* regency, whoſe offence was Capitall, if the accuſation were true; that ſhee ſhould by ſorcery ſeeke the death of the King, ſhee therefore was committed to ſafe keeping in the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pemſey* attended only with nine of her ſeruants: her Confeſſor Frier *Randolph* a Doctor of diuinity was likewiſe apprehended as her Counſellor and worker in this diueliſh art, for which he was committed to the Tower, where falling at words with the Parſon of Saint *Peters* (the Church of that place) he was wounded to death; and Queene *Ioane* thereupon preſentlie deliuerd.

Queene *Ioane* committed to priſon vpon ſuſpition of ſorcerie.

Frier Randolph wounded to death by the parſon of the Tower of *London*. *Stowes Annal.*

(50) King *Henry* proceeding in his Conqueſt of *Normandy*, about *Hollantide* laid ſiege to the ſtrong Towne and Caſtell of *Fallais*, continuing the ſame vnto the 20. of December, when the defendants not able longer to reſiſt, demanded and had Parley, with whome *Thomas Earle of Salisbury*, *Henry Lord Fitz-hugh*, *Sir Iohn Cornwall*, and *Sir William Harrington* Knights were by the King appointed Commiſſioners, who after ſome conference, laſtly accorded vpon theſe conditions. 1. That if the King of *France*, the *Dolphin*, or Conſtable, did not by force raiſe the ſiege before the ſecond of Ianuary enſuing, that the Towne ſhould bee rendred to *Henry*. 2. That all the ſtrangers that were not properly Inhabitants of *Fallais*, and had formerly fought againſt King *Henrie* in any place, beſieged and taken within *Normandy*, ſhould be left to his mercie. 3. That all *Engliſh* Priſoners which were in the Towne ſhould bee ſet at liberty, ranſome free and acquitted of their Oathes made vnto them whoſe Priſoners they were. 4. That all natiues of *England*, *Wales* or *Ireland*, that had ſerued againſt the King, ſhould be left to his Iuſtice. 5. That neither Captaine, Burgeſſe nor Townſman of *Fallays* ſhould giue any reliefe to the Caſtell, or victuall or munition, during the truce accorded. 6. That no perſon within *Fallays* ſhould receiue the Perſons or Goods of any within the Caſtell, whereby they or their goods might be protected. 7. That the Captaines and Souldiers ſhould receiue no preiudice in their Horſes, Armes, or Goods; great Artillery, Shotte, powder and Croſſe-bowes excepted: but the ſtrangers formerly ſpoken of in the ſecond Article were exempted from that fauour. 8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shot, and Croſſe-bowes afore mentioned, ſhould not, during the truce, bee embezelled, wilfully broken, or made away. 9. That during the truce, the ruines made ſhould not bee repaired, and no new workes of defence erected. 10. That no oppreſſion be vſed by the ſayd Souldier vpon the Burgeſſe, and if any were found faulty and not preſently baniſhed for the ſame, they ſhould looſe the benefit which otherwiſe they ſhould haue by the accord. 11. That no Captaine, ſouldier, or Townſman ſhould vnderhand conuay away any Priſoner, ornaments, Iewels, or Church Reliques, either belonging to *Fallais*, or to any other Church or religious Houſe, that were brought thither for ſafety. 12. That no goods ſhould be purloined or carried out of the Town during the treaty. 13. That

The ſtrong Towne of *Fallais* beſieged by the King.

The conditions agreed vpon for ſurrender.

That if their King raiſed not the ſiege they ſhould render. *M.S.*

That certaine perſons ſhould be left to the Kings mercy.

That all Engliſh priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty.

That certaine Engliſh ſhould be left to his Iuſtice.

That none ſhould relieue the Caſtell of *Fallais*.

That they ſhould haue no commerce with them.

The Captaines ſhould be well dealt with.

That the chiefe munition ſhould not be imbezelled.

No ruines to bee repaired nor new defences erected.

That the Burgeſſes ſhould not be ill vſed by their ſouldiers for the time of the truce.

That they ſhould not take away any thing from the Church.

No goods to be carried out of the Towne.

That no person should forsake the Towne, for being true to K. *Henry* they should be safe.

Neither person nor goods of the Castels to be receiued into the Towne.

During the truce no assault to bee made on the Towne.

12. Knights and Esquires to bee hostage to King *Henry*.

A. D. 1417.

Fallais yeelded to the King.

The Articles agreed vpon.

That if they were not succoured by the French power, to surrender.

That they should trust to the kings royall promise, *Geffrey Chasteaux* excepted.

That the gouernour should repaire the wals.

8. Gentlemen to be hostages. The Castell repaired, the Gouernour should be set at liberty.

*Febru. 16.

The City of *Roane* besieged.

Polyd. Verg.

Enguerrant de Monstrell.

15000. Citizens well trained within *Roane*.

The Riuer *Seine* blockt vp with Iron-Chaines.

13. That none of the Captaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgesse should forsake the Towne, vntill the second of Ianuary next: and his maiesty of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remain in *Fallais*, should remain there in safety both in body and goods, so as they would bee true subiects vnto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castell should be receiued into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants vnder any pretence or Colour whatsoeuer. 15. That during the treaty no assault or offence should be offered by the kings army, to the Towne or to the Inhabitants, so as they do not ayde, assist or relieue the defendants in the Castells. 1. That for the true performance of the Articles twelue knights & Squires should be deliuered hostage to the Kinge, and to be set at liberty when the Couenants aboue mentioned were fulfilled These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seales, the 20. of December; vpon the second of *Ianuary* no succours appearing, the towne of *Fallais* was acordingly deliuered, but the Castle standing obstinate, the king was as diligent, till the defendants failing in their spirits, the first day of *February* demanded a Parley. Wherunto *Henry* consented making *Clarence* his brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles acorded for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

(51) That vpon the 16. of the said moneth of February, if the King in person, the Dolphin his sonne, or the Earle of *Armagnac* Constable of *France*, did not with force raise the siege, then *Sir Oliuer de Mauny* Knight, gouernour of the said Castell, should render the same vnto King *Henry*. 2 That the said Gouernour and all other within the Castell should at the day assigned submit themselues to the King, and remaine his prisoners, trusting to his Maiesties royall promise not to receiue offence either in life or goods: (*Geoffrey Chasteaux* only excepted) who was left simply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendering of the said Castell *Sir Oliuer de Mauny* the Gouernour, should at his owne charges repaire all the breaches and ruines made in the wals during the siege, and leaue it in the same sort as it was before the same was besieged. 4. That for the performance of these Articles, eight Gentlemen should remaine Hostages with the King. 5. That when the Castell was prepared, *Sir Oliuer Mauny*, and al his Company should be set at liberty, and vntill then to remaine the Kings Prisoners, *Geoffrey de Chasteaux* aboue mentioned only excepted. These agreements concluded, the Indenture subscribed, and king *Henries* seale of Armes thereunto fixed, at the * prefixed day according to these Articles the Castell of *Fallais* was rendered vnto him: which done, he diuided his Army into manie parts, vnder the seuerall conducts of the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Glouceſter*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: who wan diuers Castels, himselfe the while marching to besiege *Rouen*, where he set downe his siege, and began the assault in a furious manner: the defendants as obstinately bent to hold him out: so that to winne the Towne by force, *Henry* found it very difficult, aswell for the strength of *Bulwarkes* and *Ramparts* as for the number of hands within it, to make resistance, and therefore to reduce them by famine was his only desigme.

(52) For *Burgogne* from King *Charles* had sent many worthy Captaines with a thousand selected Souldiers to defend the City, and within it besides were fifteene thousand Citizens well trained and furnished: and the Towne stored with victuals for ten months continuance; notwithstanding K. *Henry* quartered about the Towne, and for his safety cast vp a Trench betwixt the wals and his men: the Riuer *Seine* hee blockt vp with three Iron-Chaines, one of them layd two foote aboue water, another with the leuell, and the third two foote vnder the water, to forbidde all relicfe vnto the Citty by Boats.

(53) With the *English*, sixteene hundred Irish Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of *Kilmainham*, able men, but almost naked, their armes, were targers, darts, and swordes, their horses little, and bare no saddle, yet very nimble, on which vpon euery aduantage they plaied with the *French*, in spoiling the Country, rifeling the houses, and carrying away children, with their baggage, vpon their Cowes backes. Thus from Iune vnto December the siege had continued, and now victuals failing, and the Towne in distresse, the *Rouennois* sent foure gentlemen, and as manie Burgesses, vnto King *Charles*, and the *Burgogne* (then at *Beauuois*) to signifie their miseries; fifty thousand already famished with hunger, and twelue thousand staruelings put out of the Towne, but not suffered to passe by the *English*, died by multitudes in the ditches, whose vnburied Carcases did infect the Towne with contagious diseases, so that without present relieſe they must be inforced to render.

(54) Ayde was promised, and earnestly expected, but in steed of supplies, the Bishop of *Beauuois* accompanied with others, and the Cardinall of *Vrsins* sent from Pope *Martin*, were dispatched to King *Henry*, to entreat a peace; for the better accomplishing thereof, they brought with them the picture of the *Lady Catherine*, according to life, which King *Henry* well liked, yea and (as *Serres* saith) fell in loue with: but demanding a hundred thousand Crownes with the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, *Anion*, and other Seignories for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

(55) And now the *Rouennois* helpeles of succour, and despairing of peace, resolued to make a braue sally vpon the kings quarter: to performe which resolution, 10000. chosen mē with their leaders issued out of the Towne, the vantgard (which was 2000.) being past and in fight, by misfortune the draw-bridge with ouer-weight of men brake, manie were drowned, slaine and hurt: neither was there any more passage that way, to releeue their followers engaged in fight with the *English*; whereupon they made hast to the other Gates: but before they could come to giue ayde, the vantgard was broken, and most of them slaine, and taken Prisoners. Vpon this disastre the souldiers within mutined against *Guy de Boutellier* their General, murmuring that he had contriued the breaking of the bridge.

(56) In these distastures King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, sent the besieged word to make what shift they could, which vnexpected message stroake a sad feare into the miserable defendants hearts, who weake in men and victuals, knew no way to subsist, and thereupon in Counsell concluded to send vnto *Henry*, which presently they did. For whose entertainement, he caused two tents to be set vp at *Port S. Hillarie*. Their Commissioners were two gentlemen, two Clergie-men, and two Burgesses of the Towne. Commissioners for the King were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Warwick*: the demands of the *Rouennois* were many, but their answers were short; that no conditions would be accepted, but simply yeelding to the kings mercy; whereupon the conference brake vp, and these returned into the Towne, bred sundry distractions, some crying to yeeld, and other some crying to die like men, but *Henrie* desirous to be Master of the Towne, and fearing it would be fired by themselues, if he wan it by force, made the Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Instrument, whose vocation was fit for it, to call again the Commissioners, and againe fell into treaty of Composition, which lastly was agreed, vpon these Articles as follow. 1. That the Burgesses should giue vnto *Henry* towards his expense in the siege, three hundred fifty sixe thousand Crownes of gold. 2. That *Robert Linet* vicar generall to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, *Iehan Iourdan* who commanded the Canoniers, and *Alen Blanchart* Captaine of the Common people, should be left to his mercy without condition. 3. That all the people should sweare faith and loyalty to *Henry* and his Successors. 4 That

Henry

Henrie should protect and defend them against all men, and confirme vnto them their priuiledges, franchises, and liberties, which they had enioyed euer since the time of Saint *Lewis* king of *France*. 5. That all such as had desire to leaue the Towne, might freely depart, with his garments vpon his backe only, and his goods to be confiscated vnto King *Henry*. 6. That the souldiers should bring all their Armes to a place assigned, and should depart out of the Towne vnarmed with a Cudgell in their hands, first taking their Oath not to beare Armes against *Henry*, for a twelue month next ensuing.

(57) This agreement was concluded the 16 of Iune Anno 1418. when as the hungry Citizens in multitudes came to the *English* Campe to buy victuals, which so abounded with Prouisions, as a fat mutton was sould for sixe sousses of *Paris* money. Vpon the next day following, *Henrie* triumphantlie made his entry into *Rouen*; the *Ecclesiasticks* of the Towne, in their mitres and vestures, with their reliques, singing of Hymnes, conducted him to the Cathedrall Church, where before the high Altar, vpon his knees, he gaue thankes to God for the Conquest of this Towne, which had remained two hundred and fifteene yeeres in the possession of the *French*, euen from the time when *Philip* King of *France* wan it from king *Iohn* of *England*. The day following, *Alain Blanchart* the Captaine of the common people was beheaded, *Robert Linet*, and *Iehan Iourdan*, put to their high ransomes, the French Garrisons pillaged, vnarmed, and put out of the Towne, but safely were conducted ouer Saint *Georges*-bridge to goe whither they would. *Guy de Boutellier*, who was Captaine generall of *Rouen*, became King *Henries* leigeman, vnto whom he gaue all his lands, and a charge vnder the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Immediately after the rendering of *Rouen*, sundry other places of note yeelded themselues, as *Caudebec*, *Monstreuillier*, *Diepe*, *Fescamp*, *Arques*, *Neufchastell*, *Deincourt*, *Eu*, *Moncheaux*, *Vernon*, *Mante*, *Gorney*, *Harflewr*, *Ponteur-de-Mer*, *Mollineaux*, *le Treict*, *Tancarville*, *Abrechier*, *Mauleurier*, *Valemont*, *Neufuille*, *Bellaucombre*, *Fontaines*, *Le Boure*, *Preaux*, *Nougonder-ville*, *Logempree*, *Saint Germain*, *Sur Cuylly*, *Baudemont*, *Bray*, *Villeterre*, *Charles-Maisnell*, *Les Boules Guillen-court*, *Fauilfontaines*, *Le Becq*, *Crepin*, *Backeuille*, and diuers other places wherein *Henry* placed his Garrisons. *France* generally troubled, and trembling at the losse especially of *Rouen*, *Henrie* ready to pierce forward, and *Charles* declining through his infirmities encreasing; the Duke of *Burgogne* (who bare all the sway vnder that infirme King, and therefore much hated by the *Daulphin*, whose reuenge he feared,) much doubting *Henries* rising fortunes, held it best to vphold his own greatnes, by mediating a peace betwixt the two Kings. For which end he sent his Ambassadours to *Henry*, praying personall Conference; to which he assented and assigned the place, which was at *Melun*, where in a field well trenched, and ramparted with strong Gates, two pauillions were arreard, the one for the Kings to repose themselues in, and the other for their counsell to consult in.

(58) *Charles*, *Isabell*, *Burgogne*, and *Catherine*, the *Count Saint Paul*, with a thousand horse garding them thether, came first. King *Henry* with his brothers of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, attended vpon with a thousand horse, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each others; *Henry* kissed *Isabell* and *Katherine*, who indeed became a precious pearle in his eye: *Burgogne* a little bending his knee, did his reuerence to *Henry*, who tooke him in his Armes: and the two nations though mortall enemies, demeaned themselues so ciuilly, as no cause of quarrell was offered on either side, much conference passed, but nothing concluded; *Henries* demands seeming to the *French* to bee so vnreasonable. The treaty thus dissolued, and all ready to depart, King *Henry* not well pleased, spake thus vnto *Burgogne*: "*Cosen, I may not well digest this refusall, but be you assured, that either I will haue your Kings daughter, and all "my demands, or else I will banish both you, and them, out "of France. You speake your pleasure said the Duke, but "before you shall thrust the King, them, and me, out of the "Realme, you will be weary of the enterprize.*

(59) The treaty thus broke, and danger nothing lesse, the *Burgundian* altogether *French*, and in heart no friend to the *English*, reconciled himselfe vnto the *Daulphin*; which deed was soone after the cause of his owne death; and *Henry* displeased with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of reuenge) to prosecute the warre more sharpely then heretofore: the first enterprize he made, was vpon *Ponthois*, vnto which Towne the last day of Iulie hee sent three thousand foote, which before the breake of day, and not discouered by the Centinels, set their Ladders to the Wals, mounted vp, crying *Saint George*, and so opening a Port let in their Companions. The *Signeur de L' Isle-Adam* Marshall of *France* and Gouernour of the Towne, affrighted at the surprize, fled out at another Port towards *Paris*, after whose example aboue ten thousand Inhabitants did the like, so as the *English* without resistance were Masters of the Towne, wherein great riches fell to the souldiers shares. When King *Charles* at *Paris* heard of the losse of *Ponthois*, in great feare with his wife, daughter, *Burgundy*, and many noblemen, to be further from the fire so neere at hand, went vnto *Troyes en-Champagne*, leauing *Paris* vnder the Gouernment of the *Count* Saint *Paul*, and *Eustath de Lactre* Chancellor of *France*, whilst *Henry* went forward with his intended enterprizes.

(60) For his brother of *Clarence* by three weekes siedge wan the Castell *Gizors* by composition, the Earle of *Huntington* sacked *Preaux*, burnt *Bretuiell*, *Clermont*, and the Castell of *Vendueil*, and *Henry* himselfe besieged the Castell of *Guillart*, and *Rochguien*, two of the strongest holds in *Normandy*; which vpon compositions were surrendred, and further preuailed more then the *French* wished. For the *Daulphin*, the only man that stood for the publike defence of *France*, was miserably poore, and for want of pay could make no great shew of follo wers in the field, whose chiefe Counsellor was the Constable *Armagnac* an old craftie foxe, that had euer sided with *Orleance* against the *Burgundian*. And now fearing least his owne esteeme should be lessened, or that *Burgundy* should be the *Architte* to crosse him the wise *Achitophell*, or rather indeed thrust forward by destinie to be the scourge and fall of *France*, he counselled the young *Daulphin* to seize vpon his mothers money, iewels and plate, for his further supply to the publike vse, (which immediately he did) to aduance the estate: but Queen *Isabell* impatient of these wrongs receiued, in a womanish splene studies the reuenge, wholy neglecting the common cause, which gaue the *English* surer footing in *France*, but the *Daulphin* to make good what he had done, leades the King in iealousy that the Queenes designes were dangerous, and altogther set for the alienation of the Crowne, which he weake man, no sooner heard then beleeued, being euer ready to take her at the worst and neuer ouergone in her loue at the best.

(61) These sparkes of sedition thus blowne in the Court, suspitions increasing, and maligners still working, Queene *Isabell* with her sister in law, the Dutchesse of *Bauier* were sent prisoners to *Blois*, and from thence to *Eours* where they were kept with strait guard, three Gentlemen in Commission to take care of their safeties: till then her fauours had gone with *Orleance*, and with him had contested euer against *Burgogne*, but now to quit her imprisonment, shee reconciled her selfe vnto him, and sollicited his assistance for her deliuerance; *Burgogne* well perceiuing how much it would aduance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake vp his siege then laid before *Corbeill*, and with certaine choise troopes repaired toward *Troyes*, from whence immediately he sent the Queene word of his comming.

King *Henry* displeased at their refusall.

The Dukes reply.

Burgogne sideth with the *Daulphin*, who afterward slew him.

Ponthois besieged.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

The souldiers got great riches in the Towne.

King *Charles* vpon the losse of *Ponthois* flieth from *Paris*.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Guillart and *Rochguien* two of the best Forts in *Normandy*.

A cunning plot of the Constable *Armagnat*.

2. Sam. 17.

Queene *Isabell* robd of her iewels and plate.

The *Daulphin* drawes the King to suspect Queen *Isabell*.

Annals of Burgundy.

Queene *Isabel* and her sister imprisoned.

Shee sollicites *Burgogne* for her deliuerance.

Burgogne sendeth to the Queene.

Shee faining deuotion to the Abbey of *Marmouſtier* ſeated ſomewhat without the Towne, made it known to her keepers, and they not daring to contradict ſo great a Princeſſe, miſtruſting no danger, attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they ſuppoſed, where *Foßeux* and *Vergie* two eſpeciall men in the Dukes truſt, were laid in the Ambuſh neere vnto the Abbey, and hauing notice the Queene was come to Church, came to ſalute her, and to ſignifie that the *Burgogne* was in perſon to attend her ſeruice. Her keepers conceiuing their ſeconds were not farre off, as men diſmayed, told the Queen of ſome fear, & that an enemie was neere at hand; whereunto ſhee anſwered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend thoſe her keepers; her libertie thus got ſhee became wholy for *Burgogne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of *France*, and her picture ſtamped vpon the Seale of that State.

The manner of her eſcape from her keepers.

Shee is made Regent of *France*.

(42) By birth ſhee was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bauier*, of an imperious ſpirit, and vnreconcileable enuie, not ouermuch beloued of her husband, and (as the nature of moſt women are) not ouermuch fauouring his fauorites, whoſe femall authority and hatred againſt her owne ſonne *Daulphin Charles*, ſore bruiſed the Crowne, which her weake husband ware: his foregone infirmities and her new ſprung Regency, were now as two ſludgates ſet open to let in the deluge of *France*, hers is to be ſpoken of in the intercourſe of the *Engliſh*; his, manie times hath beene, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that ſubiect, before we paſſe forward in this place, let vs reade what others haue writ.

Io. Serres The cauſes why the French were the eaſier conquered by King *Henry*.

Eccles. 2.19.

(43) This *Charles* the ſixt, and ſicke-braind King of *France* was the ſonne of King *Charles* ſurnamed the wiſe, who with *Salomon* his wiſer might haue demanded this queſtion; *who can tell whether his ſonne ſhalbe a wiſeman or a foole?* for the flower of his youth and commendable diſpoſitions of his middle age promiſed great hopes of a valiant, moderate and moſt happie Prince, only inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occaſion of his lunacy is eaſilie ſeene, which chanced on this manner.

The occaſion of King *Charles* diſtemper.

(44) *Peter Craon* a Courtier, his minion, and an inward fauorite of the Duke of *Orleance* the Kings brother, blabbed out ſome ſecrecy of the ſaid Dukes amorous paſſions vpon a wanton Lady, vnto his Dutcheſſe *Valentine*; who but lately married, and ſo ſoon deceiued of bed, took the wrong no leſſe then it was, nor letted ſhee (as who can let a woman to ſpeake) to tell him his faults on both ſides of his head, the Duke could not hide what ſhee too well knew, and therefore ſought to ſatiſfie her with complements of kind words, but the Curtaine-ſermons nightly enlarged vpon the ſame text, made him many times to lie awake with little deuotion (God wot) to heare, and often to riſe when hee would faine haue ſlept, which cauſed him laſtly to complaine to the King that *Craon* had, and would betray their ouermuch truſt. The cauſe no more, but yet too much againſt a Prince, *Craon* with all diſgrace was diſcharged the Court, who not able to brooke ſuch an open indignity, aſſaulted *Cliſton* the Conſtable in a murthering manner, as the only man (as he thought) that wrought his diſgrace, and eſcaping *Paris*, fled into *Britaigne* whoſe Duke was his kinſeman, and an enemy to the Conſtable.

Orleance newly married is in loue with another.

Craon diſmiſt the Court for telling the Dutcheſſe of the incontinency of her huſband.

(45) King *Charles* tranſported with choller of this double offence, mindes to draw *Craon* by force out of *Britaine* to iuſtifie himſelfe, whom the Councell had declared guilty of high Treaſon, and enemie to the Crowne of *France*, and reſolues in perſon to enter into *Britaine*: forthwith the expedition for men and manner of proceeding made *Charles* to looſe both meate and ſleepe, ſo as the vexation of minde and diſtemperature of body, carried apparant ſhewes in his face: in ſo much that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne* miſtruſting the worſt, counſelled that his iourney might be ſtaid; his Phyſitians diſſwade him in regard of his health, the ſummer extreme hot, and his blood as then ouer ſubiect to dangerous feuers. New deuiſes were wrought to ſtay him at home, giuing it forth that *Craon* was fled *Britaigne*, and in *Arragon* was impriſoned by the Queene. All this notwithſtanding, needes would he forward, ſo forward is man when his fate will ſo haue it.

King *Charles* purſueth *Craon* into *Britaine*.

(46) He departed *Meaux* in Iulie: the yere very hot, his head couered with a great Cap of ſcarlet, his body wrapped in a thicke veluet Ierkin warme enough for winter, his mind diſtempered with choller, griefe, and deſpite, and his body wearied with watching, diſtaſture, and want of reſt. Thus entring the forreſt of *Meaux* about noone-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare legged attired in a Coat of white rugge, ſtepped ſodainely forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, ſtaid his horſe, ſaying; *King ride no further but returne backe, for thou art betraied. Charles* whoſe ſpirits were otherwiſe dulled, and his blood greatly diſtempered, was amazed at the voice: which ſeene, his ſeruants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leaue the reines of the horſe: and ſo without any further ſearch the man vaniſhed away.

(47) The troopes of his nobles diuided becauſe of the duſt, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who ouercharged with heat and diſtemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horſe, ſo that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fal vpon him, who had on his head the Kings helmet, and in the falling made a clattering noiſe. The King much muſing vpon the words ſpoken, and now withall hearing this vnexpected noiſe, was from a penſiue melancholy ſuddainely ſtrucke into a raging Lunacy, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be betraied indeed: and tranſported with this frenſie he drawes his ſword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cric: his brother *Orleance* not knowing the cauſe, haſted among them, whom *Charles* likewiſe purſued, and with the like rage ranne at his vncle of *Burgogne*, thus ſpending himſelfe and his horſe out of breath, all incompaſſed the ſtill raging man, tooke from him his ſword, diſrobed him for heate, and cheered him with flatterings and faire ſpoken words, his brother and vncles ſaluted him, but hee knowes them not, ſits mute, ſighing and panting, and with troubled amazement moues both body and head, ſo that all ſignes of Phrenſie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent miſery that was to fall vpon *France*, very apparant to the inſeeing Statiſts: but now to proceed.

(48) *Iohn Duke of Burgogne* ill diſgeſting the threats that King *Henry* had giuen, and ioined in league with the *Daulphin*, as we haue ſaid: was notwithſtanding ſuſpected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are faine to heape mountaine vpon mountaine, for ſteps of aſſent to pull *Iupiter* out of his throne, ſo by ſiniſter Counſellors *Burgogne* was accuſed of ſome intended ſtratageme, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Daulphin* ſhould ſit: *Charles* therefore from *Monſtreau-Surfault yonne* a Towne in *Brie*, ſent for the Duke vnto *Troyes* in *Champagne* to conferre further vpon the effecting of their affected accord, as alſo to imploy their vnited forces vpon the common enemie the *Engliſh*, a third cauſe likewiſe was alleaged, and that was to haue him his meanes for a reconciliation to his mother the Regent, whoſe wrath, beſides him, no man could pacifie.

(49) The Duke miſtruſting no ſnake in the graſſe, thought all things as ſure as they were faire in ſhew: and accompanied with many noble-men, fiue hundred horſe, and two hundred Archers, he repaired to *Monſtreau*, at whoſe Gate the *Daulphin* had built 2. Barricadoes, & himſelfe in armes ſtood there to receiue the Duke, *Burgogne* approached, kneeled downe vpon one knee, and with an honourable reuerence ſaluted him moſt humbly, the *Daulphin* neglecting all courteſies to him-ward, charged him with breach

breach of promiſe, for that the ciuill warres and his garriſons were not ſurceaſt and withdrawne; the Dukes ſword hanging too farre backe, and ſomewhat troubling his kneeling, he put his hand vpon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Loire* ſtanding by, ſayd, doe you draw your ſword againſt the Lord *Daulphin?* at which words *Tanneguy de Chaſtell* with a battle-axe ſtroke him on the face and cut off his Chin, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could ariſe from his knee or get out his ſword.

(50) Queene *Iſabell* another cruell *Medea* and vnnaturall mother, hauing a double offence done her, redoubled her wrath and continued her tragick paſſions againſt her ſonne the young *Daulphin*, who not only incites *Philip* now the new Duke of *Burgogne* to reuenge his murdered fathers death, but torments her poore husbands ſpirits, in perſwading him to diſherite *Charles* their ſonne, and to giue in marriage Lady *Katherine* vnto King *Henry*, who now had ſet his foote farre into *France*. *Duke Philip* for his part ready for reuenge, ſent the Biſhop of *Arras* with other his Ambaſſadors vnto *Rouen* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many daies after their returne ſent backe the ſaid Biſhop, whoſe meſſage was ſo pleaſing, that *Henry* ſent the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the *Earle of Warwicke* and *Guien* vnto *Arras*, who were as welcome vnto Duke *Philip*; ſo that betwixt *Rouen* and *Arras* meſſengers continually paſſed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the feaſt of the *Epiphany*) vnto mid-March enſuing, betwixt King *Henrie*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgogne*.

(51) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affaires for that Crowne, ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto the new made Pope *Martin* the firſt, ſuch was the fate of *Romes* Apoſtolicall fathers in thoſe faire Sun-ſhine and Golden daies, that the greateſt Monarch was but a vaſſal to attend vpon their ſtirrop & their Crownes ſubiect to be ſpurned off, with their feete. *Henrie* therefore minding to ſtop the violence of theſe narrow Seas, and to make the ſtreame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but only him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in euery mans boat: and therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgogne*, and himſelfe, his Ambaſſadors ſollicited his fatherlie conſent, to admit him his moſt Chriſtian ſonne of *France*, and to giue his holy bleſsing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace concluded betwixt thoſe two famous Princes. King *Henries* right to the French Crowne they plainely laid forth, what calamities *France* had felt in their reſiſtance, *Agincourt*, *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* (as they ſhewed him) were moſt lamentable witneſſes, and the holde that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Flower de Luce*, was not to be wreſted out of his faſt graſped pawes. But his dull eare was deafe herevnto, anſwering that this peace was preiudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Daulphin*, and therefore hee denied to confirme it.

(52) But with what quill theſe wines were vented from the ſetled Lees for the *Daulphin*, vnleſſe it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeed to vnlocke the Popes ſilent lips,) I know not; moſt true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of couenants was *Troyes* in *Champagne*, where King *Charles*, and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgogne*, *Guien*, the Lord *Roſſe*, and others attended with fiue hundred horſe, were ſent Ambaſſadors from *Henry*. In their way they beſieged (and after fifteene daies wan) the Towne of *Creſpie* that held for the *Daulphin*, demoliſhed the Caſtell, razed the wals, and departed vpon compoſition.

Theſe comming to *Troyes* were honorably receiued, and louingly concluded on a finall peace, where *Lady Katherine* was attended as the *Engliſh Queene*, and ſome left to guard her by King *Henries* command. His Ambaſſadors returned, and affection enflamed, himſelfe attended with the *Dukes of Clarence*, and *Gloweſter* his brethren, the *Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Warwicke*, *Huntingdon*, *Salisbury*, *Guienne* and many other nobles, (his guard conſiſting of ſixteene hundred Launces and Archers) departed from *Rouen* to *Pontheis*, to *S. Denis*, and from thence into *Pronins*, where he was met neere vnto *Troyes* by the *Duke of Burgundy* and many other *French Lords*, and with all Princelie attendance was conducted into the Towne. The ioy was great with which he was receiued, eſpecially of the King, the Queene and *Lady Katherine*, whom he found in *S. Peters* Church expecting his comming, where forthwith he and the Lady was affianced; and falling eftſoones into conference of the conditions of amity, theſe were conſented vnto by the French and King *Henry*.

History of Normandy.

1. That K. *Henry* ſhould take *Lady Katherine* to wife.

2. That *Charles* & *Iſabel* ſhould retaine the name of King and Queene, and ſhould hold all their dignities, rents, and poſſeſſions belonging to the Crowne of *France*, during their naturall liues.

The Articles agreed vpon betwixt the two Kings.

3. That the *Lady Katherine* ſhould haue her Dowry in *England* as Queens heretofore were wont to haue, that is to ſay, the ſumme of forty thouſand ſceutes, that is, two to a noble.

Queene *Katherines* Dowry.

4. That the ſame ſumme of forty thouſand ſceutes yeerely, ſhall bee confirmed vnto *Queene Katherine* by our lawes, according to our vſuall rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the ſaid *Lady Katherine* ſo ouerliuing vs, from the time of our death, ſhall haue for her Dowry in the Kingdome of *France*, the ſumme of twenty thouſand francks yeerly, out of the lands, places, and Lordſhips that *Blanch* ſometime wife to *Philip Beauiſall* held and enioied.

The Crowne of *France* intailed to *England*.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our ſaid father, the Crown and Realme of *France* ſhall with all rights and appurtenances remaine vnto vs, & to our heires for euermore.

7. And for as much as our ſaid father is infirme by reaſon of ſickneſſe, and may not entend in his owne perſon to diſpoſe of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our ſaid father the faculties and exerciſe of the gouernment, and diſpoſition of the publike vtilitie of the Realme of *France* ſhall be, and abide to vs, ſo that thence forth wee may gouerne the Realme, and admit to our Councell and aſsiſtance to the Councell of *France* ſuch of the Engliſh Nobility as we ſhal thinke meete.

The gouernment of *France* aſſigned to King *Henrie*.

8. That alſo we of our owne power ſhall cauſe the Court of *France* to be kept and obſerued in as full authority, and in all manner of places, that now or in time comming, is, or ſhall be ſubiect to our ſaid father.

9. Alſo that we to our powers ſhall defend and helpe all, and euery of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and ſingular perſons, now or in time to come, ſubiects to our father, in their rights, Cuſtomes, priuiledges, freedomes, franchiſes, belonging, or due vnto them in all manner of places, now or in time comming ſubiect to our father.

10. Alſo that we ſhall to our power trauell truly, & diligently, to ſee that Iuſtice be adminiſtred in the ſame Realme of *France* according to their lawes, Cuſtomes, and rights of the ſame Realme without perſonall acception; and that we ſhal keepe and hold the Subiects of the ſaid Realme in tranquility and peace to our power, and ſhall defend them againſt all manner of violence and oppreſsion.

11. Alſo that we to our power ſhall prouide that able and profitable perſons ſhall execute the offices aſwell of Iuſtices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines of the Realme of *France* for the good and peaceable Iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them.

12. Alſo that we of our power, ſo ſoone as it may commodiouſly be done, ſhall trauaile to put into obedience of our ſaid father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Caſtels, places, Countreys and perſons within

within the Realme of *France*, disobedient and rebels to our sayd father, lyding with them that bee called the *Dauphin* or *Armagnac*.

The subiects of *France* sworne to King *Henry*.

13. And that we may the more commodiously and freely exercise and fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and estates of the same Realme of *France* aswell spirituals as tempor als and also the Nobles, Citizens, Burgesses and Cominalties of *France* in obedience at this day to our said father shall make these Oathes vnto vs.

14. First to vs hauing the faculty, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit at our hests and commandements, these shall meekly and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exercise of Gouernment in the same Realme.

15. Also that the worthy great and noble estates of the said Realme aswell spirituals as temporals, Citizens, Burgesses, and Comminalties of the same Realme in all manner of things well and truly shall keepe and to their power shall doe to be kept in asmuch as to them, belongeth or to any of them, all those things that be appointed and accorded betweene our foresaid father, our mother, and vs.

The tenor of the oath.

16. And that continually from the death, and after the death of our said father *Charles*, they shal be our true liegemen, and our heires, and they shall receiue and admit vs for their liege, and Soueraigne, and very King of *France*, and for such to obey vs without opposition, Contradiction or difficulty, as they be to our father during his life. And neuer after, this Realme of *France* shall obey to man as King and Regent of *France*, but to vs, and to our heires, also they shall not be in Counsell, helpe, or assent, that we loose life or limme, or be taken with euill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods, but if they know any such thing to be contriued or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their powers, and shall doe vs to witten thereof, as hastily as they may by themselues, by message, or by letters.

17. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made by vs in *France* vpon the disobedient in the Dutchies of *Normandy*, shall be done to the profit of our said father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordships, that be in places to be conquered, belonging to persons, obeying to our forefather, which shall sweare to this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of persons of the holy Church beneficed in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or any other places in the Realme of *France*, subiect to our father, and fauouring of the parts of the *Dukes of Burgundy*, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall peaceably inioy their benefices of holy Church in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or in other places next aforesaid.

19. Likewise that all manner of persons of holie Church obedient to vs, and beneficed in the Realme of *France*, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shal enioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church, as is aforesaide.

Churches, Vniuersities and Colledges to enioy their liberties.

20. Also that all manner of Churches, Vniuersities and studies generall, all Colledges of Students, and other Colledges of holy Church, being in places now, or in time comming, subiect to our father, or in the dutchy of *Normandy*, or other places in the realme of *France* subiect to vs, shall enioy their rights, possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties and franchises, belonging, or due to them in any manner of wise, in the said Realme of *France*, sauing the right of the Crowne of *France*, and of euery other person.

21. Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of *France*, the Dutchy of *Normandie*, and all other places conquered by vs in the said Realme, shall bow vnder the Commandement, obeisance, and Monarchy of the Crowne of *France*.

Normandy to be vnder the Crown of *France*.

22. Also that we to our power shall see recompence to be made by our said father, without diminution of the Crowne of *France* to persons obeying him and fauouring the party of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordships, Rents and possessions belongeth in the said Dutchie of *Normandy*, or other places in the Realme of *France* conquered by vs hitherto, giuen by vs in places, Lands, gotten, or to be gotten in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him, and if so be that such manner of recompence be not made to the said persons in the life time of our said father, we shall make that recompence in such manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of *France*, and if so be that the Lands, Lordships, Rents or possessions belonging to such manner of persons in the said Dutchie and other places, bee not giuen by vs, the same persons shall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our father in all places, now, and in time to come, subiect to him, letters of common iustice, grants of offices, giftes, pardons, remissions and priuiledges shall be written, and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And forasmuch as some singular case may fall that may not be foreseene by mans wit, in the which it may be necessary and behouefull, that we write our letters; in such case if any hap for the good and surety of our father, and for the gouernment that belongeth to vs, as is aforesaid, and to auoid perils which otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge and defend after the nature and quality of the need in our fathers behalfe, and ours, as Regent of *France*.

24. Also that during our fathers life, we shall not call, nor write vs King of *France*, but shall verily absteine from that name, so long as our said father liueth.

25. Also that our said father during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner. *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy d' Engleterre heretere de France:* and in Latine in this manner; *Praclarissimus filius noster, Henricus Rex Anglia, & Hares Francia.*

26. That we shall put no impositions or exactions to charge the Subiects of our said father, without cause reasonable and necessary. No otherwise then for common good of the Realme of *France*, and according to the Lawes and Customes prouided for the same Realme.

27. Also that we shall trauell to our power, to effect that by the assent of the three states of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, that all manner of obstacles may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordeined, and prouided, that from the time, that we, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of *France*, both the Crownes, that is to say, of *France* and *England*, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after another, and that both Realmes shall be gouerned from the time, that we, or our heires come to the same, not seuerally vnder diuers Kings in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the time shall be King of both Realmes, and our Soueraigne Lord, as is aforesaid, keeping neuertheless in all manner of things, to either of the said Realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vsages and lawes, not making subiect in any manner of wise, one of the same Realmes to the rights, lawes or vsages of that other.

28. That thenceforth perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all manner of wise, dissentions, hates, rancours, ennies, and warres, betweene the same Realmes of *France* and *England*, and the people of the same Realmes drawing to accord of the same peace may cease and be broken.

29. That from henceforth for euermore, peace and tranquilty, good accord and affection, and stable friendship

friendship shall be betwixt the said Realmes and the Subiects of the same, and shall keepe themselues with their Counsels, helpes, and common assistance against all men that enforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or greeuances to them or either of them, and that they shall be conuersant in merchandizing freely and surely together, paying the Customes due and accustomed, and that all the confederates and allyes of our said father and the Realme of *France*, as also our confederates of the Realme of *England* shall in eight months space from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless their obedience to either of the same Crownes, and to all manner of actions, rights, and reuenues, that belong to our said father and his Subiects, and to vs, and our Subiects against all manner of such Allies and Confederates.

30. That our father, neither our brother the *Duke of Burgundy*, shall begin nor make with *Charles* calling himselfe the *Daulphin* of *Viennes*, any treatie, peace, or accord but by Counsell and assent of each of vs three, or of other the three estates of either the said Realmes aboue-named.

31. Also that we with the assent of our brother of *Burgundy*, and other of the Nobles of the Realme of *France*, which ought thereunto to be called, shall ordeine for the Gouernance of our said father, surely, louingly and honestly, after the degree of his royall estate and dignity in such wise, as shall be to the worship of God, of our said father, and of the Realm of *France*.

32. Also that all manner of persons, that shall be, our father, to doe him personall seruice, not onlie in office, but in all other attendances, aswell the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, shall be such as haue beene borne in the Realme of *France*, or in places belonging to *France*, good, wise, true, and able to doe him seruice, and our said father shall dwell in places vnder his obedience, and no where else, wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe, and doe to be kept, in all that belongeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall, or contrary to the same accord, and peace, vpon paine of life and limme, and all that they may forfeit vnto vs.

33. Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euery one of them shall giue our assent by our letters Patents, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, without all approbation, and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and of the Cities and Townes to vs obedient, sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lords, Citizens, Burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which Articles we haue sworne to keepe, vpon the holie Euangelists. Yeuen at *Troies* the 30. of May, Anno 1420. And the same were proclaimed in *London* the 20. of Iune following; for the Copies of this treaty, the *French* King sent to euery Town in *France*, as King *Henry* did likewise into *England*, there to be published by Proclamation. These Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the presence of Queene *Isabell*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Kings Councell, the Prince of *Orange*, *Seigneur Chastelleux*, Marshall of *France*, with many others the prime Nobility, both of *England* and *France*, both the Kings with the Queene, taking their solemne oath there, vpon the holy Euangelists, as did likewise the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the rest, *Burgundy* * being the first man that laid his hand on the booke, and * sware homage to King *Henry*; who thereupon was stiled and proclaimed *Regent of France*.

(53) In whose presence also vpon the third of Iune, (being the morrow after *Trinity* Sunday) the marriage of King *Henry* and *Lady Katherine*, with all pompous solemnity was celebrated, in Saint *Peters* Church at *Troyes*, the Bishop of that See, doing the Ceremonies. And after royall feasts and Princely entertainements, before the dissolution of that roiall assembly, King *Henry*, inuiting the *French* King and others his great Peeres to a sumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleasing Oration vnto them, thus testifying his Princely desire to aduance their weale, and demerit their loue.

King *Henry* married to Lady *Katherine*.

History of *Normandy*.

Hollinshed: but *Polydore*, saith, this speech was deliuered before at their sweating of fealty.

Polyd. Verg.

King *Henries* Oration vnto the States of *France*.

(54) "As the chiefe marke whereunto my "cares and endeuors haue hitherto leuelled, hath "beene, to vnite and concorporate these two Kingdomes of *France* and *England* into one, which now "by Gods goodnes is most happily effected; so is it "still, and euer shall be, both my desire and care, that "vnto posterity we may leaue it setled in the same "sort, and free from all empeachments, of factious, "discords: that beings as (it is) the greatest, it may "be also the happiest Monarchie of *Europe*. For the "cleere accomplishment of which worke, there rests "now nothing, but the depressing of the *Daulphin*, "who is by your doome already, not only depriued "of that dignity, but of succession to the Crowne, "and prosecuted as a Traitor to the State; and of "whom this we must be assured, that while he liues, "*France* cannot but be in a perpetuall combustion. "For preuenting whereof, I both need and intreate, "both your Counsels and aide, nothing doubting "of your readines in either; for how can we expect "any safety, or you any goodnes at his hand, who, "in his young yeeres, did so perfidiously murder the "*Duke of Burgundy* his vncle? I am now, you see, "your Regent in present, and Successour to the "Crowne in hope; Let it not therefore sticke in "your hearts, that I am an *Englishman* borne, for "you know I haue much *French* blood in my veines, "which warmes my affections as well to *French* as "*English*, but looke on me as the lawfull heire to the "*Diademe*, both by iust Title, and your owne consents, who therefore am, and ought to be, wholly "yours; and your kindnes and iust dealing bind me "so to be. Yours also am I now by fresh alliance, "as sonne in Law to your King, vnto whom I will "performe all offices of loue and honor, as to mine "owne father; and you his subiects shall I loue and "cherish, as mine owne children, and will defend "*France* and the *French*, so long, as you defend my "right with your louing aide, and will deserue my "loue with your loiall affection.

Polyd. Verg.

(55) These affaires thus accomplished at *Troyes*, the Kings, the Queenes, and the rest of the Peeres in great estate rode vnto *Paris*, where all faire countenances were shewed, and great entertainement giuen to the *English*. But the *Daulphin* and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the present courses pleased not their palat. Their first Counsell therefore was how to preserue themselues in so eminent danger; to sit still and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increase and aduance the successes of the *English*; and to rise without strength, was to fall into further misfortunes, hauing no meanes to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voice was best heard, that spake most for the safety of the *Daulphin* (whose only life gaue breath vnto the after-hopes of *France*) and for the strengthening of those places which might be of most aduantage to themselues, and offence to the Enemie. This then past by decree in that Counsell of warre, that the *Daulphin* should at no time hazard his person in field, and that a leuy of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places conuenient; for *Time*, which neuer stands still, they well hoped might yet turne the tice for them, fortune being (said they) as subiect to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man tooke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of *Henry*.

The *Daulphins* counterplots to vphold himselfe.

(56) As these consulted for the state of the

Denis Sauage in Chron. de Flandr.

French so in Paris a Parliament of the three estates was assembled, wherein such as were guilty of the death of *Burgundy*, were iusticed, the disherizing of the *Daulphin* confirmed, and warres prepared against these Townes which held for him. Against *Sens* the two Kings with their Queens, *Clarence*, and *Burgundy*, marched; which after 12 daies was rendered vpon composition of life, those excepted as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* death. *Monstreau* was the next, which by force was entred, where the body of the *Duke of Burgundy*, vndecently buried by the *Daulphinois*, was taken vp, and by his sonne *Philip* sent in great pompe to *Dijon* in his *Dutchy*, and there honorably interred. The Towne being taken, the Castle held out: vnto whose Captaine twenty Captiue Gentlemen were sent, whose liues from King *Henries* mouth (say the *French*) were sentenced to death, vnlesse they could perswade the Castellan to surrender; but those men (say our *English*, to mollifie that seuere doome) were all especiall friends of that Captaine and such, as had giuen opprobrious words to the Kings Herauld, being sent vnto them in the siege of *Monstreau*. Howsoeuer, in this extremity they sollicited *Guitay* vpon their knees, vrging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; but *Guitay*, a true *Frenchman*, and friend to the *Daulphin*, withstood the assault, and thereupon these Gentlemen Petitioners were presently hanged in the sight of the defendants: so bloody is *Mars* to maintaine his owne Lawes, and so eager was *Henry* of his full Conquest of *France*, whose thirsting sword had heretofore beene somewhat ouerlauish in blood, but neuer more (perhaps) then in this bloody act; which I wish might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Castle enforced to surrender vpon composition of life, excepting the guilties of *Burgundies* death.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

Monstreau beseeged and gotten.

Jo. Millet

Holinsh.

(57) Then was the siege remoued to *Melun*, a Towne of great strength, and made more strong by the valours of her commanders, who were *Seigneur Barbason* an absolute souldier, *Pierre de Bourbon* a Prince of the blood, *Preaux*, and *Bourgeois*, whose Garrison was seuen hundred *Daulphinois*: and indeed no default in defence, could anie wise be imputed, but the *Canon* opening a breach, the *English* and *Burgundians* made an entry into the Bulwarke, and ouer the Riuer *Seine* built a bridge with Boates; so that from either quarter they had passage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themselues for their best aduantage; vpon whom the enemie neuertheless made diuers sallies, with the losse of either parties. King *Henry* inforced his siege to the vtmost, and made a myne vnderneath the wals, which being perceiued, the defendants countermined against him; where the King (too forward) as the very first man entring his myne, and *Barbason* likewise his within the Towne, met each other at point of sword, where they performed nobly the parts of priuate souldiers, (nobly indeed, if priuate souldiers they had been, but Princes should remember they are not such) till lastly they agreed to discouer themselues, and first *Barbason* made known his name, then King *Henry* did his, whereupon the *French* Lord suddainely getting backe, caused the Barriers to be closed, and *Henry* returned to his Campe.

Tit. Liuius *Melun* beseeged and gotten.

Enguerrant. King *Henry* fighteth in single combat.

Translator of *Liuie*.

(58) This enterprize failing, King *Charles* himselfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, at the presence of their naturall Lord; which neuertheless was little respected; for answere was made, that if their King were at liberty, and free from King *Henries* power, they would doe him the duty of naturall subiects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege Lord: but being as he was, they desired to be excused, for to the mortall enemy of *France* they would not yeeld.

Enguerrant

The *French* refuse to submit to their owne King.

(59) Whileft King *Henry* lay at the siege of *Melun*, the Duke of *Bauier* (who was *Palsegraue* of *Rhyne* Elector) came to King *Henry* hauing married his sister, and thence sent a defiance vnto the *Daulphin* his kinseman by Queene *Isabell* his mother; the Prince of *Orange* likewise came thither vnto *Henry*, but because he required an Oath of him, as a subiect of *France*, he went away displeased, saying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to *England* nor *France*. At which time the *Parisians* with more respect of their owne safety committed their City vnto K. *Henries* deuotion who deputed his brother *Clarence* (though *Count Saint Paul* with his *French* displeased) Gouernour thereof, and put Garrisons into the *Bastile of S. Anthonie*, *the Louure*, and the *Hostill de Nesle*. During this siege, mandatory letters were sent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all places that held for him in those quarters into *Henries* possession, and to take the Oath of their obedience vnto him as to the *only heire*, *Successor*, *Regent*, *and Gouernour of France*; the execution whereof was committed to the *Count of Saint Paul*, the *Bishops* of *Therouenne* and *Arras*, the *Vidame of Amiens*, the *Lord of Vendueill*, the *Gouernour of Lisle*, *Pierre Marigny* Aduocate of the Parliament, and *George Ostend* the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; *Charles par le Grace de Dieu, &c.*

Nichol. Gilet.

(60) The distresse of *Melun*, was wonderfull great aswell vpon the seegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troupes sore weakened with mortality, the other oppressed with famine, and other defects incident to a long indured siege. In this State eighteene weekes were spent, and more had beene, but that the *English* were supplied with souldiers out of *Picardie*, whose colours displaied a farre off, put the Towne in hope of reliefe, as sent from the *Daulphin*, but vpon their neerer approach, *Melun* was rendred by these capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Castle should be deliuered to the King. 2. That aswell the men of warre, as the Burgesses, should submit themselues to King *Henry*, to be dealt with as pleased the King. 3. That all such as should be found guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* murder should suffer death. 4. That all the rest of the souldiers should be receiued to mercy, but to be prisoners vntill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after times. 5. That the Natiues of *France* should be sent home to their owne Countreys. 6. That all the moueables and Armes in the Towne should bee carried into the Castle. 7. That all the Prisoners they had taken either before or during the siege, should be enlarged ransome-free, and acquitted of their promises. 8. That for the performance of these Articles, 12. of the principall Captaines, and 6. of the wealthiest Burgesses should deliuer themselues in hostage. 9. That all the *English*, and *Scots*, should be deliuered to *Henry* and left at his disposition.

These things accorded, an *English* Garrison was put into *Melun*, commanded by *Pierre Varrolt*. *Pierre de Burbon*, *Seigneur de Preaux*, and valiant *Barbason*, with sixe hundred Prisoners of quality, were sent with a strong guard vnto *Paris*. The guilties of *Burgundies* murder were all of them put to death, amongst whom were two Monkes, and *Bertrand de Chartmont* a *Gascoigne*, (a man in great fauour with King *Henry*) for that he at King *Henries* entry into *Melun*, had conuaied thence one *Amenion de Lau*, who was proued guilty of *Burgundies* death. The Duke of *Burgundy* himselfe, as also *Clarence* earnestly labored with King *Henry* for *Bertrands* pardon, but the King, though much grieued, and protesting that he had rather haue lost 50000. Nobles, yet was resolued he should die for example to all such, as should dare to offend, vpon presumption of their nearenes and grace with their Princes.

(61) *Melun* being rendred, and these things thus disposed, the two Kings with their Queenes most honorablie attended, returned to *Paris*, before whose entrance the *Citizens* and Students met them in most solemne manner, hauing beautified the City with flagges, streamers and rich hangings throughout the streetes where they should passe. The two Kings rode

rode together vnder a rich Canopie, *Henry* vpon the left hand, next vnto whom followed the *Dukes of Clarence and Bedford*, and vpon their left hand the *Duke of Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergy with proceſſions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Noſtre dame Church*; and the next day the two Queenes entred the City with as great a ſhew. King *Henries* Pallace was prepared in the *Loure*, which was moſt rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hoſtel of *Saint Paul*, being but homely and meane; for (ſaith *Millet*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exerciſed ſupreme authority, whiles olde *Charles* ſtood as a Cypher, and the French Nobilitie had nothing to doe.

(62) During the two Kings abode here, a great Aſſembly was called as well of the Spiritualty, as of the ſecular Nobilitie, in whoſe preſence, in the great Hall of the Hoſtell, a State for Iuſtice was prepated, where the two Kings ſitting, as ſupreme Iudges, vnder one Cloath of eſtate, the Court was furniſhed with Princes and Officers in moſt ſolemne wiſe. Before whom, *Nicolas Rollin* aduocate from the *Duke of Burgundy*, and the *Dutcheſſe* his mother, craued audience (and had it granted) vnto an inuectiue and long Oration againſt *Charles Viſconte Narbone*, *Tanneguy*, *Barbaſon* and others, for the cruell murther of *Iohn Duke of Burgundy*; and not only that the murtherers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furniſhed with ſacred Ornaments for twelue *Chanons*, ſixe Chaplaines, and ſixe Clerkes to pray for his ſoule for euer, euery *Chanon* to haue yeerely two hundred pound *Paris* money, euery *Chaplen* one hundred, and euery Clerke fifty, to be leuied vpon the Lands of the *Daulphin*, and his aſſociates in the murder: that the ſame foundation ſhould be engrauen vpon the Porch thereof, and the like inſcription ſet vp publikely in the Cities of *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Graunt*, *Dion*, *Saint Iames of Compoſtella*, and *Ieruſalem*. This motion was ſeconded by a Doctor of Diuinity appointed by the *Rector of the Vniuerſity*, who concluded with an humble requeſt to the King and thoſe Princes, that iuſtice might be done. Whereunto the *Chancellor of France*, in the behalfe of King *Charles*, promiſed that no endeuour on his part ſhould bee lacking; and thereupon cauſed his ſonne to be ſolemnely called to the Marble-Table; to anſwere his accuſation, by the name of *Charles Duke of Touraine*, and *Daulphin de Vienne*, which done three ſeuerall times, and he not appearing, by arreſt of the ſame Court of Parliament, he was baniſhed the Realme, and iudged vnworthy to ſucceed in any of the Seignories as well preſent, as to come. But the *Daulphin* appealed from this ſentence to God and his ſword, and ſtill was the ſame, though his fortunes were changeable. *Mounſieur de Barbaſon* was vehemently accuſed to haue his hand in the murder, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gaue ſentence on him to ſuffer to death; but he in open Court defended himſelfe, not to bee guilty of the crime, although he confeſſed to be a true ſeruant to the *Daulphin*. Notwithſtanding, had he not appealed to the *Officers of Armes*, King *Henries* iudgement of death had gone againſt him: for the Law Military, as he there alleaged, forbiddeth, that *any man, hauing his brother in Armes within his danger, ſhould afterwards put him to death for any cauſe or quarrell*, and proued himſelfe to be the Kings *brother in Armes*, for that he had in the *Countermine* coaped in combat with the King. Thus by a quirke of Heraldry acquitted from death, he was neuertheleſſe remained in priſon the ſpace of nine yeeres, and laſtly at the winning of *Caſtle Galliard* from the *Engliſh*, was deliuered out of moſt ſtrait impriſonment, to the great ioy of the *French*.

(63) This execution of Iuſtice on thoſe Murtherers, was a great, but not the only act of K. *Henry* at this great Parliament of three Eſtates of *France* in *Paris*. For therein alſo was the finall accord betwixt the two Kings, openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free aſſent, and with aduiſe of all the Councell of *France*; whereupon it was there alſo ratified by the generall ſtates of *France*, and ſworne vnto particularly vpon the holy Euangeliſts, by all their Nobles and Magiſtrates, ſpirituall and ſecular, who alſo ſet their ſeales to the Inſtruments thereof, which were ſent into *England* to be kept in the Kings *Exchecquer at *weſtminſter*. King *Henries* glory thus aſcended to the higheſt verticall in *France*, his Court was not only honoured daily both with Courtly and military ſhewes and paſtimes, but alſo was ſtill frequented both with forraine Ambaſſadors, and domeſticke Commiſsioners, whoſe directions depended only vpon his voluntary aſſigne, himſelfe redreſſing all things at his pleaſure, placing and diſplacing Officers and Gouernors, cauſing alſo a new Coyne to be made, called a *Salute*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly ſtamped. King *Charles* the while in his Palace, was but for faſhions ſake viſited, and but by ſome of his olde ſeruants, his Sunne was drawne ſo neere vnto the ſetting. The great affaires of *France* thus ſetled, (as well as that vnſetled time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his Queene in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wiſe, valiant, and a great Captaine) his Lieutenant generall of *France*, leauing alſo the *Duke of Exeter* with 500. men of warres to keep *Paris*, and ſo attended with great ſtate, he came to *Amiens* and *Callais*, where taking to Sea, he arriued at *Douer* vpon the third of February, and was receiued of his Subiects as an Angell from heauen, or another victorious *Caſar* on Earth.

(64) All things in a readines for his faire Queens Coronation, vpon the foure and twentith of the ſame month, with all roialty the ſame was ſolemnized at *Weſtminſter*, and the *Engliſh* rich diademe ſet on her head. The feaſt was great, with all Princely ſeruices, and the ſtate ſuch as deſerueth the report; for the Queene ſitting at Table, at the right ſide of her Chaire, kneeled the Earle of *March* holding a Scepter in his hand; the *Earle Marſhall* kneeling on the left ſide, held another; and the Counteſſe of *Kent* ſate vnder the Table at her right foote; vpon her right hand at Table ſate the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*, and vpon the left the King of *Scots*, the Dutcheſſe of *Yorke*, and the Counteſſe of *Huntington*; the Nobles giuing their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

(65) Preſently, after *Eaſter*, in the month of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Weſtminſter*, whoſe chiefeſt intent was to haue meanes to continue the Kings Conqueſt in *France*; but ſuch was the ſtate of thoſe lauiſh times, that, to ſtop the current of this melting mint, ſome, minding more the heapes of their money, then the ſpreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bils vnto the three eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned vnto the King, to commiſerate the pouerty of the commons, which (as they ſaid) were beggered by theſe warres. For which cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his *Crowne* to his vncle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall, for twenty thouſand pound, before the ſaid month was expired, with foure thouſand horſe and foure and twenty thouſand foote returned into *France* to follow thoſe warres,

(66) Neither was his haſt more then needed: for *Iohn Earle of Buequhanan*, and *Archbald Dowglas*, two valiant leaders of ſeuen hundred reſolute Scots, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Daulphin*, and ioining with the *French* in *Anion*, meant to haue ſurprized the *Duke of Clarence* before he had beene aware: in which enterprize, foure ſtraggling Scots, taken and brought to his preſence, *as he ſate at dinner, reuealed the intent and ſtrength of the Enemy, whoſe approach was verie neere at hand. This newes no ſooner

*Where they yet remaine, ſaith *Hollinſh.* p. 578.

Hollinſh. p. 578.

King *Henry* returneth into *England*.

Enguerrans de Monſtrelet.

Ex Anuiq. M. S. D. Roberti Cotton.

Ex Record. Parl. 9. Hen. 5.

The King pawneth his Crowne for money. *Paulus Emilius.*

Alain Charter.

*Vpon Eaſter Eue.

ner came, but the Duke ouerhastily got to horse (saying, *they are allours*) leauing his troupes to follow him with asmuch celerity as they might. His suddaine and vnlooked-for approch, caused the *Scots* to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their safety, where whilst they were making defence, the rest tooke the Alarme, and the Earle of *Bucquhanan* manned the Bridge, to whose ayde, *Hugh Kennedie* with an hundred horse presented himselfe.

Bucquhanan.

(67) The *Duke of Clarence* seeing no possibilitie to free the passage with his slender troope of horse, alighted on foot, & gaue forthwith a furious charge, where the Earle of *Bucquhanan* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horse; and either side fighting with equall courage and rancor. *Clarence* gaue singular demonstration of his great valour, vntill, as he was remounting, one *Iohn Swinton* a Scot, wounded him in the face with his Launce, and threw him to the ground, being the first man of the *English* that there was slaine, where likewise died the *Earle of Kyme*, the Lords *Gray*, and *Rosse*, besides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common souldiers, the *Earles of Huntington*, and *Sommerset*, with *Thomas Beausort* his brother, were taken prisoners. The * cause of this ouerthrow, is imputed to the Dukes hast in not staying for his Horsemen. *Clarence* that day vpon his Crest ware a Circlet set with precious stones, which being taken off his Helmet by a Scot, was solde to *Iohn Steward* of *Derby*, for a thousand Angels. For this fortunate dayes successe, (wherein yet the Enemy also lost eleuen hundred, and sundry of them men of principall note,) the *Daulphin* made the *Earle of Bucquhanan* Constable of *France*. This losse receiued the Earle of *Salisbury*, (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troupes, the enemy gaue ground, whereby yet he recouered the dead bodie of *Clarence*, and sent it to *Rouen*, from whence it was conueyed into *England*.

The Duke of *Clarence* slaine.

Alain Chartier.

**Enguerrant.*

Idem.

Denis Sauage Chr. de Flanders.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

(68) After this victory the *Dolphinois* besieged *Alenzon*, which the *Earle of Salisbury* with his best forces sought to releeue; but finding the enemie too strong, retired to the Abbey of *Becq*, in whole retreat the *French* charged vpon him, and slew three hundred of his troopes, but finding no meanes to possesse *Alenzon*, raised their siege & returned to *Anion*.

Denis Sauage.

(69) King *Henry* therefore vpon notice of his brothers death, was much perplexed, for besides the naturall affection of a brother, his wisdome, valour, and counsell in the warres was highly esteemed by him, and to speake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equalled vnto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother, *Iohn Duke of Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leauing his faire Queene most honorably attended, vpon the tenth of *Iune* he landed at *Callis*, hauing in his companie *Iames* King of *Scotland*, in hope either to draw the *Scots* vnto his seruice, or else to withdraw their aides from the *Daulphin*, by the sight of their owne King vnder his roiall standard. But the Scots, constantly French, being demanded why they would fight against their Soueraigne, answered directly that they might not acknowledge any duty vnto *Iames*, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of another. His designe thus fayling, his confidence was in his right and his sword.

Buchanan.

Enguerrant.

(70) The morrow after his arriuall he dispatched the Earle of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Clifford* with twelue hundred horse and foot vnto *Paris*, to releeue the *Duke of Excester*, who was straitned of victuals by the *Dolphinois*, that harrased the Countrey adioining, taking *Bonneual*, *Galandon*, and some other forts, and in his fortunate successes, and new conceiued hope then marched to *Chartiers* with seuen thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Crosse-bowes, and sixe thousand Archers strong, where he began the siege, whom the Bastard of *Thian* brauely resisted, and sent to King *Henry* for aide.

(71) *Henry*, after a few daies stay in *Callais*, marched to *Monstrelet*, and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the *Duke of Burgogne* somewhat impaired of health: three daies spent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeuill* vpon *Some*, to facilitate his passage there to be made, whereof some doubt was held by reason of the Inhabitants disposition, altogether vnsetled, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way tooke the Fort called *La Ferte*, commanded by the Bastard of *Bellay*, which vpon summons rendered, and being committed to the Custody of *Barssiers* a Picard, was betraied againe by him vnto the *Daulphin*: from hence departing, he passed the riuer at *Abbeuile*, where he was roiallie receiued, and richly presented, whence he marched to *Beauuois*, *Giſors*, and so to *Bois-de Vincennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene resided, and receiued him with great honour, and lastly to *Paris* where he was receiued in triumph.

(72) But more minding a Conquest then the delicate pleasures of Court, after he had consulted vpon his affaires, and leuied French forces to adde to the *English*, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in reuenge of his brothers death) to fight with the *Daulphin*, who had now laine before *Chartres* the space of three weekes, and giuen it forth he would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henries* comming, and that his Armie by the accesse of supplies, from *Paris* and *Normandy* was much increased, he brake vp his siege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreaux* and sate downe before it. The inhabitants and Garrison sensible of the danger, praied parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Daulphin* did not relieue them by a certaine day, which expired, the Towne was deliuered, and eight hundred of the *Daulphins* souldiers permitted to depart vpon their Oathes, not to beare Armes against King *Henry*, nor his allies for the space of one yeere: then following the *Daulphin* (who fled still before him) in his march he tooke *Bangency*, *Rougmont*, and other places of defence.

(73) Seeing his pursuit of the flying *Daulphin* to be fruitlesse, he diuerted his Army vnto *Luigny* vpon the riuer of *Marne*, where * he caused many engines and habiliaments for the warre to be made; hauing a designe to beliege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and infest the *Faulxbourg*, sending before him the *Duke of Exeter* with foure thousand strong, to preuent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a * few daies after followed himselfe. His first worke was to secure his Armie, by entrenching his Quarters, which done, and the Artillery mounted, he beganne to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his industry nor personall labour was spared; and within, the *Bastard of Vaurus* with many men of Marke, besides the inhabitants, and a thousand trained souldiers, were as busie and resolute for the defence. Meane while *Iaques de Harecourt*, in seruice of the *Daulphin*, with seuen hundred souldiers harrased the parts about *Vimeu*, against whom, some *English* Garrisons thereabout, assembling, slew three hundred of his retinue, himselfe hardly escaping by the swiftnes of his horse.

(74) Whilst King *Henry* lay in his siege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene at the Castle of *Windsore* was deliuered of a sonne, named also *Henry*, whereat he exceedingly reioiced, though, as some will haue it, he liked not well the place of her deliuery, hauing before commanded the contrary, and prophecying, that *what Henry of Monmouth should get, Henry of Windsore would loose*. At the same time likewise he heard that *Auranches* in *Normandy*, was surprized by the *Daulphinois*; and aboue three hundred English there in Garrison put to the sword, or taken Prisoners; to remedy which, King *Henry* sent part of his owne Armie vnto the *Earle of Salisbury* his Lieutenant of *Normandie*, who within few daies recouered *Auranches* and reuenged the death of the surprized.

(75) But

(75) But *Henries* siege lessened through these stirs in *Normandy*, and his mind busied vpon his affaires that way, fitted opportunity to *Seigneur de Offemont*, vnto whome the besieged had many times made knowne their desires to haue him their Gouernour; on a night therefore (ladders made readie to put ouer the wals to receiue him) he secretly approached the place, but being discouered by the Centinels; and the alarum taken, he not able to recouer the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reason of his heauy armour hee could not free himselfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King esteeming the taking of so braue and valiant a Captaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopelesse of succour, and finding themselues not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the towne into the * Castel; but the assailants discouering their actions, and perceiuing their feare, gaue a fierce assault, and by force made way into the Towne with their swords: then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Castell, and shortly brought it to that extremity, that besides want of bread, most of their hand weapons were broken, and all of them in a maner dangerously wounded; yet desisted they not to prouoke the *English* with opprobrious words, which caused such heauy conditions to bee laid on them, as the like had not beene of any surrender before.

1 That the *March* of *Meaux* should bee rendred vpon the eleuenth of May next ensuing. 2. That *Messier Louis de Gast*, the Bastard of *Vaurus*, *Iehan de Romieres*, *Tromagon*, and *Barnard de Meureuille* should be left to K. *Henry* to execute. 3. That *Guicchard de Sissayi*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamaches*, and *Iohn de Ouraye* should be at the kings will vntill they had rendred or caused to be rendred all the Townes, Castels and Fortresses which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be secured of life. 4. That all the *English*, *Welsh*, *Irish* & *Scots* that heretofore had beene in the Kings obedience should be left to the Kings discretion. 5. That all the rest, aswell Souldiers as Burgesses should bee left to the Kings pleasure, their liues onely excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Connerson*, who had beene prisoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, and at the beginning of the siege of *Meaux*, was deliuered at the instance of *Henry* for a ransome, should now bee freede without ransome. 7. That al the Armes and goods in the *March* should bee brought to one place there safely guarded, and an Inuentory of the same deliuered vnto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church ornaments should likewise be put in safety. 9. That all the Prisoners aswell in the *March*, as in any other place vnder any of their commandements should be set at liberty, ransome free, and acquitted of their promises. 10. That no man vntill the assigned day of rendring should goe out of the *March*, and that none should bee admitted to enter into it, but such as King *Henry* assigned. 11. That these Articles should be subscribed and sealed by an hundred of the best men amongst them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twenty persons elected by King *Henry* should remaine in hostage.

(76) The place thus rendred vnto the King, hee presently sent eight hundred selected persons prisoners to *Paris*, *Rouen*, and *England*. The Bastard of *Vaurus*, and the Gouernour of *Meaux*, the King caused to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the Bastard himselfe) *Vaurus*, whereon hee had formerly hanged many *English* and *Burgundions*, and his head was fixed vpon a pole on the toppe of the same tree. *Messier Louis de Gast*, *Denis de Vaurus*, brother to the Bastard, *Iehan de Romieres*, and *Barnard de Meureuille* were sent to *Paris*, & there executed; the goods of the *March* were distributed by *Henry* amongst his Captains, and deseruing men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a strong Garrison left in *Meaux* and the *March*. After whose surrender, *Crespi*, the Castell of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and sundry others submitted themselues to *Henry*, whilest the true *Dolphinois* set fire on theirs, before hee could attaine to their siege.

(77) Queene *Katherine* in *England* daily hearing of the Kings successe, desired greatly the sight of his person, and to that end prepared her voyage for *France*, vnder the conduct of Duke *Iohn* the Kings brother, then Regent of *England*, who deputed for the time of his absence, his brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloecster*, and tooke shippe at *Southampton*. The winds prosperous, the 21. of *May* she landed at *Harfleur*, and with stil-encreasing troupes of Noblemen, by easie iourneyes came to *Rouen*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennois*, whither her husband, her father and mother with great state came to meete her, of all whom shee was receiued as some Angelicall person, who together remoued to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* in the *Lowre*, vpon the festiuall of *Pentecost*, sate in their royall roabes, with their imperiall Crownes on their heades, and kept their Court with great confluence of people, K. *Henry* assigning the affaires of the Prouinces. *Enguerrant de Monstrelet.* A.D. 1422.

(78) But though *Champaigne*, *Picardie*, *Brie*, and *Normandy* with the Isle of *France* were in *Henries* possession, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obeysance, a great and strong part holding out still for the *Daulphin*; who with twenty thousand strong besieged *La Charity* vpon *Loire*, and tooke it, from whence hee marched to *Cone* vpon the same riuer, whose Defendants agreede, that if *Burgundy* did not raise the siege by the sixteenth of *August*, they would surrender; which the said Duke accepted, and thereupon sent profer of battell to the *Daulphin*; who was likewise as readie (and by his Herauld gaue his faith) to trie his fortune in the field: The day assigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundy* sent to King *Henry* for his assistance; whose answere was, that himselfe and his forces would not faile to bee with him that day, and run the same fortunes with him in the field. *Enguerrant de Monstrel.*

(79) But great *Henries* stout mind was crossed with his new crazy body, his health being so empaired with a burning feauer and fluxe, that he was disswaded from the March; so the command of the Army was committed to his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, who ioyning their forces for auoiding of contentions, through all their rankes intermingled the *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardes* together, and so the night before the designed day of battell, came to *Cone* and encamped neere to the Towne; yet vndaunted *Henry*, who neuer miscarried in any of his personall enterprises, taking his leaue at *Senlis* of K. *Charles*, and the two Queens, in his horse-litter (with a guard for his person) marched (though weake) after them; but at *Melun* finding his sickenesse to encrease, and himselfe (who erst could endure all things) now vnable to endure trauell, he returned to *Bois de Vincennois*. *K. Henries sickenesse.*

(80) The *English* colours displayed in the *Daulphins* eye, and his power inferior in shew vnto them, howsoeuer hee had vaunted, he thought it not best to aduenture the field, and therefore dislodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemy. *Cone* thus relieued, the Dukes marched to *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, and set down their Army for the siege; but before the cords of their tents could bee sufficiently made fast, the Duke of *Bedford* had heauy newes of Great *Henries* encreased sickenesse, and danger of death: wherefore leauing the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Armie, hee posted to *Bois de Vincennois*, where finding the relation too true, hee greatly lamented his dying brothers estate: but the King much reioycing of his brothers comming, cheerefully comforted his mourning friends and Nobles, and made vnto them this graue and his last dying speech. *His cheerfulnes in his sickness.*

" (81) I well see you lament my death; but I doe " not so: for this short life of mine shall leaue behind " mee the witnesse of my faith, integrity, iustice, ho- *His last exhortation.*

"nesty and mercy, which shall crowne my memo-
"ry with glory, and free mee from blame and slan-
"der, which in long raignes can hardly be auoided:
"but you haue iust cause to mourne at my vntime-
"ly death, and it cannot bee but a generall griefe to
"my people, that in such an Ocean of businesse yet
"depending, I shall leaue you and them destitute of
"a Prince able to gouern: but your sorrow ought to
"be so much the lesse, when you call to mind the
"frailty of worldly thinges, and that euermore there
"will bee somewhat wanting which wee desire. My
"first request vnto you shall bee this, that with an
"vnanimous affection to aduise, foresee and pro-
"uide, that the counsel which I name may be follow-
"ed. I further ernestly entreat you to loue my Infant
"*Henry*, to instruct him with your wisdomes, that
"by your counsell, care and loue, hee may be made
"able & worthy to weild so great an Empire. Com-
"fort my deare wife, the most afflicted Creature li-
"uing, extend your loues vnto her in the same pro-
"portion as I haue euer loued you. Touching the
"publike I admonish and exhort you to brotherlie
"concord, and neuer to breake league with *Philip*
"Duke of *Burgundie*; and if you shall thinke it good,
"let my brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* gouerne
Enguerrant de Monstrelet. "*England*, and not depart vpon any occasion what-
"soeuer, vntill my sonne *Henry* be of yeeres to sway
"the estate; and my brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*
"with the assistance of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, to
"manage the Realme of *France*. Concerning *Charles*
"(commonly called the *Daulphin*) either he must by
"your swords be made to submit himselfe, or else
"you shall neuer be in quiet; and it were as good
"to render him the possession of what you haue:
"wherefore sleepe not, and while you haue meanes
"and opportunity be industrious. Lastly, I beseech,
"charge, and command you, (howsoeuer time or
"occasion may perswade, or inuite you to the con-
"trary) that *Normandy* receiued by my industry,
"and your swordes, being the ancient inheritance of
"the Crowne of *England*, be not alienated for any
"cause whatsoeuer. Among other things then en-
ioined, he willed that the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle
of *Eu*, *Guacourt*, and *Guichard de Sisay* should not be
ransomed, vntill yong *Henry* were of yeeres to gouerne

Enguerrant de monstr. (82) Thus said, and drawing neere to the period of
his short but glorious life; he demanded of his Phy-
sitians how long (in their iudgement) he might liue?
wherunto when one of thē answered, Sir, thinke on
your soule, for your time is not aboue 2. houres: he
made his cōfession, & his Chaplains afterward knee-
ling in prayer, when one of them out of the Psalms
made mention of *Ierusalem*, the king no sooner heard
His death. the name, but with a loud voice he said; *Lord thou*
Tho. Walsi. *knowest, that my purpose was to conquere Ierusalem from*
the Infidels, if it had pleased thee to haue giuen me life: &
then *in a right faith, assured hope, perfect charity and*
sound memory, hee * *rendred his soule to his Creator, af-*
ter hee had raigned nine yeeres, fiue monethes, and * *four-*
teene dayes, leauing none like vnto him amongst all the
Kings and Princes of Christendome, for which cause his
death was not onely bewailed of the English, whom hee
gloriously had ruled, but also of the French, whom hee had
victoriously conquered. This was the manner of this
triumphant Monarchs end, which moues men iust-
ly to wonder at *Hector Boetius*, who saith, he was
Boet. l. 16. c. 19. stricken by God for sacriledge, and died miserablie:
Hectors friends haue occasion to wish, that his Rea-
ders should not make that miserable iudgement, the
rule and measure of crediting or discrediting his o-
ther writings, yet lamentable his end was indeed, if
he perished by poison, wherof there was a vehement
Polydor. suspition, as *Polydor Vergill* hath auerred, and the car-
riage of the *French* affaires afterward makes it more
then probable.

Ioh. Stow Annals. (83) His workes of pious affection were shewed
His works of deuotion. in erecting the Monasteries of *Bethlem* & *Briget*, neere
vnto his Manour of *Richmond*, as also his princely
gifts vnto the workes and furniture of *Westminster*
Church, besides the brotherhood of S. *Giles* without
Creple gate London. And (which had surpassed all
the rest) hee intended (such was his loue to learning,
and to the place where himselfe was a learner) to
haue founded in the great Castell at *Oxford*, a mag-
nificent Colledge for *Diuines*, and Students of the
seuen liberall Sciences, * the plot and ordinations of
which foundation he had already drawne, and * re-
solued to endow it with all the lands in *England*, be-
longing to Priors Aliens; but his vntimely death
preuented both that, and many other noble workes.
To leaue a domesticke testimony of his affection to
Armes, hee first instituted *Gartar* principall King
at Armes: besides other augmentations to the Or-
der of Saint *George*. In a word, neuer liued English
King with more true glory, nor euer died any in a
more vnseasonable time, nor more lamented: for
he was godly in heart, sober in speech, sparing of words,
resolute in deedes, prouident in Counsell, prudent in
iudgement, modest in countenance, magnanimous in
action, constant in vndertaking, a great Almesgiuer,
deuout to Godward, a renowmed Souldier, fortunate
in field, from whence hee neuer returned without victo-
rie. These, with many other (I might almost say,
all other) vertues are attributed to this most renow-
ned amongst *English* Kings; the more to be admired
in him in so short a raigne, and in those yeeres, hee
being but of 36. yeers, when he breathed forth his
glorious soule.

(84) His bowels were interred in the Church of
Saint *Mauro de Fosses*, and his embalmed Corps was
closed in Lead, and attended vpon by the *Lords of*
England, France, Normandy, and *Picardy*, was brought
vnto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady so-
lemne exequies were performed) and thence to *Ro-*
uen, where it rested till all things were ready to set for-
ward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and
Rouen strooue, and offered great summes of gold to
haue *Henries* royall remains enterred amongst them.
His picture artificially was moulded of boiled hides,
and countenance painted according to life, vpon
whose head an imperiall Diademe of gold and pre-
tious stones was set, the body clothed with a pur-
ple robe, furred with Ermine, in his right hand it
held a scepter royall, and in the left a ball of gold; in
which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State,
couered with red veluet, embroidered with gold, and
ouer it a rich Canopie, born by men of great place.
Thus accompanied by *Iames* King of *Scotland*, many
Princes, Lords and Knights of *England* and *France*,
he was conuaied from *Rouen* to *Abbeuile*, to *Hesdin*,
to *Menstruill*, *Bologn*, & *Calais*, the Chariot al the way
compassed about with men all in white garments,
bearing burning Torches in their hands; next vn-
to whom followed his houshold seruants, all in
blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Es-
tates in vestures of mourning adorned; then two
miles distant from the corps followed the stil lamen-
ting Queene, attended with princely mourners, her
tender and pierced heart more inly mourning, then
her outward sadde weedes should in any sort ex-
presse.

(85) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King
was brought vnto *London*, where through the streets
the Chariot was drawne with foure horses, whose
Caparisons were richly embroidered, and embos-
sed with the royall Armes; the first with *Englands*
Armes alone, the second with the Armes of *France*
and *England* in a field quartered, the third bare the
Armes of *France* alone, and the fourth three crowns
Or in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Ar-*
thur, now well beseeming him who had victoriously
vnited * three Kingdomes in one. The body with
all pompous celebrity was enterred in the Church
at *Westminster* (for so *Henrie* had by his last will com-
manded) next beneath King *Edward the Confessor*,
vpon whose Tombe Queene *Katherine* caused a roi-
all picture to bee laid, couered all ouer with siluer
plate

plate guilt, but the head thereof altogether of *massie siluer*. All which at that *Abbeys* suppression, (when the battering hammers of destruction did sound almost in euery Church) were sacrilegiously broken off, and by purloining transferred to farre prophane vses, where, as this day, the headlesse monument, (worthy to be restored by some more Princely and sacred hand) is to be seene, and with these verses written vpon his Tombe.

Dux Normanorum, verus Conquestor earum.
Hæres Francorum, decessit & Hector eorum.

Here Normans Duke, so stiled by Conquest iust,
True Heire of France, Great Hector, lies in dust.

His Wife.

(86) *Katherine*, daughter to King *Charles* the sixt of *France*, vpon an agreement of peace forementioned, was married vnto King *Henrie* at *Troyes* in *Champaine*, *Iunij* 3. A. D. 1420. and after Febr. 14. was Crowned at *Westminster* with all solemnities. Shee was his Queene two yeeres, and about three months, and suruiuing him, was remarried vnto *Owen Theodore* of *Wales*, vnto whom shee bare three sonnes, *Edmund*, *Iasper*, and *Owen*, and a daughter who liued not long. *Owen* tooke the habite of religion at *Westminster*, the other two by King *Henry* the sixt (their halfe brother,) were honorably preferred; *Edmund* was created *Earle of Richmond*, and marrying *Margaret*, the sole heire of *Iohn Beaufort Duke of Somerset*, was father by her vnto *Henry* (the only heire of *Lancaster*,) afterwards King of *England*. *Iasper*, the second brother, was created the same yeere, *Earle of Pembroke*, who requited his brothers kindnes with continuall assistance against the house of *Yorke*; and when that faction preuailed, he was forced to flie into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, he was both restored, and to his greater honour created Duke of *Bedford*, dying without any issue legitimate. This Queene, either for deuotion, or her owne safety, tooke into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where dying Ian. 2. A. D. 1436. shee was buried in our Ladies Chappell within *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*; whose Corps taken vp in the raigne of King *Henry* the seuenth her Grand-child, (when he laid the foundation of that admirable structure,) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her husbands Tombe, hath euer since so remained, and neuer reburied: where it standeth (the Couer being loose) to be seene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, saith *Report*, (which doth in this, as in most things, speake vntruth) in regard of her disobedience to King *Henry*, for being deliuered of her sonne at the place hee forbad.

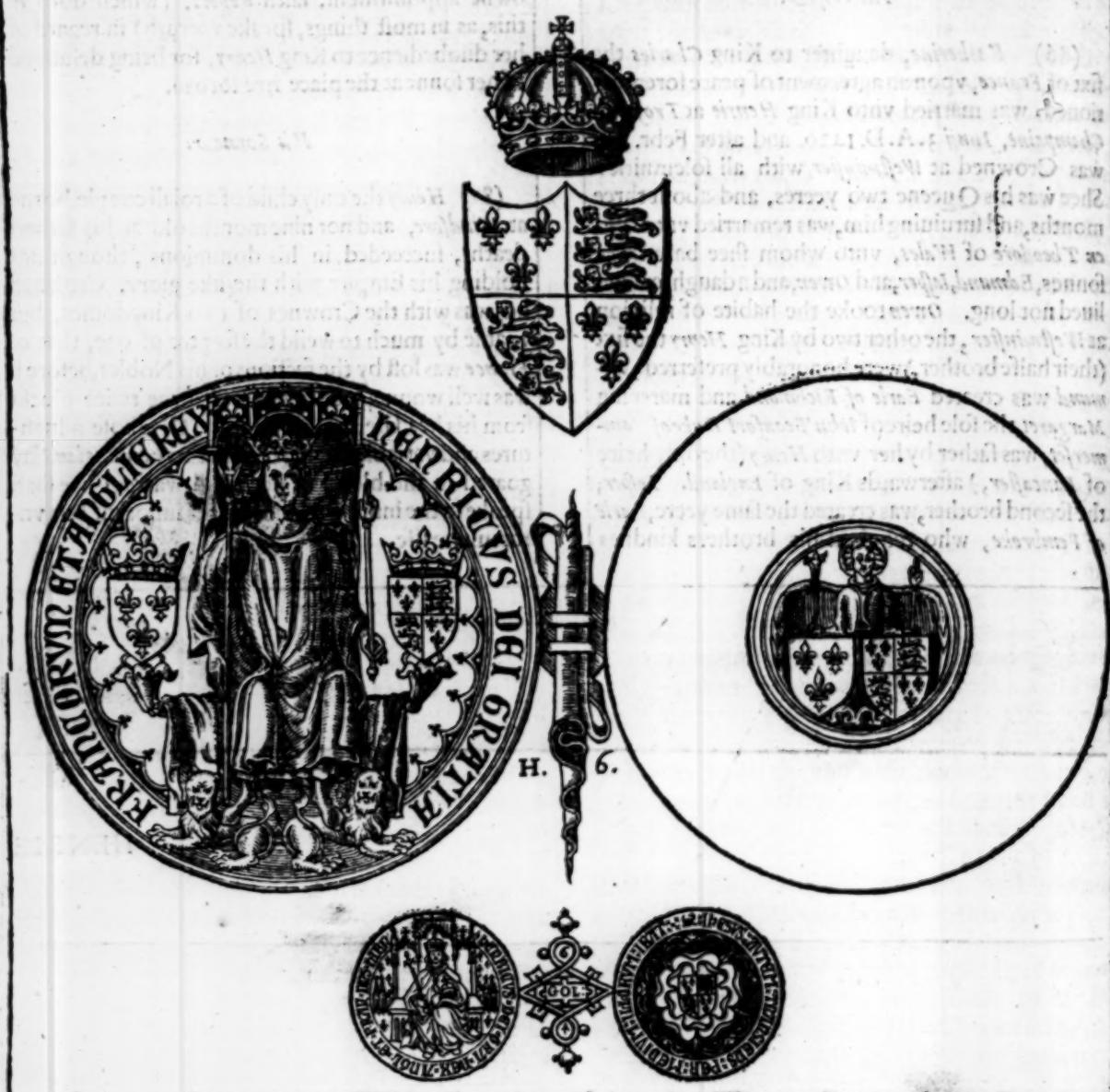
His Sonne.

(87) *Henry* the only child of a roiall couple, borne at *Windsore*, and not nine months old at his fathers death, succeeded in his dominions, though not holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but vnable by much to weild the scepter of one, that of *France* was lost by the factions of his Nobles, before it was well wonne; and *Englands* Crowne twice pluckt from his head before his death. Of whose aduentures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay goared in the blood of her ciuill warres) we shall speake in the insuing relation of his innocent, but vntortunate life.

HENRIE

Henry VI.

HENRIE THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XVI.

HAd God almighty (the *giuer and transferrer of Kingdomes) thought good that the *Englisb* should haue setled in the *Continent* of *Europe*, and not haue beene shutte vp within their Ilands, hee would not so soone haue depriued them of their late incomparable Captaine and Soueraigne *Henry* the fifth. But it seemes that God hauing humbled the French Nation vnder *Henries* victorious hand, ment now again to restore them to his wonted fauor by taking away their terrour & triumpher, substituting his son (an Infant) in his place, *Henrie* of that name the 6. born at *Windsor*, who was crowned about the eight month of his age. The prety hands which could not feed himselfe, were yet made capable to weeld a scepter, and hee that was beholding to nurses for milke, did nevertheless distribute the sustenance of law and iustice to so great and warlike Nations. Counsell supplies the defect of age. At his fathers death hee had vncles, men of approued valour and discretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the fathers last prouisions was committed. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* (the yonger brother of two) had the * gouernement of *England* entrusted to his fidelity: the regency of *France* was assigned for Prouince to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, the eldest liuing vncle of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimity, prowesse and felicitie in conduct, with whom was *ioyned *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*. The guard and custody of the royall Infant was assigned to *Thomas** Duke of *Exceter*: the nurture and education to his * mother, the Queene *Dowager:* vpon the two vncles (as betweene the two Poles of the *English* Empire) the whole globe of gouernment moued: whatsoeuer is done by the kingly power is said to be done by the King. We shall behold notwithstanding in the tragicall glasse of this *Henries* raigne, how farre the imbecillity of the kingly person

* Dan. cap. 2. v. 21

Henry the fifth began his raigne the last day of August, being the day of his Fathers death. Anno 1422.

* Tit. Liu.

* Iob. Tit. Liu.

* Stowe. * Polyd. Virg. hist. lib. 23.

ſon may affect the body politicke with good or euill. If hiſtories were ordayned to ſtirre affections, not to teach and inſtruct, neuer any Princes raigne ſince the Conqueſt did better deſerue to bee deſcribed with a tragical ſtyle and words of horror & ſorrow, although the beginning (like the faire morning of a moſt tempeſtuous day) promiſed nothing morethen a continuance of paſſed felicities.

(2) For the State of the Engliſh affaires was great and flouriſhing, *England* without tumult, the naturall fierce humors of her people conſuming or exerciſing themſelues in *France*, and *France* her ſelfe (for the nobler parts together with the grand City of *Paris* head of that Monarchie) was at their deuotion. There wanted nothing which might aduance the worke begunne. Moſt noble and expert Leaders as thoſe which had bin faſhioned in the ſchoole of warre, vnder the beſt martiall maſter of that age, the late *Henry*, arms full of veterant ſouldiers, moſt of which were of skill ſufficient to be commanders themſelues: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which diſsipation might enter to the ouerthrow of the *Engliſh* greatneſſe) as yet diſcloſing themſelues. Wiſdome, pietie, riches, forwardneſſe at home, courage and like forwardneſſe abroad. It is a fruitfull ſpeculation to conſider how God carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwaies iuſtly, ſometimes terribly, but neuer otherwiſe, then to bring all worldly greatneſſe and glory into due contempt, and loathing, that the ſoule may bee erected to her Creator, and aſpire to a Crown celeſtiall. The firſt diſaduantage which hapned to the *Engliſh* cauſe (after the late Kings deceaſe) was the death of *Charles* the *French King*, who ſuruiued the other but *fiftie and three dayes. This wee may worthily call the firſt (as it was a great, aſwell as the firſt) diſaduantage, for the imbecilities of that Prince were a ſtrēgth to the *Engliſh*; On the other ſide (God obſeruing a *talio* and *parilitie*) the infancy of young *Henry* was an aduantage to *Charles* the *Daulphin* of *France*, now by them of his faction called King of *France*, as the *Engliſh* vſed in deriſion to enſtyle him King of *Berrie*, becauſe little elſe was left vnto him.

(3) In *England* (whoſe condition the order of nature wils vs firſt to deſcribe, becauſe there was the ſeat of counſell, by which all the actions of the generall ſtate were directed) a Parliament was aſſembled to eſtabliſh the Crowne vpon the Infant, and to prouide for the publike vſes and neceſſities of State. Money* (alwayes one of them) was liberally granted. It was a ſtrange ſight (and the firſt time that euer it was ſeene in *England*) which in the next yeere hapned, an infant ſitting in the mothers lap, before it could tell what *Engliſh* meant, to exerciſe the place of Soueraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet ſo it was, for the Queene to illumine that publike conuention of States with her Infants preſence, remoued from *Windſor* to *London*; through which Citie (her ſelfe roially ſeated with her young ſonne vpon her lappe) paſſed in maieſticke manner to *Weſtminſter*, and there tooke ſeate among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) hee ſaluted and ſpake to them at large concerning the premiſes; where, as hee vttered the mind of his place by anothers tongue, ſo hee elſewhere proſecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

(4) The Duke of *Bedford* (as the nature of his place exacted) to ſettle and preſerue the State of *France* for his young Nephew the King, together with *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne*, who as yet continued a ſtedfaſt friend to the *Engliſh* Soueraignety (knowing the *Daulphin* buſie to recouer *France*) ſtrengthned the confines of their gouernment with Garriſons, aſſembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne party. The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, had* words to them to this effect in open aſſemble. *That they ſhould not violate their plighted and ſworne alleagiance, neither by themſelues endeauour nor endure, that by others their Soueraigne Lord young Henry ſhould be defrauded of his inheritance, or that the hatreds and enmities which now beganne to die betweene the French and Engliſh names, ſhould through the practiſes of moſt faithleſſe men be renued, and reinflamed: That they would remember how (by Gods ſpeciall fauour and goodneſſe) the two Kingdoms of France and England were vnited vnder one moſt faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternall league, and lately ſo eſtabliſhed that no humane force could reſiſt. That albeit they had ſuſtained dammage by the warre, yet the ſame would bee recouered with aduantage, if they honored loued and obeyed their lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Henry, and proſecuted his enemies with extremity, according to bounden duty.* This Oration found plauſible admiſſion in ſhew: *Henry* is proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and ſuch chiefes as were preſent did their homages, taking oath to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of alleagiance was put vpon all the *French* through the *Engliſh* Dominions in *France*.

(5) *Charles* (who as ſonne and heire to the late King entitled himſelfe King of *France*, by the name of *Charles* the ſeuenth) being then about the ſeauen and twentieth yeere of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chiefe Leuies were made in *Daulphynois* and *Italy*, from whence (for money) he drew ſundry troupes. But the beſt ſinews of his Army moued in certain thouſands of the *Scotiſh* Nation, which ſerued vnder him. The firſt ſteppe which the *Charolines*, or forces of *Charles* made into hoſtile action was vnfortunate, for comming to raiſe the ſiege which the *Engliſh* held about * *Crepan* they were put to flight, with the loſſe of about two thouſand of their numbers. This was noble in *Charles*, and his *Charolines*, that their minds ſunke not at the horrour of ſuch an euill *Omen*. It was ſaith *Æmylius* of them, *reſolued to encounter aduerſe fortune with encreaſe of courage*. The Regent on the other ſide was vigilant vpon all occaſions: the power of his Regency extended it ſelfe without contradiction * *through Vimew, Pontieu and Picardie, from Paris to Reines, Chalons and Troyes, vp to the water of Loyr and the Sea*: A goodly ſcope of territory, and abſolutely the beſt of *France*. That late loſſe & foile of the *Charolines* was repaired ſhortly after by an ouerthrow in skirmiſh which they gaue to the *Engliſh* party, from whom (with the ſlaughter of about fifteene hundreth) they recouered a great booty, ſpecially of Cattel which the *Engliſh* had gotten in the Countries of *Nugion* and *Main*, but thus intercepted vpon their return into *Normandy*. *Charles* (which *Paul. Æmylius* omitteth) doubteth that ſucceſſe: for * *Meulan* vpon *Sein* is by him taken where all the *Engliſh* are put to the ſword: but the poſſeſſion was ſhort, and the reuenge ſpeedy: *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury* (a man (ſaith *Polydor*) more like the old Romans then people of that age, ſo great was his vertue and cheualrie) hauing with him *Iohn* of *Luxemburg*, Generall of the *Burgundian* horſemen, recouers the place, killing all the *French* which were found therein.

(6) At the Citie of * *Amiens* in *Picardie* the three great Dukes of *Bedford* (Regent of *France*) *Burgoign* and *Britaine* meet to conſult of the whole courſe & ſumme of affaires. There they renued the League, adding, *that each ſhould be others friend, and that all of them ſhould defend King Henries right with their beſt forces.* For the better aſſurance of this profitable amity, the Regent (then a Bachelour) tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, ſiſter to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*: while the Regent was abſent from *Paris* vpon theſe iuſt occaſions, the *Pariſians* (who not long before had * ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, to acknowledge their obedience to King *Henry*) practiſed with *Charles* to deliuer their City. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treaſon, and with his preſence retained them in duety. The chiefe Actors paied their liues for ſatisfaction of the treſpaſſe. In good

* *Paul. Aemyl. in Car. 7.*
* *Cranant* ſaith *Polyd.* who placeth this action in the following yeere.
The bounds of the Engliſh Regency in *France*.
* *Stows Annals.*
* *Polyd. Verg. l. 23*
* *Polyd. Verg. l. 23*
* *Stows Annals.*

The whole field-forces of the English in *France* vnder the Duke of *Bedford*.

time there arriued out of *England* ten thousand fresh Souldiers. Ouer them hee ordeined Captaines, the famous Earle of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Willoughby* and others. Himselfe lead about with him for the generall seruice, eighteene hundred horsemen, and eight thousand foote. With these field-forces the maime of the English estate in *France* was held together, though not without difficulty, and diuers aduentures. In them he tooke from *Charles* sundry strong Townes, and Fortresses as * *Crotoy*, *Baside*, *Riol*, *Rula*, *Gyrond*, *Basile*, *Mermound*, *Milham*, *Femel*, *Seintace*, and many other.

*Rob. Fab.

(7) The Regents chiefe designe was to draw *Charles* to fight, hoping by his ouerthrow to conclude many daies workes in one. For this cause he drew into *Normandy*. *Charles* was then in *Tourain*, where he mustereth his people. The Regent prospers in the meane time, and takes by siege a place of good importance, presuming so to dare the *French* out to a Battell. *Iohn Duke of Alanson* is sent with an Army and instructions to fight, if occasion serued, but *Charles* himselfe was not suffered to hazard his person. Not farre from the Towne * of *Verneil*, which the * *English* had taken before the * Duke of *Alanson*, and his *Charolines* could succour it, the two Armies embattelled themselues. The fight began with shot, which seeming not quicke enough to dispatch the work, the battels came to hand-stroaks, where for some houres, there was maintained a constant and doubtfull battell with great furie on both sides. The English enured to the French warres, hauing borne the first heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation most ragefull:) by perseuerance vtterly brake and put them to flight. The Regent * himselfe with a battle-axe fought most fiercely, winning immortall honor in that bloody iourney. There were slaine of the enemies side: *Iohn* * *Earle of Boughwhan* Constable of *France*: *Archenbald Douglas Duke of Tourain* and Lieutenant of *France*; *Archembald* his sonne *Earle of Wigton*, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were slaine the *Earle of Vantadowr*, and sundry others. In all there died vpon that side certaine thousands. None writes of fewer then foure or fiue thousand, nor any of aboue fifteene. The great number of the slaine, is not the measure of a victory, but the vse and effects which it drawes. The Duke of *Alanson* himselfe was taken prisoner, with about two * hundred others of speciall worth. The *English* paid for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thousand of their souldiers which lost life there, for it was fought vpon faire termes in the open fields, and carried by meere manhood. That which followeth till the siege of *Orleance*, *Paul* * *Æmylius* comprehendeth in some few lines. *The fierce Conquerour besiegeth Mants in Main, and with Ordinance beates downe part of the wals. It yeelds heereupon. The English Garrison left therein, after the taking not being sufficient to containe the Towne in due subiection, is compelled to flie to a Tower for their safetie, the enemies which were admitted into it by the Burgers enioying the rest. The Lord Talbot (the most noble Captaine of the English) presently arriues to the rescue, and puts the malefactors to death. The English Empire extends it selfe to the Riuer of Loyr. Charles they call in scorne the King of Berry.* Thus roundly he.

*Poly. Verg. lib. 23.

*Ja Carol. 7.

The Regents victory at *Verneil* in *Perch*.

*Stowes Annal.

*Holl. Boet. li. 16.

*Poly. Verg. li. 23.

In nine Articles and capitulations drawne and concluded at the yeelding of *Mants*, this was one, as perhaps it was in euery like occasion. *That if any persons were found within the City, which had beene consenting to the murther of Iohn Duke of Burgoin, father to Philip Duke of Burgoin, in full reuenge whereof, he had hitherto adhered to the English, that * they should simply bee at the Regents mercy.*

The murtherers of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgoin* excepted in capitulations.

*Rob. Fab. Chron.

(8) The chiefe things which passed in *England*, during these happy proceedings in *France*, were briefly these.

Iames the first King of Scots set at liberty out of *England*.

Iames Steward the young King of *Scots*, hauing beene casually taken vpon the Sea, in the reigne of King *Henry* the fourth, and after his fathers death not sufficiently tendered nor respected by the *Scots*, remained still a Prisoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from aiding the French, it was now thought fit by the Councell of *England* to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done vpon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Ladie *Ione*, daughter to *Iohn Earle of Sommerset*, neere cosen to King *Henry*. Principall setters forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his liberty also) to honour their family with a Kingly alliance, were the *Earle of Sommerset* and the *Bishop of Winchester*, both of them *Beauforts*, who together with sundry other of the *English* Nobility, conducted the new married Couple to the Scottish Borders. Much of his ransome was abated, and his new kinsemen bestowed vpon him * store of plate, gold, and siluer, & among other gorgeous Ornaments suit of hangings, in which the labors of *Hercules* were most curiously wrought. But this wise King (hauing had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in *England*) did not suffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall state of *Scotland*, whose freedome did much depend vpon the fortune of *France*, whereby the maine drift of his enlargers was not much aduanced. The reason notwithstanding which lead this action was probable, and so much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanity. The forreine mischiefe thus howsoeuer intended, hereby to be auoided or qualified, *Sir Iohn Mortimer* (a dangerous firebrand at home) being Prisoner in the Tower was arraigned for many treasonable speeches vsed to a yeoman, (seruant to *Sir Robert Scot* *, keeper of the Tower of *London*) to draw the said yeoman to let him escape: promising him great matters. The points of his speeches were as that fellow charged vpon him in open Parliament,

*Holl. Boet. Grafton.

*Rob. Fab.

1. *That the said Mortimer meant to flie into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an armie of forty thousand men to enter England, and strike off the Protectors head, and the Bishop of Winchesters.*

2. *That the Earle of March ought by right to bee King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then hee himselfe was next heire.*

3. *That if he could not safely reach to the Marches, he would saile to the Daulphin of France, and there serue with honor, which he was assured of.*

The title of *Mortimer* to the Crowne [illegible] to be ende[illegible]

For these ouertures of escape, and conspiracie the Knight was drawne hanged and headed: Of whose death no small * slander arose. Perhaps he that writes so doth meane that the whole was but a stratageme to rid him out of the way. *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer Earle of March*, the party whom the said knight mentioned, was sent not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into *Ireland*, where he deceased without issue, whose great patrimony descended to *Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge*, the fatall disturber of the Realme of *England*, vpon the pretence of *Mortimers* title to the Crowne.

*Hal. Chron.

Camb. Britan.

(9) The amity with the Duke of *Burgoin*, which the English had hitherto found so auailable toward their Conquests, hauing otherwise receiued some few slight flawes was now in danger of vtter breaking vpon this occasion. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* Protector of the Realme, following councell vnworthy of his person and place, contracted himselfe with the Lady *Iaqueline of Bauaria*, *Inheretrix* of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Henault*, and many other faire dominions in the Netherlands, notwithstanding that *Iohn Duke of Brabant*, her former husband was then liuing, and that the suit of diuorce commenced by *Iaqueline* * depended still betweene them. The Duke of *Burgoin* held with *Brabant*. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of *Gloucester*, who being not vsed to meet with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in person he came with an armie to take

The Duke of *Gloucester* [illegible] marieth [illegible] mans wife.

*Grey, Kile. Edw. Grim.

seison

seison of *Henault* in right of his supposed wife, finding himselfe hard set vnto, by the aids which *Burgois* ministred to the Duke of *Brabant*, he challengeth Combat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, calling him traitour. It was accepted and the *lie strongly thrust vpon *Glocester*, who (leauing the light Lady at her Towne of *Mons* in *Henault*) returned into *England*, doing nothing of that for which at that time he came. Mediation tooke vp the quarrell afterward betweene the Duke of *Burgundy* and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of *Glocester* into *England*, the first marriage which had beene made and consummated betweene the Duke of *Brabant*, and the said Lady *Iaqueline*, was pronounced lawfull by Pope *Martin* the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of *Glocester* (hauing susteined many losses aswell of friends as treasure in punishment of that great sinne, in taking anothers wife) forthwith marries *Eleanour*, daughter to *Reignald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, whereby he made her amends for that * vnlawfull familiarity which had formerly passed betweene them.

Meanewhile the Court of *England* doth well shew that the King was an infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and sidings, the Duke of *Glocester* (whose high office it was to tender the welfare of the King and State) laying sundry grieuous accusations against the Cardinall *Beaufort* (sonne of *Iohn Duke of Lancaster*) Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellor as being a person very dangerous vnto both.

(10) The news of these home-contentions comming to the *Duke of Bedford* into *France*, easily drew him home, though the state of that Realme could not well want his presence. For *Iohn Duke of Britaine*, (notwithstanding his late renouation of league with the Regent at *Amiens*) iealous of the * *English* greatnes turned sodeinely to *Charles*, and with him, *Arthur, Earle of Richmond* his brother. This puts fresh spirit into the drooping Prince. *Arthur* is by *Charles* made Constable of his *France*, in place of the Scottish Earle, who was slaine at the bloody Battell of *Vernoil*. The Duke of *Britaine* ouerliues this reuolt but a small time. *Arthur* to declare his forwardnes on the behalfe of *Charles*, assembleth about twenty thousand men, and with them sodeinely besiegeth *S. Ieans* a Towne of *Normandy*, vpon the frontier of *Britaine*; which *Edmund Duke of Sommerset*, Gouernour of *Normandy*, had lately fortified and stuft with souldiers. The vnexpected arriuall of the *French*, did greatly at the first perplex the *English*, but vpon better aduise, they valiantly sallied out vpon them, both before and behind, which stroke so great terrour into the enemy, that with losse of their Artillery, and many of their people they forsooke the siege. To redeeme this dishonour, he turnes his fury vpon the Countrey of *Angiau*, which in many parts he depopulates and spoiles. The Regent being resolued to returne into *England*, leaues behind him *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*; as lieutenant, who was lately arriued in *France*, hauing six thousand fresh Souldiers in his company.

(11) The presence of the *Duke of Bedford* Regent of *France*, was to the State of *England* very necessary. For the wisdome and authority of so great a Prince, being eldest vncle to the King, and one whom many great deedes made famous, allaied the distemper which he found at his arriual. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he also found it to be a worke indeed, and not easily effectuable. The differences were debated first at *Saint Albans*, then at *Northampton*, lastly in a Parliament at *Leicester*, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of *Bedford* himselfe, to auoid the note of partiality, for that his brother of *Glocester* was a party did not intermeddle otherwise then as in Generall words to perswade amity, but the whole cause was referred to arbitrators of greatest Nobility and prudence: by whose endeuours all those differences and greeuances were equally thrust into one sacke, to be sealed vp for euer by oblivion, and without mention of amends on either side, the Duke and Bishop (the one hauing sworne by his Princehood, the other by his Priesthood, truly to obserue the award,) shooke hands, and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and necessary worke of priuate attonements, ensued acts of festiuitie and honor. For in the same Towne of *Leicester* the young King, not then fiue yeeres of age, was at the high feast of *Pentecost* dubbed Knight by the Regent of *France*. Immediately whereupon the King honored *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, (who by the fatall errour of the Counsell was at this Parliament created Duke of *Yorke*, the same who was father to *Edward* the fourth) with the order of knighthood, and about forty more with him. This *Richard Duke of Yorke* was hee, who brought vpon this Kingdome and nation most dolefull diuisions to the vtter extirpation of all the male lines of either house, that is to say, his owne, and that of *Lancaster*, whereof the young King was head. From *Leicester* the King was conueighed to *Killingworth*, and *Thomas Duke of Exceter* dying, *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*, was constituted *Guardian* and Tutor to the King.

(12) The Regent hauing thus worthily prouided for the quiet estate of the King and Country, returns to his charge in *France*. There went ouer at the same time a choise and great number of fresh men, vnder the conduct of that immortally renowmed, the L. *Talbot*, whose victories (saith *Polydor*) were so many, that his name was not onely most dreadfull to the *French*, but most famous through the world, euen at this present. That yee may know the man not to haue beene studious of fine Phrases; vpon the one side of his sword-blade was engrauen, *Sum Talboti*, and vpon the other this boisterous blunt sentence;

Prouincere inimicos meos.

The Duke of *Alanzon* (taken at the Castell of *Vernoil*) was set at liberty vpon payment of two *hundreth thousand Scutes of gold. At *Montarges* about *Orleance* the *English* receiued an ouerthrow with the losse of about fifteene hundreth of their numbers, and in *Britaine* the *French* sustained great dammages by a Captaine of the Duke of *Sommersets*. These were petty matters: They of *Mantz* in *Maine* had drawne in the *French* by night, who massacred the *English*. *William* Earle of *Suffolke* Captain of the place sends to *Iohn* Lord *Talbot* for succour. It came, and that so vnexpectedly, that the *French* were alike distrest. All but souldiers were spared, and many also of them, though thrust into prisons. The Traitours which had caused so much mischiefe, had their deserts by death. From hence the Lord *Talbot* marched to other enterprises. The quality of our taske cals vs to the maine.

(13) *Thomas* Lord *Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, being with the Regent at *Paris*, and considering what forces of men, and all prouisions the *English* then enioied, bethought himselfe of some action, which might answere the greatnesse of his owne name, and of the publike meanes. The siege of *Orleance* is by him propounded to the Councell. The credite of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to conuince the possibility. His desires were therefore furnished with all competent prouisions. They of *Orleance* hearing what a storme was comming (for the name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The *Suburbes (answerable in bignesse to a good City) they leuell with the earth, that the enemie might not from thence annoy them. Men, victuals, munition, and constant intentions to fight for their liberty, and safegard abounded. The Earle of *Sarisburie*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a dreadfull puissance vnder most expert commanders present themselues before it. *Orleance* was and is an Episcopall See, a Parliament

The Protector and the Bishop made friends.

*Hollins.

The King receiues Knighthood and dubbeth *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

A.D. 1427. A. reg. 5. The Regent and the Lord *Talbot* with fresh forces passe into *France*.

Talbots Mot.

Gagwin.

Paul. Aemil.

The siege of Orleance.

Parliament Towne, and Vniuersity, richly scituate vpon the riuer of *Loir*, whose best glory it is, being the chiefe City which that renowned streame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, he *approacheth close to the walles. Assaults * prouing vain, he entrencheth about it, and to secure his Campe, casts vp ramparts and other works, one of which (by reason of the hugenesse thereof) was called *London*, by the name of the chiefe City of *England*. The Fort which stood at the Bridge foot beyond the *Loyr*, hee seiseth vpon and closeth them vp on euery side. *Charles* of *France* could minister no sufficient succor. God, when mans helpe failes interposeth his hand, which as all of vs daily feele, so is it most conspicuous in the deliuerance of Nations. The City is driuen to some miserie through the beginning want of all things; for the siege had now endured about 60. daies * not without much bloudshed on both sides. The Earle of *Salisburie* impatient of such delay, purposeth to giue a generall assault. The better to consider vpon the course, hee stands to take view at a window barred with Iron which ouerlookt the City toward the East. Behold how God began to vncutte the knot of those bands with which the *English* held *France* bound, a bullet of a great piece (which lay ready leueld at that window) discharged by the Gunners *sonne, a lad, stroke the grates, whose splinters so wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gargraue*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few dayes. Heare now the common iudgement of Writers concerning this Earles losse: * *Presently after the death of this man the fortune of the warr changed.* *Now both mortall and immortall powers beganne to looke fauourably vpon the State of France.* This to the * *English* was *Initium malorum: for after this mishappe they rather lost then wanne, so that by little and little they lost all their possession in France: and albeit that somwhat they got after, yet for one that they wan, they lost three.* So that *Polydor* not without cause (after many other great praises) doth elsewhere call him the man in whom the safety of the *English* state consisted. *The vertue therefore of a fortunate Generall is inestimable.*

(14) Howbeit the siege did not determine with his life, *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Talbot* & the rest maintained the same all the winter. The wants of the Campe were relieued from *Paris* by a conuoy, vnder the guard of Sir *Iohn Fastolfe* and fifteene hundred souldiers who arriued safe in despite of all the attempts to distresse thē, which the *French* made. The City would yeeld it selfe, but not to the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundie* they were content should haue the honour. A subtle stratagem, rather then an offer of yeelding, for there was likelihoode in it to breake thereby the amity betweene the *English* and him. The Regent and his Counsell being sent vnto, thought it not reasonable (*Æmylius* erroniously makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of that refusall) neither indeed was it, theirs hauing beene the cost and labour. The Duke of *Burgundy* construed this repulse sowerly, which marred his taste of the *English* friendshippe euer after: yet the Regents answere was iust and honest. *That the warre was made in King Henries name, and therefore Orleance ought to be King Henries.* Among these difficulties stood the *French* affaires. *Charles* of *France* vnderstanding the miserable straites of his deare City, & ignorant how to remedy so neere a mischiefe; there presented herselfe vnto him at *Chinon* a yong maid about eighteene yeeres old, called *Ioan* of *Loraine*, *daughter to *Iames* of *Arck* dwelling in *Domremy* neere *Vaucaleurs*, a * Shepheardesse vnder her father, whose flockes shee tended, *bids him not faint*, and constantly affirmes, that *God had sent her to deliuer the Realme of France* from the *English* yoake, and restore him to the fulnesse of his fortunes. Shee was not forthwith credited; but when the wise of both sorts, aswell Clerkes as Souldiers had sifted her with manifold questions, she continued in her first speech so stedfastly, vttering nothing but that which was *modest, chast and holy, that honour and faith was giuen vnto her sayings. An *old woman directed her. *Ioan* armes her selfe like a man, and requires to haue that sword which hung in * *S. Katherines* church of *Fierebois* in *Touraine*. This demaund encreased their admiration of her; for such a *sword was found among the old Donaries or Votiue tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely arrayed she rides to *Blois*, where forces and fresh victuals lay for the reliefe of *Orleance*. Shee with the Admirall and Marshall of *France* enters safe. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Ioan* the maide of God, so they called her, (though * some haue written that it was a practise or imposture) writes thus to *de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, who succeeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that siege.

" (15) *King of England do reason to the King of heauen, for his blond royall; yeeld vp to the Virgine the* " *keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She* " *is come from heauen to reclaime the blond royall, and is* " *ready to make a peace, if you bee ready to doe reason:* " *yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken, King of* " *England:* I am the chiefe of this war, *whersoeuer* " *I encounter your men in France, I will chase them wil* " *they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercy.* " The Virgine comes from heauen to driue you " out of *France. If you will not obey, shee will cause so* " *great a stirre as the like hath not beene these thousand* " *yeeres in France. And beleeue certainly, that the king* " *of heauen will send to her, and her good men of Armes,* " *more force then you can haue. Goe in Gods name into* " *your Country: bee not obstinate, for* you shall not " hold *France of the King of Heauen*, the sonne of S. " *Marie*, but Charles shall enioy it, *the King and* " *lawfull heire to whom God hath giuen it.* Hee shall " enter Paris with a goodly traine; *you William de* " *la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Iohn Lord Talbot, Thomas L.* " *Scales Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford, and you* " *Duke of Bedford terming your selfe Regent of the* " *Realme of France, spare innocent bloud, and leaue Or-* " *leance in liberty. If you doe not reason to them whom* " *you haue wronged, the French will doe the goodliest* " *exploit that euer was done in Christendome.* Vnder- " stand these newes of God, and of the Virgine. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries vnder his obedience, * but *Languedoc* and *Daulphin* against which both the *Sauoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miscarried, the Prince of *Orenge* the third confederate being discomfited.

(16) This letter was entertained by the *English* with laughter. *Ioan* reputed no better then a Bedlam or Enchantresse. Though to some it may seem more honourable to our Nation, that they were not to bee expelled by a humane power, but by a diuine, extraordinarily reuealing it selfe. *Du Serres* describes this Paragon in these words. *Shee had a modest countenance, sweete, ciuill, and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastity without vanity, affectation, babling, or courtly lightnesse.* Let vs not dissemble what wee finde written. By her encouragements and conduct the *English* had *Orleance* pluckt out of their hopes, after they had suffered the Duke of *Alanson* to enter with new force, and with much losse were driuen to raise the siege. *Ioan* herselfe was wounded at one sallie in which shee led, being shot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what she esteemed of that hurt, when shee vsed these admirable and terrible words. *This is a fauour, let vs goe on; they cannot escape the hand of God.* In all aduentures she was one and formost. The *English* lost at this siege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poynings*, and many other. But doe not rashly beleeue *Serres* in saying, that of all sorts were slaine in such Sallies, as the martiall Virgine made eight thousand. Our Writers say but * sixe hundreth. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with aboue nine thousand, whom *Ioan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In memory of this admirable deliuerance, they of that City erected a monu-

*Polyd. Virg.
*Paul. Æmyl.
*Polyd. Virg. l. 23
The Earle of Salisbury slaine with a great shot before Orleance.
* Holinsh.
*Polyd. Virg.
*Paul. Æmyl.
* Fabian.
The siege continued notwithstanding the Earles death.
Orleance offers to become Burgundian, but the English would not admit thereof.
*Serres Iamlet by Edward Grimston.
Ioan the martial maid miraculously sent to deliuer Orleance and France.
*Paul. Æmyl.
* Serres
* Polyd. Virg.
*Gerard. Leg. Hailin, & [illegible] other French Authors.
Serres out of Originall C[illegible] translated by Edw. Grimst.
The Virgin [illegible] letter to the English Ge[illegible] before Or[illegible]
* Stem.
The desci[illegible] of Ioan la [illegible] le da Dieu, [illegible] maid of Go[illegible]
The siege [illegible] Orleance ra[illegible]
*Serres

monument, where *Charles* the seuenth king of *France* and *Ioan* the Martiall maide were represented, kneeling in Armour, eleuating their eyes and handes to heauen, in signe of thankes and acknowledgement.

(17) There was an interchangeable taking and recouering of Townes and places of importance vpon both sides. The Lord *Talbot* tooke *Lauall*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* puts himself into *Iergeaux*. Thither the Duke of *Alanson* with *Ioan* and other great Captaines come, which they force by assault. Sir *Alexander Poole* the Earles brother was slaine, with many others in the fight, the Earle himselfe remained prisoner. The Duke added some other places to this Conquest: soone after his numbers are augmented by the repaire to him of *Arthur* Constable of *France*, the Earle of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others, so that now their whole Army contayned about twenty and three thousand men. With these they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had scarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a village called *Patay*, whom they charged so sodainely, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their battels (after their manner) with a Palizado, or empalement of stakes, so that the chiefe fight must bee made vpon horsebacke. After three houres bloudy resistance, the *English* were put to the worst. * The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampstone*, and euen the Lord *Talbot* himselfe (being first wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmen enforced to trust to their * swords vnder the shelter of such horsemen as remained, retreated in order, and came to a place of safety. The *English* lost aboue a thousand, the *French* aboue 600. This blow shooke the whole fabricke of the *English* greatnesse in *France*, at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (euen of those who before had vowed fealty to the *English*, and now had colour of diuine warrant for violating that vow) to ioyne with the victors for the recouery of common liberty. There followed the present reuolt of sundry townes; neither was it long before *Charles* himselfe issues out in Armes, recouers the City of *Auuerre* and *Reims*; where according to the Maides direction, hee was solemnly crowned King. Hitherto shee might bee thought prophetical and fortunate. It should seeme now that the chiefe part of her imployment was accomplished, yet she flourished a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to buttresse the shrinking state of *English* affaires in *France*, and to encounter euill fortune in the face, vpon the vnpleasant newes of *Orleance* rescued, and *Talbots* taking, musters his whole present forces which made aboue ten thousand *English*, besides certaine wings of *Normans*: with these he marcheth out of *Paris*, and opposeth himselfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes who meant to attempt that City, some of whose Citizens held strict and secret correspondence with him. But vpon this affrontment he suspended the execution of that design, hauing as then no hope to atchieue it. The Regent returnes to *Paris*, *Ioane* the *Pucell* disswaded *Charles* from fight.

(18) Places of speciall note as *Campeigne* and *Beauuois* yeelded themselues voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent hauing setled the Estate, and Garrisons of the Chiefe City, passeth into *Normandy*, to prouide for a safe retreat there, if perhaps the *English* (by the ineuitable will of God) should bee enforced to quit their other holdes and dominions: which hee began to suspect, for that he had intelligence of a secret purpose, which the *French* pursued to winne the *Burgundians* from King *Henries* side. While the Regent was absent vpon this occasion, *Charles* got the Towne of Saint *Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though hee held it not long by practise. From thence he sends the *Duke of Alanson* and *Ioane* to trie their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped successe, for the *English* gaue them so rough an encounter, that *Ioan* her selfe was * wounded; and the rest with much slaughter driuen to fall off. The Regent hearing of these attempts, entru-

steth the Coast-Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, and *Roan* (the Capitall City of that Dutchy) to *Edmund Duke of Somerset*, himselfe speedes to *Paris*; where he commends the souldiers and Citizens for that they had not imitated the disloyaltie of their Neighbours. New supplies came out of *England*. The next enterprize was to reduce *Campeigne* to obedience. *Iohn* of *Luxemburg* with *Burgundians* and some *English* besiegeth it. Here the glory of *Ioan* vnfortunately ended; for comming to the rescue shee entred indeed, but afterward sallying forth, her troupes were beaten, and her selfe (being betrayed, say her fauourers) taken prisoner by the said Burgundian * Knight, who for the value of her ransome (ten thousand pounds *Turneys*, and three hundreth Crownes yeerely rent) deliuered her vnto the *English*. The siege was notwithstanding raysed; they sent her to *Roan*, where she (about nine or ten moneths after) was burnt to death. *Clelia* was saued by * *Porsenna*; and it is not to be doubted, but that the magnanimity of the *English* would haue spared her, had they not found it necessary to deface the opinion which the *French* euen with superstition had conceiued of her. Our * Writers shew how the course of her life being legally examined by the Bishoppe of *Beauois* (in whose Diocesse shee was taken) and shee thereupon for sorcerie, bloudshed, and vnnaturall vse of manlike apparrell, and habiliments contrary to her sex, condemned to die, was notwithstanding vpon her solemne abiuring of such her lewd practises, pardoned her life, till againe conuicted of periurious relapsing, though acknowledging her selfe a * strumpet, and fayning to be with child, she deseruedly vnderwent that punishment which she sought to delay. The rumor of her end, and the ignominious cause thereof was somewhat incommodious to the affaires of *Charles*. It was thought that the comming of King *Henry* to *Paris* would be much more.

(19) Hee had already with great solemnity receiued the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, being about nine yeeres olde, a most fashionable and waxen age for all impression either of good or bad. The next yeere after his Coronation in *England*, he passeth ouer into *France* there also to receiue the diademe thereof. The *Constableship of England*, was before his departure, assigned by *Patent* for terme of life to *Richard Duke of Yorke* (which gaue him a more feeling of greatnes and secretly whetted his ambitious appetite,) vpon this occasion. One *Iohn Vpton*, of *Feuersham* in *Kent* Notarie, accused *Iohn Down* of the same place Gentleman, *That hee and his complices did imagine the Kings death at his Coronation*. The combat was granted, and in *Smithfield* (the Duke of *Yorke* exercising the office of high Constable) they fought in lists. In the end the Kings name was vsed to part and forgiue them. It is a vice to suspect too farre. The Duke of *Yorke* (a most subtle man) seemes neuer in heart to haue beene a true subiect to King *Henry*: yet no man saith, hee was any author in this. *Henrie* (the common wealth hauing yeelded to liberall grants of money) is now ready to enter *Paris*. *England* remained vnder the gouernment of the Duke of *Gloucester*.

(20) There is no doubt that the English there at their Kings presence, set forth their greatnes to the full shew. The yong King attended vpon with two *English Cardinals*, *Yorke*, and *Winchester*, and great Princes of his blood, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Prelates*, and the flower of our nation, with many aswel *French* and *Burgonians*, as *Normans* and others, excellently well appointed, makes a triumphant entry into the head City of that most noble Monarchy. There was no signe in the People but of ioy and welcome; the showes were many and magnificent. Vpon the seuenth day of *December*, he was solemnely Crowned King of *France*, by the * Cardinall of *Winchester*, his great vncle, in the * Chiefe Church of *Paris*, called *of our Lady*. The Duke of *Bedford* entertained the

Ioan taken prisoner.

Chron. de Bretaig. apud Holinsh. p. 604.

* *Serres* saith by the bastard of *Vandome*.

* *Holinshed.*

She is burnt for a witch at *Roan*.

* *Tit. Liu. Patau. Dectad. 1.*

* See *Holinsh. in Hen. 6.* The French got this sentence to be reuersed by the Pope 26. yeeres after.

* *Stow.*

K. Henry is to come in person into *France*.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Constable of *England*.

A.D. 1431. A.Reg. 10.

Henry crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.

* *Paul. Aemyl.*
* *Iob. Tyl. Chr.*

minds of the Assembly with a set speech, wherein he declared, *King Henrie his Nephewes vndoubted title to that Crowne, and commended the same to their fidelities, adding ample promises of honour and emolument.* Such of the French Nobilitie as were present, did their homage. The people had good and gratious words giuen vnto them, and certaine *quantities of money, Corne, and wine, in the nature of a donatiue, liberally distributed among them. *Proclamations* were made, that all *Frenchmen* who came in by a day there named, should be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching *French* matters, passed vnder the seale and stile of *Henry King of the* Frenchmen *and of England*, which Seale (for variety) we haue prefixed, as we found it annexed, * to a writing directed by the King *to his Court of Requests in his Pallace at Paris*; but for English affaires he vsed another Seale, being in euery point like vnto that * of King *Henry* the fourth, and (as some thinke) the very same stamp, (which therefore we haue here omitted,) as likewise some * Charters of his there are, whereunto he affixed the seale of his father. *Charles of France* esteemed not himselfe the lesse a King for all this, but pursues his affaire. His people tooke the City of *Chartres* by a stratagem, the Bishop whereof (because a *Burgundian*) they also put to the sword with others. Neither were the *English* idle. *Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Suffolke*, and others, made vp this losse with aduantage. Their actions are placed by some as done before the Coronation which is likely.

*Polyd. Verg.

*Gallorum, to distinguish, (it seemeth) from the former meere titular, of *Gallia Rex*; so also the *French* Kings vsually stile themselues.

*In Custodia Io. Guillim Heraldi pertiff. Dat. H. 6. 7.

*Inter Chartas Collegi Eton.

The King hauing thus taken possession of *France*, not long after tooke his farewell thereof. His re turne was by *Roan*, and so ouer land to *Callais*, from whence vpon the eleuenth day of *February*, hee arriued safe at *Douer*. His vncle the Duke of *Gloucester* was able to giue an honest, and good account of the Gouernment during the kings absence. The suppressiō of an insurrection, beginning at *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least seruice. A weauer (the Baliffe of the Towne) was the vlcerous head, to which that corruption gathered; who had changed his own name, and called himselfe; *Iacke Sharpe of Wigmores land in Wales*. The speciall colour of his attempt was *to haue massacred Priests; whose heads* (he said) *hee would make as cheape as Sheepes-heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny.* But the mention of *Wigmores lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Mortimer*, (then the possession of the fatall *Duke of Yorke*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of *England* from King *Henry*) insinuates somewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to be wondred that the *Councell of Estate* vnder King *Henry*, hearing that title so often glanced at, prouided not better against the mischiefe. But the eies and hearts of the wise are blinded, when God hath a purpose to reserue a scourge, or to hide the fire which shall afterward be vsed to consume a nation. Vnquiet humors were aswell abroad as at home. The souldiers of *Callais* discontented with their wages as to little began to be mutinously troublesome. The Regent comes thither in person in *Easter weeke*, where he exerciseth necessary discipline seuerely. Foure, the most faulty lost their heads, one hundred and ten are cashered, and banisht from the Towne, as sixe score others had formerly beene. Why dwell we vpon so petty accidents? The losse of the Kingdome of *France* is imminent. Let vs diligently note the degrees which God found out to depriue our Nation of that honor. In this iourney of the Regent, King *Henries* interest was not aduanced. The Regent (a widdower) roade from thence to *Turwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* priuity) he married the *Lady Iaquet*, aged about *seuenteene yeeres * daughter to *Peter of Lutzembourg* Earle of *S. Paul* no friend to the *Burgundian*. This was nothing prosperous to the *English* affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, sister to the *Duke of Burgundy*, being, while shee liued, a strong reason and assurance of amitie, weakened the same by her death; and this second marriage, not pleasing the *Burgundian*, did yet more diminish it. These were but degrees.

The King returnes into *England*.

The Protector breakes an insurrection at *Abingtō* in the *Sbell*.

*Stowes Annal.

A mutinie beginning in *Callais* appeased.

The Duke of *Bedford* marrieth the Earle of Saint Pauls daughter.

*Holinsh.

*Stowe.

In the meane space, the accidents of warre between the English and French, were manifold and perplext, now wee, now they leesing, or gaining, as opportunity serued: which vncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearefull outrages, and * scarcitie of all things needfull for the vse of man. It would be wearisome, and not much necessary, to recount the particular lesser actions, neither indeed is it easie; for who can readily tell the sieges, surprises, skirmishes and the like, being so confusedly set down by Authors, wherein diuers of both Nations wanne to themselues much honour, and serued the vses of those times, and their owne. The vttermost effect of those great labours, was, that the English *Regency* fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in those publike seruices were the Regent himselfe; their maine Pillar and Chiefe life, *Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Earle of Warwicke, Henry his Sonne, the Lord Willoughby, the thrice noble Iohn Lord Talbot*, (who was now at liberty,) the *Lord Scales*, besides Knights, Esquires, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

*Iob 11.

(21) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is not to be omitted, for that afterward, our King vnluckely married into his house. He had to * wife *Isabell* the daughter, and heire of *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, by whom he had issue two sonnes, and two daughters, the youngest of which was *Lady Margaret*, whom King *Henry* afterward tooke to wife. *Charles Duke of Lorraine* dying, *Renate* thinkes to succeed in that estate. *Antony Earle of Vallement*, brother to *Charles* presumes he hath a neerer right. The matter comes to be determined by blowes. *Charles* King of *France* was a stedfast supporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu of like offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of most difficulty. The Regent and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, stood for the Earle. Their aides preuailed so much, that *Renates* forces were beaten with losse of about * three thousand, from the siege of *Vallemont*, and himselfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained prisoner to the *Duke of Burgundy*, one of whose subiects commanded in chiefe at that enterprize. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of Naples and *Sicilia*, by the testament of *Ioane* Queene of them. The King of *France* might seeme to haue susteined a grieuous losse by the enthralment of this Duke: but the *English* gained nothing thereby: for his perswasions, and priuate offices on the behalfe of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the *English* but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impression of reconcilement. The French who liued vnder the Regency, or in danger of the English, made choise of the *Burgundian* to protect them, which could not be embarred to them, for that he was as yet King *Henries* pretended friend. Indeed this Scene and vnstable state of affaires was full of horrour, which *Polydore Vergill* describeth well enough. *While the English and French* (quoth he) *contend for Dominion, Soueraignty and life it selfe, mens goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre, Churches spoiled, men euery where murthered, or wounded, others put to death, or tortured; Matrons rauished, Maids forcibly drawne from out their parents armes to be deflowred, Townes daily taken, daily spoiled, daily defaced, the riches of the Inhabitants carried whither the Conquerors thinke good; houses and villages round about set on fire: no kind of cruelty is left vnpractised vpon the miserable French; omitting many hundreth kinds of other calamities, which all at once oppressed them. Adde hereunto that the Commonwealth being destitute of the helpe of lawes, (which for the most part are mute in times of warre and mutinie) floateth vp and downe without any anchorage*

*Paul. Iou.

Renate Duke Lorraine taken pri

*Polyd. Verg.

*Paul. Iou.

The miserie face of Fra occasion of warres.

auntrage at right or iustice. Neither was England herselfe voide of these mischiefes, who euery day heard the newes of her valiant childrens funerals, slaine in perpetuall skirmishes and bickerings, her generall wealth continually ebd, and wained, so that the euils seemed almost equall, and the whole Westerne world ecchoed the groanes and sighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of speech and compassion throughout Christendome.

(22) The course certainly which the *English* held, did only faintly keepe aliue the Generall State of the Regency, without giuing period to the warre, either by finishing the Conquest, or setling that which was conquered. Some would haue had large supplies of men, and treasure leuied, that King *Charles* might no where haue any rest: Of this opinion were *Bedford** himselfe, the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerset*. This Counsell was not followed, but another, in shew more frugall, which fed the euils, but redressed none. Present sparings doe oftentimes draw after them infinite wasts, and no husbandrie proues so ill, as vnseasonable Parsimony. In the mean time, the Earle of *Arundel* and the Lord *Talbot*, carry about victorious Armes, and terrifie *Angiou*, *Main*, and other places with their successes. In *Normandie*, neuertheless the common people drew together in huge multitudes. There were threescore* thousand of them rebelliously knotted together in *Vexin*, *Norman*, and twenty thousand in *Caux*. Their purpose was (through dislike of the *English* Gouernment, or practise of the *French*) to haue reacht one hand to King *Charles*, and to haue thrust King *Henries* officers out. What is a multitude without aduise? To stoppe their insolency and course which * they held toward *Caen*, the Earle of * *Arundel*, and *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with about thirteen hundred light horse, and sixe thousand Archers, march against them, by direction of the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Sommerset*, who had the chiefe Leiutenancies in *Normandy*. They diuide their forces to vse them with the more aduantage. The Earle stayes in Ambush with two parts, the Lord *Willoughby* drawes them into it with the third. A thousand of the Rebels were cut down before the souldiers hands could be stayed to spare the rest, who basely (as it became them) threw away their weapons, and fell to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were suffered to returne, their ringleaders lost their liues. All that the world could collect by this popular insurrection was, *that the Normans would be gladly rid of the English.* Nothing else was done. This Earle of *Arundell* hauing done sundry noble deeds during the wars in *France*, receiued his deathes wound shortly after in a skirmish at *Gerberoy* in *Beauuoisine*, where *La Hire* (a famous Captaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The *Regency* yet held, and the miseries of *France* (being burnt vp by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Sunnes) were nothing diminished: Who should giue to them a Period? while the Duke of *Burgundy* continued *English*, it could not be. To prepare therefore a separation betweene them, such of the Nobility as went ouer to the Burgundian Duke told him, * *That King Charles vpon all occasions (when speech was ministred) spake of him honourably, and inwardly wished him well, and that he neuer heard any mention of the murther committed vpon the Duke his father, (cause of the sonnes hatred to France) but he heartily sighed, protesting hee was neither party nor priuy thereunto.* These and the like mollifying salues applyed to the tumors of his reuengefull affections, did worke strongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore possessed with the English amity, was now vacant in that part, the same (by the means of sundry iealousies and auersions) lying open to contrary impressions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to fashion him entirely to the French partie. Let vs heare * *Serres* in this point: The Deputies of the *Generall Councell* presse both French, English and Burgundians to end all quarrels by some good composition. The City of *Arras* is allowed of them all to treat in. From the * Pope and *Councell of Pisa*, there came the Cardinals of S. *Crosse* and *Cyprus*, with twelue Bishoppes. For the King of *France*, there was the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earle of *Richmond* Constable of *France*, the Archbishoppe of *Reims*, Chancellour of *France*, and many others, great, noble, wise and learned men. For the King of *England*, the two Cardinals of *Yorke* and *Winchester*, the Earles of *Suffolke* (* *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntington*) the Bishoppe of Saint *Dauids*, *Iohn Ratcliffe* Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord *Hungerford*, *Ralfe* the wise Officiall of *Canterbury*, and some Doctors of Diuinity. For *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earle of *Nassau*, the Bishoppe of *Cambray*, Count *Vernambourg*, the Bishoppe of *Leige*; fiue other great Earles, besides the Deputies of many his best Townes, sufficient to shew, that though hee was in title but a Duke, yet that his greatnesse was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the *English* being also in possession, *vrged farther for themselues the right of descent, and the act of Charles the sixth, father to this Charles, by which act the Crowne of France was setled vpon Henry the fifth, and the issue of the Lady Katherine his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might haue all, and * Charles to hold of him. The French offered Normandie and Guien.* There ended the hope of agreement betweene them, for neither party would accept. King *Charles* therefore resoluing to maime the *English* faction vpon any termes (how base soeuer) sends Duke *Philip* a blanke, bids him therin to prescribe his owne conditions and demands: he did so: and his *Conditions were so vnreasonable, and so many, euen a great volume full*, (saith a French man) *as it is strange, so great a Monarch should stoope so much to his subiect and vassall, but that necessity hath no law.* They * ioine hereupon most firmely, and the Duke (a man wholy transported by profite) declares himselfe a publike enemie to all the enemies of King *Charles*, and friend to all his friends. This was the first parting stroke which seuered the French Dominions from the English Soueraignty: the euent declared, that the English had done more wisely, if they had accepted *Normandy* and *Guyen*; but as the case stood, then they could not in honour doe it; and Councels are not to bee measured by euents; for so the most foolish may sometimes passe for prudent. King *Henry* not onely lost now hereby a most needfull friend, but was compelled to relie vpon his single strengthes, aswell against King *Charles* his naturall enemie, as against the Duke of *Burgundie*, who plainely seemed to haue betrayed the cause. To set a glosse vpon this fact, the Duke * dispatcheth Ambassadors into *England* to King *Henry* (who as * *Aemylius* erroneously saith was present at this treaty of *Arras*) to make known the reasons of his peace with King *Charles*, and to perswade the King to entertaine the same. This Ambassage was so odious to the *English*, that they forbare not to call the Duke *a deceitfull man, a turn-seruer, a periured person, and a Traitor.*

(24) The popular hatred also was such against the Dukes Subiects, resiant in *London*, that they were beaten and slaine many of them, before the furie thereof could be stayed by Proclamation. The Ambassadors returne with honest admonitions to their Master, against which, his eares and senses were strongly mured; for King *Charles* had set about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priuiledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes and whole Prouinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, onely to withdraw him from vs. The whole Counties of * *Aust, Erre, Ponthieu, Bolein, Artois*, the towne of *Abbeville*, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in *Picardy*, vpon the water of *Some, Amiens, Corbie, Peron, S. Quintin*, but these last as it were in gage till * foure

* *Eugenius 4.*

Commissioners at *Arras* to compose the quarrels of the English, French and Burgundians.

* *Holinsh.*

* *Polyd. Verg. lib. 23.*

* *Serres in Char. 7.*

* *Serres.*

The French and Burgundian agree.
* 24 Sept. 1435
* *Serres.*

* *Polyd. Verg.*
* *In Carol. 7.*

The incredible rate at which K. *Charles* purchased the Burgundians good
* *Paul. Aemyl.*
* *Polyd. Verg.*

*Paul. Aemyl.

A.D. 1435. A.reg. 14.

The Burgundian renounceth to the Regent his friendship with England.

* Inuent of Fr.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France dieth at Paris.

* Cambden in Bedfordshire: saith he was slaine in battell before Vernoyle.

* Master Cambden locoitat.

* Stowes Annals. but Master Cambden saith it was Charles 8. Cambd. ibid.

King Lewis his Princely testimony of the late Regents vertues.

* foure hundreth thousand Crownes were satisfied: Briefly, what not? the Charity of King *Charles* was so feruent to make the Duke of *Burgundy* a true Frenchman once againe; hee paide so deare for it, that wee may thinke him worthy to obtaine his desire; yet was it worth his cost; for *Æmylius* saith most truly, that *the ceasing of that indignation did releeme the French from a forraine gouernment, as the first assuming thereof had made the English, Lords ouer France.* But, howsoeuer the high and iust displeasure, which this Prince tooke for the wicked murther of his father, (aboundantly satisfied for by this treatie) moued him first to embrace the English amity, hee afterward most subtilely conuerted the reuenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlargement of his proper riches, power and amplitude. After his Ambassadors returned, hee sends backe all contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounceth the alliance of *England* with a watchword, *that euery one should looke to himselfe.*

(25) Each man hereupon (saith * *Serres*) sharpens his sword and scoures his Armes, to recouer that by force which they could not obtaine by *reason*; *Serres* might better haue said, *reasoning.* All things certainly fauoured the *French* designes; for this was the generall estate of the *English* affaires. King *Henry* scarce out of his Child-hood; and when he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage so turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the blood weakely vnited in loue, for the common good; the Protector vigilant ouer *England*, the Regent carefull for *France*, but both priuately enuied; *Richard Duke of Yorke* (whose strenghts daily increased, which in time he meant nothing lesse then to vse for the benefit of King *Henry*,) ambitiously reseruing himselfe for a deare day; most of the great warriours slaine; and in briefe a great inability (for want of a Soule, willing and fit to looke so sterne and dismall aduentures in the face) through the whole body of the *English* forces; which though otherwise they might haue lingred out the warre, and kept their footing, yet the death of the great Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France* doubled the difficulty, or rather the impossibility. In taking this triumphant Peere away, God made it manifest, that he held the *English* vnworthy and vnfit to continue their Empire among the *French* any longer. This Prince not long after this reuolt of *Duke Philip*, died at * *Paris*, vncertaine to some, whether through griefe of the euils he foresaw, or other malady. But the *Analogy* and colour of his whole former life, doth contradict their conceit, who think that such a grief should determine his daies, because it could not but proceed from a kind of feare and despaire, an humor absolutely opposite to Magnanimitie, wherein hee abounded. How mighty a *Prince* he was this his * *style* sheweth: *Regent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanson, and Anion, Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable of England.* But (which excelleth his greatnes) he was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that euer blossomed out of the roiall *Rosiar* of *England.* His valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his memory honorable. For (doubtfull whether with more glorie to him, then to the speaker) * *Lewis* the eleuenth being afterwards counselled by certaine enuious persons to demolish and deface his stately Tombe, (wherein, *with him*, * saith one, *was buried all the Englishmen; good fortune in France*) which was erected ouer his body in the North side of the high Altar, in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, vsed these indeed most Princely words.

(26) *What honor shall it be to vs, or you, to breake this Monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones of him dead, whom in his life-time, neither my father, nor your Progenitors with all their puissance, were once able to make flie one foot backward? who by his strength, pollicie, and wit kept them all out of the principall dominions of the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of Normandy? wherefore I say first, God saue his soule; and let his body now lie in rest: which when he was aliue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: And as for the toombe, I assure you, it is not so worthy, or conuenient as his honor and acts deserued.*

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late peace made at *Arras* betweene King *Charles* and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, presently disclosed, and put forth effects most dangerous to the *English*; for many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of the French (who hitherto through feare contained themselues) starting away, all the English dominions were full of priuate conuenticles, practises, and correspondences with the Enemy. Such English as then were in *France*, are not altogether sloathfull, but yet, through a fatall either security or negligence at home, there was not speedy sufficiencies of resistance ministred.

(28) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, (whose seruices neuer did good to the *English* common-wealth) is created Regent of *France*, and *Edmund Duke of Sommerset* (his perpetuall riual, or perhaps an intelligent censor of his manners) continues his commands in *Normandie.* The Duke of *Sommerset** opposed the aduancement of *Yorke* to that slipperie dignity. He was no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the Protector, and all the Councell of *England.* Yet his opposition was vnseasonable, and fruitlesse, for the others carriage had woonne such a party about the King, (whom he meant by embracing to pull down) that notwithstanding the disaduantage of his silenced title, which was alone a great cause to haue made him euerlastingly incapable of so great trust and meanes, he preuailed. But before he could arriue, *Paris* was lost. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was Gouernour there for the *English*, who had with him but about two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was presumed vpon to make vp the rest at a pinch, for a common resistance. On the contrary, they perceiuing vpon what termes the English affaires stood in *France*, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire against them. The treason was carried so cunninglie by some of the principall Magistrates of the Towne, who capitulated for a generall pardon from King *Charles* (which was gladly yeelded vnto,) that the mischiefe sooner tooke effect, then it could be discouered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse with his misfortune; for *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, houering about *Paris*, in hope to recouer the same, the Lord *Beaumont* with certaine hundreth of *English*, fell into his danger about *Saint Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terror of this discomfiture (not great in regard of the numbers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was freshest, the French aduance their Banners vp to the City, where a gate was opened vnto them by their partisans. What should the *English* doe in this generall mischiefe? The townesmen, lately vassals, turne enemies on a sodaine: women and children assaile the *English* from their windowes with all sorts of misfitt things. Many are beaten downe and massacred in the streetes. The Lord *Willoughby* Gouernour of *Paris*, *Lewis* of *Luxemburg* Bishop of *Therouan*, Chancellour of *France* for the *English*, the Bishops of *Lisieux* and *Meaux*, with other, flie to* *S. Anthonies* gate and the Bastile, places which they had reserued for defence till extreme necessity. Many more had been saued in those places, but that the perfidious Citizens drew chaines thwart the streetes, and empeached their retreat. Heare the rest in a * *Frenchmans* words,

(29) *All runne to the Bastile. The Towrels are presently seized, and all approaches vnto the Bastile are soone won. Such as were within it, at first made some shew of defence, but all things were prepared to force them: they demand a Parlea, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the Loure, to embark vpon the Riuer of Sein, and so passe to Roan. They could not well haue passed through the City. The people hereof aduertised runne*

to

Richard Duke Yorke made Regent of France

* Holinsh. Stow and.

*Paul. Aem.

* Serres Trans. by Edw. Gr.

The Parisians conspire to possesse the Bastile.

The City yeelded vp to the French.

to the walles, and cry out with great shoutes, * *baiting the Englishe like Dogs, whom a little before they had feared, and honoured as their masters.* Who of the *Englishe* reades these things without indignation? but they are the perpetuall manners of the base multitude, & the fortune therin of the *Englishe*, the same which followeth all like accidents. Some will thinke that the Lord *willoughby*, and his people might haue done more nobly, to haue taken vp their graues in the place which they pretẽded to make good against the *French*. Fortitude is neuer separated from Prudence. Succour was despaired. The Duke of *Yorke* was not as yet arriued, and in maintaining their strengthes against the whole City of *Paris*, and all the present French forces for the space of about ten dayes, they sufficiently cleared themselues both in point of honour and loyalty. *Paris* * is thus lost in the worst time for an Army to march in. They did wisely to choose so vnseasonable a season, their market might haue else beene marred; for the new Regent (not so much hindred from sooner comming by the Duke of *Somersets* emulations, which some affirme, as by the very quality of the winter weather) arriued afterward, accompanied with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke*, the Lord *Falcombridge*, and other worthy persons, with an Army of eight thousand men. *But this Regent did neuer good in France:* Hee who so writes, might haue also safely added, *nor elsewhere.* The *Englishe* affaires were not as yet come to the very breake-necke point. They held (in the late conquered parts of *France*) *Normandy* entire, though not without much trouble; for the people againe rebell in *Caux*: but that mischiefe was destroied with the greater and more mercilesse confusion of the Authors and Actors, then the former. About fiue thousand of them were trampled to death by the iust fury of the Englishe, vnder the leading of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo* and others. They burnt all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, draue their whole numbers out of the Country. The Lord *Scales* not long after discomfited *La Hire*, and his Companie not farre from *Roan*. The war was handled on all sides without full or complete armies. Skirmishes were the ordinarie formes of fighting. The French were schooled from setling their rest vpon a pitcht field. Thus houered the affaires.

(30) *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne* had as yet in person giuen no proof against the *Englishe* of his affection to King *Charles*. Now hee addresseth himselfe to an enterprise worthy of that expectation, the recouery of *Calais*. You would suspect that hee continued still a friend to the Englishe, in making choice of a seruice, wherein hee was most likely to waste his time in vaine, and yet make shew of much forwardnesse; but hee was reall, though the rather stirred therunto by the desire of priuate reuenge. The *Englishe*, vpon his forsaking their alliance, had attempted to kindle the *Gauntois*, and other of the *Flemish* townes (Subiects to the Duke) to rise in rebellion: but the opinion that K. *Henries* fortunes in *France* were desperately stooping, made their wils too dank to take fire. The notice notwithstanding of this attempt came to the Duke, which sharpened him to reuenge, whereof (as the former passages abundantly declare) hee was not ordinarily thirsty. He brings his Armie before *Calais*. Chiefe commanders there for King *Henry* were the L. *Dudley* who had charge of the Castell, and Sir *Iohn Ratcliffe* of the Towne. The Dukes purpose was to haue cloyed the harbour by sinking shippes laden with stones, and such like choaking materials; but vpon the ebbe-water the Calisians deliuered the hauen from that perill. The King of *England* aduertised that his precious Fort and Towne of *Calais* were thus emperilled, *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector comes in person with a very great Fleete (some write fiue hundreth saile) to the rescue, and in it a great puissance, with full purpose to giue battell, glad perhaps that hee might now reuenge old grudges. It is able to moue choler, to consider how Writers torture vs with the diuersities of reports; but the generall agreement is, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did raise his siege before he was fought with. Some* say the very rumor of the *Protectors* approch draue him away, and that the Protector came the next day after the Burgundians flight. Others excuse him (probably enough) in saying that the *Flemings* grew vnweildie to his commandements, and would needes home.

*Polyd. Verg. l. 23

(31) The *Protector* was master of the Dukes Camp, and spent eleuen dayes in his Dominions, burning *Poppering* and *Bell*, and greatly damnified him about * *Granelin* and *Bolognois*, then setleth hee the state of *Calis*, and * returnes with great honour to his charge into *England*. But the English were thought to haue created store of worke for this busie Duke at home; where many great tumults rose, in * one of which, his owne person was endangered at *Bruges*, *Lisle-Adam* the Captaine of his guard being there presently slaine. Hence it came perhaps that a meane * was found by contracts made with *Isabel* the Dutchesse his third wife (a most witty woman a Portugesse) to hold a league with *England*, and yet no breach with *France*.

He returns with honour into England.
*Serres. Rob. Fab.
*Serres.
*Polyd. Verg. l. 23.

(32) These haue hitherto beene the actions of Men, let vs not neglect two great *Ladies*, because much concerning our historie depend on their courses. *Queene Katherine*, the widdow of King *Henrie* the fifth, and mother by him of this sixth *Henrie*, about this time departed out of the world. This most noble Lady, when her husband the King was dead, being not of iudgement (by reason of her tender yeeres to vnderstand what became her greatnes, or hauing found perhaps that greatnes was no part of happinesse,) secretly marrieth one *Owen ap Theodore* or *Teder** the most noble and most goodlie gentleman of all the *Welsh* nation, and endued with* admirable vertues, who drew his descent from holie *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britaines*. This husband had by her sundry children, two of which, *Edmund* and *Gasper* doe beare a part in the royall history, and King *Henry* the sixth (their halfe brother) created the first of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pembroke*. This *Edmund* is he, who by *Margaret* the daughter of *Iohn* Duke of *Somerset*, (grandechilde to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*) had *Henry* the 7. the most famous and prudent King of *England*.

An. D. 1437

Katherine Queen Dowager of England.
* Paul. Aemyl.
* Polyd. Verg.
King Henry the 7. her Grandchild.

(33) In that yeare in which this excellent Queen died, the young Dutchesse *Dowager* of *Bedford* (widdow to the late Regent of *France*) married also (below her degree) a vigorous Englishe Knight, one * Sir *Richard Wooduile*, of which match yet *Serres* needed not to haue spoken so contemptibly, calling him an Englishe aduenturer, of small account; shee thereby (saith he) giuing cause to laugh at her: which censure tasteth perhaps of the French leuen and preiudice, because the Lady was sister to the Earle of S. *Paul*, who would not make one in the peace of *Arras*, but held with the Englishe.

* Stowes Annals. The Dutchesse Dowager marrieth Woodvile.

(34) But let vs see the sequell. Out of this Matrimony also sprung Queenes; for her husband (afterward made Earle of *Riuers*) had sundry children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour to marry *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, and hereby was both herselfe a Queene and a Progenitresse of those glorious Kinges and Queenes which followed: for from her and this match sprang another *Elizabeth*, the renowned wife of King *Henry* the seauenth, as King *Henry* himselfe did of the former: both those marriages proued most fortunate to *England*: but another marriage which then threatned present danger to King *Henry*, was that which *Iames* the first King of *Scots* made with *France*, who gaue his daughter the Lady *Margaret*, to *Lewis* the *Dauphin* for wife, and sent new supplies of men against the *English*: hee meant also to haue attempted some personall hostility, but that hee was most wickedly murthered by certaine bloudy Traitors in *Perth*,

Elizabeth wife to Edward 4. a daughter of that bed.
The murder of K. James the first of Scotland.

*Holl. Boet. l.17.

Perth, ſuborned thereunto by *Walter* Earle of *Athol*, (his owne neere kinſman) in hope to attaine the Crowne; crowned indeed he was, but not (as his Withces & Sorcerers had ambiguouſly inſinuated) with the Crowne of that Realm, but with a* Crown of red-hote yron, which was clapt vpon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked dayes and deſires.

The new Regent doth nothing.

(35) Let vs now caſt our eye to the doings of our new Regent the Duke of *Yorke*, that we may be witneſſe s, how farre by his endeauors, the affaires of King *Henry* were aduanced in *France*. The ſilence at this time is euery where very great, yet had he opportunitie to haue atchieued ſomwhat. Two* thouſand French horſemen were mutined, and roued vp and downe in great diſorder. *Paris* was fearefully puniſhed with famine, and the attendants of famine, peſtilentiall maladies. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were diſcontented and diuided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which * ſome impute to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſets* oppoſition, who out of enuy and diſdaine hindred his diſpatch. Wee muſt in the meane time find out them that did ſomewhat. The Duke of *Sommerſet* himſelfe accompanied with the Lords *Talbot* and *Fauconbridge*, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the *Engliſh*, beſiege *Harflew*, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and ſtill maintained againſt them vnder French Captaines: King *Charles* ſends ſome of his principall Commanders with foure thouſand men to reſcue the Towne; who did their beſt, but not able to effect any thing, *Harflew* was rendred to the Duke.

*Fauent. of Fr.

*Stow p.616.

Harflew recouered by the Duke of *Sommerſet*.

The Earle of *Warwicke* comes Regent into *France*, and *Yorke* returnes.

(36) In *Nouember Richard* Earle of *Warwicke* came as Regent into *France*, being ſurrogated in that office to the Duke of *Yorke*, who returned into *England*. Hee carried with him a thouſand freſh Souldiers, and arriued at *Harflew*, from whence he repaired to *Roan*, the chiefe ſeat (*Paris* being now loſt) of the Engliſh Dominions in North *France*, as *Burdeaux* was in the South; whether now the Earle of *Huntingdon*, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was ſent as *Seneſchall*. This new Regent buſied himſelfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of *Burgoins* forces were driuen from *Crotoy*. *Abbeuile* freed from the danger of a *Baſtile*, with which the Duke had pent that Towne in; and the Engliſh for twentie dayes ſpace together tooke their pleaſure in ſpoiling the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. Theſe and ſome other actions hauing beene worthily carried during this Regents gouernment, himſelf dyeth. The Duke of *Yorke* againe ſucceedes him. Our intereſt in *France* was retained, not ſo much by King *Henries* miniſters and Armies, as by remiſſeneſſe of King *Charles*, whom alſo *Lewis* the *Daulphin* (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious deceſſions, and abſentments of himſelfe. The feare of the Engliſh reconciled the ſonne to the father the ſooner. K. *Charles* was now fallen into diſlike with his people, but to redeeme his credite, hee attempts the recouery of *Pontoyſe* (a towne neere to *Paris*) which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before ſurpriſed by ſtratageme and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in perſon to the enterprize. There attended vpon him for that ſeruice about ten or twelue thouſand men. The L. *Clifford* is within, and makes a braue defence.

A. D. 1438.

The Duke of *Yorke* Regent againe.

King *Charles* and his ſonne reconciled againſt the Engliſh.

The ſiege of *Pontoyſe*.

(37) The Duke of *Yorke* lately landed in *Normandie*, as Regent, aſſembleth his maine ſtrengthes, being about ſeuen or eight thouſand; offers the French King battell. Hee keepes himſelfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient humor, and diſcipline of the Engliſh, who loue to ſet all vpon a puſh) deſirous to fight, vnexpectedly paſſeth the riuer of *Oyſe*, which ranne betweene the two Campes. King *Charles* diſlodgeth ſo fearefully, that the French doe not ouer boldly excuſe him of *flying. The Duke hauing had the ſpoile of the French Kings Campe, refortifies *Pontoyſe*, and aſſaults a *Baſtile*, where *Charles* had left three thouſand Souldiers to maintaine the face of a ſiege. It was held better to purſue the King, who was gotten to *Poiſie*. There the Duke of *Yorke* againe very nobly prouokes him to a field. It would not be; King *Charles* ſaw the hazards were not equall, and therefore endures his brauado. What could the Duke doe more? hee is of neceſſity to returne to the maine of his charge in *Normandy*, and doth ſo. King *Charles* ran into ſuch obloquie and contempt with his people by this diſhonourable retreat, but chiefly with the *Pariſians*; that if hee had not attempted again and preuailed againſt *Pontoiſe*, it might haue ieoparded his whole eſtate; for there was a faction which would haue made vſe of his diſgrace. He returnes in great fury to the ſiege, and finally enters the town, not without much bloudſhed. *Serres* ſaith, that fiue hundred Engliſh left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the firſt that entred, chooſing rather to be thought temerarious then timerous. This exploit eſtabliſhed his opinion among the people. A ſatietie of warre filled both ſides, and the eſtate of *England* vnder King *Henry*, whoſe ſoftneſſe and lenitie gaue way to ſundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commiſſioners meet at *Callis*: nothing is concluded but the enlargement of *Charles* Duke of *Orleans* for the ſumme of three hundred thouſand Crownes. Hee had beene Priſoner in *England* about twentie and ſixe yeeres, euer ſince the Battell of *Agincourt*, where hee was taken. The Duke of *Burgundie* was a ſpeciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpoſe to ſecure his owne greatneſſe by benefites: this high borne Prince for the murther of his father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly fewde, which had moſt mortally raged between the houſes of *Burgundie* and *Orleance*. *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloceſter* prudently foreſeeing the dangers like to enſue on *Orleance* his enlargement, ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe thereunto, and that vpon important reaſons which * hee required to haue regiſtred, that they might remaine on Record for a teſtimony and diſcharge of his duty in that behalfe.

*Serres.

1 Firſt, for that the French King wanted diſcretion and iudgement to order his affaires, which defects might bee ſupplied by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very ſubtle) if hee ſhould bee ſet at liberty.

2 That the ſaid Duke might procure an vnion of the factions (now hotely maintained in *France* among the Nobility) to the preiudice of the Crowne of *England*, and hazard of the loſſe of the Kings territories in *France*.

3 That the Dutchie of *Normandy* (hauing ſuſtained a great charge in maintaining the warre) ſeeing the Duke of *Orleance* deliuered, and no royall Army on the Engliſh part to withſtand the common enemy, was likely inough to reuolt.

4 That if the Duke ſhould be deliuered, it might be probably coniectured, that he would ſooner break his oath, which he ſhould (being priſoner) make to the King of *England*, then the oath of his alleageance to the French King his Soueraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignity.

5 If the Articles concluded between his Maieſty and the French on the Dukes behalfe, ſhould not be performed, what remedy might his Maieſty haue or expect?

6 That conſidering his coſen of *Huntingdon* was to leaue the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and for that the alliance betwixt the ſaid Duke, and the Earles of *Armiack* and *Foix*, and the Lord *de la Bret*, was to bee ſuſpected as dangerous, it was very neceſſary that good prouiſion ſhould be made for defence of that Country, being his Maieſties ancient inheritance.

7 That his Maieſty hath no allyance with any Chriſtian Prince, but onely the King of *Portugall* (being but of tender yeeres and farre off:) And therfore it was not ſafe for his Maieſtie to deliuer him, that

was

was likely to proue his Capitall enemie, and to seeke meanes to depriue him of those lands which his noble father had left him.

8. That if any of his Maiesties kinred, or other Lords on that side the Sea, should happen to be taken prisoners, the said *Duke of Orleance* might ransom 4 or 5 of them.

9. That it were fit to take aduise of the Lords, and other his Maiesties subiects in the Realme of *France*, and dutchy of *Normandy*, whether they thought it expedient that the said Duke should be deliuered or not. Otherwise the world might crie shame thereon, when men should call to minde the losse of his brethren of *Clarence*, and *Bedford*, and other noble Personages, in defending and keeping those Lands.

10. If he (the said Duke of *Gloucester*) should consent to the said Dukes deliuerance (the same being also quite-contrary to the last will of his Maiesties Father) such inconueniences, as would ensue thereupon, should be imputed to him.

(38) Notwithstanding the weight of so many thousand Crownes ouer-peysed all these important and ponderous reasons; and the warre eates on still in the body of *France*, but not with so sharpe teeth, nor so full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both sides. The Countie of *Amiens* was spoiled by the *English* Lords, *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; The Regent and the *Duke of Sommerset*, march into *Angiou*, where they charged their carriages with much spoile and returned. Then the *Duke of Sommerset* seuers himselfe, and doth sundry exploits in and about *Britaine*. *Diep* in *Normandy* being besieged, was rescued by the *Dolphin of France* to our losse. The contemplation of these mutuall violences touched all *Christendome*: for the Turke, common enemie thereof, encreased. Ambassadors are sent from all parts, to determine these bloody differences. *William de la Pole Earle of Suffolke*, was chiefe for the *English*. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteene months, between King *Henry* and King *Charles*, and an hope of perpetuall amity, weakely grounded vpon a match, which the *Earle of Suffolke* contracted for King *Henry*, with *Margaret* the daughter of *Renate*, titulary King of *Sicile*, *Naples*, and *Ierusalem*, *Duke of Angiou* and *Lorrain*, Prince of the blood. To effect this, the Earle couenanted *that the English should abandon the possession of Angiou, and Main to her father.* A strange purchase of a wife, who though shee brought youth, beauty and hope of a perpetuall peace with *France*, (the more profitable opportunity whereof, the *English* had more brauely then happily neglected) yet was shee otherwise without portion. The Earle notwithstanding (whose drift herein could not be without manifest ambition, to make himselfe one of the greatest of *England*, by this gratification of the *French*, with his Masters charge and dishonour) is not abashed to expect publike thanks for this high seruice, and an whole fifteene for the charge of her transportation. Sundry Lords of Councell and the King himselfe thought him worthy, and according to his deuise and ouerture, the whole affaire was carried. *Suffolke* made *Marquesse* is sent ouer with many honorable persons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but most vnfortunate and fatall) Bride into *England*. * *Polydore* giues vs no vnfitting Character of this Lady. *Shee* was prouident enough, very desirous of glory, abounding in discourse, counsell, gracious behauiour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which (saith he) is vsually vehement and apt to change. In *England* ye may easily suppose, that shee was most roially entertained; *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester*, among others, meeting her with a traine of * fiue hundred horsemen in a liuery, that worthy Poet *Iohn Lydgate* Monke of *Burie*, deuising the speeches for such gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into *London*. The King being married lawfully enioyes her embracements, from which he was often afterward violently separated by the miseries of a most cruell warre, wherein shee had her piteous portion. *Suffolke* in the meane time hauing the most assured fauour of the Queen pursues his ambitious purposes. Shee in the meane time was solemnly Crowned Queene of *England* at *Westminster* vpon the * thirtieth of *May*.

Shee is married to King *Henry* and Crowned.

*A.D. 1445 A.reg. 23.

(39) Would to *God* it stood now with the quality of this argument, to turne our eies from the view of those actions which ensued; for here the mournefull tragedies of our poore Countrey began. But we cannot but open those olde and most execrable sores, that, in their example, all true *English* blood may the rather be tender ouer their bowels, beholding such effects as the diuell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods seuere permission) Actors in. *Fabian* giues vs the causes and contents of those effects, in these graue and few words.

(40) "*It appeareth that God was not pleased with* "*that marriage: For after this day, the fortune of the* "*world began to fall from the King, so that he lost his* "*friends in England, and his reuennes in France: For* "*shortly after, all was ruled by the Queene and her Coun-* "*sell, to the great disprofit of the King and his Realme,* "*and to the great manger* (it is *Fabians* word) *and ob-* "*loquie of the Queene, who* (as since hath beene well "proued) *had many a wrong, and false report made of* "*her. All which miserie fell for* BREAKING OF "THE PROMISE, *made by the King vnto the* "*Earle of Armenacks' daughter, as most writers agree:* "*Which misery in this Story shall some-deale appear by the* "*loosing of Normandy*, (as all things else, except *Callais*, "which the *English* held in *France*) *the diuision of the* "*Lords within this Realme, the rebellion of the commi-* "*nalty against their Prince and Soueraigne, and finally* "*the King deposed, and the Queene with the Prince faine* "*to flee the land, and lost the rule thereof for euer.* Thus he: but all this farre short of the euils that were the brood and offspring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grants aides of money, that vpon expiration of the truce there might bee present abilities to maintaine warre. The *Duke of Yorke* is reuoked, and the *Duke of Sommerset* (in an euill houre) is sent in his place, with such prouisions as were reputed competent.

Fabian.

This contract by proxie is said to haue beene made in the twentieth yeere of King *Henry* 3 and that the Earle of *Suffolke* was chiefe, if not sole actor in breaking it.

The Duke of *Sommerset* Regent of *English France*.

(41) *Humfrey* the renowned Duke of *Gloucester*, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the euill Angell, which was sent to punish *England*, and to roote out her Nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prudence, as also by the honor and authoritie of his birth and place, seemed to empeach that soueraigne command, which they pretended to settle in the Kings owne person, but meant indeed (as the manner is vnder soft Princes) to reigne themselues in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at Saint *Edmunds Bury*,) to concurre for his ruine, not perceiuing, that thereby they pluckt vp the floodgate, at which the Duke of *Yorke* entered, ouerwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or iust feare of *Gloucester* himselfe, least perhaps he should take reuenge vpon some particular persons among them, is doubtfull, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heare some things that forewent this Parliament. About fiue or sixe yeers before, *the *Dutchesse of Gloucester* Eleanor*, was conuented for *witchcraft and sorcerie*, and afterward endited of *treason* in the *Guild-Hall* in *London*, before the Earles of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolke*, and *Northumberland*, and certaine Lords, as *Fanhope*, and *Hungerford*, with others, and Iudges of both benches; of which crimes shee was appealed by one *Bolingbrook* an Astronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Chanon, which *Southwell* was charged to haue said Masses ouer certaine instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as necessarie

The Duke of *Gloucesters* troubles. AD. 1447.

*In February.

**Stowes Annal.* The Dutchesse of *Gloucester* arraigned of sorcerie and treason.

rie, ſhee hauing deſired the helpe of their Art, to know what would befall her. Some part hereof ſhee confeſſed, for which ſhee was put to publike and ſolemne penance in *London* vpon three ſeueral daies, with wonderfull ſhame to her perſon, and after ſhee was committed to perpetuall priſon vnder the ward of *Sir Thomas Stanley* in the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, but from thence remoued to *Kenelworth*. *Her pride, falſhood, auarice, and lechery were cauſes of her confuſion*, ſaith *Stow*; who hath ſet forth that buſineſſe very diligently, though not ſeeming to attribute much credit to that accuſation of treaſon. *The Duke of Gloceſter* her vnhappy Lord and husband (whom ſhee by loue-cups and enchantments was ſaid to haue enueigled, vſing therein one *Margerie Gurdmain* a witch of *Ey in Suffolke*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*) ſtung with this reproach, might reaſonably be thought not vnwilling to doe ſomewhat. Howſoeuer that was, his deſtruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at *Burie*, was arreſted of high treaſon by *Iohn Lord Beaumont* high Conſtable of *England*, the *Dukes of Buckingham* and *Sommerſet* with others. Certaine of the Kings houſhold were appointed to guard him. Not long after he was found dead. His body was ſhewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palſey or an apoſteme. Of thirty and two of his ſeruants which were attached, *Sir Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Richard Middleton*, *Thomas Herbert*, *Arthur Turſey*, Eſquires, and *Richard Nedham* Gentleman, were condemned of high treaſon, and had this vnexampled puniſhment. They were drawne from the Tower to *Tiburn*, hanged, let down quick, ſtript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon ſhewed for their liues by the *Marqueſſe of Suffolke*. But the yeoman *of the Crowne had their liuelihood, the executioner their cloathes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the earneſt diligence of Doctor *Gilbert Worthington*, a famous preacher, parſon of *S. Andrewes* in *Holborne*. *Thomas Wilde* Eſquire, the Dukes ſeruant alſo, being condemned and pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his letters patents words importing, * *that hee had beene one among many other traitours againſt the King, with Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, who went about, and practiſed to deliuer Eleanour, late wife to the Duke, from out of priſon, for which purpoſe he had gathered a great power, and number of men, to come to the Parliament at Berie, there to haue contriued the Kings deſtruction.*

The Duke of Gloceſter dead.

A ſtrange ſparing of life perfeited for treaſon.

* *Record. apud Stowes Annals.*

* *Record ibid.*

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithſtanding this open ſhewing of his body, and theſe pretended crimes, was by the people of *England* thought to be doublie murthered, by detraction, and deadly practiſe. He was not only a true louer of learned men, but himſelfe alſo **learned*, and (ſaith our Author) *a father of his Countrey*. His maine opinion concerning the gouernment of King *Henries French* dominions, was as mainely oppoſed by the *Cardinall of Wincheſter* and others, who altogether perſwaded *Peace*, to which the noble Duke (ſtanding preciſely vpon the honor and Maieſty of the Engliſh name,) was * an abſolute enemie. From this troubled fountaine of diuided Councell many following blacke aduentures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, *goodmen* (ſaith *Polydore*) *fearfull of their owne ſafeties, did of their owne accord forſake the Court, into whoſe roomes many ſucceeded, who for the more part looking how to riſe in dignity made open an eaſie way for new factions*. The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) ouerliued not the Duke aboue fifteene or ſixteene daies. The whole frame of gouernment was thus drawne to repoſe it ſelfe vpon the Queene, and ſuch fauourites, as the King by her commendation the rather liked.

* *Polyd. Verg. lib. 23.*

* *Hall* in the Dukes Articles againſt the Cardinall.

The Cardinall of *Wincheſter* deceaſeth.

*A.D.1448. A.reg.26.

(43) The *Marqueſſe* * *of Suffolke*, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more conſpicuous marke of enuie, then that any ſhadow of the King or Queene could ſhelter or protect. *After the Cardinals* * *death, the affaires in France* (*where Sommerſet was now Regent*) *were neither duelie looked vnto, nor the gouernours of the Countrey well aduiſed.* But the King and Realme of *England* lay, much more then *France*, open to the ineuitable, deepe, and pernicious conſpiracies of *Richard Duke of Yorke*. Her (by the error of King *Henry*, and the euill ſtarres of our Countrey) being of himſelfe a great Prince, and growne ſtronger by affected popularitie, *perceiuing the King to be a Ruler, and not to Rule, began ſecretlie to allure his friends of the Nobilitie, and priuily declared to them his title to the Crowne, as likewiſe he did to certaine Gouernors of Cities and townes*, which attempt was ſo politickly and cloſely carried, that his prouiſion was readie, before his purpoſe was opened. The very ſtate of things inuited this fatall conſpiracie: a milder *King* then *England* was worthy of; a *Councell* out of fauour with the people; manifold loſſes and diſhonours abroad; a turbulent and iealous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the *Duke of Yorke*, hauing King *Henrie* the fourth (the enemie of his houſe) for a perillous example, made his pretious vſe, cheriſhing the popular auerſions, without ſeeking to redreſſe any euils, but repreſenting them worſe then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loialty in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought vpon. His diſplacement from the Regency of *France*, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at firſt, becauſe the *Duke of Sommerſet* got it ouer his head; but it will not be long, before *Sommerſets* euill carriage of that truſt, and the declining fortune of *England*, will giue him occaſion to reioice at the foile of his dreaded enemy. Let vs not be long in the rehearſall of the publike ſhame and dammage of our nation.

(44) During the truce betweene *England* and *France*, one *Sir Francis Surien* an *Arragonois* (Knight *of the Garter*) ſeruing vnder the Regent, vnlawfullie ſurprized *Fougers*, a towne of *Britaine* vpon the confines of *Normandy*. Reſtitution is demanded. The *Duke of Sommerſet* (a *proud man* (ſaith *Serres*) *who thinking to doe better then the reſt, did abſolutely ruine the Engliſh affaires*) contrary to good diſcipline, cheriſhing his ſouldiers in their riots and diſorders, neglected the iuſtice of nations in that point. The *French* make this their example, and ſurprize *Port de l'Arch*, and towne after towne, ſo many and ſo faſt, that King *Charles* (who, that he might haue God on his ſide, and wrong on his enemies, conteined himſelfe with great modeſty, till * he ſaw all quiet reſtitution deſperate,) recouered *Roan*, *Caen* and all *Normandie* within a ſhort ſpace after.

(45) Thus *Sommerſet*, and the *Engliſh*, are compelled to quit *Normandy*, not only inglorious, but alſo in *England* it ſelfe vncommiſerated. The next maine parcell of the *Engliſh* inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was *Gaſcoigne*. King *Charles* and his people deſirous (againſt plaine right) to make all that theirs, whatſoeuer was comprehended within the *French* language, inuaded that *Dutchie* alſo, and within verie *few yeeres after (the fortune of warre, and diſloialty of the people euery where fauouring them) extorted the ſame out of the *Engliſh-mens* poſſeſſion, after it had continued theirs about two hundreth foure-ſcore and nine yeeres, to the immortall diſhonour and dammage of our nation. The Duke of *Yorke* in the meane time, who thirſted for the Crowne of *England*, hath occaſion miniſtred to impe more feathers into his aſpiring wings. *Ireland* is in tumult. Thither the Duke paſſeth, and not only appeaſeth the diſorder of that Nation, *but * wan ſuch fauour among them, as could neuer be ſeparated from him, and his linage*. Thus diligently the Pioner makes his mines into the quiet and felicity of his Countrey, calling his cauſe the quarrell of right and iuſtice, as pretending that the Crowne of *England* appertained to his name and familie.

(46) But

(46) But the odor of this vile ſucceſſe in *France*, comming into *England*, filled mens hearts and ſenſes with great perturbation. The Queene and *Suffolke* ſuffer obloquie for theſe effects in the generall iudgement. The common wealth is not ſilent. A Parliament is called to be holdē at *Weſtminſter*, which from thence was aſſigned to be kept at *Leiceſter*. The place likes not; few appeare. It is brought backe to *Weſtminſter*. There the whole body of publike counſell meetes. Many * Articles are exhibited by the lower houſe againſt the Duke of *Suffolke*, wherein hee is charged *with euill demeanor, miſpriſion* and *treaſon:* who thereupon is committed priſoner to the Tower: from thence, within fowre or fiue weeks hee is diſcharged, which more augmented the generall indignation then his commitment had miniſtred ſatiſfaction. The perilous Duke of *Yorke* warms himſelfe at theſe blazes, and vnderhand cheriſheth them as opportunity wil permit, hauing his cunning factors and inſtruments fitte for ſuch occaſions ſecretly ſpread ouer the Realme, to inſtill the poyſons of diſcontentment, and deſire of change into the giddie multitude. When wee reade in our vulgar Chronicles, *that about this time Adam Molins Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, Keeper of the Kings Priuy Seale (through the procurement of Richard Duke of Yorke) was by ſhipmen ſlaine at Portſmouth*, and yet no cauſe of ſo foule and wicked a murther expreſſed, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would receiue ſatiſfaction rather by the reaſō of actions then by the euents. His guiltineſſe in the fact was ſo apparant, that K. *Henry* in his anſwere made a yeere or two after to the Dukes diſſembling, and deceitfull letter, confidently mentioneth the ſame, where thus hee ſpeaketh. *Sooth it is that long time among the people hath beene vpon you many ſtrange language, and in ſpeciall anone after your diſordinate and vnlawfull ſlaying of the Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, diuers, and many of the vntrue ſhipmen and other, ſaid (in their manner) words againſt our ſtate, making menace to our owne perſon by your ſayings, that yee ſhould bee fetched with many thouſands, and you ſhould take vpon you* * *that which you neither ought, nor as wee doubt not will attempt, &c.* What cauſe led the Duke to commit this ſo impious a deed, may eaſily now be coniectured, being none other but the common hatred hee bare to all ſuch wiſe or valiant perſons, as might in any ſort vphold the moſt iuſt and gracious *Henry*, and this ſincerity in the Biſhoppe could not be but a grieuous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, whoſe greatneſſe was euen then too intollerable; for where was the Kings iuſtice when ſuch a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloudy complices as hee did many other moſt ſeditious and perfidious things, while hee was abſent in *Ireland*. *Thomas Thanie* notwithſtanding calling himſelfe *Blew-beard* being a *Fuller* of *Canterburie*, and attempting to gather the people, miſcarrieth in his treaſon, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preamble to the following tumults. The Duke of *Yorkes* whole and onely hopes were repoſed in the generall perturbations of his Country.

(47) The Duke of *Suffolke* (a principal pillar of K. *Henries* ſafety) being ſet at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at *Leiceſter*. Behold the humour of the Commons which were ſowred with the peſtilent leauen of *Yorkes* conſpiracy. They cannot endure the ſight of this Prince, becauſe his readuancement ſeems done in deſpight of them. Calumniations & odious ſurmiſes are exhibited againſt him: hee muſt downe to make way for K. *Henries* moſt vnworthy ruine. The moſt vile part of this Parliamental accuſation was, that they ſhould charge that for a crime vpon *Suffolke* which themſelues had vniuerſally in another former Parliament aſſented vnto and ratified. Which was the deliuery of *Anion* and *Main* vpon the marriage, concluded (for the good of *England*, if others had not inuerted or interrupted the ſucceſſe by their temerity) with *Renate*, father of Queene *Margaret*. Neither did the enuy onely of the ſecret *Turkiſh* ouerlade this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of *Somerſets* faction, whoſe raſhneſſe and vanity hauing loſt all Normandy, would gladly find any others ſhoulder, vpon which to caſt the imputation, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament aſſembled immediately vpon *Suffolkes* returne from that treaty with *Renate* out of *France*, this was the ſumme of the whole proceedings. *Suffolke* (as hee was very eloquent) made knowne to both houſes, his counſels and ſeruices, and the effect of his Embaſſie, praying they might be approued, and enrolled for his diſcharge. Whereupon * the next morrow, *Burley* Speaker of the lower houſe, and the body therof repaired to the Kings preſence, then ſitting among the Lords, and there * humbly required, *that the requeſt of the Marqueſſe* (afterward created Duke of *Suffolk*) *might be granted*: and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King condiſcended to their deſires, and ſo the whole matter was recorded for his acquitall.

* This was in A.D. 1446.

* Stowes Annals.

(48) What can bee more euident? or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutabilitie? The Duke the (principall marke, though the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Say*, and others were alſo accuſed) vnable to ſtand the puſh of ſo generall an oppoſition, muſt be baniſhed. The King vnwillingly giues this ſentence againſt the Duke, or rather againſt his owne life and ſafety: fiue yeeres are limited to his exile. Being vpon the ſea, hee is taken by his enemies, who at *Douer-road* ſtroke off his head vpon the ſide of a Cocke-boat. This diueliſh murther (for it was none other, the Kings authority being not vſed therein) committed vpon ſo great a Prince, was the leſſe pitied, for that hee was noiſed among the people to haue beene a priuy actor in the Noble Duke of *Gloceſters* death, who periſhed (ſaith a * learned Author) *by the fraud and practiſe of a woman* (belike) Queene *Margarite*. The Biſhop of *Salisburie* before ſaid more impiouſly, and irregularly loſt his life in the following tumults, being murthered (after he had finiſhed diuine ſeruice) by his owne Tenants, who dragged him from the Altar to an hill-top, and there (while hee was making his laſt prayers) cleft his ſacred head: The Lord *Say* Treaſurer of *England* fell likewiſe into the peoples fury, and had his head cut off by the commandement of that execrable rebell *Iacke Cade*, at the Standerd in *Cheape*, as yee ſhall hereafter learne.

The Duke of *Suffolke* going into baniſhment is wickedly murthered.

* *Cambd.* in Glouceſt.

The bloody effects of the Duke of *Yorkes* popularide.

(49) *This William Duke of Suffolke* * *was indeed a great and worthy perſon, for when his Father, and three Brothers had valiantly powred forth their lines for their Country in the warre of France, hee ſerued in them foure and thirty yeeres, in ſeuenteene of the which hee neuer returned home, hee was ones taken priſoner, being then but a Knight, and paied for his ranſome twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, hee was fifteene yeeres priuy Counſellour, and thirty yeeres Knight of the Garter.* Notwithſtanding all which, the ſame Author truly addeth: *That as for theſe cauſes he was in higheſt grace with the King, ſo he was the more diſgratious or hated of the people, and for* * *certaine very ſleight matters, and thoſe not very apparant, hee was driuen into baniſhment, and* (as you haue already heard) *was intercepted vpon the ſea in his paſſage to France, and by his aduerſaries killed.* What honeſt heart doth not melt at the relation of theſe violent contempts of all religion, honour, reaſon and iuſtice? yet are they but the drops which doe forego thoſe many bloudy ſhowres, which the cloud of *Yorkes* faction rainde vpon our miſerable Nation. They who murthered this great triumphant Gentleman, were certaine perſons who waſted vpon the Seas in a Barke called the *Nicholas* of the Tower, which belonged to *Iohn* * *Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, whom Gods reuenging hand ſhall not leaue vnpuniſhed.

* *Cambden* in Suſſolke.

The noble and great deſarts of the Duke of Suffolke.

* *Ignoti de cauſis quæ paribus liquebant.*

* Stowes Annal.

(50) The *Turkiſh* hauing thus rid *Suffolke* out of the way, thought it now a fitte ſeaſon to ſpring their

The Kentish rebels vnder *Iacke Cade* giue out the name of *Mortimer*.

p ractise. Hereupon the Commons of *Kent*, (who haue seldome refrained in such turbulent times) while the Duke of *Yorke* was as yet in *Ireland*, take Armes. One *Iacke Cade* is their Captaine: hee had beene the seruant of a *Sussex* Knight, Sir *Thomas Dagre*; kils a woman with Child; abiureth the land; turnes *French*; swearing seruice to them, and now returning, is the instrument to hang out *Mortimers* name, like a flagge to draw a party, fayning himselfe to bee a Cosen to the Duke of *Yorke*. A pestilent deuise, to sound the affections of the multitude, and to proclaime the Title to the Crown, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged; for who would not aske, what should moue him to vse the name of *Mortimer*? This *Cade* whom some (by contraries) call *Iohn Amend-all* (that is, *Iohn Marre-all*) hauing drawn great numbers to follow him, encampes at *Blacke-Heath* by *Greenewich*, and in his writings cals himselfe the Captaine of *Kent*. His pretences (as of al like disloial actions) were the common good and such other. The King at the report of these stirres is stirred. The Captaine of *Kent* demaunds.

Cades demands.

1 *That Richard Duke of Yorke bee called out of Ireland, and (with certaine others named for staies and colour) be principally vsed in Counsell.*

2 *That as the Duke of Gloucester was falsly proclaimed a Traitour, so the Authors of his death might bee punished.*

4 (For the third Article contained no demand, but onely scandalous matter to aggrauate hatred against the dead Duke of *Suffolke*, and his liuing adherents:) *That all the extortions* (so the Rebels phrased them) *daily vsed among the common people, might be laid downe: that is to say, the greene waxe, which is falsly vsed to the perpetuall destruction of the Kings true Commons of Kent. Also the Kings Bench, the which is too grieuous to the Shire of Kent, without prouision of our Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell. And also in taking wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, and all other victuall, the which is importable to the saide Commons, without the briefe prouision of our said Soueraign Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And also vnto the Statute of Labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to say, the false Traitors, Sleg, Cromere, Isley,* and *Robert East.*

Stowes Annals.

(51) Thus traiterously to the Kings welfare, and scandalously to his most gentle gouernment, writes this arrogant Captaine of Rebels. The King vpon view of these braues, beginnes to feele the indignity and danger. An Armie is raised, *Cade* retires to *Seuenoke* in *Kent*. The King supposing hee had fled, sends after him * Sir *Humfrey Stafford* Knight, and other Gentlemen with some forces. Wee reade none of these things without a suspition, that the King was alwayes betrayed by such hypocrites about him, as would not haue him prosper. Marke the euent. At *Seuenoke Cade* abides, probably not without encouragement from secret Traitours, and after long fight slew Sir *Humfrey* with many others. Hee armed himselfe in the dead Knights abillements with guilt spurres. The King and Queene hearing of this mishappe, leaue the Tower of *London* to the custodie of the Lord *Scales*, and of that renowned Esquire *Mathew Gowgh*; and *London* it selfe to the Lord Maiors fidelity, themselues departing to *Kenilworth*. The headlong crewes of *London* fauour the Rebell, and giue entrance. *Robert Horne* Alderman, like an honest wise man, would haue had them resisted. This free necessary speech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard onely, what should hee haue beene if hee had gloriouslie lost it? but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at *fiue hundred Markes. The time was very slippery and loose; for the *Essex* men also were encamped vpon *Mile-end* by *London*: All men are afraid of their owne estates; such secret well-wishings attended vpon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King before hee had left *London* was enforced (by such hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord *Say* Treasurer of *England* to the Tower, after that the valiant and loyall Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was slaine, and the newes of his vnlucky defeate were confirmed.

* *Pygot.*

The first ciuill conflict vnder this King, where *Cade* hath the victorie.

Horne a worthy Alderman of *London* perswading the resistance of *Cade* is in danger of his life.

* *Rob. Fab.*

A. D. 14

(52) *Cade* therefore being admitted into *London* vpon the second of Iuly with his forces, (where for a short while to delude the people with a shew of conscience, they abstained from robberies) strikes with his sword vpon *London-stone*, saying; *Now is Mortimer Lord of this City.* At night hee returnes into *Southwarke*: One * *Robert Poinings* of *Southwarke* Esquire was his Sword-bearer and Caruer. It is needlesse to be particular in this Rebels behauiour: The next day hee returnes, and the Lord *Say* is beheaded in *Cheapside* (as is before said) at *Cades* commandement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the losse of so trusty and graue a seruant, not a little weakened.

Cade be[ha]in *London.*

* Stowes An[nals] ad A.D. 14[50.]

(53) The next tragedie was *Cromeres* an Esquire, and high Sheriffe of *Kent* (the Lord *Sayes* sonne in law) who is drawn out of the Fleet (and to appease the *Essex* Rebels) sacrificed by beheading without any triall at *Mile-End*. The City stirres not for all this. *Malpas* and *Gerstie*, two rich Citizens, at whose houses *Cade* had seuerally dined, being spoiled and robbed by him (lest perhappes it might appeare, that he who durst commit treasons, had not also the heart to commit felonies) teach what others are to expect. The Maior, *Thomas Chalton* and the wiser wealthy ones, ouerruled by faction till then, see their danger now, and secretly send to the Lord *Scales* for aide. *Mathew Gowgh* at night is come among them as sent by him. The Kentishmen, hearing their entrie was barred, runne furiously to armes. *Cade* endeauors to open his way by force; but in despight of all his power, the Citizens made good & defended *London*-bridge against him, though with the losse of many valiant and honest men, for the conflict endured all night till nine in the morning. Among such as were slaine on the Kings side, were *Iohn Sutton* Alderman, *Mathew Gowgh* himselfe, and *Robert Heysand* Citizen. *This Gowgh* (an Esquire of *Wales*) *was a man of excellent vertue, manhood, and zeale to his Country, and of great renown in the warre of France*, where he had serued with speciall commendations faithfully, for the space of aboue twenty yeeres. His deserts at this time deserued a Statue in the City, for whose safety hee spent his last bloud. To giue a quicke end to these miseries, impunity is proclaimed for all offenders, and sent to them in the Kings name by the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, Lord *Chancellour*, vnder the great Seale of *England*: the rebels are scattred with this assurance of their safeties, and euery man retires in peace from following so pestilent an Impostor. A *thousand Markes (when *Cade* afterward attempted new troubles) are promised to him, who kils or takes this counterfeit *Mortimer*. *Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the happinesse to discouer and kill him at *Hothfield* in that County: his wretched carkase was brought to *London*, where his false head was set sentinell vpon *London-bridge*, and his quarters were aduanced for terrour in seuerall parts of *Kent*. There died also by the stroke of iustice twenty and sixe more, whereof eight were executed at *Canterbury*, and the rest elsewhere in *Kent* and *Sussex*. The multitude it selfe * came naked in their shirts to the King on *Blacke-heath*, humbly praying mercy which they obtained.

Alderman [s]tan and [S]to Gowgh [b]eaine the confli[ct.] Polyd. Virg.

*The King proclaimes *Cade* [pro]claimed and [kil]led.

* *Feb.* 23.

(54) The Kentish rebellion thus pacified, farre greater and farre more dangerous troubles ensued, *as it* * *fareth in humane bodies, which relapsing into sicknesses, are shaken so much the more terribly.* These troubles had their fountaine and mediate Originall, from *Richard Duke of Yorke*, no degenerous sonne of that *Richard*, whom King *Henry* the fifth had created *Earle of Cambridge*, and enriched with much wealth, honoring him aboue others in regard of his blood and

* Polyd. Virg.

and parentage: but *No bountie, nor benefits could change a treacherous disposition*, for (as you haue heard before) he conspired to murther his benefactor King *Henry* the fifth, as the *Duke of Yorke* (his true progenie) labored to depose this King *Henrie* his aduancer. The humors of the popular body, were, in the last commotion, not obscurely discouered. The Common weale had perhaps some few enormities, through the abuse of Magistrates and men in place, but yet such, as the maladie was infinitely lesse pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence the Duke comes sodeinely out of *Ireland*, and to begin his vsurped censureship and dictature, apprehends *John Sutton Lord Dudley, Reignald Abbot of Saint Peters*, at *Glastenbury*, and another, whom he imprisoneth within his Castle of *Ludlow*. Intollerable beginnings of more intollerable sequele. *Edmund Duke of Somerset was the man, who* (after *Suffolks* death) most supported the Kings side by *his vigilancie, cares, dangers, and good Counsels, endeauouring by all meanes to cleare the Realme from factions, and to preserue the King and state in quiet.*

(55) *Yorke* seeing this, doth find that *Suffolke* perished in vaine, if *Sommerset* held like grace; against whose person he had a particular pretence of quarrell, for that the City of *Caen* in *Normandy*, which was the Duke of *Yorkes* charge, was rendred vp to the *French* by him, when the *English* affaires grew desperate in those parts; *Sir Dauid Hall* Knight, being at that time Captaine there for his Lord and Master the Duke of *Yorke*, and not allowing it, although the renowned *Talbot* himselfe was present at the render, and became an hostage for performance of the Capitulations. *Yorke* hereupon consults with his speciall friends, *Richard Earle of Salisbury*, and *Richard* his son, (who was afterward that most seditious & great fighting *Earle of Warwicke*,) *Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonshire*, *Edmund Brooke Lord Cobham*, and others, how *Yorke might get the Crowne of England*, and for that cause *how to ruine or fret out the Duke of Sommerset*, who standing, they were to looke for strong opposition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yet to *smother the mention of the Duke of Yorkes title, giuing out to the world for the reason of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to King Henry, and only to remoue certaine bad men from about his person, who afflicted the people, and made a pray of the Common-wealth:* which, to gaine the more credit, and to blind the good King, the subtile Duke declares by Proclamation; *wherein, thus speaketh that Ambitious Hypocrite. *God knoweth from whom no thing is hid, I am, haue beene, and euer will be his true liege man; &c. And to the very proofe it is so, I offer my selfe to sweare that on the blessed Sacrament, and receiue it, the which I hope shall be my saluation, at the day of doome. &c.* In that it was the euill hap of the Duke of *Somerset*, that *Normandy* was lost during his Regencie, his enemies had the more commoditie to incommodate him with the people, who forbare not at his returne to offer to him sundry dishonours and iniuries, till vpon paine of death they were restrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in *west Cheap London*.

(56) The King (notwithstanding all his Cosens arts and dissimulations) seeing the hooke through the baite, and the snake through the grasse, by the aduise of his trusty friends, chiefly of *Edmund Duke of Sommerset*, thinkes not fit to relie vpon his enemies good nature, but hauing a strong power, and store of honorable men to conduct them, he marcheth toward *Wales* against the Duke. The King did herein wisely, but not so much as the cause required. *Yorke* hauing notice of the Kings approach turnes aside, and with all speed marcheth toward *London*. That City, (the vaine hope of all Rebellions,) would not harken; Thereupon he slides with his people into *Kent*, the nest of his hopes, and at *Brentheath* neere *Dertford* (a towne about twelue miles from *London*) encampeth, meaning to fight. The King is not slow, but leauing his march toward *Wales*, pitcheth vp his roiall pauilion vpon *Black-Heath*, with a purpose to teach his cosen of *Yorke* more duty. Behold the fortune of *England*. God puts an excellent opportunity into the Kings hands of tearing vp the danger of his house by the rootes, for the Duke was farre inferiour in numbers, such therefore as secretly fauoured him, fearing his ouerthrow, were willing to aduise a reconcilement. Messengers goe betweene the hosts. The Duke, in his wonted manner, *pretends loialtie and particular iniuries, as that the Kings seruants, Sir Iohn Talbot at Holt Castell, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheshire, and others in other places, were set to harken vpon him. That by* two of the Norrices, Bulkeley, Grust, Bould (and other Gentlemen) *he was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to haue any refreshment, affirming that he* (the Duke of *Yorke*) *was against the Kings intent and as a Traitour.* The King stoupes so much as to answere the letter, letting him to knowe: *That the suspition vniuersally conceiued of his behauiours maued those effects: neuertheless, in regard of the humble obedience which was now protested, he, for the easing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repute and admit him as a true, and faithfull subiect, and as his welbeloued Cosen.* The Duke then aduanceth his practise one step further, and writes to the King, that Iustice might be done vpon all persons of what degree soeuer, which were guilty, or noised to be guiltie of treason: aiming at the Duke of *Sommerset*, whom he doubted not to ouerwhelme with sleights and calumnies, as hee and his had done the Duke of *Suffolke*.

(57) The King is contented (such weake or treacherous counsels he relied vpon) that *Sommerset* (for his satisfaction) should be commanded Prisoner to his owne house, and *Yorke* (hauing first dissolued his armie) should come in person, and put himselfe into the Kings hand. When he was come, *he exhibites a great complaint against the pride and auarice of the Duke of Sommerset, and cunningly accusing none but him, he seekes the good-will of all others.* A cunning drift as any, considering that hereby he deriued vpon his enemie all the enuie of the people, and left him single to withstand the effects. *Sommerset* (a Prince of great spirit and wit) not thinking it reasonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Commonwealthes interest, to endure such indignity, presents himselfe to the King against his accuser, and resoluing not to be tender-mouthed in the so apparent perill of the King and Realme, whose quiet was vndermined, answeres *Yorke* face to face, and, in plaine termes *accuseth him of highest treason, as hauing conspired to depose the King, and take vpon himselfe the Soueraignty:* vehemently vrging: That *the Duke of *Yorke might be committed* and *arraigned, to the intent that by his deserued death, and the disenablement of his sonnes, Ciuill warre might be extinguished, praying finally that God would not suffer the enemie of the King dome to escape the hand of iustice.*

(58) This had in likelihood beene done, but that the publike faith seemed to stand engaged for the Dukes indemnitie, he hauing come in vpon the Kings word, and also for that the hearts of men were not well assured to the King, which by executing *Yorke* would perhaps haue beene more vnsetled, because (not looking into the depth of the Kings perill) it would haue beene thought that he had beene destroied to gratifie *Sommerset*, and not to secure the Realme. There was hope likewise to recouer *Aquitain*, for that *Burdeaux* had offered to returne: Lastly, the Dukes sonne and heire, *Edward Earle of March* (afterward King) was reported to be ready with a great force of *Welshmen* to succour his father. Vpon these and other reasons, the Duke is no longer restrained, as vpon *Sommersets* most weighty accusations he had beene, and to assure the gentle and indulgent King, of his allegiance, he *makes his submission, and solemnely TAKES HIS OATH to bee true, faithfull and obedient subiect.* This was done vpon

The Kings army being greater then the Dukes, peace is vnhappily made.

*Ex literis Regis & Ducis.

*Poly. Verg. li. 23.

*The Duke of Sommerset confidently accuseth the Duke of Yorke of treason.

The Duke of Yorke takes his Oath to bee true to King Henry.

vpon the tenth of *March* in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*, the King himselfe, and most of the chiefe nobility being present, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolke*, & *Sommerset*, nine Earles, the *Vicounts*, *Beaumont* and *Wels*, manie great Barons: Of the Clergy, the Cardinall of *Yorke* the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, the Bishops of *Winchester Elie* and *London*.

(59) Let vs view the forme and words of this Caution vpon which King *Henrie* (measuring other mens hearts by his owne) aduentured to repose his life and Kingdome, which are these.

The Dukes Oath and submission.

"I *Richard*, Duke of *Yorke*, confesse and beknown "*that I am and ought to be humble subiect, and liegeman* "*to you my Soueraigne Lord, King Henry the sixt, and* "*owe therefore, to beare you faith and truth, as to my* "*Soueraigne liege Lord, and shall doe all dates to my liues* "*end: and shall not at any time will or assent that any thing* "*be attempted or done against your most noble person,* "*but whereseuer I shal haue knowledge of any such thing* "*imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence* "*possible to me, make, that your highnesse shall haue know-* "*ledge thereof, and, ouer that, doe all that shall possible be* "*to me to the withstanding, and let thereof to the vtter-* "*most of my life: I shall not any thing take vpon me a-* "*gainst your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto,* "*nor suffer anie other man to doe, as farre forth as shal be* "*in my power to let it. And also shall come at your com-* "*mandement, whensoeuer I shall be called by the same, in* "*humble and obeisant wise, but if I be letted by any sick-* "*nesse or impotencie of my person, or by such other cause* "*as shall be thought by you my Soueraigne Lord reasona-* "*ble. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather any* "*rowt or to make any assemblie of your people without* "*your commandement, or licence, or in my lawfull defence,* "*in interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull* "*defence I shall report me at all times to your highnesse,* "*and, if the case require to my Peers: nor any thing attempt* "*against any of your Subiects, of what estate, degree* "*or condition that they be. But whensoeuer I find my* "*selfe wronged and agrieued, I shall sue humbly for re-* "*medie to your highnesse, and proceed after the course of* "*your lawes, and none otherwise, sauing in mine owne* "*lawfull defence in manner aboue said, and otherwise* "*haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect* "*ought to haue him to his Soueraigne Lord. All these* "*things aboue said I promise you truly to obserue and keep* "*by the holy Euangelists conteined in the booke that I lay* "*my hand here vpon, and by the holie Crosse I here touch,* "*and by the blessed Sacrament of our Lords body, that I* "*shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agree* "*me, and will that if at any time hereafter, as by the* "*grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, any thing attempt* "*by way of feate, or otherwise against your roiall Maie-* "*stie and obeisance, that I owe thereto, or any thing take* "*vpon me otherwise then is aboue expressed, I from that* "*time forth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and* "*openly forsworne man, and vnable to all manner of* "*worship, estate or degree, be it such as I now occupie, or a-* "*ny other that might in any wise grow to me hereafter.* "*And this I haue here promised and sworne, proceedeth* "*of mine owne desire and free volant, and by no constrai-* "*ning nor Coaction. In witnes of all which things a-* "*boue written, I Richard Duke of Yorke aboue write* "*subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.*

*Ex vetust. Cod.

This Oath he also tooke at *Westminster* and *Couentree* at sundrie times. Who now can consider the effects of this so publike and solemne Oath, and doth not tremble in euerie part? Let vs hasten to their view, least God perhaps may quietly seeme to haue beene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

Hope conceiued to recouer *Gascoigne*.

(60) To diuert these home-breeding rancors and practises, by employing the wits and bodies of men in other more honest things, the *Earle of Candal* (sonne * to *Captal de Budie* who had vpon necessitie submitted his Seignouries to *Charles* the *French* King, but reserued his person out of that obedience) and the Lord *L'Esparre*, come secretly from *Burdeaux* and pray an Armie, for that *Burdeaux* and the *Gascoigns* would returne to the *English*, if they might be supported. An Armie is decreed for their reduction. *Iohn Lord Talbot* the first *Earle of Shrewsburie* of his name as Generall in that enterprize, lands in *Gascoigne*, where he doth sundry exploits, and the fame of his former cheualrie flying before with terrour, makes many places the rather to yeeld. *Burdeaux* her selfe secretly opens a gate vnto him, which the *French* Garrison perceiuing fled out at a Postern, but many being ouertaken were slaine by the Lord *L'Esparre* and the *English*. New supplies and victuals arriue, whereof the *Earle of Shrewsburies* yonger sonne, (*Vicount Lile* by his wife,) was a principall conducter. *Burdeaux* thus throughly mand and fortified, the Earle is aduertised that the *French* lay at siege before *Castillion*, a place of importance vpon the riuer of *Dardonne*. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemie vpon vnequall termes, was there slaine, together with his sonne the *Vicount Lile* and others. *Burdeaux* receiued such as fled. The *English* fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this vnhappie *Catastrophe* in * *Iulie*, to the infinite losse of our nation and griefe of the *Gascoigns*, who generally misliked the *French*, and inclined to the *English*, hauing so honorablie, and for so long a time gouerned those dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the space of twentie and foure yeeres serued his Prince and Countrey in the *French* warres, with higheft commendation; a * "most noble and most valiant man, by whose vertue the English name did chiefly become terrible in France. *Burdeaux* it selfe, and all other places after this, were by siege brought againe vnder the *French* King, who prosecuted those affaires in person. From that time forward the *English* neuer obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the *Gascoignes*. This *Dutchie of Aquitaine* * contained foure *Archbishopriks*, *foure and twenty Bishopriks*, *fifteen Earledomes*, *two hundred and two Barons*, *and about a thousand Captainships and Bailywickes*. The losse of so goodly an inheritance which had continued *English* for almost three hundred yeeres, the world may easily coniecture how iustly it was greeued and lamented for. In this false estate of the *English*, the Queene vpon the thirteenth day of *October* was deliuered of her first sonne who was named *Edward*, prouing the child of sorrow and infelicity.

* *Sarres.*

(61) It were to be wished we might now rather number the following euils of *England*, then describe them; for what can we learne out of such vnnaturall and sauage destructions, but matter of horrour and detestation? but sith they must be handled, (the law and necessitie of our taske exacting it,) the sooner to be quit of so vnpleasing obiects, it will bee best abruptly to thrust into the narration. The Duke of *Yorke* (wickedlie careless of an Oath so religiouslie and publikely taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more easie, hath now procured his chiefe and most fearefull enemie the *Duke of Sommerset* to be sodeinely arrested of high treason, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queenes great Chamber, and sent to the *Tower of London*, vpon pretence that he had capitall matter to charge him with. *Yorkes* principall friends (vpon confidence of whom he dared so high things) were *Richard Neuil Earle of Salisburie* second sonne of *Ralfe Neuil Earle of Westmerland*, whose daughter the *Duke of Yorke* had married. This *Richard* was Earle of *Salisbury* in right of *Alice* his wife, sole heire to *Thomas Montacute*, the famous Earle, slaine at the siege of *Orleance*. The Dukes other maine hope was *Richard Neuil* (sonne of the former *Richard Neuill*,) who in right of his wife, the Lady *Anne* (sole sister, and heire of the whole blood to *Henry Beauchamp*, *Duke of Warwick*) was by this King *Henry* the sixth created Earle of *Warwick* in a most vnhappie houre both for the King & kingdome, being * *inuicti animi &c*: a man of an vndaunted mind, but flitting faith.

(62) The

(63) The King in the meane ſpace, while the Duke of *Sommerſet* was thus endangered, lay ſicke; and *Yorke* (as Regent) ſwayed and ouerſwayed in Court; but when the king (perceiuing malice and practiſe to be the chiefe baſes of *Yorkes* accuſations) had recouered his health, and reſumed the gouernment, *Sommerſet* is ſet at liberty and made Captaine of *Calleis*; *Yorke* and his adherents repaire to open force: They leuy their armie about the Marches of *Wales*, with which they repaire toward *London*, the maine obiect of Pretendents. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with *Humfrey Duke of Buckingham*, *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, *Humfrey Earle of Stafford*, *Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland*, *Iames Butler Earle of Wiltſhire, and Ormond*, *Beaufort Earle of Dorcet*, *Iaſper Theder Earle of Pembroke* the Kings halfe-brother, *Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire*, *the Lords Clifford*, *Sudley*, *Berners*, *Roſſe* and others, and with them enters into *Saint Albans* in warlike manner, hauing certaine thouſands of common ſouldiers. Thither alſo the Duke of *Yorke* and his adherents came. This was toward the end of *May*: The Dukes requeſt to the King was, *that he would deliuer ſuch perſons to be deſeruedly puniſhed as he would name.* The King (to let them know who he was) returnes this confident anſwere. *That hee and the reſt were Traitors, and that rather then they ſhould haue any Lord from him who was with him at that time, hee himſelfe would for their ſake in the quarrell vpon that day liue and die.*

(64) The *Yorkiſts* hereupon aſſaile the Kings people within the Towne, and *Warwicke* breaking in through a Garden, a ſharpe battell is begun. The loſſe fell lamentably vpon King *Henries* ſide; for beſides the Duke of *Sommerſet*, there were ſlaine the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, the L. *Clifford*, with ſundry worthy Knights and Eſquiers, of which forty and eight were buried in Saint *Albans*, there being ſlaine aboue fiue thouſand of K. *Henries* party, and of the *Yorkiſts* about ſixe hundreth. The King himſelfe was ſhot into the neck with an arrow; & other of his chief friends were likewiſe ſore wounded and taken. The Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and *Thomas Thorpe*, Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, with others ſaued themſelues by flight. The Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke* with the King, (whome they in ſhew did vſe moſt reuerently, and as if they had meant nothing vnto him but good faith) vpon the morrow ride to *London*, where in Iuly immediately following, a Parliament is holden in King *Henries* name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or blazing ſtarre, which appeared in the moneth of Iune, the beams whereof extended themſelues into the ſouth. The firſt popular act of this aſſembly, was *to reſtore the memory of Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter to honour, declaring him to haue beene a true ſubiect to the King and Realme.*

(65) The next prouiſions which the *Yorkiſts* made, were for themſelues, and their owne ſecurity, willing and commanding that *the Duke of Yorke & his partakers ſhould incur no blame by reaſon of the iourney at Saint Albans:* the whole fault whereof was laid vpon the dead Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and one *William Ioſeph* Eſquier, who (ſay they) kept from the King a pacificatory letter which the Duke of *Yorke* had ſent. It is a wonder and a ſhame to reade how officiouſly theſe violent Lords (meaning nothing leſſe) behaued themſelues to the King, of whoſe maieſty they will needs ſeeme to be the onely Champions and conſeruators. The Duke of *Yorke* in the ſame Parliament creates himſelfe Protector of *England*, the Earle of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of *Warwicke* (his ſonne) Captaine of *Caleis*: they ſpared as yet to touch King *Henries* life, *becauſe the people did wonderfully honour, eſteeme, and reuerence him for his ſingular holineſſe, and for that he had great friends left aliue, and a ſonne.* In the meane ſpace, *that they might without trouble, and at their pleaſure, vncrowne or kill him, they by little and little diſplaced the ancient Counſellors, and ſubſtituted their aſſured fauourites.* Another Act of that abſolute force and fraud, which they exerciſed in this dreadfull perturbation of all things, was the drawing of *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Exceſter* out of *Sanctuarie* at *weſtminſter*, conuaying him to *Pomfret* Caſtle in the *North*.

(66) *Henry Beauford Duke of Sommerſet*, (ſonne of the former) the Duke of *Buckingham*, (whoſe ſonne and heire the *Earle of Stafford* was ſlaine at S. *Albans*) and other the Kings friends, perceiuing whereunto this faire ſhew tended, conſult with the Queene at *Greenewich* concerning her husbands danger, and how to preuent it. Hereupon the Duke of *Yorke* is diſplaced from the Protectorſhip, a ridiculous title to be aſſumed, where the king was aged about fiue and thirtie, and had no other fault or vnfitnes, but that he was too good to liue among them. The Earle of *Salisbury* was alſo depriued of his *Lord Chancellorſhip*.

(67) The King hauing thus recouered his dignity and authoritie, but not ſufficient meanes to ſuppreſſe his dangers, the *French* take courage at our inteſtine diuiſions, and landing at *Sandwich* with fifteene thouſand men (part of their forces) they kill the *Maior*, *Bailifs*, and other Officers of that Towne, with ſundrie Gentlemen of the Countrey, ſpoile all they could lay hand vpon, and among all they rob two great veſſels laden with merchandiſe, which lay there bound for *London* and departed. Another part of them, burnes *Foway* and certaine other townes in *Deuonſhire*. On the other ſide the *Scots* hoſtillie entred into *Northumberland*, but vpon notice that the Duke of *Yorke* approached with a power, they returned, hauing not as yet done any great harme.

(68) Theſe indignities and loſſes might haue vnited the diſioined affections of true *Engliſh* hearts, which was greatly deſired by ſuch as loued their Countrey: For which purpoſe the King, Queene, and their chiefe friends, being at *Couentrie*, the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke* are ſent for by the Kings letters vnder his priuie Seale, to giue their attendance, whither they come, but they (either warned of ſome plot contriued againſt them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) ſodeinely leaue the Court, without leaue, the Duke departing to *Wigmore* in the *Welſh* marches, the *Earle of Salisburie* to his Caſtell of *Midleham* in the *North*-Countrey, and the *Earle of Warwicke to Calleis*, whoſe bodies though thus diuided, their mindes continued moſt firmely factionated. But the King (a patterne of **Chriſtian* goodnes) being tender ouer the generall eſtate of his Countrey, and wonderfully deſirous to reconcile differences among his ſubiects, that they might the better withſtand their imminent forrein enemies, returnes to *London* there to conſult how to effect his holy wiſhes. The great Lords are perſwaded to *meete there; which they did; but yet not without ſtore of followers, for the Duke brought with him fourehundred men, the Earle of *Salisburie* fiue hundreth, the Earle of *Warwicke* ſixe hundreth: The Dukes of *Exceſter* and *Sommerſet* eight hundreth, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremond* and *Clifford* fifteene hundreth. This was the faſhion of that ſwording age.

(69) In *March* the king and Queene with a very roiall company alight at *Weſtminſter*, to accompliſh, if it were poſſible this charitable and neceſſary worke of attonement and reconciliation. *Godfrey Bolein* was at that time Lord *Maior of London*, (being the anceſtor of two renowned and vertuous *Queenes of England*, *Anne* ſecond wife to King *Henry* the eight, and *Elizabeth* their daughter,) through whoſe great vigilancie and prouidence, the City ſtood ſo well guarded, that the Kings peace was dutifullie kept, notwithſtanding the great Lords of both the factions (*Yorkiſts* and *Lancaſtrians*,) were with ſo great troupes of followers lodged within, and about

A.reg.34.

The Duke of *Yorke* is diſcharged of the vſurped Protectorſhip.

The *French* take *Sandwich* in *Kent* and *Foway* in *Deuonſhire*.

The King at *Couentrie*, from whence the Duke of *Yorke* and the *Yorkiſts* depart ſodeinely.

**Cambin Sudbury*. pag.214.

*In *Ianuar.* A. D. 1458. A.reg.36.

The Lords meet the King at *London* to compoſe all quarrels.

Godfrey Bolein at this time Maior of *London* the anceſtor of two Queenes.

the ſame: for during the whole time of their abode he had *fiue thouſand Citizens in Harneſſe, himſelfe riding daily about the City and ſuburbs, to ſee the publike quiet preſerued: and for the night watch there were aſsigned to three Aldermen two thouſand corſlet-men.

*Rob. Fab. Chro.

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, where at length by the diligent trauaile, good exhortation, and prudent aduiſe of the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication, and afterward to a finall accord: the points whereof, conſidering they held ſo ſhort a while, (*for* as *one ſaith truly, *the diſsimuled loue day hung but by a ſmall threed*) it were friuolous to dwell in their rehearſall. The King himſelfe (a ſingular teſtimonie of the opinion which all parties had of his integritie) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certaine ſatisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *Yorke*, with the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, for the death of *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, and others ſlaine at *S. Albans*. And the ſame Duke of *Sommerſet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Clifford* (ſlaine in that battell by the *Yorkiſts*) are declared for true liegemen to the King at the day of their deathes, aſwell as the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Saliſburie*. So both parts ſtand *iuſti fide* and *recti in curia*. Many other articles and awards were made, to ſolder and glue together their alienated harts and affections. The reioicement cauſed by this ſeeming peace (which on the behalf of the kings perſō was vndoubtedly ſincere and true) was wonderfully great among all good Engliſhmen, who flocked to the publike celebration thereof. For vpon our *Ladies day in Lent, a ſolemne proceſſion was made within the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* in *London*, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of maieſtie) went in perſon, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Salisburie*, the *Duke of Exceſter*, and the *Earle of Warwicke*, and ſo of either faction one and one, and behind the King himſelfe, came the Queene and Duke of *Yorke* with great familiarity in all mens ſights. O religion, ô honour, ô ſinceritie, that your diuine vertue ſhould not haue contained theſe ſpirits in the harmonie of ſweet obedience; but if you could not, what alas ſhould? *England* muſt be more ſeuerely ſcourged, then that ſo goodly a bleſsing of publike reconciliation ſhould continue, whereby the proud tops of her nation (offenſiue to God and men) being taken off, the way might be opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

*Rob. Fab.

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with ſhew of common liking.

*Martii. 25.

(70) There is no reaſon to doubt, but that the Duke of *Yorke* (a man of deepe retirement in himſelfe) ſecretly continued his purpoſe for the Crowne, notwithſtanding all theſe his verniſhed pretences, and did only therfore not as then put for it, becauſe he preſumed the time was incommodious. Againe the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) aſwell in regard of her ſelfe, her husband, and young ſonne, may in likelihood be thought to haue laid downe any thing, rather then the wakefulneſſe and iealouſie, which former perils and the enemies preſent ſtrength might worthily keepe aliue in her. The thinne aſhes therefore, which couered theſe glowing coles, were thus againe firſt vnraked and ſet to blaze.

The probable condition of things after the reconcilement.

(71) The King and manie of the Lords, ſtill being at *Weſtminſter*, there hapned (or perhaps * was plotted) a fray betweene one of the Kings ſeruants and a follower of the *Earle of Warwicke*, who hurt the Kings ſeruant. Hereupon his fellowes of all ſorts (as Cookes with their ſpits &c:) in great diſorder aſſaile the Earle himſelfe, as he was comming from the Councell, and had there ſlaine him, but that the euill fate of *England* and his owne, reſerued him to doe and ſuffer greater miſchiefes. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and reputing all things vnſure about the King, gets ouer to his place at *Calleis*. The *Yorkiſts* directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawne for the Earles deſtruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of *Sommerſet* is ſent Captaine to *Calleis*. *Warwicke* will reſigne no roome, notwithſtanding the Kings command, alleaging he was made by Parliament: *Sommerſet* is reiected with danger to his perſon. *Warwicke* partly maintains himſelfe, and ſuch as ſtucke to him in that charge, with ſpoiles which he got at Sea; How lawfullie it appeares not; though *Warwicke* is ſaid to haue been *Admirall* by Patent, though now reuoked. The Ordinarie bookes haue, that he, with foureteene ſaile of men of warre, ſet vpon three Caricks of *Gene* or *Genoa*, and two of *Spaine*, greater then the *Caricks*: three of which *Merchant-fleete* (which how they ſhould be lawfull prize, we ſee not) he vanquiſhed after two daies fight, with the loſſe of about an* hundreth men of his owne, and a thouſand of theirs: The bootie was worth, at meane rates ten thouſand pounds; ſuch alſo as followed the *Duke of Sommerſet* comming into his hands, he beheaded at *Calleis*. Theſe were ſtrange darings in the *Earle of Warwicke*; whom yet the vnskilfull, and drunken multitude ſo highly praiſe: but what are theſe in regard of them which will preſentlie follow?

* Rob. Felix who alſo reports a much greater number of Merchants ſhips.

(72) The *Duke of Yorke* in the meane time, and *Warwicke* with his father, the *Earle of Salisbury* (the *Triumuirs of England*) conſult of their affaires: *Saliſburie* is reſolued with ſword in hand to expoſtulate the danger and iniury offered to his ſonne at *Weſtminſter*. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimity and foreſight) confident in this, *that now King Henry, or the Duke of Yorke muſt periſh, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both their Families*, beſtirres her ſelfe to maintaine the poſſeſſion of a Crowne, and to aduance to the ſame her owne fleſh and bloud Prince *Edward*, by ruining his houſe, whoſe whole building conſiſted of Lancaſtrian beneficence. She conſults, ſhe ſends, ſhe ſpeakes, ſhe giues, and ſtrengthneth her ſelfe with friends on all ſides, chiefly in *Cheſhire*, cauſing her ſonne to diſtribute ſiluer ſwannes (his badge or deuiſe) to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many other through *England*. *Salisbury* ſets forward from his Caſtell at *Middleham* with foure or fiue thouſand men. *Iames Touchet*, Lord *Audeley* encounters him vnaduiſedly vpon *Blore-heath* neere *Muckelſtone*. The fight was long and bloudy, but in the end K. *Henries* euill fortune gaue the better of the day to the Earle of *Salisbury*, where, beſides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himſelfe, were ſlaine not fewer then two thouſand and foure hundreth, but the chiefe loſſe fel vpon the *Cheſhire* men, who ware the Princes Liuerie.

The ciuill w begins again

Battell at B heath where Henries ſide hath the v

(73) The Earle of *Salisbury* in this ſort opened to himſelfe a way to *Ludlow*, where the head of their combination, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, buſied himſelf to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that ſeeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes & promiſes of ſharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of *Warwicke* bringing with him from *Caleis* (which he left with his friends) that valiant Captaine *Andrew Trolop*, and a band of ſtout and choiſe Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendeuou of the *Yorkiſts*, the Caſtell of *Ludlow*. The King in the meane ſpace, (and not before it was need and time) hath aſſembled a great puiſſance of faithfull Subiects, and being * attended with the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other of his chiefe friends marcheth againſt his enemies. His firſt worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refuſed, and called by them *a ſtaffe of reede, or glaſſe Buckler*. The ſword muſt decide the quarrels; whereupon the king commands his Standards to aduance: while he was in his March, *a letter fraught with the wonted

The Duke of Yorke and his friends take Armes.

* Whether

*Polid. Verg. l. 23 makes it doubtfull, *eaſsne an alia*.

The Earle of *Warwicke* aſſaulted, and eſcaping ſpeedes to *Calis*.

*Dated at law 10. Oct.

wonted hypocrisies) is deliuered to the King. There are in it among many other insinuations these also: *Most Christian King, right high and Mighty Prince, and our most dread Soueraigne Lord, &c. Wee sent vnto your good grace by the Prior of the (Cathedral) Church (of Worcester) and diuers other Doctors, and among other by M. William Linwood doctor of Diuinity, which ministred vnto vs seuerally the blessed Sacrament of the body of Iesus, whereupon wee and euery of vs deposed of our said truth and duty.*

(74) Thus these prophane and ambitious men play with God, who in the end will seuerely bee auenged on them for their impietie: but the letter made no ouerture of any course, vpon which they would yeeld to lay downe Armes, alleadging, *they wold but make their way to the king for redresse of abuses, & that they were enforced to stand together for their own defence, against such great Courtiers and Fauourites*, as (say they) *intended their destruction*; meaning indeed such persons whose vigilancy and manhood might protect and guard him from their practise and violence. The King is now in sight, whom the Triumuirs *Yorke*, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury* being strongly entrenched before *Ludlow*,* meane to assaile. *Andrew Trollop* (who had in the Kings pay done great seruice vpon the *French*) was acquainted with all their counsell, and finding himselfe extreamely deceiued, (for hee thought and so by the Earle of *Warwicke* was made to believe, that the preseruation of the King was intended, and not destruction) abandons the *Yorkists Campe* at midnight, & with a choise number of trusty men presents himselfe and seruices to the King, who graciouslie receiued him and his. The truth of the Triumuirates plot, and bottome of their conspiracies was thus made clearely knowne: The *Yorkists* vpon notice of *Trollops* act, despairing of successe, at that present flie. The Duke of *Yorke* with the Earle of *Rutland* his yonger son into *Ireland*, the Earle of *March* his eldest sonne and heire, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, with much difficultie escape to *Caleis*, which place (as * one saith probably) *if Henry had in time taken from his enemies, they had without question beene forthwith irrecouerably ruined.*

(75) The multitude which serued vnder *Yorke* found mercy, but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or generally ransackt. The town of *Ludlow* it selfe was spoiled to the bare wals, and Dutchesse of *Yorke* depriued of all her goods. What lesse could bee the effects against the friends of such aduersaries, vpon so publike an act and aduantage? The point is followed more sharpely vppon the great Offenders in the next Parliament which was holden at *Couentree*: there *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edward* Earle of *March*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Alice* Countesse of *Salisbury* (in whose right her husband was Earle) two or three Lords, 9. Knights, and certaine other, were openlie of high Treason attainted, and their whole estates confiscated.

(76) *Caleis*, a most important piece, being in the meane space violently possest by *Warwicke*, the Duke of *Sommerset*, the Lords *Rosse* and *Audley*, are sent with forces to take it; their successe was euill, for the Duke was glad to flie, his Souldiers were robbed by *Warwicks* men of their harnesse, the Lord *Audley* is taken into the Towne, and the Lord *Roos* hardly escaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraine parts, entreating * *that no relieue bee ministred to the Traitors who kept Caleis* against the King, and all men are at home forbidden *to transport any victuall or refreshment thither*. Euident it is, that the Councel of *England* rather wished that the Town and Castel had beene *French* againe, then as it was; neither therein erred they, for it could not be so mischieuous to the maine of their cause, as now it was. The Duke of *Sommerset* being in *Guines*, a neighour Castle, doth daily by his Souldiers skirmish with the *Caliseans*: *Warwicke* meditates other things. Hee must speake with the Duke of *Yorke*, at whose commandement all *Ireland* (where hee abode) seemed to be readie; but is aduertised that the King had certaine shippes, which lay at *Sandwich* to transport supplies and succours to the Duke of *Sommerset*. Hee meanes not to leaue such a perill behind him vnremoued; hauing therefore espied his time, hee wils his people to slippe ouer in the night to *Sandwich*, which they accordingly did, tooke the Lord *Riuers*, and his son *Anthony Wooduile* prisoners, and brought away all the shippes, except one called *Grace de Dieu*: one Sir *Baldwine Fulford* Knight, hauing (after this) assumed to doe seruice vpon the Earle of *Warwicke*, and to take him, returnes empty. *Warwicke* sailes now to *Ireland*. The King makes the Duke of *Exceter* Admirall, and giues him commission to apprehend the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Duke with a great naue puts forth to Sea from *Sandwich*. Behold the ill carriage of things. At *Dertmouth* many of his Souldiers, pretending want of money and victuals, forsake him. Meanewhile the Earle of *Warwicke* passeth by the Duke, not daring to assaile him, nor he willing to assaile the Duke, for that hee was Admirall and of the Kings bloud. Such was the act and cunning of the *Yorkists* to pretend reuerence vnto that, which most of all they thirsted to shed: Fiue hundreth fresh souldiers attend at *Sandwich* to bee shipt ouer to the Duke of *Sommerset* for safe-conducting him into *England*. *Warwickes* men sodainely come vpon them, slew *Montfort* their Captaine, and many other, and disarmed the rest. Such was the distracted estate of our poore Country at this time, through the pride and restlesse ambition of one or two vnhappy men. But though nothing was more plaine then that the Duke of *Yorke* sought the crown of *England*; yet nothing is truer, then that they as yet pretended nothing lesse for the veneration of King *Henries* purity of life, would haue preuailed with the people greatly to their preiudice.

The Earle of *Warwickes* men take the Lord *Riuers* and some of the Kings Nauie at *Sandwich*.

The King arms to Sea, but cannot take the Earle, who returns from *Ireland* to *Caleis*.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the person of *Warwicke*, or his Towne of *Caleis*, the *Yorkists* send ouer certaine Articles into *Kent*, in which (as if they were the onely *Patriots* and best Subiects of the world) they complaine of *certaine generall enormities concerning iniuries done to the Church, and the ill ministration of iustice, abuse of purueyers and takers, the Kings pouerty by the corruption of his officers*, and the like plausible stuffe: where they speake of the King, they sequester him from all exception, as being of *so noble, so vertuous, so righteous, and so blessed dispositon*: (these are their words and the truth) *as any Prince earthly*. Where they speake of their enemies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faithfull subiects) they name the *Earle of Salisbury*, *the Earle of Wiltshire, and the Lord Beaumont* which must euer bee an honour to their memories, and put the blame (if it were blame-worthy) of such attaindors which were enacted against the *Yorkists* at *Couentree*, vpon these three Lords specially. Where they speake of themselus & their intentions, *they professe al sincerity* and loyaltie to King *Henry*, and that they onelie meant, to come vpon their guard to speake with him concerning the common-wealth, and their owne safeties, and that now they would attempt the same againe, *in the name of the Land*, and not to suffer such mischiefes to raigne vpon them. The conclusion of their cunning and painted pretences hath these fained holy words: *Requiring you* (the people) *on Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to assist vs, doing alway the duety of Liegemen in our persons to our said Soueraigne Lord, to his estate, prerogatiue and preheminence, and to the surety of his most noble person, whereunto wee haue euer beene, and will bee as true as any of his Subiects aliue: whereof we call God, our Lady Saint Marie, and all the Saints in heauen, to witnesse, and record.* But of the thing it selfe (that is to Crowne the Duke of *Yorke*) they make not the least mention: what wanted in these men to the height and depth of humane malice? They preuaile with the multitudes; a shallow braind, but a great

The Yorkists send ouer Articles to seduce the people.

great and many headed beast. The Lord *Fawconbridge* is sent to sound their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: he finds great forwardnesse. The Earles of *March*, *Warwicke* and *Salisburie* aduertised of all things, land in *Kent*. But the people onely were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and other graue men, beleeued they meant sooth; which that they might the rather doe, the Earle of *Warwicke* made open oath vpon the Crosse of *Canterbury*, *that they had euer borne true faith and alleagiance to King Henry*. A strange humor in the *English*, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before their comming quit the City of *London*, as not greatly trusting the affections which the people thereof bare toward such as the Yorkish faction had made odious about him, and appointed the Rendeuow of his forces at *Northampton* where he abode. The enemy (shewing friend) aduanceth thither. It is a shame to reade that some of the great Prelates would simply bee drawne to countenance such an enterprise: but their intentions were different; they hoped to reconcile enmities, the Earles, to make *Yorke* King. Meanewhile their complices labour to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henry* these loyall Nobles. The Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Vescie*, *Louel*, *Delaware*, and *Candal* a Gascoigne with sundry others.

The Earle of *Warwicke* lends his side an Oath.

(78) At *Northampton* things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his aduersaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwicke* to his presence, (which thing was colourably sued for to raise a ground of iustification for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *Warwicke* (with like or greater cunning, then they had desired admission to the Kings speech) let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand vpon the King, nor common people, but vpon the Lords, Knights and Esquiers.

(79) The hoasts ioyne. No stroke they gaue but seemes to wound vs also. Let vs swiftly turne our eyes from so vnnaturall slaughters. The * L. *Grey* of *Ruthen* began the discomfiture of the Kings side, for hee (let the world iudge with what commendation,) hauing the point, did quit his place and fled to the Earles. The kings armie is defeated, and vterlie broken. Many were slaine and drowned. *Polydor* and *Grafton* say ten thousand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there lost their liues, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Iohn* Earle of *Shrewsburie* (a * most hopefull young Gentleman, and in all points like his heroicke Ancestors) *Iohn* Vicount *Beaumont*, *Thomas*, Lord *Egremond*, and among sundry other prime men, * Sir *William Lucie*, who making hast to the fight, was vpon his first approach chopt downe with an axe. The Kings Ordinance could not play, there fell so great a raine.

*The Battell at *Northampton* where the King is taken.

*Stowes *Annals*. who varieth in many circumstances of this battell from some other writers

* *Polyd. Verg. Graft. Chron.*

(80) This wofull battell was fought vpon the * ninth of Iuly. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miseries, though he not therefore the lesse, but the more happy through that excellent fortitude of mind, with which hee inuincibly sustained them) comes into his enemies hands; but the Queene and the Prince, and the remains of their scattered fortunes flie into the North, there to reenforce their powers, and *to* * *subdue* (as shee caused them to be proclamed) *the Kings Rebels and enemies*. The Tower of *London* after this misfortune renders it selfe. The Lord *Scales* is wickedly murthered vpon the *Thames* by Wherrimen, belonging to the Earle of *Warwicke*, as hee intended to passe to * *Sanctuary* at *Westminster*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrisies (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words.

* *Rob. Fab. Grosst. Chron.*

An. D. 1460
A. reg. 38.

* *Rob. Fab. Chron.*

* *Stowes Annal.*

(81) *Most noble Prince, displease you not, though it hath pleased God of his grace to grant vs the victorie of our mortall enemies, who by their venemous maliee haue vntruly stirred and moued your Highnesse to exile vs out of the land, and would haue put vs to finall shame, and confusion: wee come not to vnquiet or grieue your said Highnesse, but to please your noble person, desiring tenderly the high welfare and prosperity thereof, and of all your Realme, and to be your true Liegemen while our liues shall endure.* Our soules are amazed at these arts, and men blush to publish to the world things so vnworthy.

The Earls words to the King.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarse borne at this time, but the *Diuell* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Earles in the meane time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to be holden in *October* following. The Duke of *Yorke* (aduertised of his victorie) speedes from *Dublin*, the chiefe City of *Ireland*, to bee at that Parliament, where wee shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

* *Machiauel.*

(83) *Scotland*, by reason of late affinity with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and toppe was the Duke of *Sommerset*, (descended from *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a speciall backe, and *Second* to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous aduersities; but now that refuge was also hazarded: for King *Iames* the second, partly in fauour of King *Henry*, and partly as making vse of the troubles in *England*, laieth siege to *Rocksbrough* (*Bellenden* the *Scot* calleth the same Castle * *Marchmont*) being in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordinance was great) comming down the trenches to see the * *Lion* (a new great piece which had lately beene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shiuer thereof slew the king, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This vnhappy accident hapned vpon a Sunday, the * third day of August. The Queen of *Scotland* neuertheless maintaineth the siege, and aswell obtaines that place, as the Castle of *Warke*, both which shee (in reuenge) threw to the earth. *Iames* the third, a child of seuen yeers old succeeded to his father, aswell to the cherishment of the distressed English, as to the Crowne.

(84) The Parliament being begunne, about the * eight of October at *Westminster* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Rithard* Duke of *Yorke*, who brake open the Kings lodging Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, suffering the King to prouide elsewhere. Then makes hee his claime to the Crown of *England*, and publisheth it in open Parliament together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were priuie to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed both for that hee did set himselfe in the Kings seate, and for this his vnexpected challenge: But the Duke though at first hee greatly meant to haue deposed King *Henry*, and with speed to bee crowned himselfe at *Alhallontide* next, yet finding such amasement and silence, hee sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yeelding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein, according to their generall agreement during the treaty whereof he would not visite King *Henrie*, alleadging himselfe was peereless in *England*. The maine points of his Title were as followeth. *King Edward the third had issue, Edward Prince of Wales, William of Hatfield, Lionell Duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gaunt D. of Lancaster, Edmund D. of Yorke, Thomas D. of Gloceſter, and William of Windsor. Edward Prince of Wales dyed, liuing his Father, and left issue Richard the second King of England, who died without Issue: as did also William King Edwards second sonne.*

(85) *Lionel the third sonne had issue Philip his daughter and heire, married to Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who had Issue Roger Earle of March, who had Issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor, which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without Issue. Anne (the heire of that house) marrieth Richard*

Earle

Earle of Cambridge, the ſonne of Edmund Duke of Yorke, fifth ſonne to King Edward the third, which Earle of Cambridge had Richard commonly (ſaith the Booke,) called Duke of Yorke.

(86) *Iohn of Gaunt the fourth ſon and younger brother to Lionel, had Iſſue Henry, who immediately after King Richards reſignation, vnrighteouſly (ſaith the Booke) entred vpon the ſame, for that Edmund Earle of March, ſonne of Roger Earle of March, and of Philip daughter and heire of the before ſaid Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter was then aliue, and that aſwell the ſaid Henry, eldeſt ſon to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, as his deſcendents haue hitherto holden the Crowne of England, &c. vniuſtly, for that himſelfe the ſaid Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke was the lawfull heire, being the ſonne of Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, and of Anne before ſaid.*

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of *Yorks* title, which for the points of the Pedegree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King *Henry* (without denying any part of the premiſes, being all of them more euident then that they could be honeſtly denied) had not a little to ſay for him: for they could among other things alleadge, *that Richard the ſecond reſigned vp his Crowne and Regality at large; and that none elſe making claime but Henry Duke of Lancaſter, hee was thereunto by the conſent of all the three Eſtates admitted; that Richard Earle of Cambridge was for high Treaſon attainted and executed, and his Iſſue made incapable of any inheritance, that this Richard his ſonne now challenging the Crowne of England, being reſtored by the meere clemency and goodneſſe of this King Henry the ſixt, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soueraigne, and ſworne the ſame, and that the ſaid Richard was finally for treaſon attainted, and adiudged vninheritable: they could hereunto haue added ſundry Acts of Parliament, made to eſtabliſh the right of the Lancaſtrian line, the ſucceſſion of three Kings, all Henries, that is to ſay, the fourth, fifth and ſixth; the politicke addreſſes of the firſt of thoſe Kings, the noble victories of the ſecond, and the holy life of the third; which three Kings liues contained of raigne about threeſcore yeeres, in which number this was the nine and thirtieth of King Henry the ſixth, who was deſcended of the male line, and the Duke of Yorke but of a female: of which female line none had euer been in poſſeſſion of the Crown.* Great and weighty points, (if any) and the rather to bee conſidered, for that King *Henries* perſon beeing (in very truth) Priſoner, no act of his to eſtabliſh *Yorkes* title could bind in law or conſcience, and the leſſe, for that hee had a wife, and by her a ſonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazard to deſtroy the whole Engliſh name. But they who on *Yorkes* behalf) abſtractiuelie diſputed theſe higheſt queſtions, knew a rule of law, which ſaith, *Iura ſanguinis nullo iure ciuili dirimi poſſunt*; and the Lancaſtrians were not without their ſpeculatiue and remote conſiderations, to countenance the particulars of their cauſe. Thus we ſee that in Monarchies (though the nobleſt forme of Regiment) where lineall ſucceſſion is the rule of inheritance, there ſometimes fall out as great and as indeterminable difficulties, as where Election deſigneth the Succeſſor: whereof the *French* tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now theſe in *England*, are without all exception, the moſt fearefull inſtances. For *France* had heretofore her time of affliction, but now (O deareſt *England*) it was thine.

(88) While this weighty controuerſie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garniſhment in the middle of the roofe, where the Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament met to conſult, and the crown which for like cauſe ſtood vpon the higheſt Tower of *Douer* Caſtell, * fell ſodainely down, which were vulgarly conſtrued * to portend *That the raigne of K. Henry was at an end, and that the Crown ſhould be tranſferred from one royall line to another.* But the Queene, her ſonne Prince *Edward*, and her faſt friends in the North (the ſeate of their hopes) being nothing diſcouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they can to recouer K. *Henrie* and the Kingdome; which thing whiles they are purſuing; the concluſion of the Parliament concerning the crown, was, *That Henry the ſixth ſhould raigne, and bee King during his life, the remainder to reſt in Richard Duke of Yorke, and the lawfull heires of his body in generall tayle, King Henries heires to bee extluded.* The Duke in the meane time is proclaimed heire apparant, and called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and Protector of *England*. The agreement was engroſſed, ſealed and ſworn vnto. The Queene will haue nothing to doe in this bargaine, being ſo dangerous and preiudicious to her ſelfe, her husband, and her ſonne; and therefore when the King (at the Duke of *Yorkes* inſtigation) ſent for her to repaire vnto him, ſhee relying vpon the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, and other the Kings friends, vtterly refuſeth: *Henry* continueth king. The Armes therefore, which ſhe taketh for his deliuerance, haue the more iuſtice. The Duke of *Yorke* miſſing the prey hee expected, leaues the king with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* at *London*; himſelfe with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, and certaine forces, * ſetteth forward to *Wakefield* to purſue the Queene and her ſonne, ſending direction to the Earle of *March* that hee ſhould follow with all his power. The Caſtell of *Sandall* ſtandeth pleaſantly vpon a ſmall hill, in view of the faire town of *Wakefield*; there the Duke of Yorke (comming thither vpon Chriſtmas Eue) repoſeth himſelfe, and expecteth the encreaſe of his numbers. The Queene aduertiſed, thinkes it wiſdome to fight before the Duke grow too ſtrong; and thereupon marcheth forward, hauing an Army of eighteene thouſand men, led by the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceſter*, the Earles of * *Deuonſhire* and * *Wiltſhire*, the Lords *Neuill*, *Clifford*, *Roſſe*, and in effect all the Northerne Nobility. The hoſt (or ſo much thereof as they thought neceſſary to ſhew) preſents it ſelfe before *Sandall*, to prouoke and dare the Duke to battell. His bloud impatient of theſe braues, & ignorant perhaps that the enemy had ſo great a multitude, will needes fight, though the Earle of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Dauid Hall* (an ancient ſeruant of his, and a great Souldier) gaue him aduiſe to ſtay, till his ſonne (the Earle of *March*) approched with ſuch Welſhmen and Marchers, as hee had in great numbers aſſembled. But God would forbeare him no longer, but like a ſeuere Maſter meanes to take a preſent account: at which he found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the leaſt ſinne, much leſſe a wilfull periurie.

(89) The Queene therefore addeth ſtratageme, and wit to her force, to the entent hee might not eſcape her hands; whereupon the Earle of *Wiltſhire* vpon one ſide of the hill, and the Lord *Clifford* vpon the other, lie in ambuſh to thruſt between him and the Caſtell; the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Exceter*, ſtand embattelled in the open field. Their policy had the wiſhed ſucceſſe; for the Duke being not fully fiue thouſand ſtrong, iſſueth out of the Caſtle downe the hill. The battels which ſtood in front, ioyne furiouſly, when ſodainly the Duke of *Yorke* ſees himſelfe incloſed, and although hee expreſſed great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Armie was diſcomfited, himſelfe and diuers his deare friends beaten downe and ſlaine. There lay dead about him the Lord *Harington*, Sir *Thomas Neuill* ſonne to the Earle of *Salisburie*, Sir *Dauid Hal*, with ſundry Knights and others about two thouſand, & two hundred; among which were the heires of many *Southern* gentlemen of great account, whoſe * bloud was ſhortly after reuenged. Let vs not linger vpon the particular accidents of this battell, but conſider what it wrought for *King Henries* aduancement; yet theſe few things are not to bee vnremembred. The Earle of *Rutland* (a yonger ſonne to

Henry to bee king for terme of life, and the Duke of *Yorke* after his death.

* *Menſe Decem.* The Duke of *Yorke* purſueth the Queene in the North.

* *Stow, Annal.* * *Graft. Chron.*

The Queenes Army comes to *Wakefield.*

They ouerthrow the Duke of *Yorke* and kill him.

* *Graft. Chron.*

the Duke of *Yorke*) being about twelue yeeres old, was alſo ſlaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who ouertooke him flying) in part of reuenge for that the * Earles father had ſlaine his. A deed which worthily blemiſhed the Author; but who can promiſe any thing temperate of himſelfe in the heat of martiall furie? chiefly, where it was reſolued, *not to leaue anie branch of Yorke line ſtanding*, for ſo doth *one make the Lord *Clifford* to ſpeake.

*Graſt. Chron.

* Graftons Chron.

(90) That mercileſſe propoſition was common (as the euent will ſhew) to either faction. The Duke of *Yorkes* head, crowned with paper, is preſented to the Queene. Cruell ioy is ſeldome fortunate. *Caſar* wept ouer *Pompeis* head, but the Queen (ignorant how manifold cauſes of teares were reſerued for her owne ſhare) makes her ſelfe merrie with that gaſtly and bloody ſpectacle. The Earle of *Salisburie*, after wounds receiued, being in this battel taken priſoner, is conueighed to *Pomfract Caſtle*; from whence the common people (who loued him not) *violently haled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his, were fixed on poles, and ſet vpon a gate of *Yorke*, and with them (if *Grafton* ſay true) the heades of all the other priſoners which had beene conducted to *Pomfret*.

*Stowes Annals.

(91) This battell (called of *Wakefield*) was fought vpon the laſt day of *December*; of whoſe weathers complexion if their courages had participated, miſchiefe might haue made her ſtop here, which now is in her ſwifteſt courſe.

A.D. 1461. A.reg.39. The Earle of *March* purſues his fathers deſignes.

(92) For the *Earle of March*, ſonne, and heire to this late valiant *Duke of Yorke*, hearing of this tragicall aduenture, giues not ouer: but, hauing gathered an armie of about twenty thouſand to march againſt the Queene, he findes emploiment neerer hand: being certified, that *Iaſper Theder Earle of Pembrooke* (halfe-brother to King *Henrie*) and *Iames Butler Earle of Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with them a great force of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whoſe amiable preſence and carriage made him gratious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of *women,) meanes to try his fortune againſt the ſaid Earles. He ſodeinely therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mortimers Croſſe* neere *Ludlow*, where the enemie abode, he ſets vpon them; It was *Candlemas* day in the morning, at which time there appeared (as ſome write) three Sunnes, which ſodeinely ioined in one. This luckie prognoſticon, and ominous Meteor exceedingly fired the *Earle of March*, and was (ſome ſay) the reaſon, why he vſed for his *Badge*, or roiall deuiſe, the *Sunne in his full brightneſſe*. The Battels maintaine their fight with great furie; but, in the end, the *Earle of March* obtaines the victorie, killing of his enemies three thouſand, and eight hundreth men; the Earles ſaued themſelues by flight. The ſonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to ſhine through Clouds of blood and miſerie, vpon *Edward*, whome ſhortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * *Sir Owen Theder* (father to *Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke*,) who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as alſo *Sir Iohn Skudamor* knight with his two ſonnes, and other.

*Phil. Comin.

The battell at *Mortimers Croſſe* where *Edward* is victorious.

*Groſt. Chron. Stowes Annal.

(93) The Queene on the other ſide (hauing ordered her affaires in the *North*, ſetled the eſtate thereof, and refreſhed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her *Northern* armie to *S. Albans*. There came before them an euill fame of their behauiour to *London*, whoſe wealth lookt pale knowing it ſelfe in danger; for the *Northern* armie, (in which were *Scots*, *Welſh*, and *Iriſh* aſwell as *Engliſh*,) made bold by the way with what they liked, making ſmall diſtinction of ſacred or prophane, after they were once paſt the riuer of *Trent*, Captaine *Andrew Trolop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himſelfe in perſon, with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the *Lord Bonuile*, & other, with a great puiſſance encampe at *S. Albans*, to giue the Queene battell, and ſtop her farther paſſage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalfe, aſſaile the Kings forces within the Town, and after ſome ſharpe affronts, breake through, and driue their aduerſaries out with much bloodſhed, till they fell vpon a ſquadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or fiue thouſand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes ſide clearely wanne the day. There periſhed in this conflict about two thouſand.

The ſecond fell at S. A where the Queene i routs and r uers the T

This hapned vpon *Shroue-tueſday*, the ſeuenteenth of *Februarie*. The King, Queene and Prince meet ioifully, where he knights his ſonne, (being eight yeeres old,) and thirtie others. The Lord *Bonuile* and Sir *Thomas* * *Kiriel* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men eſcape. The common people of *London* doe notwithſtanding ſtand wholy for the beautifull *Earle of March*, and ſtand the more confidentlie, becauſe they had ſure intelligence, that he had vanquiſhed the Earle of *Pembrooke* in the *Marches of Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwicke*, eſcaping from *S. Albans*, had met with the *Earle of March* neere *Coſtwold*, and that both with ioint forces were marching toward *London*. Theſe newes made the King and Queene retire into the *North*, and leaue that Citie and the Southern Countreys to their Enemie, till they might recouer a fairer opportunitie or more ſufficiencies. *Edward* vpon notice of the Kings departure, entreth *London*, and giues period to *Henries* reigne, which is accounted to take end after he had ſucceſſiuely ruled this Land the ſpace of thirtie eight yeeres, ſixe moneths, and foure daies.

* Tiral Gith Rob. Fab.

The Kin Queene i into the

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henrie*, was the daughter of *Reyner* King of *Ieruſalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*, *Duke of Andegauia*, *Lorraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, *Earle of Prouince*, *Cenomania*, and *Guize*. Shee by proxie was eſpouſed vnto King *Henrie*, at the Citie *Towers* in *Touraine* in the Church of *Saint Martin*; *William de-la-Poole* being Procurator to the king in the preſence of the *French* king and his Queen, which king was vncle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt vnto her mother. Shee with great pompe was conueyed to *South-hampton*, and thence to the *Abbey of Tichfield*, where the yeere of grace 1445. and twentie two of *Aprill*, ſhee was ſolemnly married to king *Henry*; and honorably attended by the greateſt Eſtates of the Land, was crowned at *Weſtminſter* the thirtieth of *May* following. Shee was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit and deepe pollicie, but of ſtomacke farre aboue her ſexe, as in the managing of thoſe troubleſome times did too well appeare. Shee was his wife twentie ſixe yeeres, and twentie nine daies: and (after her husbands depulſion from his regall throne) her forces being vanquiſhed at the battell of *Tewksburie*, in a poore religious houſe, whether ſhee had fled for the ſafetie of her life, was taken priſoner, and ſo carried Captiue to *London*, where ſhee remained in durance, till *Duke Reiner* her father did purchaſe her liberty with great ſummes of money, vnto whom ſhee returned, and laſtly died in her natiue Countrie.

His Iſſue.

(95) *Edward* the only Child of king *Henrie* and Queene *Margaret* his wife was borne at *Weſtminſter* the thirteenth day of October, the yeere of Chriſt 1453. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeere following vpon the fifteenth of *March*, by authoritie of Parliament, was created

Prince

Prince of *Wales* & Earle of *Chester*: For the title of Duke of *Cornwall* (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed vnto the Kings eldeſt ſonne, the very day of his natiuitie, and by vertue of a ſpeciall Act is preſumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, ſo as he may ſue that day for his liuerie of the ſaid Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the ſame; hauing his roialties in the Stannary, wrackes at Sea, Cuſtomes &c: the firſt Duke thereof was *Edward* commonlie called the *Blacke Prince*, whome his Father, King *Edward* the third created in great Eſtate Duke of *Cornwall* by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger and a ſiluer verge. He proued a Prince of great hope and forwardnes, being skilfull in martiall knowledge, matters of gouernment, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of ſeuenteene, the better to bandie againſt his Fathers Competitor, King *Edward*, (the Maul of the Lancaſtrians claime) affianced in *France*, *Anne* the ſecond daughter of *Richard the Make-king*, Earle of *Warwick*; whoſe other daughter was married to *George Duke of Clarence*. This Prince when the day was loſt at *Tewkesburie*, ſought to eſcape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the preſence of king *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſweres enraged the Conqueror ſo much, as he daſhed him (an vnprincely part) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and *Richard* the *crooke-backe* ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all ſolemnity among the poore and meane perſons ſlaine, in the Monaſticall Church of the blacke Friers in *Tewkesburie*. Anno Domini 1471.

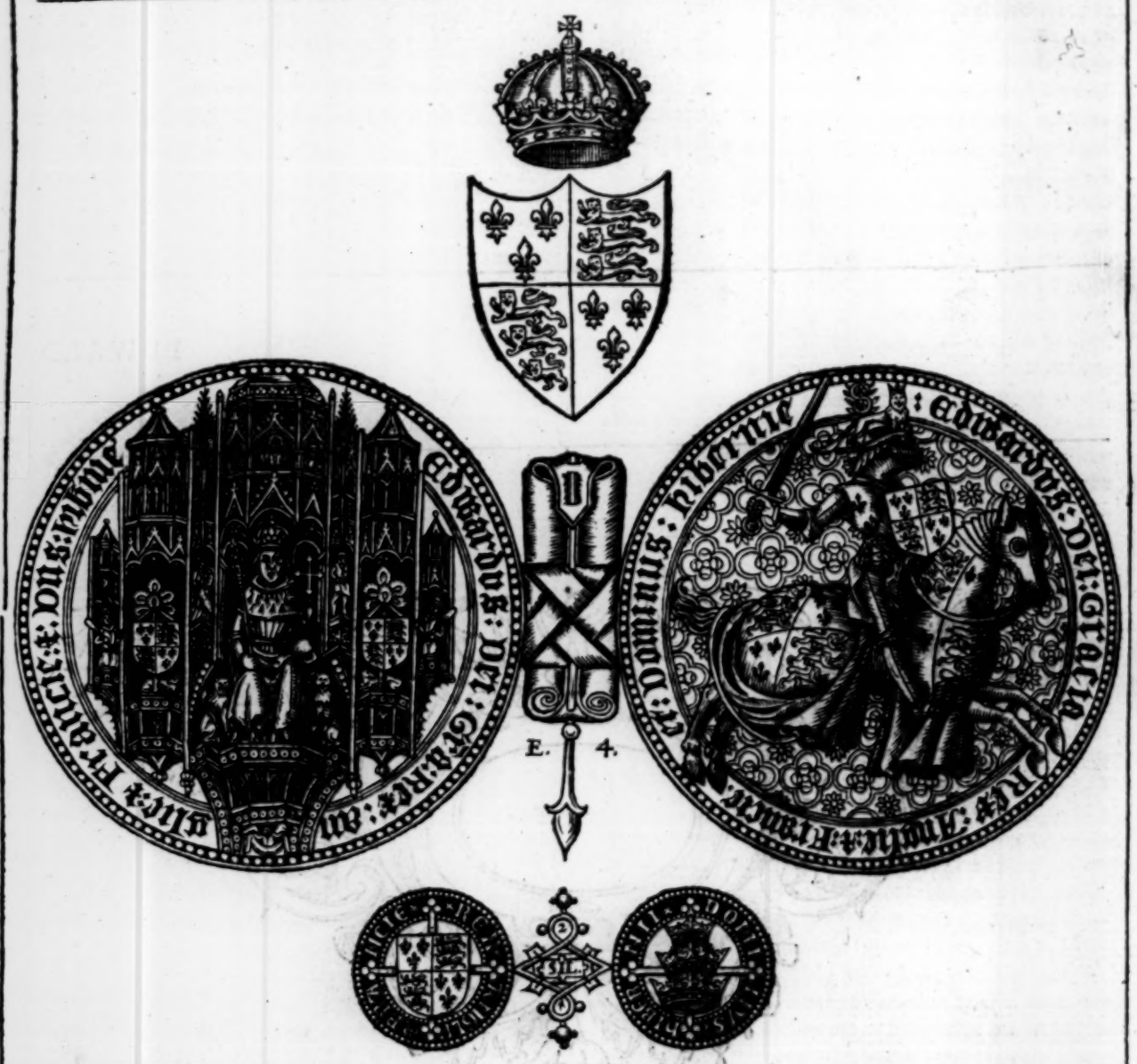
EDWARD

Edward IIII

EDVVARD THE FOVRTH, FIRST KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE,

KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch



CHAPTER XVII.

Edward Duke of *Yorke* and *Rich.* Earle of *Warwick* come vnto *London.*

Dward, borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and bearing the title of *March* in *England*, hauing wunne the battell at *Mortimers* Croſſe (though the *Lords* his Confederates had loſt that of Saint *Albans*) from *Ludlow* haſted towardes *London*, & on his way was ſeconded by *Richard Neuill*, the ſtout Earle of *Warwicke*, to the great encreaſe of his number and power, which ſo terrified Queene *Margaret*, now ready to poſſeſſe the South, that with her husband and ſonne, in a perplexed feare, ſhe returned againe into the North; vpon which aduantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke*, preſently played. For *London* vnreſolued whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in poſſeſsion) dayly conſulted for their ſafeſt eſtate; when on the ſuddaine *Edward* with *Warwicke* entred their gates, whoſe warlike viſages ſo daunted the aduerſe affected, that they beganne with the firſt to make him way to the throne, & the Noblemen likewiſe made him offers of their ſeruice, to eſtabliſh his claime, neither were the Clergy to learne the obſeruance of time, or to ſway with the man vpon whom the world ſmiled. All theſe ſet in Counſell to confer of the ſtate, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well ſet termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliament formerly had thereunto conſented, and *Henry* himſelfe ſubſcribed with his owne hand; whoſe title, though now carried through three deſcents; yet what right *Lancaſter* had, they all knew, and how inſufficient this laſt man was for rule, *France* to their diſhonour did witneſſe, where all was loſt through his neglect, whoſe ſimplicity euer minded more his priuate

The City of *London* [illegible] vnto whom [illegible] part to yo[illegible]

Prince Ed[illegible] ſheweth his right to the Crowne.

uate deuotions, then the potent managing of a Soueraignes command.

(2) These things vrged (and most of them true) their voices went current, that *Edward* was the vndoubted King, whereunto the *Londoners* the sooner yeelded, for that his dreaded Northerne Army was then encamped in Saint *Iohns* field: neither was any reseruation made (as before) of *Henries* naturall life, but hee is now absolutely neglected as vnworthy of his Crowne, how acceptable soeuer he had raigned till then, whose following miseries were not so much lamented, as his constant patience was admired in vndergoing the same. *Edward* thus mounted, before his foot had well touched the first steppe, was vpon Sunday the second of *March*, among his Northerne Souldiers proclaimed King; *William* L. *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and disabling K. *Henry* of stile or Gouernement, whose weake head (as hee alleadged) had ouer long blemished the English Crowne.

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe hee was conueied to *Westminster*, and set vpon the Kings seat in the Hall, where holding the scepter of Saint *Edward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe demanded, and againe granted; such was the hap of vnfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude euer to dislike the present, and to affect the new: but no *interim* left to dissuade or attempt, the next day his stile and title was again proclaimed by the name of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of March and * about the 20. yeere of his age.

(4) These sodain alterations made the richer sort somewhat fearefull, especially, those whose heart stood firm for *K. Henry*, (who was now in the North new mustering of men) and among those, *London* afforded many, as King *Edwards* iealousie suspected, whereof one *Walker* a substantiall Citizen and Grocer was a sufficient proofe, who for wordes spoken concerning his owne sonne, that *hee would make him heyre of the Crowne* (meaning his house hauing that Signe) was the eighth day of this Kings raigne apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And albeit his words intended no treason, (the Grocer not once dreaming to touch King *Edwards* title) yet the time being when the Crowne lay at stake, the tenture of the Law made them his death. This rough beginning moued many to doubt, that they had wronged themselues in wronging King *Henry*, which opinion was more confirmed in that hee retained * a great summe of money borrowed of the Staplers-Merchants, and disbursed in his affaires, whose restitution he vtterly denyed with an austere commandement to surcease the demand. But hearing how *Henry* was beloued in the North, & what followers were gathered to recouer him the Crown, vpon the twelfth of March with a complete Armie hee sets forth of *London*, accompanied with his brethren, and many other Nobles: with whome marching towards *Pomfret*, he there appoints the Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the passage of *Ferribrig*, omitting no directions of a worthy commander.

(5) King *Henry* for his part though nothing so warlike, yet thought it best policy to imploy such leaders as desired reuenge against the house of *Yorke*; such were the Duke of *Sommerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whose fathers had been slaine in the first battell of S. *Albans*, which last, though in degree the least man, yet sought to raise his fame with the first, and therefore to leaue no attempt vnassayed, hee so sodainely charged vpon the Troupe appointed for *Ferribrig*, that the L. *Fitzwater* vnarmed (only with a pollax in his hand) came hastily to the Brigge, thinking a fray had been among his owne Souldiers, where, with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, hee and many of his men were slaine by the enemie.

(6) The brute of which gust blowne into stout *Warwickes* eare, hee mounted his Courser, and posting to *Edward*, puffing, blowing, and almost out of breath, said, *Sir I pray God haue mercy on their soules which in the beginning of your enterprize haue lost their liues; I see no succour in the world, but in God, to whom I remit the vengeance.* And so alighting, forthwith slew his horse with his sword saying, *Let him flie, that flie will, I will tarry with him that will tarrie with me*: which hee confirmed by kissing the crosse of his sword, the vsuall complement of couenants made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge* fearing lest this beginning would giue an edge to the sequell, got ouer the riuer at *Castleford*, three miles from the bridge, meaning to inclose the takers vpon their backes, which *Clifford* perceiuing, sought to auoide, and whether for haste, heate, or paine, put off the gorget he wore, when sodainly an arrow without an head, shot from the Bow of some laide in ambush, pierced through his throat, and stucke in his necke, which set a period vnto his life.

Earle *Warwicks* approach and speech to King *Edward*.

The L. *Clifford* slaine with an headlesse arrow.

(7) The next day more fatall for *Englands* bloud, was celebrated with speares in stead of palmes, vsually borne on * that Saboth of Lent, in whose dawning, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the foreward (the Duke of *Norfolke* being sicke) tooke the field on a plaine, betwixt the townes of *Towton* and *Saxton*, where King *Edward* ioyning his whole forces (being forty eight thousand, and six hundreth sixty persons, as King *Henries* were also threescore thousand) caused proclamation to bee made, that hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart, but if any Souldier abiding, should seeke to flie or turn backe, hee should bee slaine by his next fellow, and the slayer to receiue a great reward, besides the stipend of a double pay.

A.D. 1461. Difference of Authors hath here bred some confusion of yeeres.
* March 29.

K. *Edwards* proclamation much forwarded his seruice.

(8) Both Armies ready to ioyne, a small sleet of snow hapned to fall, which with the wind was carried into the face of the Lancastrian host, whereby their sight was much empeached, which aduantage *Fauconbridge* soone espying, forthwith commanded his Archers to shoot each man a flight, and then to stand without further proffer. The Northern men feeling the arrows, but not seeing the Archers, made haste to acquite them with the like, and shot their whole sheaues of arrowes without intermission, but short of the marke by threescore yeards at the least; which storme being past, and all their store spent, the worthy *Fauconbridge* aduanced forward, and within reach of his Archers sore galled the enemie, making a double aduantage of what they had done: for their owne quiuers being full, when the others were empty, they gathered vp & shot theirs, against their owne shooters, yet left some of them sticking to gall the legges of their pursuers: by which onely stratagem, as was constantly auerred, the battell and day was lost and wonne.

The battell at *Towton*.

A politicke prac. & so in warre.

(9) The fight was bloudy and continued tenne howres, for all being English, acquit themselues English-like, no taking of prisoners, nor looking for ransome, but all to retaine, and to get honour that day; wherein died the Lords *Beamont*, *Neuill*, *Willoughby*, *Wells*, *Scales*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, *Fitzhugh*, *Beckingham*, and *Clifford*, (who died the day before) the two bastards of *Exceter*, Knights, Esquiers & Gentlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts) thirty five thousand ninety and one; so that not onely the field lay stained with English blood, but the riuers ran red for a great distance, so markable is this battell of *Englands* ciuill wars.

Palme Sunday a bloudy battell.

(10) *Henry*, who neuer was victor whersoeuer hee came, hearing this losse which seemed irrecouerable, with his Queene and sonne hasted into *Scotland*, where, of *Iames* the young King hee was royally entertained, with comfort of assistance to recouer his estate, in regard whereof he surrendred the strong town *Barwicke* into the Scots hand, and concluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his sonne, and Lady *Margaret* the sister of the said King. These things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceiued some new budding hopes, and Queen *Margaret* his wife, (indeed

K. *Henry* with his Queen & sonne flee into *Scotland*.

Iohn Leslie.

Lady *Margaret* of *Scotland* promised in marriage vnto Prince *Edward*.

Queene *Margaret* passeth into *France*.

indeed the better warrier) passed thence into *France*, where, of King *Lewis* and her father *Reiner* shee obtained more men, then her coffers were able to relieue with pay; the bane of all courage in aduentures of warre.

A.D. 1461. King *Edward* crowned.

(11) Victorious *Edward*, after those his prosperous successes in the *North*, in triumph returned to *London*, and the eight & twentith of Iune with great solemnity was Crowned at *Westminster*, where in *S. Peters* Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly set on his head, and the third day so Crowned he came to *Saint Paules* in *London*, and therein was censed with great applause of the People. In *November* following a Parliament began, wherein King *Henrie*, *Queene Margaret*, and *Prince Edward* their sonne, were disherited of their right to the Crowne; the *Dukes of Exceeter* and *Sommerset*, and the *Earle of Deuonshire*, with an hundred and forty moe, were attainted also and disherited; so fortune dallieth in setting the dice of her fauours, or frownes.

King *Henry* and Prince *Edward* disherited by Parliament.

A.D. 1462. Queene *Margaret* returned into *Scotland*.

(12) Queene *Margaret* stored with men, but in want of money, with her *French* powers made into *Scotland*; whose comming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of enterprize, hoised her sailes for *England*, but hauing touched the bay of *Tinmouth* (whether vpon better aduise, or feared with their owne shadowes,) shee with her *French* put backe to the Sea, where such a sore tempest tooke them, as had not *Queene Margaret* in a small Caruell got vnto *Barwicke*, shee had not liued to vexe the new King, nor seene the vnfortunate losse of her husband, her son, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne old age; her *French* by *Bastard Ogle* were beate into *Holy Iland*, many slaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ransomes.

Bastard Ogle ouercommeth the *French*.

An.D.1463.

(13) This fainting *French* enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed vpon the *Scots* valour; so, (leauing Prince *Edward* for safetie in *Barwicke*,) with her husband and Scots shee entred *Northumberland*, tooke the Castle of *Bamburgh*, and so passed forward vnto the *Bishopricke*, their forces daily increasing through the confluence of such *English*, as fauoured King *Henrie*.

Queene *Margaret* entreth *Northumberland* in hostile manner.

King *Edward* commeth to *Yorke*.

(14) King *Edward* hearing these stirres in the *North*, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his brethren and Nobles came to *Yorke*, from whence he sent *Iohn Neuil Lord Montacute*, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the *Northumbrians*, who passing forward, vpon *Hegely-Moore* was sodeinely encountred by the *Lords Hungerford* and *Roos*, with whom was *Sir Ralph Percie*, a most valiant Knight; but *Montacute*, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first push put backe the two Lords, and finallie slew the said *Percie*, who no waies would depart out of the field; but in dying said, *I haue saued the birde in my brest*, meaning his oath made to King *Henrie*.

The skirmish vpon *Hegely More*.

The saying of Sir *Ralph Percie* at his death.

Montacutes victory at *Hexham*.

(15) Lord *Montacutes* Sunne thus mounting in the *Horizon*, cast forth the rayes of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher ascend. And therefore learning by espials, that *Henries* host lay incamped vpon a plaine called *Liuels*, neere vnto *Hexham* by the *Water Dowill*, he hasted thither, and so valiantly assaulted their Camp, as after great slaughter, in chase were taken *Lord Henrie Duke of Sommerset*, the Lords, *Roos*, *Mollins*, and *Hungerford*, all which were beheaded, and *Sir Ralph Gray*, who first solemnly disgraded, his guilt spurres cut from his heeles, by the Master Cooke, his sword broken ouer his head, his Coate armour rent, another reuersed put on by the King at Armes, was so led to his execution. King *Henrie* himselfe got away (as *Stow* saith) into *Lancashire*, where, with some few he liued full hardly in Caues, and vnknowne, more then a yeere, but

May. 15.

Lords taken and beheaded.

The disgrading of *Sir Ralph Grey*.

To Stow.
King *Henry* put to flight.

(saith *Grafton*) hee fled into *Scotland* which is more likelie.

(16) *Edward* thus cleered of the Cloud threatning storme, thought best ere others did light, to prouide for himselfe, and therefore he raised *Bulwarks*, built new *Fortresses* in places of danger, put forth his espials vpon the Marches of *Scotland*, and commanded that none should keepe *Henrie* or *Margaret* in secret, whose sight, he feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But ouer-borne *Henrie* (whether past al feare, or inforced by destinie) in disguised apparell past into *England*, where he was soone apprehended by one *Cantlow*; but *Stow* saith by *Thomas Talbot* in *Cletherwood* besides *Bungerley Hippingstones* in *Lancashire*, being betraied in *Waddington Hall* as he sate at dinner, and thence brought to *London* with his legs bound to the stirrups, arrested by *Warwicke*, his guilt spurres taken off, and committed Prisoner to the Tower of *London*.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut or pared, and *Queene Margaret* in *France* with her father *Reiner*; King *Edward* now quiet set his minde vpon Gouernment for the good of his Realme. In his Court of *Kings Bench* he vsed to sit in person certaine daies together, to see how his lawes proceeded with Iustice; ordained penall Statutes against excessiue pride in Apparell, especiallie against long picked shooes then vsually worne, which grew to such an extreme, that the pikes in the Toes were turned vpward, and with siluer chaines, or silke laces tied to the knee. But among many good prouisions, one proued very bad, as the sequell shewes; for concluding a league with King *Henrie* of *Castile*, and *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, he granted a licence to transport certaine numbers of *Cotesweld Sheepe*, which are since growne to such an exceeding increase, as the Clothes made of their woolles is a great hindrance to our Marchants, which aduenture in the Leuant Seas.

(18) His next care was to finde a fit *Queene*, both for the hope of issue to succeed, and for alliance and power to assist (if need were) against *Henries* claime. Fist therefore minding to send into *Scotland*, to desire in marriage the Ladie *Margaret*, (sister to king *Iames* the third) thereby to frustrate *Henries* further hope; was made to beleiue that the said Ladie was, by reason of sickenesse, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as some say, a motion was made for *Lady Elizabeth* sister and heire apparant vnto *Henrie* king of *Castile*, as a match most conuenient, considering king *Edward* had thereunto a Claime, whose great Grandmother was one of the heires of *Castile*, being the daughter of *Don Peter* the king, besides which high match, and combination of Alliances, a hope was conceiued that the Dutchies of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, might be recouered by the assistance of these *Castilians*, without great charge or trauell to the *English*. But the tender spring of the one, and the lusty growth of the other, would not be grafted into one stocke to beare fruite, shee little aboue sixe, and he about twenty three, farre vnfit to abstaine till shee could giue him content.

(19) A third Princesse was assaid, against whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beautie, yeeres, or alliance, which was Lady *Bona*, daughter of *Lewis Duke of Sauoy*, and sister to *Carlot* the *French Queene*, at that time residing in the *French* Court. This double string was thought most fit for king *Edwards* bow; for the Duke more remote, might strengthen him abroad, and the *French* neerer home would be made a good neighbour, hauing the night-bird still singing in his eare: especially to cast a rubbe in king *Henries* way, whose hopes lay most vpon *Lewis*, for that *Reiner* of *Anion*, stiling himselfe king of *Naples*, *Sicil* and *Ierusalem*, had more honour by that verball stile, then rents or reuenues to maintaine his estate, or any subiection acknowledged by them; so as if king *Lewis* were *Edwards*, *Anion* was not to be feared

feared. This match being most approued in counsell, none was held more fit to solicite the businesse then Lord *Richard Neuil* the great Earle of *Warwick*, a man esteemed for power a Demy-King, and for magnificence and hospitality matchlesse: in whose house at *London* (as some haue verified) sixe oxen were spent euery day, and most Tauernes in the City full of his meat.

(20) *Warwicke* in great state arriued at *Tours*, & his message knowne, was accordingly entertained in the French Court, where he wrought the Queen her selfe to be the chiefest Agent; who drew on her sister *Bona*, with recommending the state and stile of a magnificent Queene (a sound very tunable in a Ladies eare,) and her husband *Lewis*, with assurance of a potent and wise Allie, a pleasing theame to soft natured Princes, as the French King was. And indeed to all shee vndertooke all good contentments; so as on that side all things were cleare, and *Warwicke* dismissed with Courtly French complements; the Earle *Damp-martin* was to passe into *England* for the finall confirmation.

(21) But whilest *Warwicke* had beene industriously wooing in *France*, King *Edwards* affection in *England* was working another way; for being on hunting in the Forrest of *Wychwood* beside *Stony-Stratford*, hee there found other game, that made game in his eye, which was the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* attending the Dutchesse of *Bedford* her mother, who then soiorned at his Mannour of *Grafton*, whither hee repaired for his recreation. She had beene attendant vpon Queene *Margaret* the wife of King *Henry* the sixt, and had beene married vnto *Iohn Gray* Esquier, knighted, and slaine at the battell of S. *Albans* vpon King *Henries* part, who now was a suiter vnto the King, for some thing taken away in the extremity of that time, to bee restored towards the maintenance of her estate. But howsoeuer her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly composed feature strangely affected his heart; more formall shee was, and louely in countenance, then either tall or exceedingly faire; yet both sufficient to meete in one person, of an excellent witte, a sober demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and her speech vttered in such a naturall eloquence as her answeres euer set on edge King *Edwards* desires, which howsoeuer distastfull to the appetite of his wanton bed, (affirming with blushes, that as shee accounted her selfe most vnworthy of the name of his *Queene*, so shee held her selfe of more worth, & her chast honour dearer then to bee his *Concubine*) yet held they him in chase till shee had taken him in the snares of her loue.

(22) Their many meetings and louers complements, made the old Dutchesse of *Yorke* (the Kings mother) much to suspect it would bee a match; to hinder which, with a parents authority shee entred discourse, alleadging it honourable, safe, and of much profite to linke with some great Princesse in forraine lands, both for the increase of possessions abroad, and (as the case stood) to bee assisted at home: that *Warwicke* had gone so farre in his suite in *France*, as if in himselfe now were the stay, she feared their displeasures would not bee staied. To marry his Subiect shee held it vnprincely, especially one without reuenewes, alliance, or riches, no other thing mouing, but a wanton dotage on the person; and although that in Lady *Elizabeth* nothing was to be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but the same was incorporated in farre greater Ladies, more meet as shee thought of a Queenely estate. A virgine (quoth she) is most fitte for a sacred Prince his side, whose head is annointed with holy Oyle, and whose Maiesty is outwardly more sublime then the Leuiticall Priests: yet were they forbidden to make widdowes their wiues, lest the holy callings should bee defiled with the staine of Bigamie.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his answere, the King who had taken counsell of his owne desires, and knew himselfe to bee out of his mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in pleasance, made her this reply: That marriage being a spirituall type, ought rather to be conioyned where God had framed the parties to consent (as this of his was) then in regard of any temporall respect whatsoeuer. That his choice was pleasing to himselfe, and would be to his subiects he certainly knew, whose amity before all other Nations hee most preferred and desired; neither could he giue them better occasion of loue then in this, that being their Soueraigne, hee disdained not to marry into their Tribes; and so likewise for his Issue, there could not any Prince be better beloued then he that was their naturall Prince so borne of both parents. That if forraine alliances were so needfull, hee had many of his kin, to contract them, and that with content of all parties: but for himselfe, to marry for possessions, or to please others with displeasing his own affections, hee saw it no wisdome, hauing already sufficient of the one; and the other offended, euen sweet pleasure would seeme sowre pils; especially, the choice that is made by another mans eye. That there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make no question, and am the more glad, let them haue them that like them, I will not repine, neither I hope will any abridge mee of that which I allow vnto others: the Prouerbe is (Mother) that marriage goes by *Destiny*, but to be wiued against a mans own liking is an earthly *Purgatory*. And therefore my Cosen *Warwicke* I am sure, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, then by mine owne: as though I were a *Ward*, that were bound to marry by the appointment of a Gardian: I would not bee a King with that condition, to forbeare mine owne libertie, in choise of mine owne marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in forraine land, it proues oftner the occasion of more trouble then profite; and wee haue already title by that meanes, to so much as sufficeth to get, and keep well in one mans dayes. That she is a widdow, and hath already children, by Gods blessed Lady I am a *Bachelour*, yet haue some too, and so each of vs hath a proofe, that neither of vs is like to bee barren. And therefore (Madam) I pray you bee content, I trust in God, shee shall bring a young Prince that shall play on your lappe to your great pleasure, and your selfe shall blesse the wombe that bare such a babe: and as for your obiection of *Bigamie*, let the Bishop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take *Orders*; for I vnderstand it is forbidden a Priest, but I neuer wist, that it was forbidden a Prince.

(24) The Dutchesse seeing the King so set on his owne choice, that she could not pull him backe, tooke it in such disdaine, that vnder pretext of her duty to Godward, she deuised to frustrate the match, and rather gaue furtherance that Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* should bee his Queene, whome not long before hee had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed; for which act, vnder pretence of a contract with her, whose husband hee was before God, (as shee alleadged) his mother openly obiected against this his intended marriage, in the discharge (forsooth) of her owne conscience, which was the cause of such an obstacle, as either the Bishops durst not, or the King, proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till the same were clearely purged, and the truth openly testified: whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was sent for; which Lady albeit shee was by the Kings mother, and others to auerre the same, yet when shee was solemnely sworne to speake truth, she confessed that they were neuer assured indeede, howbeit shee affirmed his *Grace* spake so louing words vnto her, as she verily hoped he would haue married her, and that if it had not beene for such kind words, shee would neuer haue shewed such kindnesse vnto him. This point cleared, and no impediment resting, the King

His mothers deuise to crosse his purpose of marriage.

Lady *Lucy* infligated to claime marriage of King *Edward*.

K. *Edward* married Lady *Elizabeth Grey.*

King tooke to wife this later beloued Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, who had beene formerly married vnto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his losse, in which God loued her better then to grant her her boone, reseruing greater honour for her selfe and her posterity.

The descent and parentage of the Lady *Elizabeth Grey.*

(25) She was honourably descended, especially by the surer side, whose mother was *Iaquellin* daughter to *Peter* of *Lucemburg*, Earle of S. *Paul*, and Dutchesse to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*; after whose death shee married Sir *Richard Wooduile* knight, and among others bare vnto him this *Elizabeth*, *Englands* faire Queene, who being priuately married at the Manour of *Grafton*, was afterwardes crowned Queen at *Westminster* with all due celebrations, vpon the sixe and twentieth of *May*, *Anno*, 1465. Her father then by this new made sonne in law, and Soueraigne Lord, was created Lord *Riuers*, and made high Constable of *England*, her brother Lord *Anthony*, married to the sole heire of the Lord *Scales*, and her sonne *Thomas Grey* borne to her first husband, was created Marquesse *Dorset*, and married to the heire of the Lord *Bonuile*.

Queene *Elizabeth* crowned.

The Queenes kindred highly preferred.

(26) But when *Warwicke* had knowledge the wanton King had got a new wife, and his courting of Lady *Bona*, to bee but a ball to make *Edwards* play; hee stormed not a little, whose credite hee tooke to be crackt in the French Court, and himselfe rather thought to haue dallyed in this motion, then to deale by commission from his King, for which cause hee conceiued so inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawne from King *Edward*, and thenceforth ranne vpon *Henrie* retained in prison, to which end he temporized with the present king, applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no discontented shew: The King as wary as *Warwicke* was, cast no eye of dislike, or of any suspition, gaue him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet lest the stem of his greatnesse should ouertop his crown and his brethren the spreading branches shadow his designes, hee tooke the Chancellorshippe from *George Neuill*, the one of them, then Bishoppe of *Exceester*, afterward Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, and from the other *Iohn Neuill* Baron *Montacute*, the Earledome of *Northumberland*, bestowing the same (at the suite of the Northumbrians, set on by himselfe) vpon *Henry Percy*, whose father was slaine at *Touton*, and himselfe at that present fled into *Scotland* for safety. Whereupon *Montacute* was remoued, and to auoid suspition was created Marquesse, a greater name, but farre lesse in power. And to haue a stake in store howsoeuer the dice chanced to turne, hee sought to ioine friendshippe with forraine Princes, hauing offended *France* for the refusing of his Queenes sister: so as hee sought, and obtained the amity of *Henry* King of *Castell*, & of *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, and tooke a truce with his neighbour the *Scotish* King for fifteen yeers following.

Earle *Warwicke* sore offended against K. *Edward.*

Temporizing betwixt the king and Earle of *Warwicke.*

Fraunc. Goodwin Catal. of English Bishops.

Iohn Neuil created Marquesse *Montacute.*

Rich. Grafton.
A. D 1468.

(27) But these confederates for the more part too farre to be called for by whistle, fortune beyond expectatiō set him another euen at his elbow, which was *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Prince of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Zealand*, whose onely sonne legitimate, (*Charles* Earle of *Charoleys* a widdower, and without any sonne) hee sought to conioine to King *Edwards* faire sister, not so much for any loue hee bare to the house of *Yorke*, himselfe being a *Lancastrian* by his mothers side, as to bandy against *Lewis* King of *France*, whom he had lately ouercome in a battell at *Montleherry*, and as then stoode vpon his defence, as hee was sure King *Edward* did. This motion king *Edward* and his Councell well liked, only *Warwicke* withstoode it, in fauour of the French: but the Lady *Margaret* sent ouer according to her estate, and *Warwicke* left fuming with a discontented mind, after some complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbishoppe and *Montacute* at his Towne of *Warwicke*, braste forth into warlike consultations for the deposing of *Edward*, and restauration of *Henry*, whose wrongs (as he alleadged) did crie for righte at their hands. The Bishoppe lightly consented to side for King *Henry*; but the Marquesse would hardly bee drawne from King *Edward*, which *Warwicke* perceiuing, laid his lime twigges yet another way.

A marriage moued betwixt Earle *Charles* and Lady *Margaret.*

Philip. Com. l. 3. cap. 4.

(28) For being a man of a deepe reach and witte, hee well saw that *George* Duke of *Clarence* the Kings second brother, bare not the best liking to the sway of the times: him therefore hee sought to allure to his fist, which once mand, *Edward* should loose the best Faulcon for his game; him therefore by Problemes hee meant first to proue and according to their digest, purposed to proceed. So falling in familiar conference with *Clarence*, beganne to complaine of some vnkindnes in the King, both in breach of some promises, and staine of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as discontented as *Warwicke*, interrupted his tale before it was told, why my Lord (quoth *Clarence*) doe you looke that a Leopard should haue no spots in his skinne, or a Camelion no colours, but one, in faith you are deceiued, and loose but your labour to wash the naturall Blackamore: for will you haue him kind that is by nature vnkind, and to be respected of him, that respects not his owne bloud: or thinke you (a Cosen and Allie) to be raised by him, that seeth (if not seeketh) his owne brethrens fals. For the heire of the Lord *Scales* (you see) hee hath married to his wiues brother, the heire of the Lord *Bonuill* and *Harington* to his wiues sonne, and affianced the heire of the Lord *Hungerford* to the Lord *Hastings*, marriages indeede more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for such new fondlings as hee hath bestowed them vpon. But by my *George* I sweare, if my brother of *Gloecester* would ioyne with mee, wee would make him know that wee are all three one mans sons, and of one and the same mother.

The mariage celebrated.

(29) Earle *Warwicke* hauing that which hee greedily sought after, seconded the resolution with his owne assistance, imparting now boldly what confederates he had made, and to ioine more faithfully in this his designe, hee proffered *Clarence* his eldest daughter Lady *Isabel* in marriage, faire and well qualified with the one halfe of his wiues inheritance, she being sole heire vnto *Henry Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* her brother, and nothing inferiour to any of those whom *Edward* had bestowed vpon others, which no sooner was spoken, but was as presently embraced, and the plotte conferred how to proceed, which was concluded; forthwith to saile vnto *Calleis* (whereof the Earle was Captaine, and where the virgine Lady lay) aswell to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be absent whē the commotion should beginne, as the safer from suspition and the surer to strike when the Ball came to hand, to stir which, the Archbishoppe and *Montacute* were appointed for the North.

(30) The occasion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abuse of Charity vnto an hospitall dedicated to Saint *Leonard* in the City of *Yorke*, whose reuenew stood most vpon corne yeerly receiued from Farmers in the Country, as an oblation of their first graine. This, the factious made their onely ground vnder a holy pretext (forsooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Master and Priests onely fed & waxen fat. To redresse which one *Robert Hulderne* entred in action, and with fifteene thousand strong enterprised for *Yorke*, in which City the Lord Marquesse *Montacute* was President for King *Edward*, who with a small number, but well chosen, issued out against the enemy, put them backe, and stroke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of *Yorke*: but whether hee did it in policie to grow more in trust with the King, or else of duety of oblige, not moulded throughly to the commotion, is vncertain. But certaine it is, the Rebels were nothing daunted at *Huldernes* death, but rather made resolute to

to continue what they had begunne,

(31) To which end they chooſe them two Chieftaines, of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henrie* ſonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Henrie Nevill*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Latimer*, the one of them being Nephew, & the other Coſen-germane vnto the Earle of *Warwicke*; theſe but young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, chooſe for their Tutor *Sir Iohn Conyers* a Knight of ſuch courage, skill and valiantnes, as in the *North-parts* few were his like: who meaning to ſtrike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London* proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a iuſt Prince vnto God, nor a profitable King vnto the Common-weale.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of theſe Northern proceedings, and that his brother and *Warwicke* were preparing againſt him, ſent for the Lord *Herbert* whom he had created Earle of *Pembrooke*, to be his Generall in the *North* (who partly to deſerue the Kings liberality in aduancing him to ſuch honour, and partly in emulation he bare toward *Warwicke*, being the ſole obſtacle (as he tooke it) why he obtained not the wardſhip of the Lord *Bonuils* daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne) did not a little reioice of that his imploiment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his brother and eighteene thouſand well furniſhed *Welſhmen*, marched towards the enemie, and after him was ſent *Humfrey Lord Stafford* with ſixe thouſand Archers to ſecond him in his warres. Theſe Lords meeting together, had notice by eſpials that the *Northern* made forwards towards *Northampton*. to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Deuonſhire* was imploied and *Sir Richard Herbert*, who with two thouſand horſe laid themſelues couertly by the ſide of a wood, and ſodeinely ſet vpon the rereward, the reſt hauing paſſed: but the *Northern* verie nimbly turned about, and bad the *Welſhmen* ſuch welcome as few of them returned to tell of their entertainement.

(33) The King vnderſtanding of this hard beginning, muſtred his ſubiects on euerie ſide, intending to cope with the *Northern* himſelfe. And *Earle Warwicke* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpoſe to encounter with *Pembrooke* and his *Welſh*. But before any ſupplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armies to meete at vnawares, vpon a faire plaine called *Danes more* neere to the Towne *Hedgecot*, three miles from *Banburie* and preſently fell to a bickering, wherein *Sir Henrie Nevill* Knight, ſonne of the Lord *Latimer*, vpon a luſty courage, venturing ſomewhat too farre was taken priſoner, and notwithſtanding he yeelded himſelfe to his Takers, was cruelly ſlaine, which vnmartiall act reſted not long vnrepaied with the loſſe of moſt of the *Welſh* the next day. For the field withdrawne the Lord *Stafford* repaired to *Banberie* and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured vpon a faire damſell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembrooke* comming to the ſame Towne, tooke into the ſame Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to prouide him elſewhere, contrary to their agreements made before, whereat *Stafford* was diſpleaſed, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of men in the Towne, and diſabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was loſt vpon the kings part, for which he ſhortly loſt his owne head.

(34) The *Northern* enflamed for the death of young *Nevill*, the next morning moſt valiantly ſet vpon the *Welſhmen*, and by the force of Archers, draue them from their ground of aduantage, which *Pembrooke* wanting, ſupplied with his owne proweſſe, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way through the battell of the *Northern*, without anie mortall or deadly wound: ſo that by their valours it was verily ſuppoſed the field had beene wonne, had not *Iohn Clappam* an Eſquire and ſeruant to *Warwicke* diſplaied his Lords Colours with his *white-beare*, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, whereat the *welſh* were ſo terrified, as they turned and fled, leauing their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting were incompaſſed and taken with the death of fiue thouſand of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Banbery*, where with ten other Gentlemen they loſt their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappam* being their Iudges.

A.D. 1469.

The Earle of Pembrooke with others beheaded.

(35) This ſecond victory thus got, and the *Northern* now fleſhed; vnder the leading of *Robbin of Riddiſdale*; haſted to the Kings mannor of *Grafton*, where the *Earle Riuers* father to the Queene then lay, whom with his ſonne *Iohn*, they ſodeinely ſurpriſed, and in *Northampton* ſtrucke off their heads without any iudgement. The deathes of theſe Lords the King greatly lamented, and ſought to reuenge: firſt therefore writing his Commiſſions for the apprehenſion of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *Southwicke* (who by diligent ſearch was found at *Brentmarch* and beheaded at *Bridgewater*, as he worthily deſerued) next he prepared a mighty Armie, and with the ſame marched towardes *Warwicke*, his company increaſing euer as he went.

Robert of Riddiſdale captaine of the Northernes.

The Earle Riuers with his ſonne Iohn ſurpriſed and beheaded.

Lord Stafford beheaded.

(36) King *Edward* ſet downe his tents at *Wolney* foure miles from *Warwicke*, where the Duke and the Earle of *Warwickes* hoſt lay readie for Battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was intreated, and letters written from either parties, expreſſing the grieſes and wrongs ſuſtained, with proffers of redreſſe, in amending all, and in ſhew ſo farre it proceeded, as the King conceiuing a certaine hope of peace, reſted ſecure, not fearing any foule-play, which politique *Warwicke* (by his ſpiall perceiuing) thought it not wiſdome to looſe the aduantage, and thereupon in the dead of the night with a ſelected Company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the king in his bed, and brought him his priſoner to his Caſtle of *Warwicke*, and thence by eaſie iourneys in the night had him conueyed to *Middelham* Caſtle in *Yorkeſhire* not farre from *Richmond*, where vnder the cuſtody of his brother *George Nevill* Archiſhop of *Yorke* hee was reteined.

Ia. Stows Annal.

King Edward taken at Wolney.

Is impriſoned in Middleham Caſtle.

(37) His vſage was Princely, and according to his eſtate, which he often acknowledged to the Archbiſhop with all kind thankes, and complements of wordes, whereby he wrought himſelfe into ſuch truſt and fauour, as he had the Forreſts to hunt in, and the parkes for his pleaſure, whoſe pales are well knowne, vnſufficient wals to pen the lyon in, as appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir William Stanly*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh* brought him freſh horſe, and ſuch a crew of followers that his keepers more feared their owne liues, then were forward to force him backe againe to priſon, and ſo let the game goe without further chaſe. King *Edward* thus eſcaped, *Warwicke* like a wild man furiouſly raged, but ſeeing no remedy made vſe of neceſsity, and gaue forth that himſelfe ſo cauſed it, hauing power to make Kings and to vnmake them againe.

King Edward eſcaped out of priſon.

Warwicks ſayings to make and vnmake kings.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Yorke*, where with great honour hee was ioifully receiued, and abode certaine daies, which made him well hope of a further ſupply of friends and men, but fayling thereof, and fearing the *Archbiſhops* purſuite with a ſmall traine he poſted to *Lancaſter*, where he found the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlaine well accompanied for his Conuey: his ſpirits then reuiued, and traine daily increaſing, with ſpeedie iourneyes hee came vnto *London*; where all his ſtudies and conſultations were, how to be reuenged vpon theſe diſloiall Lords, his brother, and Earle *Warwicke*, and they againe fretting at the *Archbiſhoppes* follie ſought to make ſtronger their factions againſt the King.

Warres prepared vpon both parts.

(39) The Land thus rent by theſe vnnaturall

The miseries of ciuill warres.

diuisions, and no estate sure to enioy what was theirs, the Nobles anew began to sollicite the parties vnto a Peace, hauing first obtained libertie to post to and fro without their impeachments, and so effectually laid downe the state of the Land whose ruines now were so eminent by these intestine warres, that the Natiues lamented, the Forrein reioiced, and God they saw highly displeased, whose sword thus giuen into their hands, was to be feared would be the destruction of the English, as *Nabucadnezzars* of *Babell* was of *Iudea*, and indeed so effectually wrought, that the Duke and Earle vpon perfect confidence came to *London*, accompanied with a small number in respect of their great danger: where falling into conference with the King, he tasked them with disloialtie, and they him with ingratitude, so that their splenes were nothing appeased, but much more increased, and with high wordes departed, the King vnto *Canterbury*, and they againe to *VVarwicke*.

The King and the Lords meet at *London*.

A.D. 1470. A commotion in *Lincolnshire*.

(39) The stout Earle whose stomacke must haue vent, otherwise the Caske must needs breake, caused new stirres to be raised in *Lincolnshire*, vnder the leading of *Sir Robert VVels*, an expert souldier, and sonne of the Lord *VVels*, who with thirtie thousand Commons, disturbed the Countrey, and in euerie place proclaimed King *Henrie*; setting downe his battel not farre from *Stamford*, meaning to abide the encounter of his opposers; which when the King heard of, he sent for the Lord *VVels* his father, commanding him to write to his sonne to surcease the warres, and so marching toward *Stamford* tooke *VVels* in his companie, with a good hope that the sonne would not beare armes against his own father in field; but howsoeuer he had writ, or the King conceiued, *Sir Robert* went on in his former designes, which so sore moued *Edward*, that he beheaded Lord *VVels* with *Sir Thomas Dimocke* that had married his daughter, although he had giuen them promise of safety and life.

The Lord *Wels* and Sir *Thomas Dimocke* beheaded.

(40) Young *VVels* then hearing of his fathers death, sought the reuenge vpon this vntrusty Prince, and not staying for *VVarwicke* who was in preparing to come, set manfully vpon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a most bloody fight, till at last *Sir Robert* was taken, with *Sir Thomas Deland* and others, whereat the *Lincolnshire* men were so terrified, that casting off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, *the battell of Losecoat field*, wherein were slaine ten thousand men at the least: after which victory the King commanded *VVels* with many other of note to be put to death, as the chiefe causers of these dangerous Commotions.

The battell at *Stanford*. Sir *Robert Wels* taken.

Losecoat field.

Sir *Robert Wels* put to death.

(41) This vntimely conflict and vnfortunate ouerthrow, made *Clarence*, and *VVarwicke*, at their wits end, who vnprouided to field against *Edward*, gaue way to necessity, and from *Dartmouth* in *Deuonshire* embarked themselues and wiues for *France*, both to instigate king *Lewis* no friend vnto *Edward*, and to secure themselues in *Callis* (whereof *VVarwick* was captaine) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. These crossing the Seas cast Anchor before the Towne of *Callis*, and gaue notice they were ready to land, but the Lord *Vawclere* a *Gascoigne*, whom *VVarwicke* had substituted his deputie, discharged diuers peeces of Ordinance against them, and sent word flatlie they should not come there: meane while the *Dutches of Clarence* fell in trauell, and was there on Shippe-board deliuered of a faire sonne, which Child the Earles deputie would scarcely suffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conueyd aboard to the Ladies lying in the hauen. For which his good seruice King *Edward* by his letters Patents made *Vawclere* chiefe Captaine of *Callis*, and discharged the Earle as a Traitor or Rebell against him.

Warwicke and *Clarence* flee into *France*.

Phil. Comines lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Dutches of *Clarence* deliuered of a son vpon shipboard.

(42) *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, being then at *S. Omers*, owing *Earle Warwicke* an old grudge for gaine-

The Duke of *Burgundy* bends himselfe against *Earle Warwicke*.

standing his marriage, thought now a fit time to requite the discourtesie; and therefore sent many thankes vnto *Vawclere*, with promise of a thousand Crownes pension by yeere, if he stood firme for his wiues brother King *Edward*, himselfe laying the Coast to impeach his arriuage. But how *Monsieur Vawclere* stood affected, whatsoeuer shew he made, *Comines* the *French* Kings Historian doth tell, who sent *Warwicke* word the danger he stood in, of the said Duke, and of *Duras* the Kings *Admirall*, so as to land, would be his finall confusion: His Counsell therefore was that he should make into *France*, vnto whose King he should be most welcome; and as for the town of *Callis*, he willed him to take no thought, but promised to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time should best serue. Whereupon the Earle waied anker for *Normandy*, and in his way tooke many rich Ships of the Duke of *Burgundies* subiects, which netled him not a little, but yet found no docke to rub out the smart.

(43) King *Lewis* hearing of the arriuage of *Warwicke*, and knowing his troubles to arise for his Ambassage to *Bona*, and faith vnto *France*, sent certaine Princes to conduct him to the Castle of *Amboys*, where a supply was made against all necessities, and himselfe and traine most honorablie intertained, whereat the Duke of *Burgundy* sore repined, and sent *Lewis* word that he disliked his doings with threats of reuenge, if he aided him against his wiues brother. This, notwithstanding the *French* King gaue all comforts to these fugitiues, and prepared his assistance for their restorations, and the raising againe of godly King *Henrie*.

(44) *Queene Margaret* hauing fled *England* and soiourning in *France* with her Father *Reiner* (a King in name, but scarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) saw now the Iron hot, and ready to be strucke, therefore with her sonne Prince *Edward*, *Iohn Earle of Oxford*, and *Iasper Earle of Pembrooke* (who latelie had escaped out of prison in *England*) came vnto *Amboyse*, where by meanes of the *French* King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, young *Edward*, and *Anne* the second daughter to the *Earle of Warwicke*, then present with her mother and sister in *France*. That King *Henry* should be againe restored, the *Duke of Clarence*, and the Earle tooke a solemne Oath neuer to desist whiles they had power, and in the nonage of the Prince they iointly were to be deputed his Protectors, and the Lands sole Gouernors.

(45) *Edward* in *England* hearing what *Queen Margaret*, his brother *Clarence*, & stout *Warwicke* in the *French* Court had done, was strucke into a sodaine dumpe, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore such as were alied to the *Lancastrians*, or fauourits of the down-cast K. *Henrie*, he began somewhat roughly to deale with: many therefore that were guilty daily tooke Sanctuarie, or yeelded themselues to his mercie, among whom *Iohn Marques Montacute* brother to *Warwicke* was one, who with faireft words of promises, was receiued into fauor, and vpon whose example many others came in, which notwithstanding meant to stand out if occasion should serue. But no busier was *Edward* to keepe the Crowne on his head, then these Lords in *France* were resolute to strike it off: in midst of whose consultations behold how it happened.

(46) There came from *England* to *Calleis* a damsell belonging (as shee said) to the Dutches of *Clarence*, who signified vnto Monsieur *Vawclere* that shee came from King *Edward* with a declaration of peace, which hee fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the instrument, the better to passe without any suspect, and he glad to heare for the Earles sake (whom he entirely affected) gaue her his safe conduct vnto the Duke of *Clarence* then at *Amboys*; where hauing priuate accesse vnto him, shee told, that it was neither naturall nor honourable for him to take part against the house of *Yorke*; that

that the house of *Lancaster*, was not onely by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to bee the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that K. *Henrie* himselfe had discharged his Issue from claime, as it standeth (said she) vpon Record to be seene, contrary to which, as he might well perceiue this marriage of Prince *Edward* with the Earles daughter, did onely aime and intend to the vtter extinct of the house of *Yorke*, whereof himselfe was one, and in neere possibility of the Crowne, *Edwards* Issue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a sinne commonly punished with want of posterity, which if it so chanced, then hee, or his were the next. These reasons wayed, so ouer-wayed the Dukes further designes, that hee promised thereafter a more brotherlike affection, as (saide hee) *Edward* should find; with which good newes shee returned into *England*, *Warwicke* vtterly ignorant what was said or done.

(47) All now in a readinesse for the return, ships, money and men supplied by the French King, the Admirall of *France* was sent to secure them from the Duke of *Burgundies* Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of *Seyne* to fight with *Warwicke* when he should loose out of Harborow: but see how the heauens fauoured, and frowned vpon the parties, for the night before they should hoise saile, such a stormy tempest tooke the Dukes Fleete, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were scattered asunder, some into *Scotland*, some into *Denmarke*, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the wind seruing faire, the English set saile and landed at *Dartmouth*, whence they had shipped into *France* almost six moneths before.

(48) King *Edward* relying vpon *Burgundy* abroad, and thinking all friends who fawned at home, gaue himselfe daily to follow the hound and the hawke, and nightly to his court pleasures in dancings and daliances with damsels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for *Warwicke* now landed, proclaimed King *Henry*, commanding all from sixteene to sixty, vpon a great penalty to take Armes against *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the most vniust vsurper of *Henries* rightfull Crowne, and vncredible it was, to see the confluence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded & approued none but King *Edward*. Thus making towards *London*, his company daily encreased; which the youthfull King seemed little to regard, but verily supposing hee had now *Warwicke* in his trappe, wrote to *Burgundie* to secure the seas, lest he should escape againe into *France*, and to his Lords of *England*, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his commaund, and few or none made their repaire. Which when *Edward* perceiued hee was strucke into a great feare, and with his brother of *Gloucester*, the L. *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, hee hasted towards *Nottingham* there to determine what was to be done.

(49) In the mean while the bastard *Faulconbridge* in the west, and the Earle of *Pembroke* in *Wales*, euery where proclaimed King *Henry*; and to forward the matter, D. *Godard* preaching at *Pauls Crosse* declared by reading of Billes, and diuers other proofes, that King *Henry* was the vndoubted and true heire vnto the English Crowne. Neither is the L. *Montacute* now the man that he was, who hauing mustered sixe thousand in the name of King *Edward*, and brought them forward almost to *Nottingham*, on the sodaine drew backe his forces, alleadging that *Edward* was vngratefull, & regardlesse of his friends as himselfe said, himselfe was the example, who hauing serued him in many bloudy battels, was rewarded with a verball word Marquesse, without any maintenance at al, no not so much as Pyes poor nest: & therfore he had iust cause neuer to draw his sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, hee assured them should receiue the like reward in the end.

(50) These with the like distastures, diuulged among the rude multitude, it was a world to see the face of this new World, for in euery streete Bonfires were made; in euery Church bels rung, Ditties were sung at euery meeting, and euery man cried K. *Henry*, King *Henry*, whose *Eccho* likewise redoubled, *a Warwicke, a Warwicke*, and indeed all so applauded the passage now on foot, as King *Edward* hearing the rumor, thought it not safe any longer to stay, & therefore with those trusty Lords and some others, hee fled from his hoast besides *Nottingham*, passing the Washes towards *Lynne* with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to aduenture; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two Hulkes of *Holland*, and one English shippe destitute of all necessary prouisions, set sayle toward *Burgundy* and in the way was encountred by the Easterlings, *Englands* great Enemies, hauing much adoe to cleare himselfe from their surprise.

How vncertaine it is to stay on the multitude.

K *Edward* is forced to flee *England*. October 3.

(51) In these times of misery the Queene (whose marriage was the onely cause of all these stirres) vpon the first of October had stolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where like a woman forsaken shee solitarily remained, and on the fourth of November following was deliuered of a sonne, which without all pompe more like a priuate mans child then a Prince, was there also baptized by the name of *Edward*, who after his fathers death, a while was King of *England*, as shall be said; other Sanctuaries were full of King *Edwards* friends, that praied deuoutly for his prosperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as shortly it did. One King thus fled, and the other in prison, the Kentish, whose conditions are mutable at the change of Princes, came to seeke prey in *London*, where they knew it was to bee had: *Ratcliffe*, *S. Katherins*, and *Southwarke* they robbed, and within the City did some hurt besides, yea and surely more had done, had not Earle *Warwicke* in good time come to the rescue which encreased his name, that was great enough before.

Edward in danger of taking on seas.

Queene *Elizabeth* tooke Sanctuarie in *Westminster*.

Prince *Edward* borne in the Sanctuary.

The *Kentish* Commotioners doe much hurt about *London*.

(52) Earle *Warwicke* accompanied with his brother the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, the Prior of Saint *Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, Bastard *Faulconbridge*, Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, some for loue, some for feare, & some to gaze at this wauering world, vpon the sixt of *October* entred the Tower of *London*, wherein King *Henry* had beene retained prisoner almost the space of nine yeeres, and there again elected him for their lawfull King, and forthwith conuaied him robed in a long blew veluet gown through *London* vnto the Bishops pallace, where a pompous Court was kept vntill the thirteenth of the same moneth, vpon which day hee went in procession crowned to the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul*, the Earle of *Warwicke* bearing his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the sword, the people on euery side crying, God saue K. *Henry*.

John Fortescue

The States take K. *Henry* out of the Tower.

K. *Henry* againe restored goeth crowned to *Paul*.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and *Henry* reestablished, a Parliament was begunne at *Westminster* the six & twentieth of Nouember following, wherein King *Edward* was declared a Traitor to his country, an vsurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiscated; the like iudgement passed against all his partakers; wherein also it was enacted, that all such persons as had taken Armes in his quarrell, should bee seuerely punished; among whom, *John Typtoft* Earle of *Worcester*, and King *Edwards* Lieutenant in *Ireland* was attainted, who being found hid in the toppe of a tree, in the Forrest of *Weybridge*, not farre from *Huntington* was brought to *London*, and vpon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreouer, all Statutes made by King *Edward* were clearely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate: the Crowns of *England* and *France* entayled to King *Henry*, and the Heyres-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the want

K. *Edward* debarred from gouernment by Parliament.

The Parliament Rowle.

John Tiptoft Earle of *Worcester* beheaded.

The Crownes of England and France entailed to K. *Henry*.

want of ſuch heires vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and his heire males lawfully produced, and the ſaid Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, diſabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the vertue of his Atteindor; and *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* with other attainted by the vſurper *Edward*, to be reſtored in bloud, dignities, and ancient poſſeſſions; and finally, Earle *Warwicke* the good common-wealthes man, made Gouernour of the Realme in theſe turbulent times, vnto whom was aſſociated *George* Duke of *Clarence* this great Earles ſonne in Law, and *Warwickes* brother *Montacute* vpon his ſubmiſſion obtained his pardon, which was the eaſilier gotten for his ſeruice at *Nottingham*.

George Duke of *Clarence* entailed to the Crowne.

Earles reſtored.

Earle *Warwicke* made gouernour of the Realme.

(54) Queene *Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did fauour theſe great Lords ſucceſſe, now hearing of the faire Sun-ſhine, wherein her husband King *Henry* was ſet, amidſt the ſtormie winter blaſts which the ſeaſon afforded, with Prince *Edward* her ſonne, ſet ſaile from *France*, towardes that wiſhed and temperate climat, where the ſpring of new Regality beganne to bud forth, but was met with ſuch tempeſts and ſtorming ſeas, as ſhee was forced to returne and deferre her iourney vntill another time, to her great griefe and ſore diſcontent. In like perplexity was the Burgundian Duke, who neither durſt giue *Edward* his outward aſſiſtance (the *French* and *Warwicke* being ſo mighty oppoſites) nor leaue him in diſtreſſe, leſt the ſparkes of diſcontent ſhould flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Vawclere* the Gouernor of *Calleis* ſtood reſolute for him according to Couenants, he ſecretly ſent *Philip Comines* the hony-mouth Hiſtorian, to drop ſome of his ſweet eloquence into his gold-thirſting eare.

Queene *Margaret* hindred by tempeſt to come into *England*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perplexed.

Phil. Com. lib. 3.

(55) *Comines* comming to *Calleis*, and obſeruing the ſequence for which he was ſent, ſaw euery man wear the Earle of *Warwicks* badge, for no head could bee gallant that was not adorned with his ragged ſtaffe, nor no dore frequented that was not painted with his white Croſſe. Inſomuch that *Vawclere* himſelfe had a Iewell in his hatte, wherein was a white ragged ſtaffe, embrodered with gold, and others his followers the like wrought in ſilke, gold, and ſiluer; and to ſtampe the print deeper, a liking report was brought to the towne, that *Warwicke* had prepared foure thouſand valiant men to warre vpon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comine* in conference ſo wrought with the Councell, and they againe with Earle *Warwicke* as he was contented to leaue off the enterpriſe, Duke *Charles* promiſing to ſide with K. *Henry*.

Earl of *Warwicks* eſteeme in *Calis*.

(56) King *Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being dayly ſolicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, leſt *Henry* ſhould take growth to a bigger ſteame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of Saint *Paul*, required his aide, as the onely man on whom hee relied, aſwell for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his ſiſter, as alſo in regard of the orders which they both ware, the King that of his which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke the Gartar and Robe of Saint *George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time lay *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, coſen-germane remoued vnto Duke *Charles*, a great enemy againſt the houſe of *Yorke*, and now ſet himſelfe to thwart King *Edwards* ſuite, alleadging, that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſide with the Lancaſtrians, from whom he was deſcended by his Grandmother the daughter of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*: as alſo in the vprightnes of King *Henries* title, held good in her brother, and his Grandfather, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

King *Edward* coueteth aide of his brother the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* diſſwadeth *Burgundy* to aid K. *Edward*.

(57) The Duke perplexed betweene theſe great ſupplicants did then, as many doe now, ſpeake much and meane nothing leſſe, or elſe ſay little, & meane to doe much. To *Sommerſet* for *Henry* hee outwardly promiſed all helpe and aſſiſtance, but neuer gaue the leaſt, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of ſupply, and yet vnderhand he hired him ſhippes, furniſhed him with munition, and lent him fifty thouſand Florences in money. And now the ſeaſon ſeruing for warre, K. *Edward* with two thouſand ſtrong beſides his Mariners made ouer for *England*, attempting to take land in *Norfolke*; but thoſe coaſts guarded, hee waffed more Northward, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Rauenſpur* in *Yorkeſhire*, when laying aſide al claim to the Crown, and pretending nothing but his Dutchy of *York*, he ſhewed the rude multitude the letters, and ſeale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, & made them beleeue was ſent for his ſafe conduct to enioy the ſame, and in euery place where he came proclaimed King *Henry* himſelfe, wearing an Eſtrich feather, which was Prince *Edwards* Liuery, and paſſing to *Yorke* in no other ſhew then a Subiect, his oath firſt taken to be true to King *Henry*, entred the City, which preſently hee ſurpriſed and aſſumed to himſelfe.

Burgundie temporiſeth with his ſubiects.

(58) Earle *Warwicke* now hearing that *Edward* was landed before he had marched very farre in the main, ſent ſtrait charge to his brother the Marqueſſe *Montacute* then reſiding at *Pomfret* (with a ſufficient Army to ſecure thoſe parts) that hee ſhould not ſuffer his acceſſe vnto *Yorke*, leſt he grew more potent, then was to bee wiſhed; himſelfe making ready with all poſſible ſpeed, to repaire into thoſe parts; but whether the Marqueſſe purpoſely winked, or elſe (and that rather) would not ſee at all, hee made no great haſt to forelay his way to *Yorke*, neither ſought to empeach the paſſage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hoſtile manner towards *Nottingham*; taking his way not farre from *Pomfret*, and as it were through the middeſt of his enemies; which encouraged many to fauour his deſignes, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or afraide to deale againſt ſo powerfull an enemy.

(59) The White Roſe thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all tooke the time of this pleaſant ſpring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *April* Sun, who now more able, and therefore more bold made forward towards *Leiceſter*, where the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but becauſe *Clarence* was abſent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whoſe traine as hee paſſed was like to a riuer that in the running is euer encreaſed with new ſprings, which *Warwicke* perceiuing, thought it more then time to giue battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had giuen him that head. And to that end ſent vnto *Clarence* then about *London* in leuying of men, but hee ſomewhat too backeward, and *Warwicke* too forward, tooke into the City *Couentry*, meaning from thence to ſet on the enemy. But *Edward* whoſe ſtar had now paſt the darke threatning cloud, pitched his tents neere vnto that City in a plaine field, and valiantly bad the Earle come to battell. But he then miſtruſting (as in truth hee had cauſe) that the boldneſſe of *Edward* was backt by a *Clarence*, kept cloſe within the wals, with a purpoſe to ſee how the world would goe.

(60) *Edward* loth to looſe time about one Cities ſiege, raiſed his Campe, and haſted forward toward *Warwicke*, vnto which Towne likewiſe his brother *Clarence*, with foure thouſand ſtrong was on march: theſe meeting vpon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, ſet their Battels in Aray, as if they meant to haue fought, but the *King*, his brother *Gloueſter*, Lord *Riuers*, *Haſtings*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*, which when he beheld, himſelfe accompanied with ſome of eſtate encountred his brother with a louing countenance and friendly cheare, ſo as no ſparke of hatred was perceiued betwixt them, but with all brotherly affections entred into amitie and peace, which afterwards proued the confuſion of the Duke. *Clarence* thus got ſought

to

to draw *Warwicke* into the ſame traine, to which end he ſent certaine meſſengers vnto him; firſt to excuſe his owne fact, as too vnnaturall for him to vnſheath his ſword againſt his owne brother, as alſo he ſought to ſtay the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood, which in theſe quarrels lay ready to be ſhed: His peace with *Edward* he promiſed to worke, and that with ſuch honour as *Warwicke* ſhould know himſelfe not only a father to *Clarence*, but likewiſe vnto *Edward* great *Englands* King. Vnto all which motion *Warwicke* gaue eare only with this replie, *Goe tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that I had rather bee an Earle, and alwaies like my ſelfe, then a falſe and periured Duke, and that ere my oath ſhall bee falſified (as his apparantly is) I will lay downe my life at my enemies foote, which I doubt not but ſhall bee bought very deere.*

(61) This ſtout reſolution made *Edward* more warie, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the only key that opened the dore to the Crowne, he haſted thitherward, whoſe Citizens hearing of the increaſe of his hoſt, and waying that *Henrie* was but a milkeſop to him, thought it moſt ſafety to ſaile with the faireſt winde, and therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publike applaud cried, King *Edward*. Which when the *Duke of Sommerſet* with others left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, heard, they fled for their liues; and left him in the Biſhops Palace at *London*, where his Competitor King *Edward* tooke him, and ſent him againe priſoner to the Tower. With ſo many winds are the ſailes of their ſhips filled, which ſeeke the Port of their ſafety by the affections of the people: for euen the ſame day had *Henrie* beene carried through the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the ſhoutes of the Commons in euerie ſtreete crying; *God ſaue King Henrie*.

(62) But Earle *Warwicke* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiuing that the hazard of Battell muſt determine either with, or againſt him, being come to *Saint Albans*, fell into a deepe conſideration what was to be done: His aſſiſtants were *Iohn Duke of Exceſter*, the *Earles of Oxford* and *Sommerſet*, and *Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, whom notwithſtanding he did not greatlie truſt, being alwaies too fauourable to the contrarie faction. Theſe in Counſell held it beſt pollicie to follow the Enemie, and before the bodie grew too great, to lop off the branches, leaſt they ſhould ſhaddow their Sun-ſhine too farre. In which reſolution, they haſted forward, and came vnto *Barnet*, with a full purpoſe to recouer *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the ſtate of the City vnfurniſhed for ſiege, and readie to take ſtampe of any impreſſe, ment not to be pent within thoſe weake wals; and therefore taking with him vnfortunate *Henry*, leaſt any confederacy ſhould be made in his abſence, he marched with all poſſible haſt, to encounter his oppoſites, before they came too farre, and vpon *Gladmore* neere vnto *Barnet* ſet downe his Tents cloſe to the enemie, the eue of *Chriſts* reſurrection, ſo careles is *Mars* of diuine celebrations, that the holieſt feaſt is prophaned, when his ſword is drawne.

(63) The next day being the Paſchall whereon *Chriſt* roſe from death, which with due reuerence is celebrated in all the Chriſtian world, theſe Engliſh contenders for a terreſtriall Crowne, with Irefull hearts and hands as readie, made ready to digge each others graues: for at breake of day *Warwicke* began to Marſhall his Army, which he diuided into three battalions: The right wing was led by the *Marqueſſe* his brother, with the *Earle of Oxford*, conſiſting chiefly of horſemen, himſelfe with the *Duke of Exceſter* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edward Earle of Sommerſet*, which was ſupplied for the moſt part with Archers. K. *Edward* likewiſe ordered his men. The foreward was led by *Richard Duke of Gloucester* his brother, a good ſouldier and ſufficient for aduiſe, the middle by himſelfe, and his brother *Clarence*, hauing King *Henry* in their companie; And the rereward was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, euer moſt firme for the houſe of *Yorke*, reſeruing a freſh ſupplie, when occaſion ſhould ſerue.

(64) The Battels ioined; were manfully maintained by the proweſſe of *Oxford*, vpon that part of the Kings, againſt which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, ſo that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwicke* went the day: and ſurely in great forwardnes it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an vnexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and ouercaſt with miſts, hindred their eies of any farre ſight, ſo as the ſtarre embroidered vpon the *Earle of Oxfords* mens Coates, were miſtaken for the Sunne, which King *Edwards* men wore, in which errour *Warwickes* Battell let flie at their owne fellowes, who were in great forwardnes to haue wonne the day, and they not knowing the cauſe of the error cried, *treaſon, treaſon, we are all betraid.* Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the field, leauing the chance to be caſt for the Crowne; which when *Warwicke* perceiued with words like a ſouldier, he incouraged his men, and ſeeing the freſh ſupply of his enemie draw now vnto fight, he furiouſlie ruſhed into the midſt of their Battell, wherein he aduentured ſo farre as he could not be reſcued, but valiantly fighting was ſtrucke downe, and among them ſlaine, hauing repaid his danger with many a wound. The *Marqueſſe Montacute* made forward to ſecond his brother, (who till then had beene the *Mars* and *Make-King* of *England*) but was ſo ouerlaid by his Oppoſites, that they ſent his ſoule likewiſe from his bodie whereby was ended that bloody daies taske.

(65) In this Battell vpon King *Edwards* part, died, the *Lord Cromwell*, the Lord *Bourcher*, the Lord *Barnes*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Say*, and *Sir Iohn Liſle* Knight: In the quarrell of *Henrie* died *Richard Neuill Earle of Warwicke*, and *Iohn Neuill Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, and vpon both ſides of common ſouldiers ſaith *Hall* ten thouſand, *Stow* ſaith foure thouſand, as *Fabian* farre leſſe: all which were buried vpon the ſame Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Exceſter* being left for dead in the field, recouered, and tooke Sanctuarie at *Weſtminſter*. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, and *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* eſcaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke* they ſtill plotted to ſet vp King *Henry*, whom God and deſtinie would haue to be caſt downe.

(66) The ſame King *Edward* vpon the ſame day as an abſolute Conquerour, lead the vnfortunate *Henry* his Captiue to *London*, and entring the City in triumph wiſe, offered his roiall Standerd in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, whither the ſlaine bodies of *Warwicke* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare faced, and vnburied the ſpace of three daies, leaſt a falſe Brute ſhould be made that they were not dead. After which they were conueied to *Biſſam Abbey*, and interred in that Priorie among their Anceſtors.

(67) *Edwards* affaires thus farre proſpered at *London*, the windes that had croſſed *Queene Margaret* before, came fauourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, & indeed to accompliſh the decree, which heauen had appointed: ſhee with her ſonne Prince *Edward* and their *French* followers, landed vpon Eaſter Eue at *Weymouth*, and the Counteſſe of *Warwicke* at *Porteſmouth*, who hearing the ſorrowfull newes of her husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulieu*. And *Queene Margaret* vnderſtanding of the loſſe of *Barnet-field*, withdrew aſide to the *Abbey of Ceerne*, vnto whom preſently reſorted *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, with *Lord Iohn* his brother; *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn Lord Wenlock*, and *Iohn Longſtrother* Prior of *Saint Iohns*.

(68) Theſe with many words of hope, comforted the ſorrowfull Queene, and proffered her their

Iu. Stow. A miſtaking of the ſouldiers which was the loſſe of the field.

Great *Warwicke* ſlaine in fight.

Marquet Montacute ſlaine in battell.

Nobles and others ſlaine at *Barnet field*.

Edw. Hall, Iob. Stow, Rob. Fabian, ſaith 1500.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* and the Earle of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*.

Rich. Graft.

Edward triumpheth and offreth his banner in S^t *Pauls*.

Queene *Margaret* with Prince *Edward* landed at *Weymouth*.

The Lords comfort Queene *Margaret*.

assistance to erect Prince *Edward* her sonne, though it were done with the losse of their owne liues, requiring her only to vndertake the authority of the war, and themselues would vndergo the charge and burden thereof, by whose valor and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the vsurping *Edward*; who now held himselfe sure, and beganne to grow careless. To these their resolutions the warlike Queene most gladly consented, and gaue all encouragements vnto them shee could; when falling in counsell how to proceed, her care (according to the naturall affection of a mother) was most vpon the safety and life of her sonne: and therefore aswel for their owne parts (if fortune should faile in this their first attempt) as for the feare which the *Yorkist* would possesse (who whiles Prince *Edward* his corriuall liued could not account the Diadem his Bride) shee thought it best to send him backe againe into *France*, till God had set the Crowne where it should stand: whence hee might supply them with new forces, or at leastwise ouer-awe *Edward* for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords contrariwise alleadged, that Prince *Edward* being the morning Sunne of the Lancastrians hopes, and the rayes very splendent to most English eyes, was to be present in field himselfe, whose sight would both heat the courage of his owne Souldiers, and attract the glance of his aduersaries hearts, either to fight faintly, or else, and that rather, to come to his side. Thus their counsel at that time preuailed; and thus resolued, euery man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her *French* repairing to *Bath*.

Queene *Margarets* care for Prince *Edward* her sonne.

The opinions of the Lords.

(69) But *Edward* in *London* had not sate two daies in rest, before hee heard of Queene *Margarets* arriuage, and the confluence of people out of *Cornwall*, *Deuonshire*, and of the Westerne parts, which hourely flew to giue her assistance; wherefore committing to the Tower King *Henry*, and *George* Archbishoppe of *Yorke* with a selected company, he marched to meet them, intending to cut off many springs before they should ioyne to the body of a riuer, whose streame without danger could not be passed: therefore from *Windsor*, *Abington*, *Chichester*, and *Malmesbury* hee proceeded; seeking and vrging his enemies to battell: but the Queene and her forces fearing to abide in *Bath*, remoued to *Bristow*, *Berkeley*, and *Gloucester*, and lastly at *Tewkesbury*, Duke *Somerset* her Generall pitched down his Tents not staying the comming of the Earle of *Pembroke*: his battell he marshalled into three fights, whereof himselfe and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Somerset* lead the foreward; the middle Battalion was commanded by *Edward* the young Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lords *Saint Iohn* and *Wenlocke*, and the Rereward gouerned by *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, a mortall enemy against the house of *Yorke*.

King *Edward* prepareth against Queene *Margaret*.

King *Henry* committed to the Tower of *London*

(70) King *Edward* who was come now within sight of his enemies, diuided likewise his Army into 3. Battalions, cõmitting the Foreward vnto the guidance of his brother *Richard* D. of *Gloucester* a good Souldier, and of a deepe reach and policy: the Main hee vndertooke to gouerne himselfe, and the Rereward was commanded by the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine. The field thus marshalled, and the signe of battell being giuen, a most bloudy fight beganne, the King had planted his Ordinance at most aduantage, which *Gloucester* frankly bestowed among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, bushes and hedges, with their showers of arrowes galled *Gloucesters* followers, so as by his command his battell gaue backe, as though they would shrinke, which *Somerset* no sooner perceiued, but that he came on, and ouercome with courage, came out of his strength, when by a certaine passage before hand prouided, he came vnto the place where King *Edward* was embattelled, thinking verily that *Wenlocke* had followed at his backe, who as it seemed meant nothing lesse.

The ordering of Queene *Margarets* battels.

The ordering of K. *Edwards* battels.

The battell at *Tewkesbury*.

Edw. Hall.

(71) The aduantage espied, Duke *Richard* made good his retreat, and with fresh supplies of two hundred speares so charged *Somerset*, as his battell was disordered, and put to fearefull flight, himselfe recouering the Midle-ward, found there the L. *Wenlock* idle, whilest others were thus working for their liues, whom he most opprobriously reuiled in the termes of a Traitor, & with his Battell-axe stroke his braines out of his head; when presently *Gloucester*, and after him the King entred the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were slaine in this battell on her side *Iohn* L. *Somerset*, *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Lord *Wenlocke* in manner as wee haue said, Sir *Iohn Delues*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *Iohn Lewkener*, with three thousand others besides.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince *Edward* was one, whome Sir *Richard Crofts* apprehended before hee got to *Tewkesbury*, but *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *Iohn Longstrother*, Prior of *Saint Iohns*, many Knights and Esquiers tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the Towne, notwithstanding they were taken forth and arraigned before *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, who that day sate Constable of *England*, where they were condemned and had iudgement of death, which they immediatelie suffered vpon a Scaffold set vp in the Town. With these two Lords died twelue worthy Knights, besides others of inferior degrees.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the apprehension of Prince *Edward*, promising to his taker an annuitie of an hundred pounds during his life, & if the Prince were liuing, his life to be spared, vpon which promises Sir *Richard Crofts* presented young *Edward* vnto the King, whom with a sterne countenance hee a while beheld, and as sternely demanded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner displayed enter into his Realme; wherunto the Prince made this reply; to recouer (said hee) my fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritance possessed by his Father and Grandfather, and from him immediately belonging vnto me; how darest thou then which art his Subiect display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? which answere moued King *Edward* so much, as with his Gantlet hee dashed the Prince on his mouth, whom *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* with others of the kings seruans most shamefully murthered, euen in his presence, and at his feete: whose body was buried without all solemnity among other poore and meane persons, in the church of the Monastery of the Blacke-Fryers in *Tewkesburie*.

(74) Queene *Margaret* in this fatall day of battell fled towards *Worcester*, and by the way tooke into a poore religious house in that her present distresse: but three dayes after shee was apprehended and brought vnto *Worcester* to King *Edward*, who committed her to sure and straite keeping, in which City she a while remained. But sodain news brought him, that the Northern men were in Armes, and meant to aduenture for her liberty, the Conquerour marched to *Couentrie*, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hote spirits pefectly vnderstood, their courages grew colder, & their weapons cast away, they came thronging to *Edward* to offer him subiection; yet the Lancastrians were not so minded, but rather intended once more to trie whether fortune would afford them her smile.

(75) A fitte instrument they had to forward the enterprise, namely *Thomas Neuill* bastard *Fauconbridge* sonne of Lord *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent*, a great supporter of King *Edwards* Crowne: howbeit this Bastard being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for action, Earle *Warwicke* had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow seas, that none should haue way to strengthen King *Edward*, which his office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a taker of all Merchants goods, being aided with 300. Malecontents from *Calleis*.

(76) His

(76) His enterprise desperate, and his name growne fearefull at sea, hee meant to make it no lesse on the land; for putting in at *Dower*, many misgouerned and loose persons dayly drew to him, so as his power grew to bee seuenteene thousand strong: with these through *Kent* he made his way towards *London*, meaning to doe much, the land so molested with intestine warres; and lodging his hoast on the Southside of *London*, commanded the Citizens to giue him accesse, that with King *Henry* (whom hee meant to release from the Tower) he might passe through their streetes, to meet and encounter the vsurping *Edward*. But the *Londoners* knowing the rudenesse of these Rakehels kept their gates shut and garded the same with sufficient strengthes: whence some Lords of the royall bloud therein residing, sent vnto *Edward* of their present danger, who presently sent them fifteene hundred of his best Souldiers, after whom in person hee warily marched, leading with him his prisoner Queene *Margaret*, whose bounds hee well knew, gaue him the full scope of liberty.

(77) *Fauconbridge* in the meane while thirsting after spoile with his shippes secured the *Thamesis* aboue S. *Katherines*, purposing with his land Forces to passe the Riuer at *Kingston*: but hearing that *Edward* was on his March, and fearing to bee cut off from the benefite of his ships, hee altered his mind; when to open his way into *London*, hee caused the Bridge to bee fiered, and three thousand of his men being set ouer *Thamesis* by his ships, diuided themselues into two Companies, the one assaying to enter at *Algate*, and the other at Bishopsgate, both which they likewise set on fire, so that the Citie was in three places fired and assaulted at once, but with such euill successe to the assailants, that seuen hundred were slaine, and the bold Bastard driuen to his ships.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May the Conquerour *Edward* with his Captiue Queen *Margaret* entred *London*, and so into the Tower, the one in pomp commanding the place at his pleasure, the other in teares to remaine a most pensiue prisoner, where her husband, the downcast King *Henry* was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the presence of two Kings and their Queens: the Crokebacke of *Gloceſter* intended to cleare by taking him away, that stood in his brothers way, whose successor as is thought hee then meant to bee; and making his inward mind more deformed then were his outward lineaments, without regard of bloud-defiled hands, stabbed the most innocent *Henry* to the heart with his dagger, in which act at once beganne the ones happy rest, and the others foule guilt, which accompanied his conscience to the day of his death.

(79) The body of this murthered King was vpon the Ascention Eue laide in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bils and glaues, was so carryed through the streetes vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where it rested vncouered one day, and beganne to bleed againe afresh, a sorrowfull spectacle to most of the beholders, and thence was it carried to the Blacke-Fryers Church, where it likewise lay bare faced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the sorrowfull sight, and lastly, it was put in a boat without Priest, Clerke, Torch or Taper, singing or saying, and was ferried vnto the Abbey of *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, & there without pompe enterred. But afterwards King *Henry* the seuenth translated his body vnto his Castle of *Windsor*, where in a new Tombe at the entrance into the Chancell of the Chappell, and south dore of the Quier, it was princely bestowed, but since the Tombe is remoued, and where the Corps is now laid is not vulgarly knowne.

(80) Thus liued and thus dyed this innocent and iust King, who had beene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his Infancy, and againe at more age had the Emperiall Diadem of *France* set on his head, liuing vprightly, louing his Subiects, and raigning thirty eight yeeres, was in that time tossed with variable successe, for twice he was imprisoned, and depriued of his Crowne, betrayed, smitten, and wounded, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes vnconstancy: hee was of stature very seemly, of body slender, of face beautifull, and by a naturall inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, giuen to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, vsing works of Charity, and so chast, as no suspition of incontinency could be conceiued in him: nay, so farre to the contrary, that when certaine Ladies presented themselues before him in a maske, with their haire loose, and their breasts vncouered (hee then a Bachelour, and able of marriage) hee immediately rose vp, and departed the presence, saying, fie, fie, forsooth yee are to blame. Oath he vsed none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forsooth, and forsooth, very mercifull to the poore, and so pittifull to Malefactors, as he commanded the quarters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gates, and buried, and so farre from reuenge, that hee willingly pardoned the greatest offences against him; for a Ruffian intending his death, wounded him in the side with his sword, what time he lay prisoner in the Tower, and being restored to his kingly estate, he freely forgaue the fact; and another like Ruffian striking him on the face, hee punished with this onely reprehension, *forsooth you are to blame to strike mee your Annointed King*: for these and his other patient vertues, King *Henry* the 7. assayed to haue him canonized a *Saint*: but Pope *Iulius* the 2. demanding too great a summe, the King went no further in the suite: notwithstanding, in the repute of the vulgar hee was taken for no lesse, so as his red hat which hee had worne, healed the head-ach, when it was put on, as the simple beleeued.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true piety, and care for posterities, are his famous Colledges of *Eaton* and *Cambridge*, the Chappell of which last, shewes the magnificence that the whole should haue beene of, had their Founder raigned to haue finished them himselfe: for the performance whereof hee enfeoffed certaine Bishops with other noble personages by his letters Patents with lands and possessions, to the yeerely value of thirty foure hundred pounds very neere: but as his life ended, before that nature had thereunto set her owne seale; so these remain vnperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to haue adorned them withall.

(82) And his sorrowfull Queene *Margaret*, who twentie sixe yeeres before this his death, with all pompe and royalty had beene crowned Queene of *England*, and had ruled all in all, now a poore Prisoner in distresse and wants, weates out her time in teares and laments, and wisheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke *Reiner* her Father well vnderstanding, made suite to King *Edward* to haue her released by ransome; and lastly, bought her liberty at so deare a rate, as hee first pawned, and afterward solde to *Lewis* the French King, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and of both the *Sicils* to pay and repay the price of her redemption, vnto which poore father, this sorrowfull daughter returned, and ended her aged dayes, where shee had begun the dayes of her life.

(83) Victorious *Edward* thus leading *Mars* chained to his Chariot, and now himselfe led by Fortune to the high chaire of Estate, sits an absolute Monarch sure, and without opposite, vnto whose rayes all eyes tume a submissiue aspect: onely bastard *Fauconbridge* departed, from *London* (as we haue said) and withdrew vnto *Sandwich* with his disquiet crew, made shew to doe much, and did somewhat more then befitting, by rape, and robbing, where those rude Mariners came, which *Edward* hearing of, hasted to *Canterbury* in person himselfe, fully resolued to weede vp by the rootes those new sprowted

The vertues of K. *Henry*.

Holinshed.

Camb. Britan. descript. of Surrey.

King's Colledge in *Cambridge* and *Eaton* in *Barkshire*, founded by K. *Henry*.

Queen *Margaret* ransomed out of prison.

Baſtard *Fauconbridge* with his vnruly crew yeeld to King *Edward*.

ted blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accompliſh the ſame, which the Baſtard hearing (though ſtrong in his Sea-men) durſt not bandy againſt, but ſent his ſubmiſſion with proffer of ſeruice and loiall obedience, and indeed ſo temporized with the king, as beſides his pardon obtained, the ſword of knighthood was laid vpon his ſhoulder, & he was preſently made the Kings *Vice-Admirall* for the Seas. In which his office he ſo bare himſelfe (either by his owne deſerts, or the Kings Conceit) as he not long enioied the ſame, but was at *Southampton* beheaded, and other of King *Henries* old fauourites likewiſe ſought after and daily indangered.

Baſtard Fauconbridge pardoned of life, and rewarded with Knighthood.

Rob. Fabian.

Baſtard Fauconbridge beheaded.

A.D. 1472.

(84) In which times of feare, *Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, fled into *Britaine*, where, of that Duke they were moſt courteouſly entertained, with aſſurance made, that no wrong ſhould be offred them, during their ſtay in his dominions. And ſo theſe two Earles the vncle and nephew, there attended the day of their wiſhed ſucceſſe.

Henry of *Richmond* fled into *Britaine*.

(85) But *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, who had withdrawne himſelfe from *Barnet field* firſt into *Wales*, and thence into *France*, was farre more vnpatient of thoſe rough times, for hauing gotten ſtore of prouiſion by ſtrong hand at Sea, with ſeauentie ſeuen men only ſurprized Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornewall*, and made that peece good againſt the King, which he kept and reuictualled, but whether by force or fauour King *Edward* much ſuſpected, and therefore the more willingly came to a compoſition with his Subiect, who vpon the pardon of his life deliuered the *Mount* to the King: and as ſome ſay the rather, for that his minde was then troubled with many ominous ſignes. For certaine *Bournes* about this time burſt out of the Earth, as *Woe-mere* at *Market* in the County of *Bedford*, whoſe name carried the quality of his nature. In *Kent*, at *Canterburie*, *Leuiſham*, and *Langley* Parke, at *Croyden* in *Surrey*, and at *Hungerwill* neere *Dudley* Caſtle one running verie foule: all of them predictions, as that credulous age beleeued, of great troubles to come: and therefore not truſting a new reconciled enemie, King *Henrie* ſent the ſaid Earle Priſoner vnto the Caſtle of *Hames* in *Normandy*, where he remained the ſpace of twelue yeeres, during the raigne of the King, moſt ſecurelie guarded, and ſo ſtraitly kept, as *Lady Margaret* his *Counteſſe* could not be ſuffered to haue acceſſe vnto him, in all that time. Neither was ſhee allowed any thing out of his reuenewes, or from the king, to maintaine her eſtate, but was forced to liue vpon the Charity of others, & by the workes that ſhee made with her Needle; both of them very ſhort to ſupply her great wants. This vnmercifull and almoſt vnhumane vſage, was the more extremely followed, for that *Oxford* himſelfe, his father and brother, had euer ſided with the *Lancaſtrians*. And her ſelfe being ſiſter vnto *Richard* Duke of *Warwicke*, the Capitall obſtacle againſt king *Edwards* proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth ballanced her birth and eſtate, or elſe vnworthy of his fauour, whoſe good fortunes as was ſuggeſted, ſhee euer maligned.

The ſtorie of *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*.

Waters brake out of the Earth.

Iohn Stow. Annals.

The Earle of *Oxford* ſent priſoner into *France*.

The hard and inhumane vſage of the Counteſſe of *Oxford*.

(86) But much more miſerable was the eſtate of *Lord Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exceſter*, and Earle of *Huntington*, who flouriſhed ſo long, as king *Henries* pillar ſtood crowned on his baſe, and the *Lancaſtrians* (of whoſe houſe himſelfe was) ouerſwaid the times; he being the ſonne of *Lady Elizabeth* the ſecond daughter of *Iohn of Gaunt*, and hauing married the ſiſter of *Edward* the then raigning King, was notwithſtanding driuen to ſuch want, as he may ſerue an example to all, how vncertaine *Adams* ſons are of any continuing greatnes. For (ſaith *Philip Comines*) *I once ſaw the Duke of Exceſter runne on foote bare legged, after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods ſake, but he vttered not his name, he being the neereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, and brother in law vnto King Edward, and being knowne what he was, Burgundy gaue him a ſmall penſion to maintaine his eſtate.*

The ſtorie of Lord *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exceſter*.

Phil. Comines. lib. 3. cap. 4.

(87) But when King *Henrie* was againe reſtored, & the Title of the Crowne laid vpon the ſucceſſe of *Barnet-field*, this man *Lord Henrie* bare himſelfe moſt brauely againſt king *Edward*, and in fight was ſtrucke downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding woundes he lay moſt part of the day, but yet recouering, and got to *Weſtminſter*, he there tooke Sanctuary to ſaue his life, for which, he became Suiter vnto the king, but his wife *Lady Anne* ſiſter vnto king *Edward*, ſued as earneſtly for a diuorce, which with great inſtancy ſhee laſtly obtained againſt him. How he releaſed himſelfe from the wrath of the king, is vncertaine, and how he came by his death no man can tell, for his body was found caſt vpon the ſhoare of *Kent*, as though he had periſhed by ſhipwracke vpon the Sea.

Ed. Hall.

(88) Now *Edward* to finiſh all factions, thought beſt to lop off both bough and branch, that gaue any ſhadow to the *Lancaſtrians* deſignes, to which end he rather picked, then found occaſion of treaſon, in *George Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke*, whoſe goods, lands, and Lordſhips, he ſeized vpon, got poſſeſſion of his rich plate and Iewels, whereof one in his Miter was of ſuch valew, as the King cauſed it to be ſet in his Imperiall Crowne, and the Archbiſhop to be ſent ouer Sea to the Caſtle of *Hames*, where he remained a Priſoner a long time after, with no ſuch curteous intertainement, as himſelfe had vſed to *Edward* when he was Priſoner.

(89) But the eſcape of *Pembrooke* and *Earle Richmond* troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy againſt them, and therefore were moſt followed with a ſuſpicious eye. In ſomuch as *Edward* wrote vnto the Duke of *Britaine* their receiuer, with promiſes of heapes of gold to haue them ſent backe and deliuered vnto his hands: but the Duke that had giuen them his ſafetie before, anſwered the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, that it ſtood not with honour, ſo to betray theſe diſtreſſed Princes, fled to him for relief, yet, he faithfully vndertook, that they ſhould be ſo followed, as King *Edward* ſhould ſleepe quiet from their moleſtations, which being no better, *Edward* notwithſtanding made the beſt of it.

(90) All now in quiet, and *Edward* raigning without any Competitor, or malignant diſturber, cauſed a high Court of Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein he reeſtabliſhed thoſe Acts, which *Henrie* had abrogated, and abrogated thoſe that were made againſt his fauourites; at which ſeaſon the *Duke of Burgundie* ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto *Edward*, crauing his aide againſt the *French* King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his fauors receiued of the Duke, in time of his neceſſitie, as for ſpleene againſt *Lewis*, who had aided *Warwicke* to diſpoſſeſſe him of his Crowne. And indeed this was a ſparke, that was likely to ſet the hearts of the *Engliſh* on fire, to recouer *France* loſt by *Henrie* the laſt King.

(91) All things in a readineſſe King *Edward* repaired to *Douer*, and there embarked himſelfe for *Callis*, with the greateſt Army that euer from *England* ſet ſailes into *France*: for he had in his Companie fifteen hundred Noble-men, and men at Armes, all of them mounted, and moſt of them barbed, who with the Archers on horſebacke alſo made vp the number of fifteene thouſand, beſides a great number of footemen and others to pitch Tents, to attend the Artillerie, and incloſe their Campes. Before the Kings departure from *England*, he had ſent *Garter* King at Armes vnto King *Lewis* with a letter of defiance: whoſe contents demanded no leſſe, then the whole Realme of *France*, which if he refuſed, hee threatned to inuade his dominions with fire and ſword.

(92) The letter receiued, and read in ſecret by *Lewis* himſelfe, he priuately ſent for, and conferred with

with the Herald, telling him that it was not *Edward*, but *Burgundy* that raked abroad these dying sinders, who as a man discomfited & vnfurnished for warre, would draw in the *English*, by his slie dealings, to their inestimable Charges, to supply his defects; that *Burgundy* being of the house of *Lancaster* hated most deadly the family of *Yorke*; and more for feare then loue married *Edwards* sister. As touching the Constable he told him, though *Edward* had married his Neece, yet hee would deceiue him, as he had done his owne Master of *France*, who had heaped manie and extraordinary benefits vpon him. And lastly with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promise of a thousand more, he instigated the Herald to worke a peace. *Gartar* very thankefullie tooke the French gold, and counselled *Lewis* to send a Herault vnto his Master King *Edward* to demand a safe-conduct for conference: and so openly rewarded with thirtie Elles of Crimson-veluet he departed.

(93) King *Lewis* nothing so pompous as other Princes are, nor attended with Heraulds continually in his Court, was therefore inforced vnto this present shift: he caused a seruant of the Lord *Hales* to be arraied like an herauld in a trumpets banner, and sent him in hast into King *Edwards* Camp; where hauing audience, he shewed the great desire the King his Master had of peace, whose amity with *England* he had euer held, excusing his receit of *Warwicke* with the necessity of time, whom he aided not against *Edward*, but against *Burgundy*, who as he instantly alleaged, had now drawne the *English* to this excessiue charges, that he might thereby conclude a better composition for himselfe, and to amend the broken state of his owne affaires; lastly he desired that the King of *England* would grant a safe-conduct vnto the Ambassadors of the *French* King his Master, who should more fully informe his Maiestie, and giue his safe-conduct for a further conference in these affaires: and so wisely this counterfeit worded his message, that the King and Nobles liked well the ouerture, and thereupon granting a safe-conduct sent with him an English Herauld, to receiue the like and other assignements from the *French* King.

(94) But when the Duke of *Burgundy* vnderstood that a peace was trauersed betwixt *Edward* & *Lewis*, he stormed not a little, and with no small hast from *Lutzenburgh* accompanied with sixteene horse only, came to his brother King *Edward*, and in a great rage reproued him of breach of promise, and vncourteous requitall of his former kindnes, that thus would enter amity with his great foe, and in outward semblance more ready to bite then to barke, burst into these reproofes.

"Haue you (quoth hee) brother, passed the "*Seas*, entred *France*, and without killing of a poore "flie, or burning of a silly Sheepecote taken a shame-"full truce? Oh *S. George*! did *Edward* your noble "Ancestor euer make Armie into *France*, and retur-"ned without battell or Conquest? That victori-"ous Prince King *Henry* the fifth (as neere of kinne "vnto you as me) whose blood you haue either "rightfullie or wrongfully (God knoweth) extin-"guished and destroied, with a small puissance con-"quered *Normandy*, kept it, and neuer would come "to composition, till he had the whole kingdome of "*France* offred him, and was made heire apparant "vnto that Crowne. Contrariwise you without a-"ny thing done, proffer of battell, or gaine of honor "haue now condiscended vnto a peace as profitable "for *England* as is a poore peascod: haue I (thinke "you) for my particular vse drawne the *English* for-"ces into *France* (which am able of my selfe to de-"fend mine owne cause?) I tell you plainly no, but "rather to aid you, to recouer your ancient Territo-"ries wrongfully withholden: and that you shall wel "know I need not your aide, I will heare of no truce "with the *French*, till three moneths after your arri-"uage in *England* at the least; And thereupon "furiously arising, he threw downe the Chaire, "wherein he had sate and offred to depart.

K. Edwards reply to his brother of Burgundy.

(95) "Nay stay brother *Charles* (quoth K. *Edward*) "sith I with patience haue heard you speake what "you would, you shall now perforce heare from me "what you would not: First therefore for my thus "entrance into *France*, no man knoweth the occasion "better then your selfe: for, mauger your owne great "power you speake of; you doe remember I know, "how the *French* King tooke from you the faire "Towne *Amiens*, and the strong Pile *Saint Quintins*, "with diuers other peeces which you neither durst, "nor were able either to rescue or defend, since "which time he hath gotten from you, your best bo-"some friends and secret Counsellors, so as your "selfe stood in doubt (determining to besiege *Nusse*) "whether the losse would be greater in your absence "(the *French* King waiting as a fox for his pray) or "gaine more in *Germany* by your power and pre-"sence: and to keepe this wolfe from your fold, "was the principall cause why you so earnestly prai-"ed me, and continually sollicited me to passe ouer "the Seas, promising mountaines, but performing "not a Mole-hill, bragging a supply both of horse "and foote, but neuer sent me a hoofe, nor a lackie. "Thinke you (brother) if wee had entred this enter-"prize in our owne quarrell, we would haue expe-"cted your aide? I assure you nothing lesse, for if "we had intended any such Conquest, we would "with Souldiers fire and sword, haue so infected the "aire with the flames and staine of *France*, as should "haue annoied your Countreys of *Flaunders* and "*Brabant*, and giuen you leasure to sit still and tell of "our euer atchieued great victories, nothing doub-"ting but to haue gotten and kept with like man-"hood, and in as great glorie, as any of our Ance-"stors before vs had done. But the occasion of "warre being yours, and you wilfully (I will not say "cowardly) neglecting the same, I meane not to pro-"secute, for the *French* King neuer offended me nor "my Subiects, except in fauouring *Warwicke* against "me, nay I may say against you, and now offreth "such honorable ouertures of peace, which I by "Gods grace meane not to forsake, but will obserue "and keepe. God send you ioy thereof, quoth "the Duke, and so abruptly departed from the King.

Burgundy departeth displeased from King *Edward*.

(96) The peace thus resolued vpon, betwixt the two kings of *England* and *France*, the place appointed for conference was neere vnto *Amiens*, and the parties assigned for the *French*, were the Bastard of *Bourbon* Admirall of *France*, the Lord *S. Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Eureux*. For the *English*, were the Lord *Howard*, *Sir Thomas St. Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord *Chancellor of England*. These meeting, presentlie fell to a conclusion of peace: the conditions whereof were: That the *French* King should forthwith pay to the King of *England* seuenty two thousand Crownes. That the *Dauphin* should marrie *Lady Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* eldest daughter, and that shee should haue for her maintenance the Dutchy of *Guienne*, or else fifty thousand Crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of *London*, for nine yeeres space. This peace was so acceptable to King *Lewis*, as he sent sixteene thousand Crownes to bee distributed amongst the *English* Souldiers, with plate and great presents to men of any sort: & indeed gaue them such entertainment in *Amiens* as was most bounteous, whereof if any desire further to know, let him read *Comines* vpon the same text.

The conference for peace neere *Amiens*.

Commissioners for peace.

Conditions of the peace.

Lewis his liberality for ioy of the peace.

Ph. Com. l. 4. c. 9.

(97) To graft which peace with a louing beginning, the two Kings were desirous to see each others, for which end Commissioners were sent to assigne the place: and lastly agreed, that the Towne *Picquigny* about three leagues from *Amiens*, seated in a bottome, through which the Riuer *Some* ranne, was the fittest: ouer which a strong bridge was built, and in the midst thereof, a grate made ouer-chwart with barres, no wider asunder then a man might well

The kings of *England* and *France* desire to see each other.

Picquigny the meeting place of the kings.

thrust in his Arme, couered with boords ouer head to auoid the raine, & the bridge so broad that twelue might stand in a rancke on both sides.

A.D.1475. Aug.29.

(98) The day approched, and the two Kings come to the place, hee of *France* came first to the Grate, accompanied with twelue personages, as was the appointment; wherof *Iohn* Duke of *Bourbon* and the Cardinall his brother were the chiefest: King *Edward* entring the bridge on the other end, with his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord Chancellor, himselfe apparelled all in cloth of gold, with a rich Iewell of precious stones, in forme of a Flower de Luce: aduanced forward, and within fiue foote of the Grate, put off his cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foote to the ground. King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reuerence vnto *Edward*. Where, after imbracements through the Grate, the Chancellour of *England* who was Prelate and Bishop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration, which done, he read the Articles of peace and demanded the Kings whether these were done with their full consents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand vpon the Missall, and the other vpon the *Holy-Crosse*, tooke their solemne Oathes to obserue the same. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtly Complementall conference, King *Lewis* told K. *Edward* that he would one day inuite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire *French* Ladies, with whom if hee committed any sinne, he merrily told him, that *Cardinall Bourbon*, should be his Confessor, whose penance would be the easier, for that *Bourbon* vsed to busse faire Ladies himselfe; which no sooner was spoken, or howsoeuer meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thankes and acceptance, and indeed so ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Commines* his bosome seruant in his eare, told him flatly he liked not *Edwards* forwardnes to *Paris*, too many English Princes hauing beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and king *Edwards* busines in *France*, hee returned into *England*, and into the City of *London* was receiued little lesse then in triumph-wise.

The salutations of the two kings.

The Kings swear the league.

K. *Lewis* loth that *Edward* should visite *Paris*.

A.D.1475. Sept.28.

(99) But though *Edwards* fortunes thus outwardly flourished, yet inward feares nipped his still troubled mind, one branch hauing sappe, whose growth hee much feared would shadow his Crowne, which was *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, aliue and at liberty in the Duke of *Britaines* Court. To bring therefore his purpose to passe, hee sent D. *Stillington* and others, Ambassadors vnto *Frances* Duke of *Britaine*, with store of gold and good words, as that hee meant to match his eldest daughter Lady *Elizabeth* vnto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cause of dissentions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went smooth, easily consented to shippe him thereon; but ere the prey was embarked, hee had knowledge that the voyage should cost young *Henry* his life; wherefore in all hast hee sent his Treasurer *Peter Landoys* to preuent it, who secretly told *Richmond* what marriage-bed *Edward* intended; whereat the distressed Earle amazed, was put to his shifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at *S. Malos*, where the English his conductors lay for a wind.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* sought after by K. *Edward*.

An intent pretended, which after came to passe.

Ralph Holinsh. pag.701.

Henry Earle of *Richmond* taketh Sanctuary.

(100) The Earle thus escaped, the Ambassadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as far as they durst vnto him, who had not dealt like a good Marchant to take their money, and to retain the wares; his answere was, the deliuery was good, but themselues negligent Factors, that made not the commodity to their best aduantage. And yet for the loue hee bare to their King, hee vndertooke that *Richmund* should be sure kept either in Sanctuary, or else in prison, whence as hee promised hee should not escape: And so with a flea in their eare, they returned, hauing cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for sure keeping of *Henry*, who though hee were sore displeased with *Stillingtons* simplicity, yet the promises that the Duke of *Britaine* had made, much mitigated and eased his mind.

The English Ambassador complaineth to the Duke of *Britaine*.

His Answere.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no warre in hand, nor none towards (but such as no man looked should happen;) hee framed himselfe so to the peoples affections, and held their hearts not in a constrained feare, but with as louing and ready obedience as any King attaining the Crowne by his sword euer had. Nor was euer any Prince more familiar with his Subiects then this King *Edward* was, who now hauing his tribute truly paid from *France*, and all things prospering as was desired, he set heart vpon pleasure, which hetherto had beene afflicted with continuall turmoile: yea and often laid from him the state of a Prince, and would accompany and conuerse with his meane subiects: a loadstone that doth naturally attract the *English* hearts; among many others we of *London* remember this to our grace. Vnto *Windsore* he sent for the Lord Maior of *London*, the Aldermen and others, vpon no other occasion, then to hunt in his company, and himselfe to be merry with them: As also at another time he did the like in *Waltham*, where he gaue them most familiar intertainment, and sent to the Lady Mairesse and her sisters two harts, sixe Buckes, and a Tunne of wine, which wanne more loue then manifold their worthes.

(102) Somewhat he was giuen to Court and conuerse with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and preuented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* dames: but in *England* he had liberty with very large scope, for besides the Lady *Lucy* and others, by whome he had issue, three concubines he kept, and those of three diuers, and seuerall dispositions, as himselfe would often confesse, one the merriest, another the wiliest, and the third the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church vnlesse it were to his Bed, the merriest was *Shores* wife, of whom hereafter we shall speake, the other two were greater Personages, but in their humility are content to bee nameless, and to forbeare the praise of those properties.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleasure could not extend to the displeasures of manie, it being done without violence, and in his latter daies lessened and well left. But a farre more greater sinne and reproach he fell into, among his other Princely disports: For being on progresse in *Warwickeshire*, and hunting in *Arrow* Parke, belonging to *Thomas Burdet* Esquire, with the death of much Game he slew a *White Bucke* greatly esteemed of the said *Burdet*, who vnderstanding thereof, wished his hornes in his Belly, that moued the King to kill the same Bucke, whereof he was accused and condemned of treason, his wordes being drawne, to wish the hornes in the Kings bellie: for which beheaded hee was at *Tiburne*, and buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church at *London*.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened vnto the land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, who being accused of high Treason, was committed to the Tower, where he soone after ended his life. His attainder was, that the said Duke had caused diuerse of his seruants to enforme the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his seruant likewise, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the world beleeue, that K. *Edward* wrought by *Nigromancie*, and vsed to poison such subiects as he hated: And also that the said Duke vpon purpose to exalt himselfe and his heires to the Regall dignitie, most falsely and vntruly published that the King was a Bastard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreouer that he induced diuerse of the Kings naturall subiects to be sworne vpon the blessed Sacrament, vnto him and his heires, without any other reseruations of their allegiance: for which intent (as there was alleaged)

leaged) hee had gotten an exemplification vnder the great Seale of King *Henry* the sixt, that if the said king and his sonne *Prince Edward* died without issue male, the said Duke and his heires should inioy the Crowne: For these in a Parliament begun at *Westminster* the fifteenth of *Ianuary* he was attainted of high treason: but whether guiltie or guiltles, *to men* (saith *Grafton*) *that haue made large inquisition, yea and of such as were of no small authority in those daies, the certaintie thereof was hid, and could not truly be disclosed, but by coniectures, which as often deceiue the imaginations of fantasticall folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusions.*

(105) I am not ignorant that some haue alleaged the cause of this Noble mans death to arise from a foolish prophecie (*whereof* saith *Comines*) *the Englishmen are neuer vnfurnished*, & this as the *Cabalists*, who vsed to make an art of their letters, gaue forth forsooth that a *G.* should raigne after an *E.* which must needes be *George Duke of Clarence*, though *Gloucester* more craftie lay in winde for the game. This indeed troubled the King not a little, but the Queene and her blood much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke *George* was mistrusted, and greatly maligned in all that he did. Who now a widower (for *warwicks* daughter was dead) sent vnto his sister *Margaret* the *Dutchesse of Burgundie*, to worke a marriage for him with her husbands daughter the Lady *Marie*. Against which the Queene most earnestly interposed her selfe, and sollicited the Ladie in the behalfe of Lord *Anthonie Earle Riuers* her brother, whereby great discontent was ministred to the Duke, and new iealousies daily bred in the Kings breast.

(106) *Iohn Serres* the *French* Historian interlacing the life of King *Lewis* with the Acts of K. *Edward* and his brethren, saith confidently, that the English King so much affected the league and alliance with *France*, as that he caused his brother *Clarence* to be put in prison, because he intended to haue past the Seas to succour the Dowager of *Burgundie Ladie Margaret* his sister, vpon whose Territories King *Lewis* encroached, after the death of Duke *Charles* her husband slaine at the battell of *Nancy*.

(107) But howsoeuer *Clarence* had offended, certaine it is, that he was found guilty by the foresaid Parliament, and the eleuenth of *March* following, after he had offered his Masse-penny in the Tower of *London*, was drowned in a But of *Malmesey*, whose body was buried at *Tewkesburie* in *Glocestershire*, by the bodie of his Dutchesse *Ladie Isabell* Countesse of *Warwicke*, who being with Child, died of poison a little before. And although the King had consented to his death, yet no sooner was it done, but that he wished it againe vndone, and was so greeued at the remembrance, as when anie made suite for the life of a condemned, he would openly say: *Oh vnfortunate brother, for whose life no man would make suite.* This good Duke (for so was he called) left issue behind him, *Edward Earle of Warwicke* and *Margaret* afterwards Countesse of *Salisbury*, both of them infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: he a continuall Prisoner, at foure and twentie yeeres of age vnder *Henry* the seauenth, was beheaded vpon the Tower-hill; and shee at sixtie two, lost hers within the Tower, and time of King *Henrie* the eight.

(108) But how dainty soeuer King *Edward* was of the breach of amitie, betwixt him and the *French* King, in regard whereof he suffered *Mary* the yong Dutchesse of *Burgundy* the daughter of his owne sisters husband to bee molested by intrusion of the *French*, and all in fauour of the contract commenced betweene the *Daulphin* & Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter, yet did *Lewis* for his part but dally and driue out time: For Ambassadors imploied for the full accomplishing thereof, they of *France* came either without commission, or those recalled, the new were sent without instructions, while indeed *Lewis* was working for his sonne another way: First to match him with *Mary Dutches* of *Burgundy*, but that refused, with *Margaret of Flaunders* daughter to Duke *Maximilian* sonne to *Frederick* the Emperor: and to hold the world from suspition, in the meane while Ladie *Elizabeth the Infanta of England* was in the *French* Court vsually called *Madame the Daulphin*, and all things in *France* so soundly carried, as *Edward* suspected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat and vnable for paines, he both gloried in his nine famous victories at home atchieued, and seemed sufficientlie satisfied, that his yeerely tribute from *France* was so truly paied.

Lady *Elizabeth* called Madame the *Daulphin*.

(109) At the same time *Iames the third* of that name King of *Scotland*, sent his Ambassadors vnto *Edward* to obtaine the *Lady Cicelie* the Kings second daughter to be ioined in marriage with his sonne *Iames* the young Prince, which was well liftened vnto, by *Edward* and his Counsell, and least the motion should goe backe, a great summe of money lent to the *Scottish* King with this condition, that at a certain time appointed, it should be at K. *Edwards* choise, whether his daughter should match with that Prince, or else to haue the said summe againe repaid. Against which alliance and league (as *Lesly* reporteth,) *Lewis of France* much repined, and to annihilate the same sent D^r. *Ireland*, a certaine knight, and another religious man, to moue King *Iames* to make warre against *England*.

A.D. 1480. *Io. Lesle*, Lady *Cicely* motioned in marriage vnto *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*.

(110) These no Peace-makers for *Christ*, but firebrands of *Belial*, blew the smothered sparkes of dissention into a flame of bloody warre, which fell the more heauy vpon *Scotland*, for that K. *Iames* much wedded vnto his owne will, and altogether ruled by men of meane worth, whom himselfe had aduanced from nothing, had not only neglected by their instigations the loue of his Nobles, but also banished the Realme of *Scotland*, *Alexander Duke of Albany* his second brother; and had caused the veines of *Iohn Earle of Marre* his other brother, to be opened, whereby he bled to death; these and other discontents alienated his Subiects hearts from him, which laid the land more open vnto the English Inuaders; and yet to draw them more deadly against him, relying vpon his owne valor, and the assistance of *France*, he sent word vnto *Edward*, that he should not aid his owne sister of *Burgundy* against K. *Lewis*, being the *Scots* Allie; as also with threats of warre commanded him to deliuer to his Ambassadors, the Duke of *Albanie* (then residing in the *English* Court) and lastlie to make good and repay dammages done vpon the *Scottish* Borders.

Lewis King of *France* interposeth the contract betwixt Prince *Iames* and Ladie *Margaret*.

Iames King of *Scotland* much wedded to his owne will.

Alexander Duke of *Albanie* banished *Scotland*. *Iohn* Earle of *Marre* bled to death.

(111) King *Edward* not a little inraged at these double dealings, euen in the winter season mustered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ships, that nothing should be vnready at the next Spring; which no sooner was come, but that he ordained for his Lieutenant his brother *Richard Duke of Glouce-ster*, who with *Henrie Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, the *Lord Louell*, *Greistock* and others, (the Duke of *Albany* marching vnto *Glouceſters* banner) with twenty thousand strong repaired into the *North*: and first besieged the strong Towne *Berwick*, then entring the chiefe City *Edenborough*, vrged K. *Iames* to performe his couenants, concerning the marriage betwixt Prince *Iames* his sonne, with *Lady Cicely* before agreed vpon, threatning destruction if the match went not forward. The *Scottish* Nobility considering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counsellers of their King, ordained the Duke of *Albany* the *Vicegerent of Scotland*, and promised to repay the money receiued according to Couenants; after which with the deliuery of the strong Towne *Berwicke*, which had beene out of the *Englishs* possession the space of one and twentie yeers, a generall peace was concluded betwixt the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, *Garter* King at armes was sent into *Scotland*, with an Instrument in writing vnto the Prouost and Burgesses of *Edenburgh*,

K. *Iames* threatneth warre against *England*.

Richard Duke of *Glocester* made the Kings Lieutenant against *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Glocester* entreth *Scotland*.

Berwicke deliuered to the *English*.

Holinſh. p. 707.

burgh (who had vndertaken to diſburſe the money) to ſignifie King *Edwards* minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the ſaid ſumme by a day aſſigned, which accordingly was repaide.

(112) The marriage with *Scotland* thus broken off, for the Lady *Cicely*, by K. *Edward* himſelfe; that with *France* for the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, both he and his Queene greatly deſired, and daily ſought after. But *Lewis* the *French* King, finding the daughter of *Auſtrich* more fit for his ſonne, dallied out *Edward* with ſhewes of firme faith, till he had effected the thing he went about: which muſicke ſounded ſo harſhly in the *Engliſh* Kings eare, as in no wiſe hee would ſuffer that ſtring to be touched, but euer beleeued that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeeres of the parties themſelues might beget ſome ſuſpition, ſhee being much elder then the *Daulphin*, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of *Auſtriches* Leger-Ambaſſadours reſiding in England, yet *Edward* would not ſo much as ſuppoſe a ſuſpect againſt the French King, and therefore ſuffered *Lewis* to incroach vpon thoſe parts of *Picardie* that ioyned to *Callis*, and to gaine time till it was paſt recall: for then the Lord *Howard* returning from France, confidently told him that hee was preſent, and ſaw the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtrich*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, ſonne to the Emperour *Frederick*, receiued vnto *France* with great pompe & royaltie: and at *Ambois* contracted and eſpouſed to the *Daulphin*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 6. chap. 2. and 9.

King *Lewis* dallieth with King *Edward*.

King *Edward* would not beleeue what was confidently tolde him.

(113) *Edward* mightily chafed to be thus worked by *Lewis*, made great preparation for *France*; but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholy, hee fell into a dangerous and deadly ſickneſſe; ſome ſay, of a ſuperfluous ſurfeit, whereunto he was much giuen: *Commines* ſaith, of a *Catarrhe*, which weake eſtate turned his minde another way: for calling his Lords into his ſicke preſence, and raiſing his faint body vpon his Bed-Pillowes, theſe words vnto them hee laſtly ſpake:

A warre pretended againſt *France*.

King *Edward* falleth ſicke.

Them. More, King *Edwards* ſpeeches at his death.

"(114) My Lords, my deare Kinſmen, & Allies; "in what plight I lie, you ſee, and I feele; by which "the leſſe while I looke to liue with you, the more "deepely am I mooued to care in what caſe I leaue "you; for ſuch as I leaue you, ſuch bee my children "like to finde you. Which if they ſhould (that "God forbid) finde you at variance, might hap to "fall themſelues at warre, ere their diſcretion would "ſerue to ſet you at peace. Yee ſee their youth, of "which I reckon the only ſurety to reſt in your con-"cord. For it ſufficeth not that all you loue them, "if each of you hate other. If they were men, your "faithfulneſſe happely would ſuffice: but child-"hood muſt bee maintained by mens authoritie, "and ſlippery youth vnderpropped with elder "counſell; which neither they can haue, vnleſſe you "giue it, nor you giue it, if you agree not. For "where each laboureth to breake that which the "other maketh, and through hatred of each others "perſon impugneth each others counſel, there muſt "it needs be long, or any good concluſion goe for-"ward: And while eyther party ſtriueth to bee "chiefe, flatterie ſhall haue more play then plaine "and faithfull aduiſe, of which muſt needs inſue the "euill bringing vp of the Prince; whoſe minde in "tender youth infected, ſhall readily fall to riot and "miſchiefe, and draw downe with him his noble "Realme vnto ruine: but if grace turne him to "wiſdome: which if God ſend, then they that by e-"uill meanes before pleaſed him beſt, ſhall after fall "furtheſt out of fauour, ſo that euer at length euill "drifts draw to nought, and good plaine wayes pro-"ſper. Great variance hath there long time beene "betweene you, not alwayes for great cauſes. Som-"time a thing right well intended, our miſconſtru-"ctions turneth vnto worſe, or a ſmall diſpleaſure "done vs, either our own affections or euill tongues "agreeueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had ſo "great cauſe of hatred, as you haue of loue. That we "be all men, that wee be Chriſtian men, this ſhall I "leaue for Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot nere "whether any Preachers words ought more to "moue you, then his, that is by and by, going to the "place that they all preach of.) But this I ſhall de-"ſire you to remember, that the one part of you is "of my bloud, the other of my Allies; and each of "you with other, either of kinred or affinitie; which "ſpirituall kindred of affinitie, if the Sacraments of "Chriſts Church beare that weight with vs, that "would to God they did, ſhould no leſſe moue vs "to charitie, then the reſpect of fleſhly conſangui-"nitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the "worſe for the ſelfe cauſe, that you ought to loue "the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where "finde we ſo deadly debate, as among them, which "by nature and law ought moſt to agree together. "Such a peſtilent ſerpent is ambition, and deſire of "vaine glory and ſouerraintie which among ſtates "where it once entreth, creepeth forth ſo farre, till "with diuiſion and variance hee turneth all to miſ-"chiefe, firſt longing to be next the beſt, afterward "equall with the beſt, and at laſt chiefe and aboue "the beſt. Of which immoderate appetite of wor-"ſhip, and thereby of debate and diſſention, what "loſſe, what ſorrow, what trouble, hath within theſe "fewe yeeres growne in this Realme, I pray God as "well forget as we remember. Which things, if I "could aſwell haue foreſeen, as I haue with my more "paine then pleaſure proued, By Gods bleſſed La-"dy (that was euer his oath) I would neuer haue "won the curteſie of mens knees, with the loſſe of "ſo many heads. But ſith things paſſed cannot be "gaine-called, much ought we the more beware, by "what occaſion wee haue taken ſo great hurt afore, "that wee eft ſoones fall not into the like againe. "Now be thoſe griefes paſſed, and all is (God bee "thanked) quiet, and likely right well to proſper in "wealthful peace vnder your Coſins, my children, "if God ſend them life, and you loue. Of which "two things the leſſe loſſe were they, by whom "thogh God did his pleaſure, yet ſhould the Realme "alway finde Kings, and peraduenture as good "Kings. But if you among your ſelues in a childs "raigne fall at debate, many a good man ſhal periſh, "and happely he too, and ye too, ere this Land finde "peace againe. Wherefore in theſe laſt words that "euer I looke to ſpeake with you, I exhort, and re-"quire you al, for the loue that you haue euer borne "vnto me: for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto "you, for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs "all, from this time forward all griefes forgotten, "each of you loue others, which I verily truſt you "will, if you any thing regard, either God, or "your King, affinitie or kindred, this Realme, "your owne countrey, or your owne ſurety.

The perils of diſcord.

Tender youth is ſoone infected.

Great variance for ſmall cauſes.

(115) And therewithall the King no longer indu-ring to ſit vp, layd him downe on his right ſide, his face towards them, who with weeping eyes & words as fitted the time, recomfited the ſicke dying King, ioyning their hands, and outwardly forgiuing that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King ouer-ioyed to ſee their willing reconcilements ſpake not many wordes after, but commending his ſoule vnto God, in their preſence departed this life at his Pallace of *Weſtminſter*, vpō the 9. day of April, and yeere of Chriſts appearance 1483. at the age of forty one, when he had worne the royal Diademe, two and twenty yeeres, one moneth and fiue dayes: and was buried at *Windſor*, in the newe Chappell, whoſe foundation himſelfe had layd.

Phil. Com. cap. 10.

(116) Of perſonage hee was the goodlieſt Gentleman (ſaith *Commines*) *that euer mine eyes beheld*; faire of complexion, and of moſt princely preſence; couragious of heart, politicke in counſell; in aduerſitie nothing abaſhed; in proſperitie rather ioyous then proud: in peace iuſt and mercifull; in warre ſharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous: yet no further then wiſedome would, and is no leſſe

com mended

King Edw. good coun.

What the of ambi.

King Edw. vſuall ord.

King Edw. laſt requ.

The raig death of Edward.

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King Edw. ſcribed.

commended where he auoided, then is his manhood when he vanquished: eight or nine battels he won, wherein to his greater renowne he fought on foote, and was euer victor ouer his enemies: much giuen hee was to the lusts of youth, and in his latter time, growne somewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his grauer yeeres, then any waies disliked the eies of his beholders.

His Wife.

(117) *Elizabeth* the daughter of *Richard Woodvill* Earle *Riuers* by his wife *Iaquelana* Dutchesse of *Bedford*, who was the daughter of *Peter* Earle of *S. Paul*, and he the sonne of *Peter de Luxembourg*, was first married vnto *Sir Iohn Grey* slaine at *S. Albans*, where he was knighted the day before his death by King *Henry* the sixt, vnto whom shee bare two sonnes and a daughter, after whose death shee was priuately remarried vnto K. *Edward* the fourth, the first day of *May*, at his mannor of *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire* Anno 1464. and in the next yeere following vpon the sixe and twentith of *May*, was crowned Queen at *Westminster* with al due solemnities. Shee was his wife eighteene yeeres, eleuen moneths, and nine daies, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignity, then vnfortunate in the murther of her sonnes, and losse of her owne liberty: For in the beginning of K. *Edwards* raigne, shee was forced to take Sanctuary at *Westminster*, wherein her first sonne Prince *Edward* was borne; and at his death did the like in feare of the Protector, and lastly hauing all her lands and possessions seized vpon by K. *Henrie* the seauenth, liued in meane estate in the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in Southwarke, where not long after shee left the troubles of her life, and inioied a quiet portion or burying place by her last husband King *Edward* at *Windsore*.

(118) *Elianor Butler*, as we find it recorded vpon the Parliament Role, was contracted vnto King *Edward*: but how true considering the occasion, and time of the Act, we leaue for others to iudge, onely this is most certaine that this Lady *Elianor* was the daughter of *Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and the wife of *Sir Thomas Butler* Knight, sonne and heire to *Ralph Butler* Baron of *Sudley*, which *Elianor* died the thirtieth of Iune, the yeere of *Christ Iesus* 1466. and the eight of King *Edward* the fourth his raigne.

His Issue.

(119) *Edward* the eldest sonne of K. *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at *Westminster* the fourth of November, and yeere of grace 1471. being the tenth of his fathers raigne, at that time expulsed the Realme by the powerfull Earle *Warwicke*; but fortune changed, and the father restored; the sonne, the first of Iuly and yeere of Christ was created Prince of *Wales*, *Duke of Cornwall* and Earle of *Chester*; and had not the ambitious hand of his vncle beene defiled in his innocent blood, he might haue worne the Diademe manie yeeres, whereas he bare the Title of King not many daies.

1478.

(120) *Richard* the second sonne of K. *Edward* the fourth by *Elizabeth* his Queen, was borne at *Shrewsbury*, and in his infancy was created Duke of *Yorke*, he was affianced vnto *Anne* daughter and heire to *Iohn Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, by which he was intituled Duke of *Norfolke*, *Earle-Marshall*, *Warren*, and *Nottingham*, but inioying neither Title, wife, or his owne life long, was with his brother murthered in the Tower of *London*, and in the prison of that Tower, which vpon that most sinfull deed is euer since called the bloody Tower, their bodies as yet vnknowne where to haue buriall.

(121) *George* the third sonne of K. *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was also borne in *Shrewsburie*, and being a yong Child was created Duke of *Bedford*, but liued not long after, and lieth buried at *Windsore*.

(122) *Elizabeth* the first daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Westminster* the eleuenth of *Februarie*, and fifth of her fathers raigne, being the yere of Saluation 1466. Shee was promised in marriage to *Charles Dauphin of France*, woed and Courted by her vncle *Crouchbacke*, when he had murdered her brothers, and vsurped the Crowne, but better destiny attending her, shee was reserued to ioine the vnion and marriage with the onely heire of *Lancaster*, which was *Henrie of Richmond*, afterward King of *England*, from whom is branched the roiall stemme that spreadeth his beauty in this *North-West world*, euen *Iames* our dread Soueraigne, and great *Brittaines* Monarch.

(123) *Citely*, the second daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was sought vnto, by *Iames* the third of that name, to be ioined in marriage with *Iames* his sonne Prince of *Scotland*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, which match was promised vpon conditions and choise of K. *Edward*, who lastly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married vnto *Iohn Vicount Wels*, whom shee outliued, and was againe remarried, but by neither husband had any issue, and therefore lesse noted; her body lieth buried at *Quarrena* in the *Isle of Wight*.

(124) *Anne* the third daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was married vnto Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, *Earle Marshall*, and high Treasurer of *England*: vnto whom shee bare two sonnes both dying without issue, and her selfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolke*.

(125) *Bridget* the fourth daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the tenth of *Nouember* and yeere of Grace 1480. being the twentieth of her fathers Raigne. Shee tooke the habite of Religion, and became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford*, in the same County, founded by K. *Edward* the third, where shee spent her life in contemplations vnto the day of her death.

(126) *Marie* the fift daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was promised in marriage vnto the King of *Denmarke*, but died (before it could be solemnized) in the Tower of *Greenewich*, the Sunday before *Pentecost* the twentieth two of her fathers raigne, and yeere of Grace 1482. and was buried at *Windsore*.

(127) *Margaret* the sixth daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, died an Infant without other mention in our Authors.

(128) *Katherine* the seuenth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, and the last of them both, was married vnto *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, and Lord of *Ochampton*, vnto whom shee bare Lord *Henrie* after the death of his father Earle of *Deuonshire*, who by King *Henrie* the eight was created Marquesse of *Excester* in Anno 1525.

His Concubines.

(129) *Elizabeth Lucie* is certainly known to haue been King *Edwards* Concubine, though nothing so certainly mentioned, whose Ladie, or of what Parentage shee was; that shee was conceiued by him with child is before declared, but who that child was, is as obscurely laid downe; therefore in these things we must be silent, and leaue the doubts to be resolued by others. Three other concubines this king had, whereof *Shores* wife was not the least beloued, whose life

falleth further to be ſpoken of in the Raigne of the vſurper *Richard*, where her ſtorie ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

His naturall Iſſue.

(150) *Arthur*, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall ſonne of K. *Edward* the fourth, (whoſe mother as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*) was created *Viſcount Liſle* by *King Henrie* the eight at *Bridewell* in *London*, the twentie ſixth of *Aprill*, and yeere of Saluation 1533. which title was conferred vpon him in right of his wife Lady *Elizabeth*, ſiſter and heire vnto *Iohn Gray* Viſcount *Liſle*, and the late wife and then widdow of *Edmund Dudley*: who bare vnto this Viſcount three daughters, which were *Bridget*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward married. This *Arthur Lord Liſle* was made Lieutenant of *Callis* by the ſaid K. *Henry*, which Towne ſome of his ſeruants intended to haue betraied to the *French*, for which their fact himſelfe was ſent to the Tower of *London*: but his truth appearing after much ſearch, the King ſent him a rich ring from his owne finger, with ſuch comfortable wordes, as at the hearing thereof a ſudden ioy ouercharged his heart, & was ſo immoderately receiued, that the ſame night it made an end of his life, whoſe body was honorably buried in the ſame Tower.

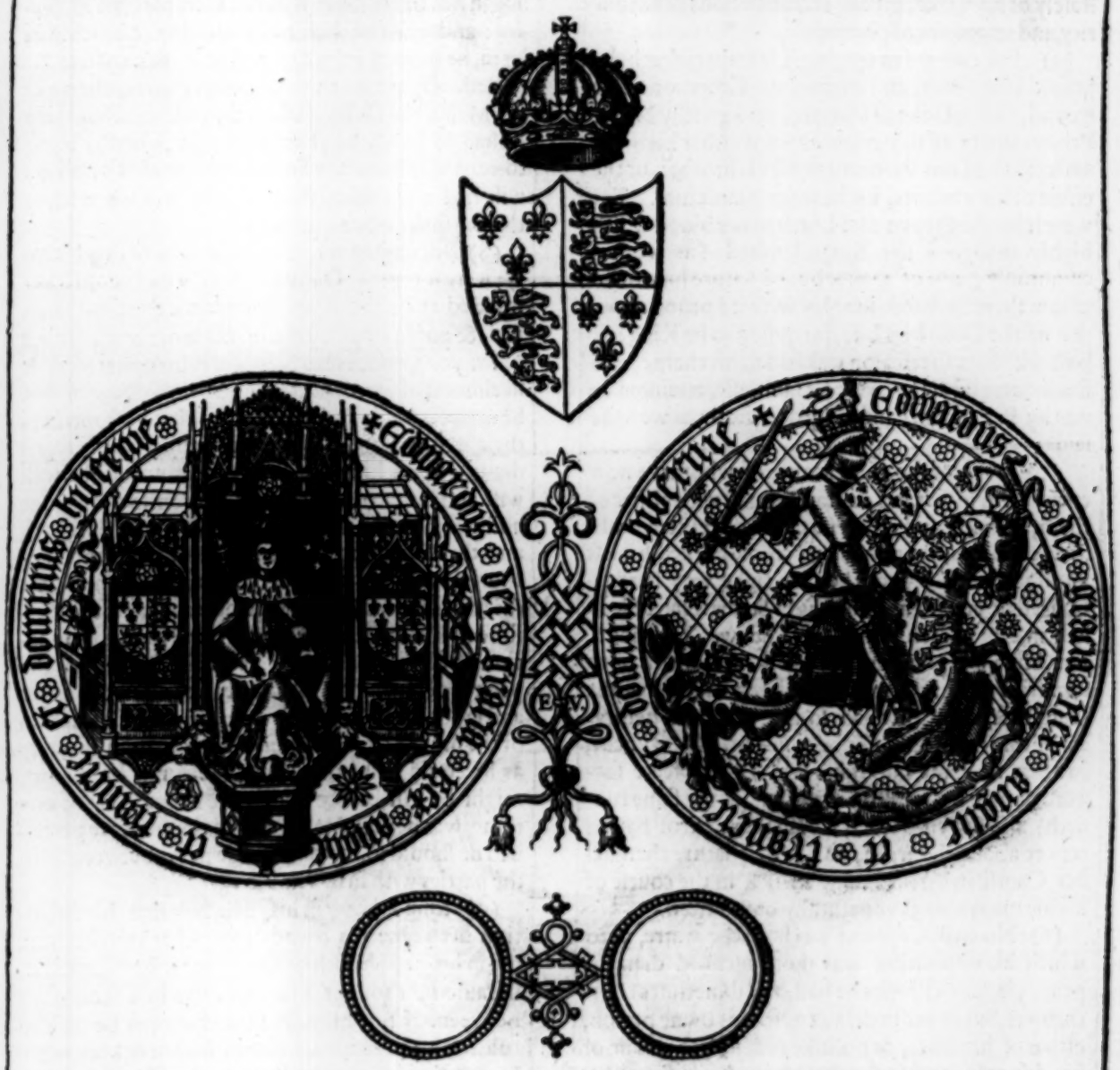
(151) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of K. *Edward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight, the ſonne of *George*, Lord *Lumley*, who died before his father: ſhee bare vnto the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

EDWARD

EDVVARD THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FIFTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 55

For the moſt part written by *Sir Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XVI II.

THe father thus dying in the ſtrength of his yeeres, and the ſonne left to rule before he was ripe, the Synders of diſſenſions which the ſicke King had lately raked vp, preſently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the king and Queenes blood that ſhould haue ſupported young *Edwards* eſtate, the one ſide being ſuſpicious, and the other prouoked by the execrable deſire of ſoueraignty, left the tender king (a Prince of ſuch towardnes as his age could conteine) deſtitute and vnarmed, which if either kind or kindred had holden place, muſt needes haue beene the ſureſt pillars of his defence. The raigne of this King (if we may ſo cal the ſhort time of his Soueraignty) began the ſame day that his father died, though he was neuer Crowned, nor yet commanded the affaires of the Kingdome as an abſolute Monarch, his young brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

Aprill 19. A. D. 1483.

(2) For *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, by nature their vncle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themſelues by Oath and Alleagiance bounden, all bands broken that holdeth man and man together, without any reſpect of God or the World, vnnaturally contriued to bereaue them, not onlie of their dignity, but alſo their liues. But forſomuch as the Dukes demeanour miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this yong and fift *Edward* muſt intreat, it is therefore conuenient, ſomewhat to ſhew you ere we goe further, what man

Richard Duke of *Yorke*.

Richard Duke of *Glouceſter* an vnnaturall vncle vnto the young King and his brother.

man this was, and from whom he descended that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceiue.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* was the father of *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

(3) Know first then that *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, a noble man and a mighty, beganne not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cause was (either for right or fauour) so farre foorth aduanced that King *Henries* blood (albeit he had a goodly Prince) was vtterly reiected, the Crowne by the authoritie of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *Yorke*, and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henrie*. But the Duke not enduring so long to tarrie, intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the Realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in King *Henries* life, was with many other Nobles slaine at *Wakefield*, leauing three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomacke, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners.

(4) For *Edward* reuenging his fathers death depriued king *Henry*, and attained the Crowne; The second, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies, his brother against him. For were it by the Queen and Lords of her blood which highly maligned the Kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature hate them whom their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King: at least-wise hainous treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he faulty, were he faultlesse, attainted he was by Parliament, and iudged to death, as we haue saide.

Women commonly maligne their husbands kindred.

The description of *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

(5) *Richard* the third sonne, of whom we now entreat was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in body and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, ill-limmed, and crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, very hard fauoured of visage, and such as in States is called warly, in other men otherwise: he was malicious, wrathfull, and enuious, yea and from afore his birth euer froward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutchesse his mother had so much adoe in her trauaile, that shee could not be deliuered of him vncut, and that he came into the world with his feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not vntoothed; Whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or else that nature changed her Course in his beginning, which in the course of his life many things vnnaturally committed.

Richard Crooke-backe a good souldier.

(6) No euill Captaine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more inclined then for peace; sundry victories he had, and sometimes ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne person, either of hardines, or politike order; free was he of his dispence, and somewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts he gate him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was forced to pill and pole in other places, which gate him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar, where euen now he hated, and not letting to kisse whom he thought to kill: despitefull and cruell he was, not for euill-will alwaies, but oftner for ambition, and either for the surety, or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much what indifferent; where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death, whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands, King *Henrie* the sixth, being Prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the King, who vndoubtedly if he had intended his death, would haue appointed that butcherly office to some other then his owne brother.

He was the cause of *Clarence* his death.

(7) Some wise men also iudge, that his drift couertly conueied, lacked not in helping forth his brother *Clarence* to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly, then he that was hartily minded to his wealth: And they that thus iudge, thinke that long time in K. *Edwards* life, he forcast to be king, in case that his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to decease (as indeed he did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent he was glad of the Duke of *Clarence* death, whose life must needes haue hindered him so intending, (being his elder brother) whether the same Duke had kept him true to his Nephew the young king, or enterprized to be king himselfe. But of all this point, there is no certainty, and who so diuineth vpon coniectures, may aswell shoote too farre, as too short. Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the same night, in which king *Edward* died, one *Mistlebroke* long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Red Crosse* street without Creeple-gate in *London*: and when he with hasty rapping, quickly was let in, he shewed vnto *Pottier* that *K. Edward* was departed. By my troth man quoth *Pottier*, then will my Master the Duke of *Glouceſter* be king: what cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether being toward him knew any such thing intended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, for it was not likely that he spake it of no ground.

(8) But now to return to the course of this History; were it that the Duke of *Glocester* had of old foreminded this conclusion, & was now thereunto moued, & put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his Nephewes (as oportunity & likelihood of speed, putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certaine it is, that he contriued their destruction, with the vsurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe, and forasmuch as he well wist, and holp to maintaine a long continued grudge and hartburning betweene the Queenes kindred, and the Kings blood, either part enuying others authority; he now thought their diuisions should be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the pursuite of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first, vnder the pretext of reuenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the destruction of the other, and then winne to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceiued he should soone haue made peace between both the parties with his owne blood.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this dissention betweene his friends somewhat greeued him, yet in his good health he somewhat lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoeuer busines should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwaies be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sicknes, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infeebled, that he dispaired all recouerie; then considering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet well fore-seeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselues, and good Counsell of their friends, of which either party should counsell for their owne commodity, and the rather by pleasant aduise to winne themselues fauour, then by profitable aduertisements to doe his children good, hee called some of them before him that were at variance, and in speciall the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, the Queenes sonne by her first husband, and *William* Lord *Hastings* a noble-man, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, against whom the Queene especially grudged, for the great fauor the King bare him: and also for that shee thought him secretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, aswell for that the King had made him Captaine of *Calis*, which office the Lord *Riuers*, brother to the Queene

Queene claimed of the Kings former promiſe, as for diuers other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. Theſe were the grudges which the king on his death bed ſought to remoue, and they in ſhew ſeemed to cancell, as we haue ſaid, though the ſparks of theſe diſpleaſures burſt afterward into a dangerous flame, which conſumed moſt of them, as afterward ſhall appeare.

(10) For aſſoone as the King was departed this life, his ſonne Prince *Edward* drew towards *London* from *Ludlow* in *Wales*, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourſe to iuſtice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde Robbers, Rouers walking at liberty vncorrected: for which cauſe this Prince in the life time of his father was ſent thither, to the end that the authority of his preſence ſhould refraine euill diſpoſed perſons, from the boldenes of their former outrages. To the gouernance and ordering of this young Prince at his ſending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthonie Wooduill* Lord *Riuers*, and brother vnto the Queene, a right honorable man, as valiant of hand as politick in Counſell; adioined were there vnto him others of the ſame partie, and in effect euery one as he was neereſt of kin vnto the Queene, ſo was he planted next about the Prince.

(11) That drift of the Queene not vnwiſely deuiſed, whereby her blood might of youth be rooted in the Princes fauour, the Duke of *Gloueſter* turned vnto their deſtruction, and vpon that ground ſet the foundation of all his vnhappy building. For whomſoeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himſelfe their fauour, he brake vnto them; ſome by mouth, ſome by writing and ſecret meſſengers, that it was neither reaſon, nor in any wiſe to be ſuffered, that the young King their Maſter and kinſeman, ſhould be in the hands and Cuſtody of his mothers kindred, ſequeſtred in manner from their Company and attendance, of which euery one ought him as faithfull ſeruice as they, and many of them farre more honorable part of kin then his mothers ſide: whoſe blood (quoth he) ſauing the Kings pleaſure was farre vnmeet to bee matched with his, which now to be as who ſay remoued from the king, and the leſſe noble to be left about him, is (quoth hee) neither honorable to his Maieſtie nor vnto vs, and alſo to his Grace no ſuretie, to haue the mightieſt of his friends from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardy, to ſuffer our well proued euill-willers to grow in ouer great authority with the Prince in youth, who is light of beliefe and ſoone perſwaded. Ye remember I trow K. *Edward* himſelfe, albeit he was a man of age and diſcretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then ſtood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man elſe, except only the immoderate aduancement of themſelues. Which whether they ſorer thirſted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I weene to geſſe, and if ſome folkes friendſhip had not held better place with the King, then any reſpect of kindred, they might perhaps eaſily haue intrapped and brought ſome of vs to confuſion ere this; why not as eaſily as they haue done ſome other alreadie, as neere of his roiall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thankes be to his grace, that perill is paſt: howbeit as great is growing, if we ſuffer this young King in our enemies hand; which without his knowledge might abuſe the name of his commandement, to any of our vndoing, which thing God and good prouiſion forbid.

(12) Of which good prouiſion none of vs hath any thing the leſſe neede, for the late made attonement, in which the Kings pleaſure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of vs, I beleeue, is ſo vnwiſe ouer ſoone to truſt a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an howerly kindnes, ſodeinly contracted in one houre continued yet ſcarce a fortnight, ſhould be deeper ſetled in their ſtomackes, then a long accuſtomed malice many yeeres rooted. With theſe wordes and writings and ſuch other, the Duke of *Gloueſter* ſoone ſet afire them that were of themſelues apt enough to kindle, eſpecially two, *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Haſtings* Chamberlaine, both men of honor and of great power. The one by long ſucceſſion from his Auncеſtry: the other by his office, and the Kings fauour. Theſe two not bearing each to other ſo much loue, as both of them hatred vnto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of *Gloueſter*, that they would vtterly remoue from the Kings Company all his mothers friends vnder the name of their enemies.

The effect that his policy tooke.

The concluſion of his deſignes.

(13) Vpon this concluſion the Duke of *Gloueſter* vnderſtanding, that the Lords which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with ſuch power of their friends, that it ſhould be hard for him to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without the gathering a great aſſembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end hee wiſte well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their ſide, his part ſhould haue the face and name of a Rebellion; he ſecretly therefore by diuers meanes, cauſed the Queene to be perſwaded and brought in minde, that it neither were need, and alſo ſhould be ieopardous, the King to come vp ſtrong.

Another craftie pollicy of Duke *Richard*.

(14) For whereas now euery Lord loued other, and no other thing ſtudied vpon, but about the Coronation and honor of the King: if the Lords of her kindred ſhould aſſemble in the Kings name much people, they ſhould giue the Lords of the contrary faction cauſe to feare and ſuſpect, leaſt they ſhould gather this people not for the Kings ſafegard, whom no man impugned, but for their deſtruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, then their new attonement: for which cauſe they ſhould aſſemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whoſe power ſhee wiſt well ſtretched farre: and thus ſhould all the Realme fall on an vproare: and of all the hurt that thereof ſhould inſue, which was likely not to be a little, & the moſt harme like to fall where ſhee leaſt would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and ſay that they had vnwiſely and vntrulie alſo broken the amity and peace, which the King her husband ſo prudently made betwixt his kin and hers on his death bed, and which the other party faithfully obſerued.

(15) The Queene in this wiſe perſwaded, ſent ſuch word vnto her ſonne; and vnto her brother being about the King: beſides, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, himſelfe and other Lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the King ſo reuerently, and to the Queenes friends there ſo louingly, that they nothing earthly miſtruſting, brought vp the King in great haſt, but not in good ſpeed, with a ſober company. Now was the King in his way to *London*, gone from *Northampton*, when the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* came thither, where remained behind the Lord *Riuers* the Kings vncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and bee with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelue miles thence, earely ere he departed. So was there made that night much friendlie cheare betwixt theſe two Dukes and the Lord *Riuers* a great while: but incontinent after that, they were openly with great curteſie departed, and the Lord *Riuers* lodged, the Dukes ſecretly with a few of their moſt priuy friends, ſet them down in Councell, wherein they ſpent a great part of the night: & at their riſing in the dawning of the day, they ſent out priuily to their ſeruants in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing command to make themſelues ſhortly ready, for their Lords were to horſe-ward: vpon which meſſages, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the L. *Riuers* ſeruants were vnready.

The Queene yeldeth to the Dukes perſwaſion.

The Lords meet at *Northampton*.

(16) Now had theſe Dukes taken into their cuſtodies the keyes of the Inne, that none ſhould paſſe forth without their licence: and beſides this, in the high

The Keyes of the Inne kept by *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*.

high-way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had beſtowed certaine of their men, that ſhould ſend backe againe, and compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: foraſmuch as the Dukes themſelues intended for the ſhew of their diligence, to bee the firſt that ſhould that day attend vpon the Kings Highneſſe out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Riuers* vnderſtood the gates cloſed, the wayes beſet, neither his ſeruants, or himſelf ſuffered to goe out, conſidering well ſo great a thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought; and comparing this preſent manner, with his laſt nights cheare, in ſo few howres to haue ſo great a change, marueilouſly miſliked it. Howbeit ſith hee could not get away, nor keepe himſelfe cloſe hee would not, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to hide himſelfe for ſome ſecret feare of his own fault, wherof he ſaw no ſuch cauſe in himſelfe: hee determined vpon the ſurety of his owne conſcience, to goe boldly vnto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as ſoone as they ſaw, they beganne to quarrell with, ſaying, that hee entended to ſet diſtance betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power. And when he beganne (as hee was a very well ſpoken man) in ſeemely wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they tarried not the end of his anſwere, but ſhortly took him, & put him in ward: and that done, forthwith went to horſebacke, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready to leape on horſebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, becauſe it was too ſtrait for both companies.

The L. *Riuers* much troubled at the ſodaine action.

The L. *Riuers* impriſoned in *Northampton*.

(17) And as ſoone as they came in his preſence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid, Go afore Gentlemen, and Yeomen keepe your rooms. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble manner ſaluted his Grace, who receiued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor miſtruſting as yet what was done. But euen by and by in his preſence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Gray*, the Kings other brother by his mother, ſaying, that he with the Lord Marqueſſe his brother, and the Lord *Riuers* his vncle, had compaſſed to rule the King and the realm, and to ſet variance among the States, and to ſubdue and deſtroy the noble bloud of the Realme: towards the accompliſhing whereof, they ſaid that the Lord Marqueſſe had entred into the Tower of *London*, & thence taken out the Kings treaſure, and had ſent men to the ſea. All which things theſe Dukes well knew were done for neceſſary and good purpoſes, by the whole Councell at *London*, ſauing that ſomwhat they muſt ſay.

The Dukes come to the King.

A quarrell picked in the kings preſence.

Accuſations againſt the Queens kindred

(18) Vnto which words the King anſwered, what my brother Marqueſſe had done I cannot ſay: but in good ſooth I dare well anſwere for mine vncle *Riuers*, & my brother here, that they are inocent of any ſuch matter: yea my liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they haue kept their dealings in theſe matters farre from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they arreſted the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawt* Knights in the Kings preſence, and brought the king and all his company backe vnto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further counſell. And there they ſent away from the King whome it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruants about him, ſuch as better liked them then him: At which dealing the king wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not: and at dinner, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent a diſh from his owne Table to the Lord *Riuers*, bidding him be of good cheere for all ſhould bee well. But the Lord *Riuers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Meſſenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, as one to whom ſuch aduerſity was ſtrange, but himſelfe had beene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable courteſie of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, he ſent the Lord *Riuers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* into the North Country, into diuers places to priſon, and afterward all to *Pomfret*, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The King excuſeth his vncle.

The King is brought backe to *Northampton*.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* ſends a diſh of meat vnto the Lord *Riuers*.

The L. *Riuers* others beheaded.

(19) In this wiſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke vpon himſelfe the Order and Gouernance of the yong King, whom with much honour and humble reuerence he conuaied towards *London*. But anone the tidings of this matter came haſtily to the Queene, a little before the midnight following, and that in the foreſt wiſe, that the King her ſonne was taken, her brother, her ſonne, and other friends arreſted, & ſent no man wiſt whither, to bee done with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queen in great fright & heauineſſe, bewailed her childes raigne, her friendes miſchance, and her owne miſfortune, damning the time that euer ſhee diſſwaded the gathering of power about the King, got her ſelfe in all haſt poſſible with her young ſonne, and her daughters, out of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, in which ſhee then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her ſelfe, and company there in the Abbots place.

Queene Elizabeth taketh Sanctuary.

(20) Now came there one likewiſe, not long after night from the Lord Chamberlaine, vnto the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke* then Chancellor of *England*, to his place not farre from *Weſtminſter*; and for that hee ſhewed his ſeruants, that he had tidings of great importance, that his M. gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to awake him; nor hee to admit the Meſſenger vnto his bed ſide. Of whom hee heard that theſe Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* vnto *Northampton*: notwithſtanding Sir (quoth he) my Lord ſendeth your Lordſhippe word, that there is no feare: for hee aſſureth you that all ſhall bee well. I aſſure him (quoth the Archbiſhoppe) bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee ſo well as we haue ſeene it. And thereupon by and by after the meſſengers departure, hee cauſed in all haſt all his ſeruants to bee called vp, and ſo with his owne houſhold about him, euery man weaponed, hee tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whom he found much heauineſſe, rumble, haſt and buſineſſe, carriage and conueiance of her ſtuffe into Sanctuary, cheſts, coffers, packes and fardels, truſſed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking down the wals, to bring in the next way, and ſome drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her ſelfe ſate alone alow on the ruſhes, all deſolate and diſmayed, whom the Archbiſhop comforted in the beſt manner hee could, ſhewing her that hee truſted the matter was nothing ſo ſore as ſhee tooke it for, and that hee was put in good hope and out of feare, by a meſſage ſent him from the L. Chamberlaine: Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to deſtroy mee and my bloud.

The L. Chamberlaine ſent the newes to the L. Chancellor.

The great heauineſſe and confuſion of Queene and ſeruants.

The Archbiſhops comfort to the Queene.

(21) Madam (quoth hee) bee of good cheare; for I aſſure you, if they crowne any other King then your ſonne, whom they haue now with them, we ſhal on the morrow crown his brother, whom you haue here with you: and here is the great Seale, which in like ſort as that noble Prince your husband deliuered it vnto me, ſo here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vſe and behoofe of your ſonne, and therewith hee betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, euen in the dawning of the day: by which time hee might in his Chamber window ſee all the Thames full of boates of the Duke of *Gloceſters* ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould goe to Sanctuary, nor none ſhould paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, aſwell in other places about, as eſpecially in the City, the people diuerſly

The L. Chamberlaine ſent the great Seale to the Queene.

uerſly diuining vpon this dealing. And ſome Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, eyther for fauour of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundry Companies, and went flocke-meale in harneſſe: and many alſo, for that they accounted this demeanour attempted, not ſo ſpecially againſt the other Lords, as againſt the King himſelf in the diſturbance of his Coronation.

(22) But then, by and by the Lords aſſembled together, towards which meeting, the Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke* fearing that it would bee aſcribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightneſſe, that hee ſo ſodainely had yeelded vp the great Seale to the Queene (to whom the cuſtody therof nothing appertained) without ſpeciall commandement of the King, ſecretly ſent for the Seale again, & brought it with him after the accuſtomed manner. And at this meeting, the Lord *Haſtings*, whoſe truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perſwaded the Lords to beleeue, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, was ſure and faſtly faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Riuers* and Lord *Richard*, with the other knight, were for matters attempted by them againſt the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* put vnder arreſt for their ſurety, not for the Kings ieopardy; and that they were alſo in ſafeguard, & there no longer ſhould remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but alſo by all the other Lords of the kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other diſcretions ordered, either iudged or appeaſed. But one thing he aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irking and prouoking men vnto anger; and diſturbing the kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhould neuer bee brought in frame againe. Which ſtrife if it ſhould happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet ſhould the authority be on that ſide where the King is himſelfe.

(23) With theſe perſwaſions of the Lord *Haſtings*, whereof part himſelfe beleeued, of part he wiſt the contrary, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed, but eſpecially by that, that the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* were ſo neere, and came ſo ſhortly on with the King, in none other manner, with n one other voice, or any other ſemblance then to his Coronation; cauſing the fame to be blowne about; that theſe Lords and Knights which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of *Glouceſter* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble blood of the Realme, to the end that themſelues would alone demeane and gouerne the King at their pleaſure. And for the Colourable proofe thereof, ſuch of the Dukes ſeruants as rode with the Carts of their ſtuffe that were taken (amongſt which ſtuffe no maruell though ſome were harneſſe, which at the breaking vp of the houſhold, muſt needs either be brought away, or caſt away) they ſhewed vnto the people all the way as they went; ſaying, loe here be the barrels of harneſſe, that theſe Traitors haue priuily conueied in their Carriages to deſtroy the Noble Lords withall. This deuiſe, albeit it made the matter to wiſemen more vnlikely, well perceiuing that the intenders of ſuch a purpoſe, would rather haue had their harneſſe on their backes, then to be bound vp in barrels: yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well ſatiſfied, and ſaid it were almes to hang them.

(24) When the King approched neere to the City, *Edmund Shaa* Goldſmith then Maior, with *William White* and *Iohn Matthew* Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in ſcarlet, with fiue hundred horſe of the Cittizens in violet, receiued him reuerently at *Harneſey*, and ryding from thence, accompanied him into the City, which he entred the fourth day of *May*, the firſt and laſt yeere of his Raigne. The King was lodged in the Biſhops Pallace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was ſworne to the king, the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Gloucester*, bare him in open ſight ſo reuerentlie to the Prince, with all ſemblance of lowlines, that from the great obloquie in which he was ſo late before, he was ſodeinely ſaine in ſo great truſt, that at the Councell next aſſembled, he was made the only man, choſē & thought moſt meet to be Protector of the king and his realm, ſo that (were it deſtiny, or were it folly) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe. At which Councell alſo, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* Chancellour of *England*, which had deliuered vp the great Seale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reproued, and the Seale taken from him, and deliuered to Doctor *Ruſſell* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, a wiſe man, and of much experience, and vndoubtedly one of the beſt learned men that *England* had in his time: diuers Lords & Knights were appointed vnto diuers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and ſome others, keeping ſtill their offices they had before.

Richard Duke of *Gloceſter* made Protector of the King and Realm.

The great Seale is taken from the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

(25) Now although that the Protector, ſo ſore thirſted for the finiſhing of thoſe deſignes which he had begun, and thought euery day a yeere till they were atchieued, yet durſt he no further attempt, ſo long as he had but halfe his pray in his hand: well witting, that if he depoſed the one brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in Sanctuary, or ſhould be conueied to his further liberty: wherfore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, he propoſed vnto them, that it was a heinous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Counſellers, that ſhee ſhould keepe in Sanctuary the Kings brother from him, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comfort were to haue his brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmur of the people, as though they were not to be truſted with the Kings brother, who by aſſent of the Nobles of the land, were appointed as the Kings neereſt friends, to the tuition of his owne royall perſon. The proſperity whereof ſtandeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure, which hee in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient perſons, but in the familiar conuerſation of thoſe that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age, and neuertheleſſe of eſtate conuenient to accompany his noble Maieſty; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man thinke this conſideration (which I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him conſider that ſometimes without ſmall things, greater cannot ſtand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the diſhonour both of the Kings Highneſſe, and of vs all that are about his Grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but alſo in other lands, (as euill words walke farre) that the Kings brother ſhall bee faine to keepe Sanctuary; for euery man I deeme, will ſuppoſe, that there is occaſion giuen, why it ſhould ſo be: and ſuch euill opinions once faſtened in mens hearts, hardly can bee ſcrewed out againe, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worſt to ſend vnto the Queene for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honourable truſty man, ſuch as both tendreth the kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is alſo in fauour and credence with her. For all which conſiderations, none ſeemeth to mee more meete, then is our reuerend Father here preſent, my Lord Cardinall, who may in this matter doe moſt good of any man, if it pleaſe him to take the pains, which I doubt not of his goodneſſe hee will not refuſe, for the Kings ſake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himſefe, the Kings moſt honourable brother,

The Protectors perſwaſion to take out of Sanctuary the yong Duke of Yorke.

A fine fetch to fetch out the Duke.

The Protector would haue the Queene ſent vnto,

ther, and after my Soueraigne himselfe, my most deere Nephew, Considering that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquie now going, and the hurts auoided that thereof might insue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And if she be percase so obstinate, and so precisely set vpon her owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement cannot moue her; nor any mans reason content her: then shall we by mine aduise, and by the Kings authority, fetch him out of that Prison; & bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall company he shall be so well cherished, and so honorably intreated, that all the world shall to our honor, and her reproach perceiue, that it was only malice, frowardnes, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there: this is my minde in this matter for this time, except any of your Lordships any thing perceiue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods Grace, so wed my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to change it vpon your better aduises.

If the Queene refuse to deliuer the Duke what is to be done.

(26) When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the Duke his brother honorable, and the thing that should cease great murmur in the Realme, if the mother might be by good meanes induced to deliuer him. Which thing the Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, tooke vpon him to moue her, and therein to doe his vttermost endeauour: howbeit if shee could by no meanes be entreated with her good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other of the Clergy then present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will. For it would bee a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so manie yeeres beene kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more then fiue hundred yeeres agoe, by *S. Peter* in his owne person, in spirite accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God, (for the proofe whereof they haue yet in the Abbey, *S. Peters* Cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeuout a King, that durst violate that sacred place, or so holy a Bishop, that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore (quoth the Archbishop of *Yorke*) God forbid that any man should for any thing earthlie, enterprize to breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath beene the safegard of many a good mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we shall not need it. But for what need soeuer, I would not we should doe it; I trust that shee shall be with reason contented, and all things in good manner obtained, but if it happen, that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all well perceiue, that there shall be of my indeauour no lacke, if the mothers dread, and womanish feare be not the let.

All the Counsell allow of the Protectors speech.

A great offence to breake the Sanctuary.

S. Peters owne Cope was to be seene in *Westminster*.

(27) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnes (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it vpon my soule, shee wel knoweth, there is no need of any feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with a woman. Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should al be soone in rest: Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse loued, for that they be of her kin, but for their owne euill deseruing. And nay the lesse, if we loued neither her, nor her kin, yet were there no cause to thinke, that we should hate the Kings noble brother, to whose Grace we our selues be of kin: whose honor, if shee as much desired, as our dishonor, and as much regard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, shee would be as loth to suffer him from the King, as any of vs bee. For, if shee haue wit, (as would God shee had as good will as shee hath shrewd wit) shee reckneth her selfe no wiser, then shee thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull minde shee nothing doubteth, but verily beleeueth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harme, as her selfe, and yet would haue him from her, if shee bide there: and we all (I thinke) content, that both be with her, if shee come thence, and bide in such place; where they may be with their honour. Now then, if shee refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the Counsell of them, whose wisdome shee knoweth, whose truth shee well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnes letteth her, and not feare. But goe to, suppose that shee feare, (as who may let her to feare her owne shadow) the more shee feareth to deliuer him, the more ought wee to feare to leaue him in her hands. For, if shee cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt; then will shee feare, that hee shall bee fetcht thence. For shee will soone thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) vpon so great a mischiefe, the Sanctuary would little let them: which good men might (as I thinke) without sin, somewhat lesse regard then they doe. Then, if shee doubt, lest hee might bee fetched from her, is it not likely that shee shall send him somewhere out of the Realm? Verily, I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but shee now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great masterie, we letting her alone) all the world would say, that wee were a wise sort of Counsellors about a King, that suffer his brother to be cast away vnder our noses. And therefore I assure you faithfully for my mind, I will rather maugre her mind, fetch him away, then leaue him there, till her frowardnes and fond feare conuay him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctuary therefore: for verily, sith the priuiledges of that place, and other like haue beene of long continued, I am not he that wil goe about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pitty, that such men, as the sea, or their euill debters haue brought in pouerty, should haue some place of liberty, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of their cruell Creditors. And also, if the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as Traitors, I like well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theeues, of which these places bee full, and which neuer fa'l from the craft after they once fall thereunto; it is pitty the Sanctuary should serue them, & much more manquellers, whom God bad to take from the Altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need wee not the Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law: for if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the King of pitty may. Then look we now how few sanctuary men there be, whom any fauourable necessity compelled to goe thither; and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them, whom wilfull vnthriftinesse hath brought to naught: what rabble of theeues, murderers, and malitious hainous Traitors, and that in two places especially? the one at the elbow of the City, the other in the very bowels. I dare well auow it, weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee shall finde it much better to lacke both, then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long haue been, that I feare mee euer they will bee, while men bee afraide to set the hands to amend thē, as though God & S. *Peter* were the patrons of vngracious liuing. Now vnthrifts riot, and runne in debt, vpon the boldnes of these places; yea, and rich men runne thether with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their Creditors goe whistle. Mens wiues runne thither with their husbands plate, and say,

The Duke of *Buckinghams* speech.

Queene *Elizabeth* held to haue a shrewd wit.

Not feare [illegible] frowardnes the yong D[illegible] Sanctuary.

A great[illegible] without [illegible] great cau[illegible]

Buckingha[illegible] opinion of Sanctuar[illegible]

Much [illegible] suffered [illegible] Sanctua[illegible]

Westmin[illegible] S. Mari[illegible]

say, they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Theeues bring thither their stoln goods, and liue thereon riotously: there they deuise new robberies, nightly they steale out, they rob and riue, kill and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onely a safeguard for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more; howbeit much of this mischiefe, if Wisemen would set their hands to it, might bee amended, with great thankes of God, and no breach of the Priuiledge. The residue, sith so long agoe, I wot neere what Pope, and what Prince more pitteous then politicke hath granted it, and other men since, of a certaine religious feare, haue not broken it; let vs therefore take paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fully so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can bee a Sanctuary man. A Sanctuary serueth alwayes to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onelie, but also of lawfull hurt; for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor King intended to priuiledge any one place, for that priuiledge hath euery place: knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawful for one man to do another wrong? that no man vnlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regard, for euery man, euery place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth hee the tuition of some speciall priuiledge, which is the onely ground and cause of all Sanctuaries: from which necessity this noble Prince is farre, whose loue to the King, nature and kindred proueth, whose innocency to all the world, his tender youth proueth, and so Sanctuary, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor none can hee haue. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to Baptisme, to require it by their Godfathers; hee must aske it himselfe, that must haue it; and reason, sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him faine need to require it: what will then hath yonder babe? which and if he had discretion to require it, if neede were, I dare say would now bee right angry with them that keepe him there: and I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of Priuiledge, to bee somewhat more homelie with them, that be there Sanctuarie men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why should not the King, leauing his body at liberty, satisfie the party of his goods, euen within the Sanctuarie? for neither King nor Pope can giue any place such a priuiledge, that it shall discharge a man of his debtes, being able to pay. And with that diuers of the Clergy that were present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreede plainely, that by the law of God, and of the Church, the goods of a Sanctuarie man, should bee deliuered in payment of his debts, and stolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reserued him, to get his liuing with the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke) I thinke you say very truth; and what if a mans wife would take Sanctuary, because she list to runne from her husband? I would weene if she could alleadge none other cause, hee may lawfully without any displeasure to Saint *Peter*, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may be taken out of Sanctuary, that saith he will bide there, then if a child will take Sanctuary, because hee feareth to goe to schoole, his Master must let him alone. And as simple as the sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare; yet is there at the least wise some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often heard of Sanctuary men, but I neuer heard earst of Sanctuary Children. And therefore; as for the Conclusion of my mind, who so may haue deserued to need it, if they thinke it for their suretie, let them keepe it; but he can be no Sanctuary man that had neither wisdome to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie, can by no lawfull processe stand in ieopardie: and hee that taketh one out of the Sanctuarie to do him good, I say plainely that he breaketh no Sanctuary.

Buckinghams conclusion.

(28) When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholy, & most part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthly meant towardes the young babe, condiscended in effect, that if hee were not deliuered, hee should bee fetched; howbeit they all thought it best, in the auoiding of all maner of rumor, that the Lord Cardinall should first assay to get him with her good will. And thereupon, all the Councell came vnto the Starre-Chamber at *westminster*, and the Lord Cardinall leauing the Protector with the Councell in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queen with diuers other Lords with him, were it for the respect of his honour, or that shee should by presence of so many, perceiue that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the Protector intended not in this matter, to trust any one man alone, or else, that if shee finally were determined to keepe him, some of that Company had happily secret instructions incontinent, maugre her mind to take him, and to leaue her no respite to conuey him, which shee was likely to mind, after this matter broken to her, if the time would in any wise serue her.

The generall consent of them all.

(29) When the Queene and those Lords were come together in presence, the Lord Cardinall shewed her, that it was thought vnto the Protector, and vnto the whole Councell, that her keeping of the Kings brother in that place, was the thing which highly sounded, not onely to the great rumor of the people, and their obloquie, but also to the importable griefe and displeasure of the kings royall Maiesty, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort, to haue his naturall brother in Company, as it was both his dishonour, all theirs, and hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other. And hee shewed her, that the Counsell therefore had sent him to require her the deliuery of the yong Duke, that hee might bee brought vnto the Kings presence at his liberty, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison, and there hee should bee demeaned, according to his estate: and shee in this doing should both doe great good to the Realme, pleasure to the Councell, and profite to her selfe, succour to her friends that were in distresse; and besides that (which he wist well shee specially tendred) not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but also to the young Duke himselfe, whose great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for both their disports and recreations; which thing the Lords esteemed not slight, though it seemed light; well pondering, that their youth without recreation and play, cannot endure, nor any stranger, for the coniecture of both their ages and estates, so meete in that point for any of them, as eyther of them for other.

The Cardinall doth his errand to the Queene.

(30) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I say not nay, but that it were very conuenient, that this Gentleman whom yee require, were in company of the King his Brother; and in good faith, I thinke it were as great commodity to them both, for yet a while to bee in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the younger, which besides his infancy, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while been so sore diseased, vexed with sickneesse, and is so newly rather a little amended, then well recouered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but my selfe onely, considering that there is (as Phy-

The Queenes answere to the Cardinall.

sitians say) and as wee also find, double the perill in the recidiuation, that was in the first sickneſſe, with which diſeaſe, nature being ſore laboured, forewearied and weakned, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out and ſuſtaine a new ſurfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would happily do their beſt vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, then I that ſo long haue kept him, or is more like tenderly to cheriſh him then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth good Madam (quoth the Cardinall) but that your Grace were of all others moſt neceſſary about your children, and ſo would all the Councell not onely bee content, but glad that you were, if it might ſtand with your pleaſure, to bee in ſuch place as might ſtand with their honor: but if you doe appoint your ſelfe to tarry here, then they thinke it were more conuenient that the Duke of *Yorke* were with the King, honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their diſhonour and obloquie, ſith there is not alwayes ſo great a neceſſity to haue the child with his mother, but that occaſion may ſometimes bee ſuch, that it ſhould bee more expedient to keepe him elſewhere, which well appeareth in this, that at ſuch time as your deareſt ſonne then Prince, and now King, ſhould for his honor, and good order of the Country, keepe his reſidence in *Wales*, farre out of your Company, your Grace was well contented therwith your ſelfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queen) and yet the caſe is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now ſicke: in which caſe I maruaile greatly, that my Lord Protector is ſo deſirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the Child in his ſickneſſe miſcarrie by nature, yet might hee runne into ſlander and ſuſpition of fraud. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore againſt my Childes honour, and theirs alſo, that hee abideth in this place: it is all their honours there to ſuffer him abide, where no man doubteth hee ſhall be beſt kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and ieopard my ſelfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in ſurety with mee, then I there in ieopardy with them.

(33) Why Madame (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they ſhould bee in ieopardy? Nay verily (quoth ſhee) nor why they ſhould bee in priſon, as now they bee. But it is I trow no great maruaile though I feare, leſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe: The Cardinall made a countenance to the other Lord, that hee ſhould harpe no more vpon that ſtring, and then ſaid hee to the Queen, that he nothing doubted, but that thoſe Lords of her honourable kinne, which as yet remained vnder arreſt, ſhould vpon the matter examined doe well inough, and as towards her noble perſon, neither was, neither could be any ieopardy.

(34) Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guiltleſſe? as though they were guilty: in that I am with their enemies better loued then they? when they hate them for my ſake; in that I am ſo neere a kin to the King? and how farre they be off, if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet, to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my ſonne, I minde that he ſhall be where I am, till I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome men ſo greedy, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue him, makes me much more fearefull to deliuer him. Truly Madame (quoth he) the more vnwilling that you be to deliuer him, the more vnwilling other men be to ſuffer you to keepe him, leaſt your cauſeleſſe feare might cauſe you farther to conuey him: and many there be that thinke he can haue no priuiledge in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deſerue it, and therefore, they reckon no priuiledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuſe to deliuer him, I verily think they will: ſo much dreadhath my Lord his vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, leſt your grace ſhould hope to ſend him away.

(35) Ah ſir (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale that he feareth nothing, but leaſt he ſhould eſcape him? thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which is not in plight to ſend out, and in what place could I account him ſure, if he be not ſure in the Sanctuary? which there was neuer Tyrant yet ſo diueliſh, that durſt preſume to breake. And I truſt God is as ſtrong now to withſtand his aduerſaries, as euer he was. But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forſooth he hath found out a goodly gloſſe, by which that place that may defend a thiefe, may not ſaue an innocēt: but he is in no ieopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. Thinketh the Protector, (I pray God hee may proue a Protector) thinketh hee, that I perceiue not whereunto his painted Proceſſe draweth? It is not honorable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, becauſe the King lacketh a play fellow forſooth. I pray God ſend them both better playfellows then him, that maketh ſo high a matter, vpō ſo trifling pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the King, but his brother, (that hath no liſt to play for ſicknes) come out of Sanctuary, out of his ſafegard to play with him. As though Princes, as yong as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or Children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the moſt part they agree much worſe then with ſtrangers. But the Childe cannot require the priuiledge: who tolde him ſo? he ſhall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter, ſuppoſe hee coulde not aske it, ſuppoſe hee woulde not aske it, ſuppoſe hee woulde aske to goe out, if I ſay hee ſhall not: if I aske the priuiledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay he that taketh him out againſt my will, breaketh the Sanctuarie. Serueth this liberty for my perſon onely, or for my goods alſo? you may not take hence my horſe from me: and may you take my child from me? He alſo is my ward: for as my learned Councell ſheweth me, ſith he hath nothing by diſcent holden by Knights ſeruice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. Then may no man I ſuppoſe, take my ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my priuiledge could not ſerue him, nor he aske it for himſelfe, yet ſith the law committeth to me the cuſtodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a Gardian only for his goods and lands, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafe-keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods ſerue. And if examples be ſufficient, to obtaine priuiledge for my child, I need not farre to ſeeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in queſtion, whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other ſonne now King, was borne, kept in his Cradle, and preſerued to a more proſperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the firſt time that I haue taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my husband was baniſhed, and thruſt out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with Child: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my husband returned ſafe againe, and had the victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when hee firſt tooke him in his armes. And I pray God that my ſonnes Pallace may be as great a ſafegard vnto him now raigning, as this place was ſometime to the Kings enemie. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, ſince mans law ſerueth the Gardian to keepe the Infant. The law of nature wils the mother to keepe her

her child, Gods law priuiledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my ſonne, ſith I feare to put him in the Protectors hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the Crowne: and the cauſe of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euerie man, the cuſtody of them by whoſe death hee may inherit leſſe land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whoſoeuer he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God ſhortly ſend him need of a Sanctuary when hee may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortall enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinall perceiuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the further off, & alſo that ſhee beganne to kindle and chafe, and ſpeake more biting words againſt the Protector, and ſuch as he neuer beleeued, and was alſo loath to heare, hee ſaid to her for a finall concluſion, that he no longer would diſpute the matter, but if ſhee were content to deliuer the Duke to him, and to the other Lords preſent, he durſt lay his body and ſoule both in pledge, not onely for his ſurety, but alſo for his eſtate; And if ſhe would giue a reſolute anſwere to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and ſhift who ſo would with this buſineſſe afterward, for he neuer intended more to moue her in that matter, in which ſhee thought that hee and all others alſo ſaue herſelfe, lacked either witte or truth; wit, if they were ſo dull that they could perceiue nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they ſhould procure her ſonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they ſhould perceiue towards the Child any euill intended.

(37) The Queene with theſe wordes ſtood a good while in a deepe ſtudy. And for as much as her ſeemed the Cardinal ready to depart, and the Protector himſelfe readie at hand, ſo as ſhee verily thought ſhe could not keepe him there, but that he ſhould incontinent be taken thence, and to conuey him elſewhere, neither had ſhee time to ſerue her, nor place determined, nor perſons appointed, all things vnready, this meſſage came on her ſo ſuddainly, nothing leſſe looked for, then to haue him fetcht out of Sanctuarie, which ſhe thought to be now beſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly (as ſhee thought) it might fortune her feare to be falſe, ſo well ſhee wiſt it was either needleſſe or bootleſſe: Wherefore, if ſhee muſt needs go frō him, ſhe deemed it beſt to deliuer him, & beſides the Cardinals faith, ſhe nothing doubted, neither ſome other Lords, whom ſhe ſaw there preſent, which as ſhe feared leſt they might be deceiued, ſo was ſhe wel aſſured they would not be corrupted: and thought it would make thē the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumſpectly to ſee to his ſurety, if with her owne hands ſhee betooke him to them of truſt. And laſtly taking the young Duke by the hand ſaid vnto the Lords.

(38) My Lords, and all my Lords; I neither am ſo vnwiſe to miſtruſt your wits, nor ſo ſuſpitious to miſtruſt your truths: of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuch a proofe, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne mee to great ſorrow, the Realme to much harme, & you all to great reproch. For loe, here is (quoth ſhe) this Gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could heere keepe ſafe if I would, whatſoeuer any man ſay: and I doubt not alſo, but there bee ſome abroad ſo deadly enemies vnto my blood, that if they wiſt where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. We haue alſo experience, that the deſire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred: the brother hath beene the brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be ſure of their Vncle? Each of theſe children is the others defence, whileſt they are aſunder, and each of their liues lieth in the others body: keepe one ſafe and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous then to be in one place. For what wiſe Merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ſhip? All this notwithſtanding, I deliuer him, and his brother in him, to keep, into your hands, of whom I ſhall aske both, before God and the world. Faithfull ye be, that wot I well, and I know well you be wiſe, power and ſtrength to keepe him, if yee liſt, neither lack yee of your ſelfe, nor lack helpe in this caſe. And if you cannot elſewhere, then may you leaue him heere: but onely one thing, I beſeech you, for the truſt that his father euer put in you, and for the truſt I now put you in, that as fatre as you thinke I feare too much, bee you well wary that you feare not too little: and therewithall ſhee ſayd vnto the child, Farewell mine owne ſweet ſon, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once, ere you go; for God knoweth when wee ſhall kiſſe together againe. And therwithal ſhe kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, turned her back and wept, and went her way, leauing the child weeping as faſte. When the Lord Cardinal, and thoſe other Lords with him, had receiued the yong Duke, they brought him into the Star-chamber, where the protector tooke him in his armes, and kiſſed him with theſe words: *Now welcome my Lord, euen with all my heart:* In which ſaying, it is like hee ſpake as he thought. Thereupon foorthwith they brought him vnto the King his brother, into the Biſhops Pallace at *Paules*; and from thence both of them through the Citie of *London* honourably attended into the Tower, out of which after that day they neuer came againe.

Richard Duke of Yorke deliuered to the Cardinall.

A *Iudas* kiſſe.

(39) The protector hauing both the children now in his hands, opened himſelf more boldly, both to certaine other men, & alſo chiefly to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Although I know that many thought that this Duke was priuy to all the protectors counſell, euen from the beginning, and ſome of the protectors friends ſayd, that the Duke was the firſt mouer of the protector to this matter, ſending a priuie meſſenger vnto him ſtreight after King *Edwards* death. But others againe, which knew better the ſubtill wit of the protector, deny that he euer opened his enterpriſe to the Duke, vntil he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when hee had impriſoned the Queenes kindred, and gotten both her ſonnes into his owne hands; then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and eſpecially to the Duke, who being wonne to his deſignes, he held his ſtrength more then halfe increaſed. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by ſubtil perſons, and ſuch as were their crafts maſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deuiſes: who declared vnto him that the young King was offended with him, for his kinſfolkes ſakes, and if he were euer able he would reuenge them: who would prick him forward thereunto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonment) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the yong King would be careful for their deaths, whoſe impriſonments was grieuous vnto him. And that with repenting the Duke ſhould nothing auaile, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefits, but he ſhould ſooner deſtroy himſelfe then ſaue the King, who with his brother, and his kinſfolkes he ſawe in ſuch places impriſoned, as the protector might with a beck deſtroy them all: and without all doubt would doe it indeed, if there were any new enterpriſe attempted. And that it was likely as the Protector had prouided priuie gard for himſelf, ſo had he ſpials for the Duke and traines to haue caught him, if he ſhould bee againſt him, & that peraduenture from them, whom he leaſt ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things, & the diſpoſitions of men were then ſuch that a man could not well tell whom hee might truſt, or whom hee might feare. Theſe things and ſuch like, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where he had repented thē way that hee had entred, yet would he goe forward in the ſame, and ſince hee had once begunne, hee would ſtoutly goe through. And therefore to this wicked enterpriſe which hee beleeued

Buckingham priuie to the Protectors plots.

Suſpicion without cauſe.

beleeued could not be auoyded, hee bent himselfe, determining, sith the common mischiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

The couenants betwixt the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector should haue the Dukes aide to make him King, and that the Protectors only lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter; and that the Protector should grant him the quiet possession of the Earldome of *Hertford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in King *Edwards* time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promised him a great quantitie of the Kings treasurie, and of his houshold stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themselues, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the yong king as they would haue it seeme. And that they might turne both the eyes & minds of men frō perceiuing of their drifts otherwhere, the Lords were sent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking vnto the solemnitie. But the Protector and Duke after they had sent the Lord Cardinall Archbishop of *Yorke*, then L. Chancellor, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* & *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlaine, with many other Noblemen, to conferre and deuise about the Coronation in one place, as fast they were in another place contriuing the contrary, to make the Protector king: to which counsel, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret; yet began here and there, some muttering among the people, as though all should not long be wel, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them, as the Sea without winde swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiuing, filled many men with suspition, though hee shewed fewe men what hee knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsell were close. For by little and little, all men withdrewe from the Tower, and repaired to *Crosbies* in Bishopsgate streete, where the Protector kept his house in great state. So that the Protector had the resort, and the King left in a manner desolate. And whilest some for their businesse made suite to such as were in office for the King, some were secretly by their friends warned, that it might happely doe them no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the Protectors appointment, who then began to remoue many of the Princes old seruants, and in their stead to place about him new.

Two counsels to diuers ends.

The mistrust of the times.

All flocke to the Protector.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpose, & partly by chance, caused at length not onely the common people that moue with the winde, but wisemen also, and some Lords likewise, to marke and muse at the matter; insomuch, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Darby*, said to the Lord *Hastings*, that he much misliked these two seuerall counsels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot we, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) of my life neuer doubt you: for while * one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can things be moued that should sound amisse against me, but it shall be in mine eares ere it be well out of their mouths: this ment he by *Catesby*, which was of his neere counsell, and whom hee very familiarly vsed, and in his most waighty matters put no man in so speciall trust, nor no man so much beholden vnto him as *Catesby* was. A man indeed well learned in the Lawes of this Land, and by speciall fauour of the Lord Chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and bare much rule in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings* power chiefly lay. But surely great pittie it was, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onely kept all that mischiefe vp: in whom if the Lord *Hastings* had not put so special trust, the Lord *Stanley* and hee had departed with diuers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for many ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So surely thought he that there could bee no harme towards him intended, in that counsell where *Catesby* was. And of truth, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, made very good semblance vnto the Lord *Hastings*, whom vndoubtedly the Protector loued well, and loth was to haue lost him, but for feare, least his life should haue quailed their purpose; for which cause hee moued *Catesby* to proue with some words, cast out a farre off, whether hee could thinke it possible to winne the L. Chamberlaine to their part. But *Catesby* whether hee assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them, as hee found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine, of very trust shewed vnto *Catesby*, the distrust that others began to haue in the matter: & therfore *Catesby* fearing as he affirmed, least their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned; hee counselled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Countrey: the onely desire whereof, was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Lord *Stanleyes* speach to the Lord Chamberlain.

* *Catesby.*

Catesby the cause of much mischiefe.

(42) Soone after this, vpon Friday the thirteenth day of *June*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sate in counsel, deuising the honorable solemnitie of the Kings Coronation; of the which the time appointed was so neere, that the Pageants and subtilties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe, that he had beene from them so long, saying merrily, *I haue bin a sleeper this day.* And after a little talke with them, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*, My Lord, you haue verie good Strawburies at your Garden in *Holborne*, I pray you let vs haue a messe of them: Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste hee sent his seruaunt for a messe of Strawburies. Whereupon the Protector setting the Lords fast in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt ten and eleuen, hee returned into the counsell Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull sowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, sate him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismayed, sore maruelling of this his suddaine change, and what thing should him aile: He sitting thus a while, began thus to speake, *what are they worthy to haue, that compasse and imagine the destruction of mee, being so neere of blood vnto the King, and Protector of his royall person and his Realme?* At which question, all the Lords sate sore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which euery man knew himselfe cleare.

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as hee that for the loue betwixt them, thought he might bee bouldest with him, answered & said, That they were worthy to be punished as haynous traitors whatsoeuer they were: and the same all the other Lords affirmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder sorceresse my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and others with her: at these words many of the Lords that fauoured her, were greatly abashed: but the L. *Hastings* was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom hee loued better: howbeit, his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he

hee was of the taking of her kindred, & of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to bee beheaded at *Pomfret* the selfe same day, in which hee was not aware, how it was by other deuised, that himselfe should bee beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, yee shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse, and that other witch of her counsel, *Shores* wife, with their affinity, haue by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith he plucked vppe his doublet sleeue to the elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a wearish withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

(44) And thereupon euery mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarrell. For they well knew, that the Queen was too wise to go about any such folly; & if she would, yet would shee of all others, not make *Shores* wife of counsell, whom of all women shee most hated; as that Concubine whom the King her husband had most loued. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was euer such since his birth. Neuertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* wife, on whom hee somewhat doated in the Kings life, sauing as it is said, that hee forbare her for reuerence towards the King, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said: Certainely my Lord, if they haue so heinously done, they bee worthy of hainous punishment. What (quoth the Protector) thou seruest mee I ween with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie Traitor. And therewith as in a great anger, hee clapped his fist vpon the board a great rap: at which token giuen, one without the Chamber cryed, treason, wherewith a dore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse, as many as the Chamber might hold, and anone the Protector said to the Lord *Hastings*, I arrest thee Traitor: What mee my Lord quoth hee? yea thee Traitor quoth the Protector; and another let flie at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the stroke vnder the Table, or else his head had beene cleft to the teeth: for as swiftly as hee shrunke, yet came the bloud about his eares. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diuers Chambers, excepting onely the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bad speede and shriue him apace, for by S. *Paul* said hee, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heauily tooke a Priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered: The Protector made so much haste to dinner, which hee might not goe to, till this was done for sauing of his oath. So was hee brought forth vnto the greene, before the Chappell within the Tower, and his head laid down vpon a long logge of timber, and there strucke off, and afterward his body with the head, was enterred at *Windsor*, beside the body of K. *Edward*.

(45) A marualous case it is to heare, either of the warnings that hee should haue voided, or the tokens of that hee could not auoid: for the self night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a trusty secret Messenger vnto him at Midnight in all the hast, requiring him to rise, and ride away with him, for he was vtterly disposed no longer to abide, hee had so fearefull a dreame: in which he thought, that a Bore with his tuskes, so razed them both by the heades, that the bloud ranne about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that hee was throughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they would be out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Messenger) leaneth my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Tell him it is plaine Witchcraft, to beleeue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh hee not, that wee might be as likely to make them true, by our going, if we were caught and brought back (as friends faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to raise vs with his tuskes, as men that fled for some falshood: wherefore, either there is no peril, nor none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding. And if wee must needs fall in perill, one way or other, yet had I rather, that men should see, it were by other mens falshood, then thinke it our fault or faint-heart. And therefore goe to thy Master man, and commend me to him; and pray him to bee merry and haue no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man that he wotteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send Grace Sir (said the Messenger) and went his way.

The L. *Hastings* answere to the L. *Stanleyes* message.

(46) Certaine it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which hee was beheaded, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to the falling; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth, to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it beene of an olde rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes, notably foregoing some great misfortune: Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning before he was vp, came a Knight vnto him, as it were of curtesie, to accompany him to the Counsell; but of truth sent by the Protector, to haste him thitherwards, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, but now of great authority. This Knight, when it hapned the Lord Chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a Priest whom hee met in Towerstreet, brake his tale, and said merily to him; what my Lord, I pray you come on, wherto talke you so long with a Priest, you haue no need of a Priest yet, and therewith laughed vpon him, as though hee would say, yee shall haue soone. But so little wist the other what hee meant, and so little mistrusted his present perill, as hee neuer was merrier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is often seene a signe of change; but I shall rather let any thing passe me, then the vaine surety of mans mind so neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, so neere the place where his head was strooke off soone after, there met he with one *Hastings*, a Pursuant of his owne name. And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before, to meet in the like manner together in the same place. At which other time the L. Chamberlaine had been accused vnto King *Edward* by the Lord *Riuers* the Queenes brother, in such wise as hee was for the while, (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the Kings indignation, and stood in great feare of himselfe. And forasmuch as hee now mette this Pursuant in the same place, that ieopardy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof; with whom hee had before talked therof in the same place, while he was therein. And therefore he said, ah *Hastings*, art thou remembred that I met thee once here with a heauy heart? yea my Lord (quoth hee) that remembret I well, and thanked bee God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knew so much as I know, which few know else as yet, and more shall shortly. That ment hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and should that same day bee beheaded at *Pomfret*: which hee well wist, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung ouer his owne head; In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer so sorry, nor neuer stood in so great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And loe, how the world is changed, now stand my enemies in the dan-

Predictions towards the Lord *Hastings*.

The Lord *Hastings* speech to a Pursuant.

The vaine and suddain state of man.

ger (as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so merry, nor neuer in so great suretie. Oh good God, the blindnes of our mortall nature, when he most feared he was in good suretie, when he reckened himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of liuing somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and secret to his friends, easie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart & courage forestudied no perils; a louing man, a passing well beloued: very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting indeed too much. Now flew the fame of this Lords death swiftly through the Citie, and from thence further, like a winde in euery mans eare.

The description of the Lord *Hastings*.

Citizens sent for into the Tower to the Protector.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour vpon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantiall men, out of the City into the Tower, at whose comming thither, himselfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in olde rusty briganders, such as no more, man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put on their backes, except that some suddain necessity, had constrained them thereto. And then the Protector shewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conspiracy, had contriued to haue suddainly destroied him and the Duke there the same day in Counsell. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the same forenoone, which suddain feare droue them to put on for their defence, such harnesse as came next to hand: and so had God holpen them, that the mischiefe returned vpon them that would haue done it: and this he required them to report.

The fained feare of the Lord Protector.

(48) Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleeued; yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minde, he sent immediately after dinner, in all haste, an Herauld of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the City in the Kings name, conteining that the Lord *Hastings* with diuers others of his traiterous purpose, had before conspired the same day, to haue slaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of *Buckingham*, sitting in the Councell, and after to haue taken vpon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their owne pleasures; thereby to pill and spoile, whom they listed vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, deuised to the slander of the Lord *Chamberlaine*, as that he was an euill Counseller to the Kings father, entising him to many things, highly redounding to his great dishonour, and to the vniuersall hurt of his Realme, by his euill company, sinister procuring, & vngratious example aswell in many other things, as in the vicious liuing, and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many others, and especially with *Shores* wife, who was one also of his most secret Counsell, in this hainous treason, with whom hee lay nightly, and namely, the night last past, before his death, so that it was the lesse maruell, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto, by the most dread commandement of the Kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull Counsell, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceiued treason, as also least the delaying of his execution, might haue encouraged other mischieuous persons partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselues together in making some great commotion for his deliuerance, whose hope being now by his wel-deserued death politickely represled, all the Realme should by Gods grace, rest in good quiet and peace.

A Proclamation made to publish the Lord *Hastings* treasons.

The Protectors subtilty further knowne by his Proclamation.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that he was beheaded, and was so curiously indited, and so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, as euery child might perceiue, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could scant haue suffised vnto the bare writing alone; had it beene but in paper, and scribled forth in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-master of *Paules*, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnes of the time, with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; *Here is a gay goodly cast, foule cast away for hast*: and a Merchant answered him, that it was written by Prophecie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetousnesse, the Protector sent the Sheriffes of *London*, into the house of *Shores* wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that shee had, aboue the value of three thousand markes, carrying her through *London* vnto the Tower, and there left her Prisoner, where (for fashion sake) he laid to her charge, that shee went about to bewitch him, and that shee was of Counsell with the Lord Chamberlaine to destroy him: in conclusion, when no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then laid hee hainously vnto her charge, the thing that her selfe could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that neithlesse euery man laughed at, to heare it then so suddainly, so highly taken, that shee was nought of her body. And for that cause (as a good continent Prince, cleare and faultlesse himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vitious world for the amendment of mens manners) after shee had laine Prisoner in *Ludgate*, he caused the Bishop of *London* to put her to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession vpon a sunday, with a taper in her hand. In which shee went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit shee were out of all array saue her kirtle only, yet went shee so faire and louely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comly rud in her cheekes (of which before shee had most mist) that her great shame, wan her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her soule. And many good folke also that hated her liuing, and glad to see sinne so corrected, yet pitied the more her penance, then reioiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any vertuous affection.

The Schoolemasters open

The Sheriffs *London* car *Shores* wife prison.

Shores wife d penance.

All comm and pitie wife.

(50) This woman was borne in *London*, worshipfully friended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, sauing somewhat too soone; her husband an honest Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good substance. But for asmuch as they were coupled ere shee were well ripe, shee not very feruently loued, for whom shee neuer longed; which was haply the thing that the more made her incline vnto the Kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his roialty, the hope of gay apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the King had abused her, anone her husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a Kings concubine) left her vp to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was sore enamoured vpon her, yet he forbare her, either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulnes: proper shee was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could haue changed, vnlesse you would haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus they say that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for as yet shee liueth) deeme her neuer to haue beene well visaged, whose iudgement seemeth to me somewhat like, as though we could gesse the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the Charnell house: for now shee is olde, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riueled skinne, and hard bone; and yet being euen such, who so well aduise her visage, might gesse and deuise, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face.

The de of Iane

Shee died eighteene of King H the eight Iohn Ha

face. Yet delighted not men, ſo much in her beauty, as in her pleaſant behauiour, for a proper wit ſhee had, and could both reade well and write, merry in company, ready and quicke of anſwere, neither mute nor full of babble, ſometime taunting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport: in whom King *Edward* tooke ſpeciall pleaſure, whoſe fauour to ſay the truth (for ſinne it were to belie the Diuel) ſhe neuer abuſed to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and reliefe, when the King took diſpleaſure, ſhee would mitigate and appeaſe his mind; where men were out of fauour, ſhee would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended ſhee obtained pardon. Of great forfeytures ſhee gate them remiſſion. And finally, in many weighty ſuites ſhee ſtood many men in great ſtead, either for none, or very ſmall rewards, and thoſe rather gay then rich, either for that ſhe was content with the deed it ſelfe well done, or for that ſhe delighted to bee ſued vnto, and to ſhew what ſhee was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy, bee not alwaies couetous. I doubt not ſome ſhall thinke this woman too ſlight a thing to be written of, and ſet among the remembrances of great matters: which they ſhall ſpecially thinke, that happily ſhall eſteeme her onely by that they now ſee her. But to my ſeeming, the chance is ſo much the more worthy to be remembred, in how much ſhe is now in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended, and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after ſo great fauour with a Prince, after ſo great ſuit, and ſeeking to, of all thoſe, that in thoſe dayes had buſineſſe to ſpeede, as many other men were in their times, which bee now famous onely by the infamy of their ill deedes: her doings were not much leſſe, albeit they bee much leſſe remembred, becauſe they were not ſo euill: for men vſe, if they receiue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who ſo doth vs a good turne, we write it in the duſt; which is not worſt proued by her: for at this day ſhee beggeth of many, at this day liuing, that at this day had begged if ſhee had not been.

(51) Now it was ſo deuiſed by the Protector and his Councell, that the ſelfe ſame day in which the L. Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and about the ſelfe ſame howre was then (not without his aſſent) beheaded at *Pomfrait*, the foreremembred Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which thing was done in the preſence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whoſe ſeruice the Protector ſpecially vſed in that counſell, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a ſhrewd witte, ſhort and rude in ſpeech, rough and boiſterous of behauiour, bolde in miſchiefe, as farre from pitty, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of priſon to the Scaffold, and ſhewing to the people preſent, that they were Traitors, not ſuffering them to ſpeake, or declare their innocency, leſt their wordes might haue inclined men to pitty them, and to hate the Protector and his part; cauſed them haſtily without Iudgement, proceſſe or manner of order to bee beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

(52) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and thoſe other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men muſed what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengthes, while no man wiſt what to thinke, nor whom to truſt, before they ſhould haue ſpace to diſpute, and digeſt the matter, and make parties, it were beſt haſtily to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crown, ere men could haue time to deuiſe how to reſiſt. But now was all the ſtudy, by what meanes the matter being of it ſelfe ſo hainous, might be firſt broken to the people in ſuch wiſe as it might bee well taken: To this counſell they tooke diuers, ſuch as they thought meet to bee truſted, likely to bee induced to that part, and able to ſtand them in ſtead, eyther by power or policy: Among whom they made of counſell *Edmond Shaa* Knight, then Maior of *London*, who vpon truſt of his owne aduancement, wherof he was of a proud heart, highly deſirous, ſhould frame the City to their appetite. Of Spirituall men they tooke ſuch as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people, for opinion of their learning, and had no ſcrupulous conſcience. Among theſe had they *Iohn Shaa* Clerke brother to the Maior, and Fryer *Pinker* Prouinciall of the *Auguſtine* Friers, both of them Doctors in Diuinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, and of more fame then learning: for they were before greatly eſteemed of the common people; but after that neuer. Of theſe two, the one made a Sermon in prayſe of the Protector before the Coronation; the other after, both ſo full of tedious flattery, as no mans eare could abide them.

The Maior of *London* made of the Protectors counſell.

Shaa and *Pinker* two flattring Preachers.

(53) *Pinker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was forced to leaue off, and came downe in the middeſt. Doctor *Shaa* by his ſermon loſt his honeſty, and ſoone after his life, for very ſhame of the world, into which he durſt neuer after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no ſhame, and ſo it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit ſome doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counſell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery after: namely, ſith his ſermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at *S. Maries* Hoſpitall in the Eaſter weeke following. But certaine it is, that Doctor *Shaa* was of counſell in the beginning, ſo farre forth as they determined that he ſhould firſt breake the matter in a Sermon at *Paules* Croſſe, in which hee ſhould by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghoſtly purpoſe. But now was all the labour and ſtudy, in the deuiſe of ſome conuenient pretext; for which the people ſhould bee content to depoſe the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuiſed: but the chiefe thing and the weightieſt of all, the inuention reſted in this, that they ſhould alleadge baſtardy, either in K. *Edward* himſelf, or in his children, or both. So that hee ſhould ſeeme diſabled to inherite the Crowne, by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay baſtardie in King *Edward*, ſounded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne mother, who was mother to them both: for in that point could bee none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was an adultreſſe, which notwithſtanding to further the purpoſe hee letted not: but yet, hee would that point ſhould bee leſſe, and more fauourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter ſhould be touched aſlope, and craftily, as though men ſpared in that point to ſpeake all the truth for feare of his diſpleaſure. But the other point, concerning the baſtardie that they deuiſed to ſurmiſe in K. *Edwards* children, that would hee ſhould bee openly declared, and enforced to the vttermoſt. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to bee made by King *Edward* vnto the Lady *Lucy*, whereof we haue ſpoken in the raigne of the ſaid King: which inuention how ſimple ſoeuer, yet it liked them, to whom it ſufficed to haue ſomewhat to ſay, while they were ſure to be compelled to no larger proof then themſelues liſt to make.

Pinker preached at *S. Marie* Hoſpitall, and Doctor *Shaa* at *Paules* Croſſe.

The plot and deuice how to entitle the Protector to the Crowne.

The ſonne maketh the mother an adultreſſe.

K. *Edward* and his children made baſtards.

(54) Now then it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that Doctor *Shaa* ſhould ſignifie in his ſermon aforeſaid, that neither King *Edward* himſelfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begot vnlawfully by other perſons, by adulterie of the Dutches their mother. And alſo that

that dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was verily the wife of K. *Edward*, and so the Prince and all his other children begot by the Queene, were all of them bastards. And according to this deuise Doctor *Shaw* vpon Sunday the nineteenth of Iune at *Pauls* Crosse in a frequent assembly, took for the theme of his sermō this saying, *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas : Bastard slips shall neuer take deepe root.* Whereupon, when he had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and secretly infundeth in right generation after the lawes of Matrimonie, then declared he, that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents, were for the more part vnhappy, which were begot in base, but specially in adultery. Of which though some by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies so prouideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastards slip pulled vp ere it can take any deepe roote. And when he had laid for the proofe and confirmation of this sentence certaine examples taken out of the old testament, and other ancient histories, then he began to descend into the praise of the Lord *Richard*, late Duke of *Yorke*, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King *Henry* the sixt, entailed by authority of Parliament. Then shewed he, that the verie right heire of his body lawfully begotten, was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King *Edward* was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene, but was before God, husband vnto Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, among those that were secret in the household, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the Noble Duke, as those that by their features, resembled other knowne men, more then him from whose vertuous conditions, he said also, that King *Edward* was farre off. But the Lord Protector he said, the very Noble Prince, the speciall patterne of Knightly prowesse, aswell in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representing the very face of the noble Duke his father: This is he (quoth he) the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the very vndoubted Image, and plaine expresse likenesse of that noble Duke.

(55) Now it was before deuised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should haue come in among the people to the sermon ward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence, might haue beene taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen then to crie, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might haue beene after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this deuise quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or by the Preachers ouer much diligence, for while the Protector found by the way tarrying, lest he should preuent those wordes, and the Doctor fearing least he should come ere his sermon could come to these wordes, hasted his matter thereto, who was come to them and past them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when hee beheld comming, he suddainly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeate those wordes againe: This is the verie Noble Prince, the speciall paterne of Knightly prowesse, which aswell in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke of *Yorke* his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure vndoubted Image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble Duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, went through the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in an vpper story, where he stood to heare the sermon. But the people were so farre from crying King *Richard*, that they stood as if they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept himselfe out of sight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had beene his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his own conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in euery mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strucke him to the heart, that within few daies after, he withered and consumed away.

(56) On the tuesday following this sermon, there came into the Guild-hall in *London* the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with diuers Lords & Knights, more perchance then knew the message which they brought. And there in the East end of the Hall, where the Maior keepeth the hustings, the Maior, and Aldermen being assembled about him, and all the commons of the City gathered before him: after silence commanded in the Protectors name vpon great paine, the Duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature maruellously well spoken) hee said vnto the people with a cleare and loud "voice in this manner. Friends, for the zeale and "harty fauour that we beare you, we be come to "breake vnto you, a matter of great weight, and no "lesse weighty, then pleasing to God, and profita-"ble to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme "more profitable then to you the Citizens of this "noble City. For why, the thing that we wot well "you haue long time lacked, and so longed for, that "you would haue giuen great good for, that you "would haue gone farre to fetch, that thing we be "come hither to bring you, without your labour, "paine, cost, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is "that? Certes, the surety of your owne bodies, the "quiet of your wiues, and your daughters, the safe-"guard of your goods: of all which things in times "past you stood euermore in doubt. For who "was there of you all, that could account himselfe "Lord of his owne goods, among so many snares "and traps as were set therefore, among so much pil-"ling and polling, among so many taxes and talla-"ges, of which there was neuer end, and often times "no need: or if any were, it rather grew of riot, and "vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honora-"ble charge: So that there was daily pilling from "good men and honest, great substance of goods to "be lashed out among vnthrifts, so farre forth that "fifteens sufficed not, nor any vsual maner of known "taxes: but vnder an easie name of benevolence and "good will, the Commissioners so much of euerie "man tooke, as no man could with his good will "haue giuen. As though that name of benevo-"lence, had signified that euery man should pay not "what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, "but what the King of his good will list to take. "Who neuer asked little, but euery thing was haun-"sed aboue the measure, amercements turned in-"to fines, fines into ransomes; small trespas-"ses into misprision; misprision into treason. "Whereof I thinke no man looketh that we should "remember you of examples by name, as though "*Burdet* were forgotten, who was for a worde in "haste spoken, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstru-"ing of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes "pleasure: with no lesse honour to *Markham* then "chiefe Iustice, that left his office rather then hee "would assent to that iudgement, then to the disho-"nesty of those, that eyther for feare or flattery gaue "that iudgement. What *Cooke* your owne worship-"full neighbour, Alderman and Maior of this noble Citie;

The text and contents of Doctor Shaws sermon.

Shaw shameless assertions.

The Preachers intention preuented.

Gods heauy punishment on the false flattering Preacher.

The Duke of Buckingham commeth to the Guild hall.

Buckingham's motion to the commons of London.

The fine giuen of the Duke of Buckingham.

King Edwards exactions more than euer were.

His tyrannous wards, his iests cruelly ended by Iustice others.

"Citie; who is of you either ſo negligent that hee "knoweth not, or ſo forgetful that hee remembreth "not, or ſo hard hearted that hee pitieth not that "worſhipfull mans loſſe? What ſpeake we of loſſe? "His vtter ſpoile and vndeſerued deſtruction, only "for that it happened thoſe to fauour him whom "the Prince fauoured not. Wee need not (I ſup-"poſe) to rehearſe of theſe any mo by name, ſith "there be (I doubt not) many heere preſent, that ei-"ther in themſelues, or in their nigh friends, haue "knowen aſwell their goods, as their perſons greatly "indangered, either by fained quarrels, or ſmall mat-"ters agrieued with heinous names. And alſo there "was no crime ſo great, of which there could lacke "a pretext. For ſith the King preuenting the time "of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell; "it ſufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treaſon, to "haue beene of kindred or aliance, neer familiaritie, "or longer acquaintance, with any of thoſe that "were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at "one time or other more then halfe the Realme. "Thus were your goods neuer in ſuretie, and yet "they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the "common aduenture of open warre, which albeit, "that it is euer the will and occaſion of much miſ-"chiefe, yet it is neuer ſo miſchieuous, as where any "people fall at diſtance among themſelues, nor in "no earthly nation ſo deadly & ſo peſtilent, as when "it happeneth among vs: and among vs neuer ſo "long continued diſſention, nor ſo many battels in "that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadly fought as "was in that Kings dayes that dead is, God forgiue "it his ſoule. In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, "what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, "looſing it, and winning againe, it hath coſt more "Engliſh blood, then hath twice the winning of "*France*: In which inward warre among our ſelues, "hath beene ſo great effuſion of the ancient noble "blood of this Realme, that ſcarcely the halfe re-"maineth, to the great infeebling of this noble "Land, beſide many a good Towne ranſacked, and "ſpoiled by them that haue beene going to the "field, or comming from thence. And peace long "after not much ſurer then warre. So that no time "there was, in which rich men for their money, and "great men for their Lands, or ſom or other for ſom "feare or ſome diſpleaſure, were not out of perill; "for whom truſted he that miſtruſted his owne bro-"ther? whom ſpared he, that killed his own brother? "or who could perfectly loue him, if his owne bro-"ther could not? what maner of folke hee moſt fa-"uoured, we ſhall for his honour ſpare to ſpeake of; "howbeit, this wot you well all, that who ſo was "beſt, bare alway leaſt rule; and more ſuite was in "thoſe dayes vnto *Shores* wife, a vile and abhomi-"nable ſtrumpet, then to all the Lords in *England*; "except vnto thoſe that made her their Protector: "which ſimple woman was well named, and ho-"neſt, till the King for his wanton luſt, and "ſinnefull affection, bereſt her from her huſ-"band, a right honeſt ſubſtantiall yong man among "you. And in that point, which in good faith I am "ſorry to ſpeake of, ſauing that it is in vaine to keepe "in counſell that thing which euery man knoweth; "the Kings greedy appetite was inſatiable, and eue-"ry where ouer all the Realme intollerable, for no "woman there was any where, yong or olde, rich or "poore, whom hee ſet his eie vpon, in whom hee li-"ked any thing, either perſon, or fauour, ſpeech, "pace, or countenance; but without all feare of God "or any reſpect of his owne honour, murmur, or "grudge of the world, he would importunately pur-"ſue his appetite, and haue her, to the great deſtru-"ction of many a good woman, and great dolour to "their husbands and other their friends, which be-"ing honeſt people of themſelues, ſo much regard "the cleanneſſe of their houſe, the chaſtitie of their "wiues, and their daughters, that they had rather "looſe all they had beſides, then to haue ſuch a vil-"lany done againſt them. And albeit, that with this "and his other importable dealings, the Realme "was in euery part annoyed: yet ſpecially, you heere "the Citizens of this noble Citie, aſwell for that a-"mongſt you is moſt plenty of all ſuch things, as "miniſter matters to ſuch iniuries, as for that you "were neereſt at hand, ſeeing that neere heereabout "was commonly his moſt abiding. And yet you "bee the people whom he had a ſingular cauſe well "and kindly to entreat, as any part of the Realme, "not onely, for that the Prince by this noble Cittie, "as his ſpeciall Chamber, and the ſpeciall well re-"nowned Citie of his Realme, much honourable "fame receiueth amongſt all other nations: but alſo "for that yee, not without your great coſt, and ſun-"dry perils and ieopardies in all his warres, bare e-"uen your ſpeciall fauour to his part; which your "kind mindes borne vnto the houſe of *Yorke*, ſith he "hath nothing worthily acquitted, there is one of "that houſe, that now by Gods grace, better ſhall: "which thing to ſhew you is the whole ſumme and "effect of this our preſent errand. It ſhall not, I "wot well, need that I rehearſe you againe, that yee "haue already heard of him that can better tell it, "and of whom I am ſure you will better beleeue it, "and reaſon is it ſo to bee. I am not ſo proud to "looke therefore, that you ſhould recken my words "of as great authoritie, as the Preachers of the word "of God; namely, a man ſo learned and ſo wiſe, "that no man better wotteth what he ſhould ſay, and "thereto ſo good and vertuous, as he would not ſay "the thing which hee wiſt hee ſhould not ſay in the "Pulpit; namely, into the which no honeſt man "commeth to lye: which honourable Preacher, you "well remember, ſubſtantially declared at *Paules* "Croſſe, on Sunday laſt paſt, the right and title that "the moſt excellent Prince, *Richard* Duke of *Glouce-"ſter*, now Protector of this Realme, hath vnto the "Crowne and Kingdome of the ſame. For as the "Worſhipfull Doctor ſubſtantially made knowne "vnto you, the children of King *Edward* the fourth "were neuer lawfully begotten, foraſmuch as the "King (leauing his very wife Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) "was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queen their "mother, whoſe blood, ſauing that he ſet his volup-"tuous pleaſure before his honour, was full vnmeet "to be matched with his; and the mingling of thoſe "bloods together hath bin the effuſion of great part "of the noble blood of this Realme. Whereby it "may well ſeeme, the marriage was not well made, "of which there is ſo much miſchiefe growne. For "lack of which lawful coupling, as alſo other things, "which the ſaid worſhipfull D. rather ſignified, then "fully explaned; and which things ſhall not be ſpo-"ken for mee, as the thing wherein euery man for-"beareth to ſay what hee knoweth, in auoyding diſ-"pleaſure of my noble Lord Protector; bearing, as "nature requireth, a filiall reuerence to the Duc-"cheſſe his mother: For theſe cauſes I ſay, before "remembred, that is, for lacke of other Iſſue law-"fully comming of that late noble Prince *Richard* "Duke of *Yorke*, to whoſe royall blood, the crowne "of *England* and *France*, is by the high authoritie of "Parliament entailed; the right and title of the ſame, "is by the iuſt court ſeof inheritance, according to "the common law of this Land, deuolued and come "vnto the moſt excellent Prince the Lord Prote-"ctor, as to the very lawfully begotten ſonne, of the "fore-remembred noble Duke of *Yorke*. Which "thing well conſidered, and the great knightly "proweſſe pondered, with manifodle vertues, "which in his noble perſon ſingularly abound, the "nobles and commons alſo of this Realme, and ſpe-"cially of the North part, not willing any baſtard "blood to haue the rule of the Land, nor the abuſi-"ons before the ſame vſed, any longer to continue, "haue condiſcended, and fully determined, to make "humble petition to the moſt puiſſant Prince the "Lord Protector, that it may like his Grace at our "humble

London the kings eſpeciall Chamber.

The end of the Dukes errand.

The great modeſty that the Duke pretendeth.

An author like the ſubiect.

The marriage of King *Edward* imputed a great miſchiefe.

The Protector muſt be the only true heire to his father, and ſo to the Crowne.

"humble requeſt, to take vpon him the guiding and
"gouernance of this Realme, to the wealth and en-
"creaſe of the ſame, according to his very right and
"iuſt title. Which thing I know well, hee will be
"loth to take vpon him, as he whoſe wiſedome well
"perceiueth, the labour and ſtudy both of minde
"and body, that ſhall come therewith, to whomſoe-
"uer ſo will occupie the roome, as I dare ſay he will,
"if hee take it. Which roome, I warne you well,
"is no childs office: and that the great wiſeman
Scriptures abuſed. "well perceiued, when hee ſayd, *Væ regno cuius Rex*
"*puer eſt: Woe is that Realme that hath a childe to their*
"*King*. Wherefore ſo much the more cauſe wee
"haue to thanke God, that this noble Perſonage,
"which ſo righteouſly is intituled thereunto, is
"of ſo ſad age, and ſo great wiſedome, ioyned with
"ſo great experience: which albeit hee will be loth
"(as I haue ſayd) to take it vpon him, yet ſhall hee
"to our petition in that behalfe, the more gratiouſly
"incline, if you the Worſhipful Citizens of this the
"chiefe Citie of this Realme, ioyne with vs the
"Nobles in this our ſayd requeſt. Which for your
"owne weale we doubt not but you will, and naythe-
"leſſe, I heartily pray you ſo to doe, whereby yee
The Dukes pithy perſwaſions vnto the Citizens. "ſhall doe great profit to all the Realme beſide, in
"chooſing them ſo good a King, and vnto your
"ſelues ſpeciall commoditie, to whom his Maieſtie
"ſhall euer after beare ſo much the more tender fa-
"uour, in how much he ſhal perceiue you the more
"prone and benеuolently minded towards his ele-
"ction. Wherein deere friends, what minde you
"haue, wee require you plainely to ſhew vs.

The *Londoners* are mute and aſtoniſhed at *Buckinghams* Oration. (57) When the Duke had ſayd, & looked that the people whō he hoped the Maior had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, haue cryed, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; all was huſht and mute, and not a word anſwered thereunto: wherewith the Duke was maruailouſly abaſhed, & taking the Maior neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, ſaid vnto him ſoftly, What meaneth this, that the people bee ſo ſilent? Sir (quoth the Maior) perchance they perceiue you not well; that
Buckingham goeth ouer his leſſon againe. ſhall we mend (quoth hee) if that will helpe. And by and by ſomewhat lowder, hee rehearſed them the ſame matter againe, in other order and other words, ſo well and ornately, ſo euidently and plaine, with voice, geſture, & countenance ſo comely, that euery man much maruailed that heard him, and thought they neuer had in their hearing, ſo euill a tale ſo well
The reward of flattery. told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each man lookt that other ſpeake firſt; not a word was there anſwered of all the people that ſtood before, but was as ſtill as the midnight, not ſo much as rowning among themſelues, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to doe. When the Lord Maior ſaw this, hee with the other partners of that counſell drew about the Duke, and ſayd, That the people had not beene accuſtomed there to bee ſpoken vnto, but by the Recorder; who is the mouth of
The Recorder commanded to ſpeake to the people. the Citie, and happely to him they will anſwere. With that the Recorder called *Fitz-William*, a ſad man and an honeſt, who was ſo newly come into that office, that hee neuer had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to beginne; notwithſtanding, thereunto commanded by the Maior, he made rehearſal to the cōmons, of that the Duke had twice rehearſed to them himſelfe. But the Re-
The great ſilence of the people. corder ſo tempered his tale, that hee ſhewed euery thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne. But all this noting, no change made in the people, which ſtood gazing at the bench as men altogether amaſed. Whereupon the Duke rowned vnto the Maior, and ſaid, This is maruailous obſtinate ſilence, and therewith hee turned vnto the people againe
The Duke ſpeaketh once more. with theſe wordes: Deare friends, wee come to moue you to that thing which peraduenture we not ſo greatly needed, but that the Lords of this Realme and the Commons of other parts might haue ſufficed, ſauing that wee beare you ſuch loue, and ſo much ſet by your friendſhip, that wee would not willingly do without you the thing which is for our honour and your wealth, which as it ſeemeth, either you ſee not, or wey not; wherefore we require you, giue vs anſwere, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the Realme bee, to haue this noble Prince now Protector, to be your King or not.

(58) At which words the people beganne to whiſper among themſelues ſecretly, that the voyce was neithe loud nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of Bees, till at the laſt, in the nether end of the hall, a buſhment of the Dukes ſeruants, and Naſhfields, and of others belonging to the Protector, with ſome prentiſes and laddes that thruſt into the hall among the preſſe, beganne ſodainely at mens backes to cry out as loud as their throats would giue, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, & threw vp their caps in token of ioy. But they that ſtood before, caſt backe their heades, maruelling thereat, yet nothing they ſaid. And when the Duke and Mayor ſaw this manner, they wiſely turned it to their purpoſe, and ſaid it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to heare euery man with one voice, no man ſaying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke) ſince that wee well perceiue that it is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your King, whereof we ſhall make to his Grace ſo effectuall report, that we doubt not, but it ſhall redound vnto your great wealth, and commodity: we require that to morrow you goe with vs, and wee with you vnto his Noble Grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in manner before remembred. And therwith the Lords came downe, and the aſſembly diſſolued for the moſt part ſad, ſome with glad ſemblances, and yet not very merry, yea and ſome that came with the Duke, not able to diſſemble their ſorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wal, while the dolour of their heart burſt out of their eyes.

(59) On the next morrow, the Mayor with all the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the City in their beſt array, aſſembling themſelues together, reſorted vnto *Baynards* Caſtle in *Thames* ſtreet, where the Protector lay. To which place repayred alſo according to their appointment, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with diuers noble men with him, beſide many Knights and other Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke ſent word vnto the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to moue a great matter vnto his Grace: wherupon the Protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if hee firſt knew ſome part of their errand, as though he doubted, and partly diſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſodainly, without any warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme; then the Duke when hee had ſhewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby ſee, how little the Protector looked for this matter; they then ſent vnto him by the Meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therwith ſo humbly beſought him to vouchſafe, that they might reſort to his preſence, to propoſe their intent, which they would not impart to any other perſon; that at the laſt hee came out of his chamber, and yet not down vnto them, but ſtood aboue in a gallery ouer them, where they might ſee him & ſpeake to him, as though hee would not yet come too neere them, till he vnderſtood what they meant. And thereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* firſt made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licence them to propoſe vnto his Grace, the intent of their comming without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obtained, they durſt not be ſo bold to moue him in their ſuite. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the Realm beſide; yet were they not ſure how his Grace would take it, whom they would in no wiſe offend. Then the Protector (as he was very gentle of himſelfe

selfe, and also longed sore to know what they meant) gaue him leaue to propose what him liked, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to himward, wherewith hee ought to be grieued.

(60) When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed hee bold to shew him their entent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them thereunto, as you haue heard before: and finally, to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodnes and zeale vnto the realm now with his eye of pitty, to behold the long continued distresse, and decay of the same, and to set his gratious hands to redresse an amendment thereof, by taking vpon him the Crowne and gouernment of the land, according to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the law of God, profit of the Realme, and vnto his grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer Prince raigned ouer any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeisance, as the people of this land vnder his.

(61) When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered: That albeit it were, he partly knew the things by them alleaged to be true, yet such intire loue he bare vnto King *Edward* and his children, that so much more he regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peraduenture be thought, that it was his own ambitious minde and deuise, to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would not haue his honour stained for anie Crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that would so vse it, as he that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding he not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and harty fauour they bare him, praying them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whom hee was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell, as farre as should like the King to vse him, he would doe his vttermost endeuour to set the Realme in good state, which was already in this little time of his Protectorship (the praise be giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before, occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good pollicy, partly more by Gods speciall prouidence, then mans prouision represssed.

(62) Vpon this answere giuen, the Duke by the Protectors licence, a little rowned, aswell with other noble men about him, as with the Maior and Recorder of *London*. And after that, vpon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed aloude vnto the Protector for a finall conclusion, that the Realme was at a point, King *Edwards* line should not any longer raigne ouer them, both for that they had so farre gone, as it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale vniuersall to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore if it would like his grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto; if he would giue them a resolute answere to the contrary, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needes seeke, and would not faile to finde some other noble man that would.

These words much moued the Protector, which else as euery man may know, would neuer of likelihood haue inclined thereunto But when he saw there was none other way, but that either he must take it, or else he, and his both goe from it, he said vnto the Lords and commons.

(63) Sith wee well perceiue that all the Realme is so set, whereof we be very sorry, that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edwards* line to gouerne them, whom no earthly man can gouerne against their wils, and well we also perceiue, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can by iust title appertaine, as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most deare father *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, to which title is now ioined your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which we of all title possible take for the most effectuall: we be content, and agree fauourably to incline to your petition and requeft, and according to the same, we here take vpon vs the roiall estate, preheminence, and kingdome of the two noble realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward, by vs and our heires, to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this Realm of *England*, the aduancement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great shout, crying King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And then the Lords went vp to the King (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuersely of the matter, euery man as his fantasie gaue him.

The Protector fauourably accepteth the Crowne.

(64) Much was talked, and maruelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made so strange vnto both parties, as though they neuer had communed either with others before, when as themselues wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but perceiued well inough, that all the matter was so made betweene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order: And men must sometimes for manners sake, not be acknown what they know: for at the consecration of a Bishop, euery man wotteth well, by the paying for his bulles, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else, and yet must he twice be asked, whether he will be a Bishop or no, and hee must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play the people know right well, that he who plaieth the Sowdaine, is percase a sowter, yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name, while he standeth in his maiesty, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head worthily for marring of the plaie.

Diuers opinions of the people.

(65) The raigne of this yong King may well be accounted an *interregnum* without King, aswell for his minoritie being vnder the rule of a Protector himselfe, as for the short time wherein he continued the name of a King; which onlie was two monthes and sixteene daies, and in them also he sate vncrowned without Scepter or ball, all which *Richard* aimed at, and perfidiously got, before they could come to his head; or into his hands. His age at the death of his father and entrance into his throne was eleuen yeeres fiue monthes and fiue daies, and within three monthes after, was with his brother smothered to death in the Tower of *London*, as shall be shewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of succession to write.

The Raigne and age of King Edward.

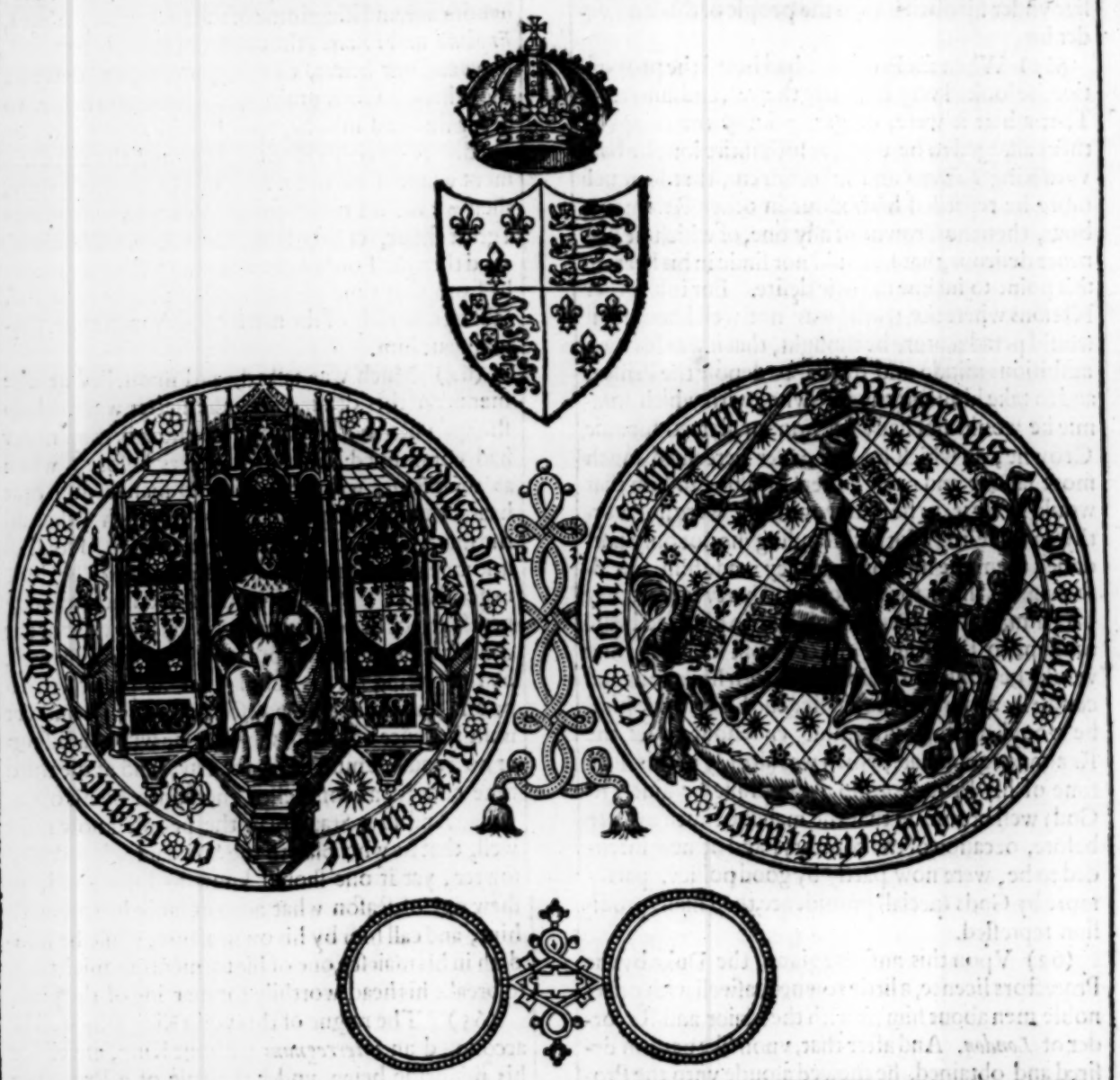
RICHARD

Richard III.

RICHARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, ISSVE AND DEATH.

Monarch

For the most part written by *Sir Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XIX.

All the *Richards* and Dukes of *Gloceſter* came to vntimely deathes.
Richard 1. ſlaine with an arrow.
Richard 2. murthered at *Pomfrait*.
Tho. Woodſtocke ſmothered to death.
Humfrey murdered at S. *Edmondsbury*.
Richard 3. ſlaine at *Boſworth* field

Richard, the third ſonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, born at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, was firſt honoured with the title of *Gloceſter*, being the third Duke of that number, & conſequently by vſurpation crowned King of *England*, the third of that name, a name indeed noted to the Kings ſo called, to bee euer ominous; and the title of *Gloceſter* to thoſe Dukes euer fatall, all of them both, dying violent and vntimely deathes, which ought to haue beene the more fearefull vnto *Richard*, now hauing poſſeſſion and intereſt in them both. But that not regarded, or deſtiny enforcing, his aſpiring mind gaue him no reſt, till his reſtleſſe body found it laſtly in the graue. For his brother deceaſed when his life was moſt deſired, no man in ſhew tooke his death ſo heauily as himſelfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable reſpect, when as (God knowes) his mind ranne vpon deepe reaches, how to compaſſe the wreath for his owne head; which the better to faſhion, hee withdrew a while into the North, and at *Yorke* in moſt ſad and ſolemne manner obſerued the Funerals of the dead King: but howſoeuer the Maske couered this ſubtle Dukes face from the eie of the multitude; yet *Buckingham* well knew the ambitious deſire of his aſpiring heart, and indeed was the *Dedalus* that made him the wings, wherwith he mounted ſo neere vnto the Sun, as that the wax melting (like the high-minded young *Icarus*) he caught his laſt fall.

Duke Rich... ſubtlely co... plotteth his Crowne.

The Duke ... Buckingham the onely ... of the Prou...

(2) What

XUM

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is vncertaine, though it may be ſuſpected: but ſure it is; he now gone, the Duke of *Buckingham* twice ſollicited *Gloucester* by his meſſengers in the *North*, met him at *Northampton* himſelfe, accompanied him to *London*, forwarded him in Counſell, and was the firſt Actor in this following tragedy. For, firſt making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of Sanctuary, diſabling the young King, baſtardizing them both, perſwading the Citizens, working the Nobility: and all this done, to ſet the Crowne vpon crookt *Richards* head, and ſo moulded their minds vnto the man, as they all became humble petitioners vnto him for to accept of the ſame; who in the meane while had well conned his owne part, by profuſe liberalitie, by paſſing great grauity, by ſingular affability, by miniſtring of iuſtice, and by deepe and cloſe deuiſes, whereby hee wonne to himſelfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers eſpecially, to ſerue beſt his turn, which was ſo affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and preſented him to accept the wearing of the Crown: the true copy wherof as we find it recorded in the Parliament Rol, we haue inſerted, & is as followeth.

In Rotulo Parliamenti tenti apud Weſtm. die Veneris Viceſimo tertio die Ianuarii, An. Regni Regis Richardi 3. *primo inter alia continetur vt ſequitur.*

Memorandum quod quadam billa exhibita fuit coram Domino Rege in Parliamento predicto in hac verba: Where late heretofore, that is to ſay, before the conſecration, coronation, and inthronization of our ſoueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third, a roll of parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenor vnderwritten on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Eſtates of this Realme of *England*, that is to witte, of the Lords Spirituall & Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and diuers Lords Spirituall and Temporall; and other Nobles and notable perſons of the Commons in great multitude was preſented and actually deliuered vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord, the intent and effect expreſſed at large in the ſame roll: to the which Roll, and to the conſiderations, and inſtant petition compriſed in the ſame, our ſaid Soueraigne Lord for the publike weale and tranquility of this land benignely aſſented. Now foraſmuch as neither the ſaid three Eſtates, neither the ſaid perſons which in their name preſented, and deliuered as it is aforeſaid, the ſaid Roll vnto our ſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, were aſſembled in forme of Parliament: by reaſon whereof diuers doubts, queſtions, and ambiguities beene moued, and engendred in the minds of diuers perſons, as it is ſaid: Therefore to the perpetuall memory of the truth, and declaration of the ſame, be it ordained, prouided, and eſtabliſhed in this preſent Parliament, that the Tenor of the ſaid roll, with all the contents of the ſame, preſented as is abouesaid, and deliuered to our foreſaid Soueraigne Lord the King, in the name and in the behalfe of the ſaid three Eſtates out of Parliament, now by the ſame three Eſtates aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, and by authority of the ſame bee ratified, enrolled, recorded, approued, and authorized into remouing the occaſions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawfull effects that ſhall now thereof enſue: So that all things ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in the ſaid rol, & in the tenor of the ſame vnderwrittē in the name of the ſaid 3. Eſtates, to the effect expreſſed in the ſame roll be of the like effect, vertue & force, as if al the ſame things had bin ſo ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired & remembred in a full Parliament, and by authority of the ſame accepted & approued. The Tenor of the ſaid Roll of parchment, wherof aboue is made mention, followeth, & is ſuch.

To the high and Mighty Prince
Richard Duke of Gloceſter.

Pleaſe it your noble Grace to vnderſtand the conſiderations, election and petition vnderwritten of vs, the Lords Spirituall & temporall, and Commons of this Realme of *England*, and thereunto agreably to giue your aſſent to the common and publike weale of this land, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all the people of the ſame. Firſt, we conſider how that heretofore in time paſſed, this land many yeers ſtood in great proſperity, honour, and tranquilitie; which was cauſed, forſomuch as the King then raigning, vſed and followed the aduiſe and counſell of certaine Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and other perſons of approued ſadneſſe, prudence, policy, & experience, dreading God, and hauing tender zeale and affection to indifferent miniſtration of iuſtice, and to the common and publike weale of the land: Then our Lord God was dread, loued and honoured, then within the land was peace and tranquility, and among neighbours concord and charity, then the malice of outward enemies was mightilie reſiſted and repreſſed, and the land honourably defended with many great and glorious victories, then the entercourſe of Merchants was largely vſed and exerciſed: by which thinges aboue remembred, the land was greatly enriched, ſo that aſwell the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people labouring for their liuings in diuers occupations, had competent gaine to the ſuſtentation of them & their houſholds, liuing without miſerable and intollerable pouerty: but afterward, when that ſuch as had the rule and gouernance of this land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by ſenſuality and concupiſcence, followed the counſell of perſons inſolent, vicious, and of inordinate auarice, deſpiſing the counſell of good, vertuous, & prudent perſons, ſuch as aboue bee remembred; The proſperity of this land dayly decreaſed, ſo that felicity was turned into miſery, and proſperity into aduerſity, and the order of policy, and of the law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreme miſery and deſolation (which God defend) without due prouiſion of couenable remedy bee had in this behalfe, in all goodly haſt.

(3) Ouer this, among other things more ſpeciall wee conſider, how that the time of the raigne of K. *Edward* the fourth late deceaſed, after the vngracious pretenſed marriage (as all *England* hath cauſe ſo to ſay) made betwixt the ſaid King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* ſometimes wife to Sir *Iohn Gray* knight, late naming her ſelfe, and many yeeres heretofore Queene of *England*, the order of all politicke rule was peruerted, the lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and alſo the lawes of nature, and of *England*, and alſo of the laudable cuſtomes and liberties of the ſame, wherein euery Engliſh man is inheritor, broken, ſubuerted and contemned, againſt all reaſon and iuſtice, ſo that the land was ruled by ſelfe-will and pleaſure, feare and dread, all manner of equity and law laide apart and deſpiſed, whereof enſued many inconueniences and miſchiefes, as murthers, extortions, and oppreſſions, namely of poore and impotent people, ſo that no man ſure of his life, land or liuelyhood, ne of his wife, daughter nor ſeruant, euery good maiden and woman ſtanding in dread to bee rauiſhed and defloured: and beſides this, what diſcords, inward battels, effuſion of Chriſtian mens bloud, and namely, by the deſtruction of the Nobles bloud of this land, was had and committed within the ſame, it is euident and notarie through all this Realme, vnto the great ſorrow and heauineſſe of all true Engliſhmen. And here alſo wee conſider, how that the ſaid pretended marriage betwixt the aboue named King *Edward* and *Elizabeth Gray* was made of great preſumption without the knowing & aſſent of the Lords of this land, and alſo by ſorcery and witchcraft committed by the ſaid *Elizabeth* and her mother *Iaquet* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is through all this land: and hereafter if the cauſe ſhall require, ſhall be pro-

The forme of the petition exhibited vnto the Protector.

Faire gloſes vpon foule pretenſes.

O time how doſt thou turne and art turned.

Flatterers feares not how to report.

How can Princes rule to ſhun reproach when they are dead.

The Queene & her mother falſly ſlandered.

ued sufficiently in time and place conuenient. And here also wee consider how that the said pretensed marriage was made priuily and secretly without edition of banes in a priuate Chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church after the law of Gods Church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable custome of the Church of *England*. And how also that at the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long time after the said King *Edward* was and stood married, and troth-plight to one Dame *Elienor Butler* daughter of the old Earle of *Shrewsbury* with whom the same *Edward* had made a precontract of Matrimonie long time before hee made the saide pretenced marriage with the said *Elizabeth Gray*, in manner and forme aforesaid: which Premisses being true, as in very truth they beene true: it appeareth, and followeth euidently, that the said King *Edward* during his life, and the said *Elizabeth* liued together sinfully and damnably in adultery against the law of God and of his Church: And therefore no maruell that the Soueraigne Lord, and the head of this land being of such vngodly disposition, and prouoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; such hainous mischiefe and inconueniences as are aboue remembred, were vsed and committed in the Realme among the Subiects. Also it appeareth euidently and followeth, that all the Issue and children of the said King *Edward*, beene bastard and vnable to inherite, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the law and custome of *England*.

K. *Edward* accused to haue been contracted to the Lady *Elienor Butler*.

The tongue of slander is a sharp arrow.

They haue taught their tongs to speake lies, Ier. 9. 5.

(4) Moreouer, we consider how that afterwards by the three Estates of this Realm assembled in Parliament, holden at *Westminster* the 17. yeere of the raigne of the said King *Edward* the fourth, hee then being in possession of the Crowne and royall estate, by Act made in the same Parliament, *George* Duke of *Clarence* brother to the said King *Edward* now deceased, was conuicted and attainted of high treason, as in the same Act is contained more at large, by cause and reason whereof, all the Issue of the saide *George*, was and is disabled and barred of all right and claime that in any case they might haue or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity royall of this Realme, by the ancient law and custome of this same Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* and his heires made vncapable of the crowne.

Ouer this wee consider that ye be the vndoubted sonne and heire of *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, very inheritor of the sayd Crowne and dignitie royall; and as in right King of *England* by way of inheritance: and that at this time the premisses duely considered there is none other person liuing, but ye only that by right may claime the said Crowne and dignitie royall by way of inheritance, and how that yee be borne within this land; by reason whereof, as we deeme in our mindes, yee be more naturally enclined to the prosperitie and common weale of the same: and all the three estates of the Land haue and may haue more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforesaid. We consider also the great wit, prudence, iustice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in diuers battels, which as wee by experience know you heretofore haue done, for the saluation and defence of this same Realme; and also the great nobleneſſe & excellencie of your birth and bloud, as of him that is descended of the three most royall houses in Christendome: that is to say, *England*, *France* and *Spaine*. Wherefore these premisses by vs diligently considered, we desiring effectually the peace, traquilitie and weale-publique of this Land, and the reduction of the same to the ancient honourable estate and prosperitie, and hauing in your great prudence, iustice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, singular confidence, haue chosen in all that in vs is, and by this our writing choose you High and Mightie Prince our King and Soueraigne Lord, &c. To whom we know for certaine it appertaineth of enheritance to to bee chosen. And hereupon wee humbly desire, pray, and require your most noble Grace, that according to this electiō of vs the three estates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take vpon you the sayd Crowne and royall dignitie, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging aswell by inheritance as by lawfull election: and in case yee so doe, we promise to serue and assist your Highnesse, as true and faithfull subiects, and liege men; and to liue and die with you in this matter, and in euery other iust quarrel. For certainlie, we be determined rather to aduenture & commit vs to the perill of our liues, and ieopardie of death, then to liue in such thraldom and bondage as wee haue liued long time heretofore oppressed and iniured by extortions and newe impositions against the Law of God and man, and the libertie, old pollicie and Lawes of this Realme, wherein euery Englishman is inherited. Our Lord God, King of all Kings, by whose infinite goodnesse and eternall prouidence all things beene principally gouerned in this world; lighten your soule, and grant you grace to doe aswell in this matter as in all other, that may bee according to his will and pleasure, and to the common and publike weale of this Land: so that after great clouds, trouble, stormes, and tempests, the Sun of Iustice and of Grace may shine vpon vs, to the comfort and gladnesse of all true-hearted Englishmen. Albeit, that the right, title, & estate, which our Soueraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third hath to, and in the Crowne, and roiall dignitie of this Realme of *England*; with all things thereunto within the same Realme, and without it vnited, annexed & appertaining, bin iust and lawfull as grounded vpon the lawes of God and of nature: and also vpon the ancient lawes and laudable customes of this said Realme; and so taken and reputed by all such persons as beene learned in the aboue said lawes and customes: Yet neuertheless, for asmuch as it is considered, that the most part of the people is not sufficiently learned in the aboue said Lawes and customs, wherby the truth & right in this behalfe of likelyhood may be hid and not cleerely knowne to all the people, & thereupon put in doubt and question. And ouer this, how that the Court of Parliament is of such authoritie, and the people of this Land of such a nature and disposition, as experience teacheth that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, and by the authority of the same maketh before all other things most feith and certaine, and quieting of mens minds, remoueth the occasion of all doubts, and seditious language. Therefore at the request, and by the assent of the three estates of this Realme; that is to say, the Lords spirituall and temporall, and Commons of this Land assembled in this present Parliament, by authority of the same be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Soueraign Lord the King was, and is the very vndoubted King of this Realme of *England*, with all things thereunto within the same Realm, and without it vnited, annexed, and appertaining aswell by right of Consanguinity, and inheritance, as by lawfull election, consecration, and coronation. And ouer this, that at the request, and by the assent and authority aboue saide, be it ordained, enacted and established, that the said Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme, and the inheritance of the same, and all other things thereunto within the Realme or without, is vnited, annexed, and now appertaining, rest and abide in the person of our said Soueraigne Lord the King during his life, and after his decease, in his heires of his body begotten; and in especiall at the request, and by assent and authority aboue said, bee it ordained, enacted, established, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince *Edward*, son of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, bee heire apparant of the same our Soueraigne Lord the King to succeed to him in the aboue said Crowne and royall dignity,

As bad his claim as his person deformed, but both made good by flatterers in Parliament.

Great pitie that so faire stemmes, should bring forth so bad a branch.

All promi... were not ke... afterward... ued.

The Lor... God is a c... ming fire, ... 4. 24.

The effe... our Engli... Parliame...

The Crow... entailed v... Richard and... heires.

Prince Ed... made heir... parant by P... liament.

dignity, with all things as is aforesaid thereunto vnited, annexed, and appertaining, to haue them after the decease of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Qua quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angl. in dicto Parliamento existent. transportata fuit. Cui quidem billæ ijdem Communes assensum suum præbuerunt sub hijs verbis. A Ceste bille les Communes sont assentus. Quibus quidem billa, & assensu coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto lectis, auditis, & plenius intellectis; de assensu Dominorum spiritualium, & temporalium in dicto Parliamento similiter existent. ac Cõmunitatis prædicta, per non authoritate eiusdem Parliamenti pronunciatum, decretum, & declaratum existit, omnia & singula in billa prædicta contenta fore vera & indubia. Ac idem Dominus Rex de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, & authoritate prædicta, omnia & singula præmissa in billa prædicta, contenta concedit, ac ea pro vera & indubio pronunciat, decernit & declarat.

(5) These things I haue laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may vnderstand both what and how great matters, the power of a Prince, the outward shew of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning hope, pensiue feare, desire of change, and goodly pretences are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdome, euen against all law and right, so that the saying of *Salomon* in this State seemed most true that *a liuing dogge is better then a dead Lyon*. But this *Richard* is not to be accounted worthy to haue been a Soueraigne, had he not beene a Soueraign as *Galba* was reputed; who, when he was a Soueraigne, deceiued all mens expectation; but most worthy indeede of Soueraignty, had hee not beene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewde practises, and by mischieuous means, made foule way thereunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeed King *Richard* through his short time of raigne is accounted to haue beene.

(6) The Crown and Scepter accepted as is said, King *Richard* vpon the twentie fifth of *June*, went in great pompe vnto *Westminster* hall, and there in the Kings Bench Court tooke his Seat, saying, that he would take vpon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefest duety was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration so tickled the eares of his Auditors, that hee lulled the rurall to thinke that his like had neuer raigned in *England*; and to beginne himselfe with a pretenced clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation whereof, hee sent for one *Fogge* whom he deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and there in sight of the people with semblance accordingly, tooke him by the hand saying, that hee would bee thence forth his assured in affection; whereat the Commons greatly reioyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them tooke it to bee but fained to serue his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoeuer hee met, hee saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to bee guiltie, is in a manner deiected to a seruile flattery.

(7) King *Richard* whose guilty heart was full of suspition, had sent for fiue thousand Souldiers out of the North to bee present in *London* at his Coronation; these vnder the leading of *Robin* of *Ridsdale*, came vp both euill apparrelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty Armour, neither defencible for proofe, nor scowred for shew: who mustering in *Finesburie* Fields, were with disdaine gazed vpon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young *Edwards* prouision was conferred vpon his) vpon the fourth of Iuly, he with his wife by water came to the Tower, where he created Estates, ordained the Knights of the *Bathe*, set at liberty the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Stanley*, more for feare then for loue; whose sonne the Lord *Strange* was then said to be gathering of men in *Lancashire*, where those Lords haue great command.

A.D. 1483. States created by K. Richard.

(8) But *Morton* Bishop of *Ely* a firme man vnto King *Edward*, and vnpossible to bee drawn vnto the disinheriting of his children, as was well perceiued by the Protector, among others, at the Councell held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but vnlikely treasons. This man borne in *Dorsetshire*, and brought vp in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, was from a Doctor of the *Arches* made a priuy Councellour vnto King *Henry*, and after his death allured by King *Edward* to serue him, was sworne likewise of his Councell, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designes, the Protector much feared, and therefore hauing him fast, minded so to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reuerence of the man, or vndeseruednesse of his wrongs, moued so the affection of the *Oxford Academians*, that they directed to the King (who professed much loue to that Vniuersitie) a petitory latine Epistle, no lesse eloquent & pithy, then circumspect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

At Bere or Barry

Ex Regist. Oxon. MS.

"(9) Though many important motiues wee "haue most Christian King, earnestly to recommend "to your princely clemency, the Reuerend Father "in Christ, the Lord Bishoppe of *Ely*, as being not "onely one of the most eminent Sonnes of our V- "niuersity, but also a singular Patrone and indul- "gent Father to vs all; yet could not these induce- "ments (howsoeuer very ponderous with all grate- "full mindes) perswade vs to become intercessors "for his pardon, but euer with due regard both to "your owne honour and safety; the greatnesse of "your princely fauours hauing more obliged vs, "then of any your royall Predecessors: whiles ther- "fore wee stood in some doubt, how hee stood affe- "cted towards your Highnesse, wee held it an high "offence, if by tendring his safety, wee should any "way hazard yours: but now vnderstanding, that "his offence proceeded, not of pertinacy, but hu- "mane frailety; and that hee hath alwayes humbly "sued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our mo- "ther Vniuersity, like *Rachel* weeping ouer her "Children were moued with compassion ouer the "deplored distresse of this her dearest sonne; where- "in yet (as wee hope) her affection deserues no iust "reprehension. For if a pious affection be prayse- "worthie, euen in an enemy, much more is it in this "our Academy, full of due obseruance towardes "your Maiesty, and professing the study of all ver- "tues. These things so being, wee thought fitte, "(without longer delayes) to flie vnto your cle- "mency, as humble Suppliants, that your High- "nes, already hauing in part inflicted (thogh mildly) "som chasticemẽt on his fault would turn your roi- "al aspect towards him, & impart to him the boun- "ty of your gracious clemency; wherein, you shal "not onely perform an act most acceptable to him, "to vs, and the whole Church, but very honoura- "ble & aduantagious also (as we hope) to your own "person. For, vpon notice of the readmittance of "so great a Prelate into your grace, who is there, that "will not extoll with prayses vnto the skies your so "great, and euen diuine clemency? Thus gloried "the Romans, to haue it marshalled amongst their "prayses, that * *Submisisse wights they spared, but* "*crusht the proud*; and this also they challenged as "their peculiar honour, that they were readier to "remit, then to reuenge wrongs. Now if you will "aspire to this high honour, (as easily you may, by "being gracious to this man) you shall surmount "the Romanes themselues by so glorious a deed. As "for the great benefite which may hereby accrue to "your

A letter written for the Vniuersity of *Oxford* in the behalfe of D. *Morton*.

* *Virgil. Parcere subiectis, &c. Salust.*

"your highnes, albeit (as we suppose) we can sufficiently conceiue thereof, especially if wee call to "minde his singular vertues; yet had we rather leaue "that point wholly to your secret considerations, "then pursue it with a discourse tedious to you, and "enuie-breeding to him: least happily by insisting "in his praises, it may be thought, that we seeke rather by violence to extort, then by submissiuenes to "beg his pardon, and or else to relie more on the "greatnesse of his *vertues*, then of your *Clemency*, or "lastly to appeale rather to your *Iustice*, then to "your *mercy*. Wherefore (most puissant Prince) "thus perswade your selfe of vs, that whatsoeuer "we haue spoken in the Bishops behalfe, we doe it "rather out of a sense of our dutifulnes then any dif-"fidency of your Graciousnes: and therefore omit-"ting all things which might be alleaged, either to "lessen his offence or augment his vertues: it is your "sole *mercy* wherein we repose all our hopes; vow-"ing, howsoeuer other meanes of gratitude may be "wanting to vs, yet we shall neuer suffer the remem-"brance of so great a fauour conferred on vs to be "extinguished amongst vs.

Dat. Oxonij in Eccles. S. Mariæ Virg. 4. Sextilis.

(10) King *Richard*, after this, intending some easier restraint, though not liberty vnto the Bishop, was content to release him out of the Tower, and committed him to the custody of *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknocke* in *Wales*, there safely to be kept, vntil himselfe should come thither.

Bishop *Morton* committed to the custody of the Duke of *Buckingham.*

(11) The next day with great pompe, state and attendance of the Nobility, the King rode through *London*, so as a more royall had not beene seene at any Kings Coronation, for there attended him, three Dukes, nine Earles, two Vicounts, twenty Lords, seauenty eight Knights, all of them most richly furnished, whereof the Duke of *Buckingham* so farre exceeded, that the caparison of his horse was so charged with embroydered worke of gold, as it was born vp from the ground by certaine his footemen thereto appointed. And contrary to my owne affections, or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet continue the most honorable offices performed at his roiall enthroning with no little Admiration, how these Lords assembled to set the Crowne vpon the young Princes head, were so suddainly carried to Crowne his Protector, and that vpon such false and slanderous pretences, as euery one of them saw his title to be meerely an vniust vsurpation, but in them may be seene, that we are all the sonnes of *Adam*, and in times of extremities, foreslow all publike regard, as ouermuch fearing our priuate and present estate.

The great estate of King *Richards* coronation.

Buckingham most richly attired at the Kings coronation.

(12) Vpon the sixt of Iuly, King *Richard* with Queene *Anne* his wife set forth from White-hall towards *Westminster*, roially attended, and went into the Kings bench in the great hall, from whence himselfe and Queen vpon ray Cloth, both of them barefooted, went vnto King *Edwards* shrine in Saint *Peters* Church, all the Nobility going with him in their degree, the trumpets and Heraulds marshalling the way, the Crosse with a solemne procession followed, the Priests in fine surplesses and gray Amysses vpon them, the Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes all of them mytred, and carrying their Crosses in their hands; next came the Earle of *Huntington* bearing a paire of *gilt spurres*, signifying *Knighthood*; after whom came the *Earle of Bedford*, who bare Saint *Edwards* staffe for a *Relique*, then followed the *Earle of Northumberland* with a *naked pointles sword* in his hand betokening *mercy*, next whom the Lord *Stabley* bare the Mace of the Constableship, vpon whose right hand the Earle of *Kent* bare *a naked pointed sword*, and on his left hand the Lord *Louell* the like *naked pointed sword*, the former signifying *Iustice towards the temporalty*, & the other *Iustice to the Clergy*; the Duke of *Suffolke* then followed with the *Scepter*, which signified *Peace*: the Earle of *Lincolne* bare the *Ball* and *Crosse* which signified a *Monarchy*: Then came the Earle of *Surrey* bearing the fourth sword sheathed in a rich scaberd, and is called the sword of Estate, next whom followed *Gartar* King at Armes, vpon whose right hand went the Gentleman Vsher of the Kings priuy Chamber, and on his left the Lord Maior of *London*, with a Mace in his hand; Next vnto whom went the *Duke of Norfolke* bearing the Kings Crowne betwixt his hands, and then King *Richard* himselfe came, in a *Surcote* and *Robe* of purple veluet; hauing ouer his head a Canapie borne by the foure Barons of the fiue Ports, the Bishop of *Bath* on his right hand, and of *Durham* on his left. The Duke of *Buckingham* bare the Kings traine, and to signifie the office of *high Steward of England*, he bare a *White Staffe* in his hand.

The order of the Kings proceedings to be crowned.

Rich. Graston.

(13) Then followed the Queenes traine: before whom was borne the *Scepter*, the *Iuorie Rod* with the *Doue*, and the *Crowne*; her selfe apparelled in Robes like the Kings vnder a rich Canapie, at euery corner thereof a *bell of gold*. On her head shee ware a circlet set full of precious stones, the Counteesse of *Richmond* bearing her traine; the Dutchesse of *Norfolke* and *Suffolk* in their Coronets attendants, with twenty Ladies of estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Pallace into the Abbey, and ascending to the high Altar there shifted their Robes, and hauing other Robes open in diuers places from the middle vpward, were both of them annointed and Crowned, he with Saint *Edwards* Crowne, hauing the Scepter deliuered into his left hand, and the Ball with the Crosse a token of Monarchie in his right, the Queene had a Scepter giuen into her right hand, and the Iuory Doue in her left; then after the Sacrament receiued (hauing the host deuided betwixt them) they both offered at Saint *Edwards* shrine, where the King left his Crowne and put on his owne; and thus done, in the same Order and State as they came, returned to *Westminster hall*, and there held a most Princely feast. Whereof let *Hall* and *Graston* tell you for me.

The order of Queenes ceedings crowned.

The King Queene ly annoin crowned.

(14) But this his faire Sunne was soone ouercast with many darke Cloudes and mischiefes, which fell thicke vpon the necke of each other, for as the thing euill gotten, is neuer well kept: through all the time of his raigne there neuer ceased death and slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. Yet as he finished his daies with the best death, and the most righteous, that is to say, his owne: so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephewes, the young King and his tender brother; whose deaths and finall misfortunes haue neuertheless come so farre in question, that some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies destroied or no. Not for that only, that *Perkin Warbecke* by the malice of many, and the folly of more, so long a time abusing the world, was aswel with Princes, as the other poore people, reputed and taken for the younger of these two: but for that also as all things were in late daies so couertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another done, that there was nothing so plaine and openly proued, but for the common custome and close couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly in suspect, as many well counterfeit Iewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit concerning the opinion with the occasions mouing either party, we shall haue place more at large hereafter to intreat of: in the meane time for this present matter shall be rehearsed the dolorous end of these young Babes, not after euerie report I haue heard, but by such men, and by such meanes, as to my seeming it were hard but it should be true saith Sir *Thomas Moore*.

Sir Thom. Moore.

The time Richard full of ca ties.

Doubts m the two P deaths.

(15) K. *Richard* presently after his mockish Electiō & glorious Coronation, made his progresse towards *Gloucester*, to shew (as was thought) in that City his new Kingly estate, which first had vouchsafed him his old honour in bearing her Title; or else, and that rather, to besequestred from other busines, the better to attend that, vpon which his thoughts most busily ranne.

King Rich progresse wards Gl

XUM

ranne. For albeit the Barke of his begunne aduentures, had without perill well passed the straightes, and now got sea-roome to spread saile at will; yet being vnder gale, and at fortunes disposse, he feared the gust of euery wind: at leastwise suspected that his young Nephewes liuing would stay the course of his deepe reaches, as doth the little fish *Remora*, who holdeth (as at Anchor) the biggest shippe vnder saile. His inward study therefore still forged, howsoeuer his outward countenance was carried to cleare his passage by taking those dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nephewes enioying their liues, men would be medling with their downe cast cause, and account him an vsurper without all right to the Realme. To stop which streame, no other course could hee find, but to cut off the current by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kinsmen could better his bad claime, or vnkindly murther make him a kindly King. But being resolued, he forthwith sent one *Iohn Greene*, a seruant in especiall trust vnto Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Constable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the same Sir *Robert* should in any wise put the two children to death.

(16) This *Greene* thus posted to *London*, deliuered his errand vnto *Brakenbury*, whom hee found kneeling at his Orizons before the Image of our Lady in the Tower, the businesse being of such weight as the King must bee serued before hee had ended with his Saint. The Constable reading the letter, and perceiuing the bloudy intent of the King, answered plainly, he wold neuer put those innocent babes vnto death, to die therefore himselfe. With which answere *Iohn Greene* returning, recounted the same to King *Richard* being at *Warwicke*, yet in his way to *Glocester*, wherewith he was maruellously perplexed, and thereat tooke such displeasure, that the same night hee said to a secret Page of his: *Ah whom shall a man trust? those that I haue brought vp my selfe, those that I had weened would most surely serue me, euen those faile me, and at my commandement will do nothing.* Sir quoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallet without, that I dare well say, to doe your Grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that hee would refuse; meaning this by Sir *Iames Tirrell*, who was a man of a goodly personage, and for Natures gifts worthy to haue serued a much better Prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will, as hee had strength and wit.

(17) The man had an high heart, and sore longed vpward, not rising yet so fast as hee hoped, being hindred and kept vnder by the meanes of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*, who longing for no more partners of the Princes fauour, and namely, not for him, whose pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust, which thing this Page had well marked and knowne: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall friendshippe, hee tooke his time to put him forward, and by such wise to doe him good, that all the enemies he had, except the Diuell himselfe could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For vpon this Pages words, K. *Richard* arose (for this communication had hee sitting at the draught, a conuenient Carpet for such a Counsell) and came out into a Pallet-Chamber, where hee found in bed, Sir *Iames* and Sir *Thomas Tirrels*, of persons much like, and brethren in bloud, but nothing of kin in conditions: Then said the King merrily to them, what Sirs, bee ye in bed so soone? and calling vp Sir *Iames*, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischieuous matter, in which hee found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow hee sent him to *Brakenbury* with a letter, by which hee was commanded to deliuer Sir *Iames* all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end hee might accomplish there the Kings pleasure in such things as hee had giuen him in commandement. After which letter deliuered, and the keyes receiued, Sir *Iames* appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, deuising before and preparing the meanes.

(18) The Prince in the Tower slenderly attended, and altogether neglected by the Nobility, lastly, had newes that his vncle had left the name of Protector, and taken vpon him the Title of King, who with full consent of the Lords was to be crowned within a few daies following, with the same Crowne, and in the like estate as had beene prouided for his solemnity, whereat the deiected Innocent sighed and said; *Alasse, I would my vncle would let mee enioy my life yet, though I loose both my Kingdome and Crowne.* Which words hee pronounced with such a feeling feare, as much moued the Relater to pitty, and to perswade him with the best comforts hee could: but forthwith the Prince and his brother were both shut vp, and all attendants remoued from them, onely one called *Black-will*, or *William Slaughter* excepted, who was set to serue them, and see them sure. After which time the Prince neuer tied his points, nor cared for himselfe, but with that young Babe his brother lingered with thought and heauines, till their traiterous deaths deliuered them out of that wretchednesse: for the execution whereof, *Tirrell* appointed *Miles Forrest*, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murther before time. To whom hee ioined one *Iohn Dighton* his horsekeeper, a bigge, broad, square knaue.

(19) About midnight (al others being remoued from them,) this *Miles Forrest*, and *Iohn Dighton*, came into the Chamber, and suddenly wrapped vp the seely children in the Bed-clothes, where they lay keeping by force the feather-bed and pillowes hard vpon their mouthes that they were therein smothered to death, & gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leauing their bodies vnto the Tormentors dead in the bed: which after these monstrous wretches perceiued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lying still to be thorowly dispatched, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and then fetched Sir *Iames* their instigator to see them, who caused these murtherers to bury them at the staires foot, somewhat deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones. Then rode Sir *Iames* in haste to the King, vnto whom he shewed the maner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was so welcome to his wicked heart, as he greatly reioiced, and with great thankes dubbed (as some hold) this his merciles Instrument, knight. But the place of their buriall hee liked not, saying, that vile corner should not containe the bodies of those Princes, his Nephewes, & commanded them a better place for burial, because they were the sons of a King. Whereupon the Priest of the Tower tooke vp the bodies; and secretly interred them in such place, which by the occasion of his death could neuer since come to light.

(20) The continuer of *Iohn Harding* tels vs from the report of others, that King *Richard* caused Sir *Robert Brakenburies* Priest to close their dead corps in lead, and so to put them in a coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two hookes of iron, and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke-deepes at the *Thames* mouth, whereby they should neuer rise vp, or be any more seene. Whersoeuer they were buried, thus they died, and by these murtherers. For very certaine it is, and wel knowne, that at such time, as Sir *Iames Tirrell* was in the Tower, for Treason committed against King *Henrie* the seuenth, both *Dighton* and hee were examined, and confessed the murther in manner as is said, but whether their bodies were remoued they could not say. And thus as I haue learned of them that knew much, and little cause had to lie, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most roial blood, brought vp in great wealth, likely to haue liued, to haue raigned, and ruled in the Realme, by traiterous tyranny taken, deprined of their estates, shortly shut

The words of Prince *Edward* when he heard that his vncle should be King.

The faithfull seruants of the Prince remoued from him.

Sir *Th. Mont.*

Prince *Edward* and his brother murthered in a featherbed.

Their bodies were buried vnder a paire of staires.

The body of the two Princes remooued, and buried no man knowes where.

Hardings continuer.

The murtherers confesse the deed, and maner of their death.

The report of Sir *Tho. Mont.*

vp in prison, and impiously murdered, and the body cast out God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncle, and his hellish Tormentors. Which things on euery part well pondered; God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsurety standeth this worldly weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proud enterprize of an high heart, or finallie, what wretched end ensueth such barbarous crueltie.

The vnconstant state of mans life.

Gods iustice and reuenge vpon the murtherers.

(20) For first to beginne with the Ministers, *Miles Forrest* at *S. Martins*, peece-meale rotted away; *Sir Iames Tyrrell* died at Tower hill for treason. *Dighton* indeed walketh on aliue in good possibility to be hanged ere he die, liuing at *Calis* no lesse distained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himselfe as ye shall hereafter heare, was slaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, carried on horsebacke dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a Curre dogge: and the mischiefe that he tooke was within lesse then three yeeres of the mischiefe that he did, and yet all the meane time spent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguish, and sorrow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer had quiet in his minde: he neuer thought himselfe sure: but where he went abroad, his eies euer-whirled about, his body priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance & manner like one alwaies readie to strike againe, he tooke il rest a nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddainly sometimes start vp, leapt out of his Bed, and ranne about the chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abhominable deed. Neither had he in his best, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conspiracy (or rather good consideration) betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and diuers other Gentlemen against him.

Io. Harding.

Reuenge of murder repaid.

The guilty conscience of King *Richard*.

Outward enemies arise against King *Richard*.

(21) Which Duke assoone as *Gloucester* vpon the death of King *Edward* came to *Yorke*, sent thitl r in secret wise a trusty seruant of his, named *Persall*, to assure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite vpon him with a thousand good-fellowes: and againe sent offers of the like vnto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *Yorke*, with many Gentlemen of the *North* Countrey was come, and on his way to *London*-ward in secret manner met him himselfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horse: and from thence still continued with him, being a partner of all his deuises, till that after his coronation they departed (as it seemed) very great friends at *Gloucester*: frō whence as soone as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him, and so highly conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of diuers men, diuersely reported; Some haue said, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Hertfords* Lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And forasmuch as the Title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before depriued, the Protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the Dukes request, with many spightfull and minatory wordes, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on King *Richard*, but euer feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector rode through *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him: And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morrow rose from the Feast, faining himselfe sick, whereat King *Richard* said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say, that euer after continually each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, as the Duke verily looked to haue beene murdered at *Gloucester*: from which neuertheless he in faire manner departed. But surely some right secret at this day denie this: and many right wise men thinke it vnlikely (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood, if he fell once in suspition of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would giue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such conceiued opinion, he would neuer haue suffered the Duke to haue escaped his hands.

The forward affection of the Duke of *Buckingham* towards the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* fals in dislike of king *Richard*.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was an high minded man, and could euill beare the glory of another; so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that the Duke at such time as the Crowne was first set vpon the Protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his face another way. But men say, that hee was of truth not well at ease which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demand of the Dukes vncourteously reiected, but he both with great gifts and high behests in most louing and trustie manner, departed at *Gloucester*. But soone after his comming home to *Brecknock*, hauing there in custody by the commandement of King *Richard*, Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who (yee before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the Dukes destruction.

The occasions of the Kings and Dukes falling asunder.

(23) This Bishop was a man of great naturall wit; very well learned, and honourable in behauiour, lacking no wise waies to winne fauour: he had been fast vpon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and naytheless left it not, nor forsooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with the Queen & the Prince, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in prison, and neuer came home but to the field. After which lost, and that side vtterly subdued, the other for his fast faith and wisedome not only was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thence forth both in great secret trust, and very special fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as you haue heard) after King *Edwards* death, first taken by the Tyrant for his trueth to the King, found the meanes to set this Duke in his top, ioined Gentlemen together in aide of King *Henry*, deuising first the marriage betweene him and King *Edwards* daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the Realme, by the coniunction of those two bloods in one; whose seuerall titles had long time disquieted the Land; hee fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, neuer minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the seuenth got him home againe, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellor of *England*, whereunto the Pope ioined the honour of a Cardinall. Thus liuing many dayes in as much honour, as one man might well wish, ended them so godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

Buckingham fained himselfe sick not to attend K. *Henry*.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proofe, aswell of prosperitie as aduerse fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or mistresse of Wisedome) a deepe insight in politicke worldly drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the processe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then balke out a litle bread of enuy, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily sought

fought the wayes to pricke him forward, taking alwayes the occasion of his comming, and keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that hee rather seemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke first began to praise & boast of the King, and shew how much profite the Realme should take by his raigne; *Morton* answered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lye, for if I would sweare the contrary, your Lordship would not ween I beleeue, but that if the world would haue gone, as I could haue wished, King *Henries* son had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was neuer so mad, that I would with a dead man striue against a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull Chapplaine, and glad would haue beene, that his child should haue succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgement of God haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurne against the pricke, nor labor to set vp, that God putteth downe. And as for the late protector and now King, and euen there he left: saying, that hee had already medled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke and his Beades, and no further.

(24) Then longed the Duke sore to heare what he would haue said, because he ended with the king, and there so suddainly stopped, and exhorted him so familiarly betweene them twaine, to be bolde to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he would weene, and that himselfe intended to vse his faithfull secret aduise and counsell, which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the King to haue him in his custody, where he might account himselfe at home, and else had he beene put in the hands of them with whom he should not haue found the like fauour. The Bishop right humbly thanked him and said: In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. Forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I think on *Æsops* tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed vpon paine of death there should no horned beast abide in the wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace. The foxe who saw him runne so fast, asked him whether he made all that haste? and he answered, In faith, I neither wot, nor recke, so I were once hence, because of this Proclamation made against horned beasts. What foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maist abide well enough, the Lion meant not thee, for it is no horne that is in thy head. No mary (quoth he) that wot I wellynough, but what if he call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boare shall picke any matter at any thing heere spoken, for it shall neuer come to their eares. In good faith Sir, said the Bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to say, (taken aswell as afore God I meant it) could deserue but thankes; and yet taken as I weene it would, might happely turne me to litle good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; whereupon the Bishop said, in good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the weale of this Realme, wherof his Grace hath now the gouernance, and my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities, whereof hee hath already right many, little needing my praise, it might yet haue pleased God for the better store, to haue giuen him some of such other excellent vertues meet for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the person of your Grace: and there left againe.

(25) The Duke somewhat marualing at his suddaine pauses, said: My Lord, I note your often breathings and suddaine stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your wordes neither come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might haue knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, maketh mee not a little to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuie imagination imprinted in your heart, which you bee abashed to disclose, and specially to me, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secret in this case as the deafe and dumbe person to the singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the Dukes promise, but most of all animated; because hee knew the Duke desirous to be magnified, and also he perceiued the inward hatred which hee bare towards King *Richard*, hee opened his stomacke to the bottome, and said: My singular good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a libertie, then a strait imprisonment, in auoiding of idlenesse mother of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets, I haue founde this sentence written, that no man is borne free and at libertie of himselfe onely: for one part of dutie he oweth to his parents, another part to his friends and kindred; but the natiue Countrey in the which he first tasted this pleasant & flattering world, demandeth a debt not to be forgottē. Which saying, causeth mee to consider in what case the Realme, my natiue Countrey, now standeth; and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued; what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler wee might haue; for I plainely perceiue (the Realme being in this case) must needes decay, and be brought to confusion: but one hope I haue, that is, when I consider your noble personage, your justice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue towards your naturall Country; and in like manner, the loue of your countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which so much doth abound in your person; I must needs thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath such a Prince in store, meete and apt to bee Gouernour. But on the other side, when I call to memory the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called King, so violated by tyranny, so altered by vsurped authoritie, and so clouded by blind ambition, I must needs say, that hee is neither meet to bee King of so noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant. Was not his first enterprise to obtaine the Crowne, begunne by the murther of diuers personages? did hee not secondarily proceed against his owne natural mother; declaring her openly to be a woman giuen to carnall affection and dissolute liuing? declaring furthermore, his two brethren and two Nephewes to bee bastards, and to bee borne in adultery? yet not contented, after hee had obtained the Garland, he caused the two poore innocents his Nephewes, committed to him, to bee most shamefully murthered: the blood of which little babes daily cry to God from the earth for vengeance. What surety can be in this Land to any person; either for life or goods, vnder such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and much lesse the losse of others. But now to conclude, what I meane towards your noble person, I say & affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your natiue countrey, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countreymen from the bondage of such a tyrant. And if your selfe will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I adiure you by the faith you owe vnto God, to deuise some wayes how this Realme may bee brought to some conuenient regiment, vnder some good Gouernour. When the Bishop had ended

The Dukes protestation of secrecy.

The Bishop dealeth plainly with the Duke.

The dutie of all men towards their natiue countreys.

The change of state vnder the tyranny of the vsurper.

Blood cryeth for bloody vengeance.

The Bishop perswadeth the Duke to take the Crowne vnto himselfe.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

The next dayes conference.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom hee said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you bee a sure friend, a trustie counsellor, and a very louer of your countrey. And sith that at our last communication, you haue disclosed the secrets of your hart touching the now vsurper of the crown, & also haue alittle touched the aduancement of the two noble families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare vnto you my priuie intents and secret cogitations. And to beginne, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to studie, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be gouerned: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, and so by my means he was made Protector both of the King and Realm; which authoritie being once gotten, he neuer ceased priuily to require mee and other Lords aswell spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when hee saw me somewhat sticke at, hee then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of diuers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* children to bee bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to bee fained. When the said depositions were before vs read, and diligently heard, he stood vp bare headed, saying: *well my Lords, euen as I and you would that my Nephewes should haue no wrong: so I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for these witnesses and sayings of famous Doctors bee true: For I am onely the vndubitate heire to Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by authoritie of Parliament.* Which things so by learned men for veritie to vs declared, caused mee and others to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince and Soueraigne Lord. So againe by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in full possession of the Realme, hee cast away his old conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertfords* Lands, which his brother *Edward* wrongfully deteined from me, and also required to haue the office of the high Constableship of *England*, as diuers of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long discent continued; in this my first suite, hee did not only first delay mee, and afterwards deny me, but gaue mee such vnkinde words, as though I had neuer furthered him: all which I suffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, insomuch as I abhorred the sight of him; I took my leaue of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my iourney as I came, I had diuers imaginations how to depriue this vnnaturall vncle. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion giuen. For I well saw hee was disdained of the Lords Temporall, and accursed of the Lordes Spirituall. After diuers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betweene *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountred with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmund*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerset* my Grandfathers elder brother, so that she & her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmund* be both between me and the gate, to enter into the Maiestie roiall, & getting of the Crowne; and when wee had a little communed concerning her sonne, and were departed, I then beganne to dispute with my selfe, whether I were best to take it vpon me, by the election of the Nobility and Communalty, or to take it by power. Thus standing in a wauering ambiguity, I considered first, the office, duety, and paine of a King, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can iustly and truly obserue, except he be elected of God, as K. *Dauid* was.

The Protector desired the crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24. yeeres.

The Protectors words to the Councell.

Change of State change of manners.

The Duke discloseth himselfe vnto the Bishop.

Why *Buckingham* fell from the Vsurper.

Margaret Countesse of *Richmund*.

The doubts of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once took vpon me the Gouernance of the Realme, the daughters of King *Edward* and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie done to them much pitied, would neuer cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my cosin the *Earle of Richmond*, his aides and kinsfolkes will surely attempt either to bite, or to pierce me on the other side, so that my life and rule should euer hang vnquiet in doubt of death or deposition: And if the said two linages of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* should ioine in one against me, then were I surely matched. Wherfore I haue cleerelie determined, vtterly to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crown. For as I told you, the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new named King, meeting me in the high way, praied me first for kindreds sake, secondly for the loue I bare to my Grandfather Duke *Humfrey*, who was sworne brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne *Henry Earle of Richmond*, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of the Kings daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demanded for the said espousals, but only the Kings fauour, which request I soone ouerpassed and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond* heire of the house of *Lancaster*, shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth* eldest daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* may be vnited in one.

(28) When the Duke had said, *Bishop Morton* who euer fauoured the house of *Lancaster*, was wondrous ioyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and lest the Dukes courage should asswage, or his minde alter, he said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, sith by Gods prouision, and your incomparable wisdome, this noble coniunction is first moued, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make priuie of this politicke conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Ladie of *Richmond* the Earles mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I haue an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reinald Bray*, for whom I shall send, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Brecknock*, who straite came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop declared what they had deuised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mistresse: willing her first to compasse how to obtaine the goodwill of *Queene Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter: and after secretly to send to her sonne in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marrie the Ladie *Elizabeth* assoone as hee was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reinold Bray* with a glad heart returned to the Countesse his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Isle* of *Ely*, he could make many friends to further their enterprise. The Duke knew this to bee true, but yet loth to loose the society of such a Counsellor, gaue him faire words, saying, he should shortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Flaunders*, where he did the *Earle of Richmond* good seruice.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his message to the Countesse, no meruaile if shee were glad; wherefore

wherefore ſhee deuiſed a means how to breake this matter to *Queen Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, and hauing in her family a certaine Welſhman called *Lewis* learned in Phiſicke, now hauing oportunity to breake her minde vnto him, declared that the time was come, that her ſonne ſhould be ioined in marriage with *Lady Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* ſhould out of all honour and eſtate be deiected, and required him to goe to Queene *Elizabeth* not as a meſſenger, but as one that came friendlie to viſite her, and as time and place ſhould ſerue to make her priuy of this deuiſe. This Phiſitian with good diligence repaired to the Queene, and when he ſaw time conuenient ſaid vnto her: Madame although my imagination be very ſimple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am ſo bolde to vtter vnto you a ſecret conceit, which I haue compaſſed in my braine. When I remember the great loſſe which you haue ſuſtained by the death of your louing husband, and the great ſorrow that you haue ſuffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no leſſe doe, then daily ſtudy how to bring your heart to comfort, and alſo to reuenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell tyrant King *Richard*. And firſt conſider what battel, and what miſchiefe haue riſen by the diſſention betweene the two houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, which two families if they may be ioined in one, I doubt not but that your line ſhall be again reſtored to your great ioy & comfort: you know Madam, that of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, the Earle of *Richmund* is next of bloud, & to the houſe of *York* your daughters now are heirs. If you could deuiſe the means how to couple your eldeſt daughter with the Earle of *Richmund* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the vſurper ſhould ſhortly bee depoſed, and your heire againe to her right reſtored.

(30) When the Queene had heard this friendly Motion, ſhee inſtantly beſought him, that as he had beene the firſt inuentor of ſo good an enterpriſe, that now hee would not deſiſt to follow the ſame, requiring him further, that he would reſort to the Counteſſe of *Richmund*, mother to the Earle *Henrie*, and to declare to her on the Queenes behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her husband, ſhould aſſiſt and take part with the Earle of *Richmund* her ſonne, ſo that hee would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to eſpouſe the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* ſo ſped his buſines, that he made a finall end of this buſineſſe, betweene the two mothers: ſo the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmund*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her ſon, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe ſoliciter of this conſpiracy, giuing him in charge ſecretly to inueagle ſuch perſons of Nobility to ioyne with her, & take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

(31) This *Reinold Bray* within few dayes brought to his luer Sir *Giles Daubeny*, *Sir Iohn Cheinie* Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Eſquiers, and others. In the meane while the Counteſſe of *Richmund* ſent one *Chriſtopher Vrſewicke*, a Prieſt into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmund* her ſonne, to declare to him all the agreements between her and the Queene agreede: and with all to ſhew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the firſt Inuenters of this enterpriſe: ſhee likewiſe ſent *Hugh Conway* an Eſquire into *Britaine* with a great ſumme of money, giuing him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great loue that the moſt part of the Nobility of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion offered, but with all ſpeed to ſetle his mind how to return into *England*, and therewithall aduiſing him to take land in *Wales*. When the Earle had receiued this ioyfull meſſage, hee brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his ſecrets, aduertiſing him that he was entred into a ſure & ſtedfaſt hope to obtaine the Crown of *England*, deſiring him of help towards the atchieuing of his enterpriſe, which the Duke promiſed, & afterwards performed: whereupon the Earle ſent back again *Hugh Conway*, & *Th. Ramney* to declare his cõming ſhortly into *Engl*ãd.

(32) In the meane ſeaſon the chiefe of the conſpiracy in *England* beganne many enterpriſes, which being neuer ſo priuily handled, yet knowledge thereof came to King *Richard*, and becauſe hee knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the chiefe head, and aide of this combination, he thought it moſt neceſſarie to plucke him from that part, and thereupon addreſſed his louing letrers vnto the Duke, requeſting him moſt earneſtly to come to the Court, whoſe graue aduiſe for counſell hee then ſtood much in need of; with many words of kind complements to bee vttered from the mouth of the meſſenger: but the Duke miſtruſting thoſe ſweet promiſes proceeded out of a bitter intent, and knowing K. *Richard* to ſpeak moſt fayreſt when he meant fouleſt play, deſired the king of pardon, excuſing himſelf that he was ſickly & not wel able to trauel: which excuſe the king would not admit, but ſent other letters with checking wordes, commanding him without delay to repaire to his preſence: vnto which the Duke made a determinate anſwere that hee would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediately prepared war againſt him. Whereupon *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the County of *Yorke*, Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his brother, Biſhoppe of *Exceſter*, raiſed another Armie in *Deuonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and in *Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raiſed a Company, and all this was dõne euen in one moment.

(33) King *Richard* rouzed from his pleaſures in progreſſe, ſent forth commiſſion to muſter his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towardes *Salisbury*, thinking it not beſt to diſparkle his power into ſmall parts in purſuing his enemies euery way at one, and therefore omitting all others with a great puiſſance went to ſet vpon the Duke of *Buckingham*, the head of the ſpring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meet him before hee came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wild *Welſhmen*, whom hee had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement then by liberall wages, which thing indeed was the cauſe that they fell off, and forſooke him. His march was through the forreſt of *Deane*, intending for *Gloceſter*, where hee meant to paſſe *Seuerne*, and ſo haue ioined his Army with the *Courtneys*, & other Weſtern men, which had he done, no doubt K. *Richard* had been in great ieopardie. But before hee could attaine the *Seuerne* ſide, by force of continuall raine the riuer roſe ſo high, that it ouerflowed all the country adioyning, and was not againe bounded within his owne bankes for the ſpace of ten dayes, ſo that the Duke could not get ouer, nor his complices any wiſe come vnto him, during which time the *Welſhmen* lingring idle, without wages, or victual, ſodainelie brake vp Campe and departed; whereupon the Duke was wonderouſly perplexed, not knowing how to recouer this vnfortunate chance, and deſtitute of power, to ſhew himſelfe in field, ſought to ſecure himſelfe in ſecret, till deſtiny aſſigned him a better day.

(34) A ſeruant he had in eſpeciall fauour & truſt brought vp tenderly by him, and riſen to great wealth and eſteeme, his name was *Humfrey Baniſter*, and place of reſidence neere vnto *Shrewsburie*, whither the diſtreſſed Duke in diſguiſe repaired, intending there to remain ſecret, vntil he might either raiſe a new power, or elſe by ſome meanes conuay himſelfe vnto *Britaine* to *Henry* Earle of *Richmund*: but as ſoone as the others which had attempted the ſame enterpriſe againſt the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forſaken of his Company, and could not be found, as men ſtrucke in ſodaine feare ſhifted euery one for himſelfe, many of them taking Sanctuary, but the moſt of the chiefeſt took into *Britaine*

The Duke of *Buckingham* is ſent for by the King.

The Duke of *Buckingham* refuſeth to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

King *Richards* expedition towards *Saleſbury*.

The Duke prepareth againſt the King.

Great matters letted that the complices could not ioine.

The Duke of *Buckingham* keepeth in ſecret.

The Conſpirators diſperſed.

Many fled into *Britaine* to Earle *Henry*.

taine, among whom were *Peter Courtney*, Bishoppe of *Exceſter* with his brother *Edward* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* the Queenes ſonne, and his young ſonne *Thomas* being a Childe, *Edward Wooduile* Knight, brother to the Queene, *Iohn* Lord *Wells*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Iohn Bourchier*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *Iohn Cheinie* with his two brethren, Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, and Sir *William Brandon*, *Edward Poinings* an excellent Captain, and others.

A proclamation for the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(35) *Richard* thus farre proceeded, and no enemy ſeene, his hopes were encreaſed, and feares daily leſſe; yet being a Prince politicke and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be ſecurely kept, & knowing that *Buckingham* was not fled with the reſt, made proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promiſing a thouſand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his faults, to enioy the Kings fauour, and if hee were a bondman, preſently to bee made free. *Baniſter* minding the preſent, and forgetting what was paſt, ſpread his lappe firſt to receiue this golden ſhower, and in hope of this gaine, made no conſcience to betray his own Lord, who had now laid his life vpon truſt in his hands: hee therefore repayring to the Shiriffe of *Shrewsbury*, reuealed the Duke, who diſguiſed like a poore Countriman, and digging in a groue neere vnto *Baniſters* houſe, was apprehended, and with a great guard of men was brought vnto *Salisbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and where without arraignement or iudgement, vpon the ſecond of Nouember he loſt his head: whoſe death was the leſſe lamented, for that himſelfe had been the chiefe Inſtrument to ſet the Crowne wrongfully vpon *Richards* head: and yet the treachery of *Baniſter* was moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, as many haue obſerued, not onely in the loſſe of his reward promiſed, which he neuer had, and infamy receiued, neuer after ſhaken off; but alſo in himſelfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldeſt ſonne and heire fell mad, and dyed ſo diſtracted in a Boares Stye: his ſecond ſonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third ſonne was drowned in a ſmall puddle of water; his eldeſt daughter was ſodainely ſtrucke with a foule leproſie, and himſelfe being of extreame age, was arraigned and found guilty of murder, and by his Clergy ſaued his life.

Baniſter betraied his Lord the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Buckingham beheaded.

Baniſter looſeth his reward, but findeth puniſhments.

A Commotion in *Kent*.

(36) An other Commotion at the ſame time was in *Kent*, where *George Browne* and *Iohn Gilford* Knights, *Foge*, *Scot*, *Clifford*, and *Bonting*, with fiue thouſand men attempted great matters at *Grauesend*, but hearing of the Duke of *Buckinghams* ſurpriſe, diſperſed themſelues for that time. But when King *Richard* perceiued how hee was euery where beſet, he ſent one *Thomas Hutton* vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with proffers of gold to circumuent and impriſon Earle *Henry*, who as hee feared was too well friended in thoſe forraine parts, which thing indeed this *Hutton* well perceiued, and ſo to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this baite, whereupon, thoſe that lately fled *England*, were indited of treaſon, and other of *Henries* factions beheaded, whereof Sir *George Browne*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* Knights with foure others were beheaded at *London*, and at *Exceter* for the like cauſe dyed Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married Lady *Anne* Dutcheſſe of *Exceſter*, King *Richards* own ſiſter, with others; ſo iealous was the King of his vſurped Crowne; and that nothing ſhould be laide to vnprouident foreſight, the coaſts hee ſtored with Armies of men, furniſhed the Ports with ſtore of Prouiſion, and made all things ready to withſtand Earle *Henries* arriuall. Who now hauing gotten aide of fiue thouſand *Britaines*, with forty veſſels wel furniſhed, ſet ſaile from thence the twelfth of *October*, but was taken with ſo terrible a tempeſt, that his Fleet was diſparkled, ſome into *Normandy*, and ſome compelled to returne into *Britaine*, only the Earles ſhip with one other kept the Seas, being ſore toſſed all night, and in the morning arriued in the mouth of *Poole* in the County of *Dorſet*, where hee might behold the Shore full of men ſhining in armour, to his great amaſement, whereupon hee ſent out his ſhippe-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their anſwere was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to attend the comming of the Earle of *Richmund*, to conduct him in ſafety to the Duke, who lay encamped not far off, that ſo ioyning their forces, they might proſecute *Richard* the vſurper, who being in a maner deſtitute of men, was ſore diſtracted, and deſperate in his owne deſignes. Theſe ſmooth vntruthes notwithſtanding Earle *Henry* auoided, and with a forward gale returned to *Normandy*, whence he ſent Meſſengers vnto young *Charles* King of *France*, whoſe father King *Lewis* was lately departed this life, to haue his ſafe conduct to returne into *Britaine*, which eaſily was granted with fauourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord *Henry* thus croſſed by ſea, had preſent news of *Buckinghams* ſurpriſe and death, with the flight of the Nobles eſcaped from *Richard*: who meeting with *Richmund* in *Britaine*, fell forthwith into Counſell: where firſt it was determined that Earle *Henry* ſhould take his oath to eſpouſe the Lady *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter vnto King *Edward*, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which hee ſolemnly did in the Church at *Rhedon*; and they for their parts ſware vnto him fealty, doing him homage with no leſſe reſpect then vnto their ſole and crowned King.

King *Richard* ſendeth to the Duke of *Britain*.

The Kings brother in law beheaded.

Earle *Henry* ſhipped for *England*.

(37) Of theſe proceedings King *Richard* ſoone heard, which indeed greatly appalled his thoughts, and all penſiue and ſad he returned out of the Weſt towards *London*, where to cut off the hopes of *Richmunds* further claime, hee cauſed a Parliament to be aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and therein attainted the ſaid Earle *Henry* himſelfe, and all ſuch as had fled the land in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Country, their goods to be confiſcated, and all their lands and poſſeſſions to be ſeiſed vpon to the Kings vſe, which was ſo forwarded by his lewd Counſellors, and ſo executed by his fawning followers, that ſome better affected, ſet forth the preſent and oppreſſed eſtate in theſe ſcoffing rimes, to their further diſgrace, diuulging their names in manner as followeth;

The cat, the rat, and Louell the dogge,
Rule all England vnder a hogge.

Alluding to the names of *Ratcliffe* the Kings miſchieuous Minion, and of *Catesby* his ſecret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Boare: for which *William Collingborne* Eſquier, who had been Shiriffe of *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, was condemned, and vpon the Tower hill executed with al extremity.

A ſubtle traine laid for the Earle

Earle Henry returneth into Britaine.

The Lord in Britaine.

The Lord fealty vnto

Henry & other attainted by Parliament.

William Collingborne executed for the Kings

(38) King *Richards* ſtate ſtanding in dangers abroad, and not altogether free from conſpiracies at home, hee thought it beſt policy to enter amitie with *Scotland*, which hee did for the terme of three yeeres, and the more firme to aſſure himſelfe of that King, hee intreated a marriage betwixt the Duke of *Rothſay* the kings eldeſt ſonne, and the Lady *de la Pole* daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and to the Dutcheſſe *Elizabeth* king *Richards* owne ſiſter, whom hee ſo much fauoured, as that after the death of his owne ſonne, he proclaimed *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, her ſonne and his Nephew, heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, diſinheriting King *Edwards* daughters, whoſe brothers hee had before murdered.

K Richard maketh peace with Scotland.

Iohn de la Pole Earle of Lincolne proclaimed heire apparant

(39) His feares nothing leſſened, but rather daily increaſed, he attempted once more to ſtop the Currant which led to the ſpring, to which end he ſent his Ambaſſadours loaden with gold, and many gay promiſes vnto *Francis Duke of Britaine*, offring to giue him all *Richmonds* lands, and yeerely reuenues if he would either ſend the ſaid Earle into *England* or commit him there vnto priſon. Theſe comming to the

Offers made to the Duke of Britaine.

XUM

the Dukes Court, could haue no communication with him, he lying extremely ſicke, and his wits too weake to entertaine diſcourſe. Whereupon *Peter Landoſe* his Treaſurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authority, tooke the motion into hand, vnto whom the Engliſh Ambaſſadors promiſed all the Earles Reuenews if he could bring King *Richards* requeſt to paſſe. He greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he would, promiſed to effect it, conditionally that King *Richard* would make good his offer. Thus whileſt meſſengers poſted betwixt *Peter* and *Richard*, *Iohn* Biſhop of *Elie* being then in *Flaunders*, was certified by *Chriſtopher Vrſwicke* of all the circumſtances of this purpoſe, whereupon the Biſhop with all poſſible haſt, ſent the ſame intelligence the ſame day, and by the ſame man vnto *Earle Henry* in *Britain*, willing him to ſhift himſelf and followers into *France*: who forthwith ſent *Vrſwick* vnto King *Charles* to haue his licence that he might with his good liking come into his dominions, which being obtained he cauſed the other Lords vnder pretence to viſite the ſicke Duke to eſcape into *Anion*, and two daies after changing his Apparrell with his ſeruant, waited vpon him as vpon his Maſter, and poſted thence into *France*: whoſe eſcape when the Treaſurer heard of, he ſent after to apprehend him, and that in ſuch haſt as at his entrance into the *French* dominions they were hard at his heeles.

(40) This ſuddaine flight of the Earle and of the other Engliſh Lords, the *Duke of Britaine* (being ſomwhat recouered of his dangerous ſickneſs) tooke very greeuouſly, imputing it a great diſhonour vnto himſelfe, to ſuffer the leaſt ſuſpect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therefore ſore offended at *Landoſe* whom he ſuſpected to be deepe in the deed, he ſent for *Edward Wooduile* and *Edward Pownings* two Engliſh Eſquires, vnto whom he deliuered a ſumme of money which he had promiſed to Earle *Henrie*, with a conuey vnto all the reſt of the *Engliſh*, to depart *Vannes*, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in *France*. Neither was King *Charles* backward to forward *Earle Richmond* againſt the Tyrant and Vſurper of the *Engliſh* Crowne. And the more to ioy *Henry*, *Iohn Earle of Oxford* impriſoned by King *Edward* the fourth in the Caſtle of *Hammes*; with Captaine *Blunt* his keeper, and Sir *Iohn Forteſcue* Porter of *Calis*, came vnto *Earle Henry* to take their fortunes in following of his. This Earle of *Oxford*, as we haue ſeene, was a continuall aider of King *Henry* the ſixt, againſt his oppoſite K. *Edward*, and had done many ſeruices in the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, till deſtiny had caſt downe the hopes of their ſide. Him therefore *Earle Henry* made his chiefe Counſellor for warre, as for experience, policy, valour, and faith in that buſines, no man was more meete. Whoſe proweſſe further appeared when *Earle Henry* wan the wreath at *Boſworth* field, where, in the Front of that Battell he lead the band of Archers, and euer after liued in great fauour with this King *Henry* the ſeuenth, and in great honour died the fourth yeere of King *Henry* the eight. In the like truſt for Counſell and fauour with theſe Kings, was *Richard Fox* Doctor of Diuinitie, who being then a ſtudent in *Paris*, was found by *Earle Richmond* to be the chiefeſt man for imploiment in his French buſines, which he ſo prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall aduancers, made him of his Priuie Councell, Lord Priuie Seale, and raiſed him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth, and laſtly to teſtifie in what deere eſteeme hee held him, made him Godfather to his ſonne Prince *Henrie*, who was after King of *England* with whom in great reuerence he liued a long time, euen till his eye-ſight failed through age, and did many workes of piety, whereof *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, is and ſhall be for euer a noble witnes; and his honorable care of reuerend antiquity, in preſeruing the bones of many *Saxon* Kings, and by him beſtowed in faire Monuments in the Cathedrall Church of *Wincheſter*, ſhall neuer want due celebration amongſt all that honour antiquity and glorious ſtudies. But from theſe worthy Subiects, we returne againe to their ſoueraigne King *Henry*.

(41) Whoſe beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of *Britaine* and the French King, drew many Engliſh into *France*, and filled the heart of the Vſurper with an extreme feare; therefore to accompliſh by pollicy, what was doubtfull by armes, he ſought to baite his hooke yet another way. The title hee knew ſtood with the daughters of King *Edward* (his ſonnes being murdered) and among them to Ladie *Elizabeth* the eldeſt, whoſe marriage he well ſaw muſt bring *Henry* the Crowne. But that once diuerted, his ſtreame of it ſelfe could beare no great floate, nor bring any inundation into the Land, and therefore Queene *Elizabeth* in Sanctuary muſt be Courted, that her daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This ſo cunningly was carried, by men that could carry themſelues to fit womens affections, that the King was purged of the murder of her ſonnes; ſhee made to beleeue that her ſelfe was reſpected a Dowager Queene, and ſiſter in law to the preſent King, and that himſelfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres moſt fit matches for thoſe Princes her daughters; that her ſonne *Thomas Marqueſſe Dorſet*, whilſt he followed the Runaway *Henry*, left his honorable preferments intended to him ward; and laſtly requiring a reconciliation with the Queene, forgaue all iniuries vttered againſt him out of her womaniſh paſſions, with a moſt willing heart: and indeed theſe meſſengers were ſuch Crafts-maſters as they brought Queene *Elizabeth* into a fooles Paradiſe, and made her beleeue that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things paſſed before, as the murder of her ſonnes, the diſhonour of her husband, the baſtardy of their Children, and her owne ſcandall for Sorcery: nor remembring the faithfull promiſe ſhee made to Lady *Margaret Earle Henries* mother, ſhee deliuered her fiue daughters as lambes committed to the rauening wolfe, in which act of hers is ſeene the weakenes of that Sexe, and the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined; for preſently vpon the deliuery of her daughters, ſhee ſent priuily for the Lord *Marqueſſe Dorſet* her ſonne, then reſiding in *Paris*, willing him to deſiſt from the Earles Faction, and come vnto King *Richard*, who promiſed him preferment, and that her ſelfe and daughters were in high fauour, all iniuries on both parts forgiuen and forgotten.

(42) This entrance made vnto the Tragedy intended, to furniſh the ſtage and finiſh the Scene of her owne life, the next Actor muſt be Queene *Anne*, who onely now ſtood in the Tyrants way, her death he meant ſhould giue life to his intruded regencie, and adde a further Claime and ſtrength to the poſſeſſion which he already had, by matching with his Neece the next heire vnto the Crowne the Lady *Elizabeth*, the let onely reſting that himſelfe had a wife, her death therefore muſt immediately bee ſought, yet ſo as the honorable repute of his name ſhould no waies be impeached, euer carrying himſelfe in outward ſemblance for a good religious honeſt man, and much deſirous that his people ſhould account him ſo. Firſt therefore he began to lament the barrennes of his wiues wombe, and the great dangers that the Realme was like to ſuſtaine, if himſelfe ſhould die Iſſuleſſe, complaining often thereof vnto his Nobility, but moſt eſpecially vnto *Archbiſhop *Rotheram* lately releaſed out of priſon, whereby the Prelate coniectured Queene *Anne* had not long to liue. Then refrained he her bed vnder pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a ſcourge for his owne ſinnes, which day and night he ſought to expiate by praiers: His next pollicy was, how her death might be wrought with the leaſt ſuſpect of wrong, and how taken when ſhee was gone: Therefore

King *Richard* intendeth to match with his Neece.

A ſubtill deuice.

Many faire promiſes intending foule ends.

Queene *Elizabeth* brought into fooles Paradiſe.

King *Richards* fained ſorrow.

* Of *Canterbury*.

King *Richard* refraineth his Queenes bed.

A report giuen fourth that Queene *Anne* was dead.

fore as an assay to the Peoples taste, he caused it to be giuen forth that Queene *Anne* was dead, which was so commonly diuulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne eare, and shee hauing had sufficient experience of her husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, mistrusting (and not without cause) that her life was in danger, whereupon all dismaid with a lamentable countenance, shee came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence shee had done, that the sentence of death was giuen against her already. *Richard* made it strange to see her so perplext, and with louing words and smiling semblance, bad her liue to scandalize report, and to thinke that many yeeres were yet added to her life, but whether in conceit for sorrow, or of poison, I cannot say, she died shortlie after, and was solemnely buried in the Abbey of *Westminster*.

Queene *Anne* feareth her owne death.

Her death and buriall place.

King *Richard* courteth Lady *Elizabeth*.

(43) The King thus deliuered from the bands of Matrimony, and now a widower at liberty to choose where he would, cast glances of loue towards the Lady *Elizabeth* his owne brothers daughter, and began to court her for his second Queene, but the thing was so offensiue to the law of nature, and so directly against the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and most of all the maiden her selfe, which *Richard* perceiuing, hee forbare ouer earnest pursuite to gaine his time and all fit occasions; but most especially, hauing no leasure to woo, his subiects on al sides daily reuolting, and his Nobles more and more had in suspect; among whom one was Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Darby* who had married Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmund*, Earle *Henries* owne mother: him therefore hee most mistrusted, and before he would admit his departure from Court, he commanded him to leaue his sonne and heire *George Stanley* the Lord *Strange* for his hostage, which he did, though it little auailed to binde *Darbies* affection vnto his side.

Leuit. 18. 14.

Thomas Earle of *Darby* much suspected of the King.

George Lord *Strange* deliuered in pledge to King *Richard*.

(44) In this while King *Richard* hearing that *Oxford* had escaped out of the Castle of *Hammes*, and that he, with the Captaine thereof *Iames Blunt*, were fled into *France* and ioined with *Richmund*; thought it high time to quench the sparkes in those parts, before they should rise to a higher flame; and therefore hee appointed (which was presently accomplished) the Garrison at *Callis* to strait the said Castle with a hard siege, being well assured that many welwillers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who vpon the least aduantage would be ready to play. But *Henry* not vnmindfull of his distressed friends, nor *Oxford* forgetting his kinde Hostesse Captaine *Blunts* wife, made vnto the Peece, and on the sudden put *Thomas Brandon*, with thirty approued Souldiers into the Castle, who from the walles plaied vpon the beseigers, whiles *Oxford* annoied them vpon their backes, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition, which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in Subiection to the King.

Hammes besieged by the Garrison of *Calis*.

The Earle of *Oxford* freeth his old friends from *Hammes*.

(45) *Hammes* thus restored in danger to be lost, and nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected persons; *King Richard* thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no inuasion at home, imagined that much harme could not bee done abroad: for *Henry* in *France* (as he thought) found very few friends, and was fully perswaded that the *French* Kings assistance stood more of words then in deedes. And indeed some occasion of such suspition was ministred, for *King Charles* but young, and the Princes at variance, Earle *Henry* was enforced to make suite vnto them man by man. Besides *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset* sent for by his mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from *Paris*, with purpose for *England*, which stroke great feare among Earle *Henries* part, chiefely for that all their Counsels were knowne vnto the Marquesse, which if he should reueale, their designes were made desperate. To preuent which, hee was posted after,

King *Richards* conceit.

Henry soliciteth the *French*, man by man.

Marquesse Dorset seeketh to escape frō *Henry*.

and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, *King Richard* to lessen his great charges, discharged his Nauy at seas, commanding the *welsh* to watch the shoare; Beacons to be built, and armour to bee ready at euery call; then giuing his affections leaue to entertaine more security, saw not the sword that hung ouer his head.

King Richard chargeth his Naue.

(46) But Earle *Henrie* deliuered from the feare of the Marquesse, thought it not best to prolong time, lest others vpon like purposes should bewray his intents; and thereupon obtaining a small aide of the *French* with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marquesse (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir *Iohn Bourchier* were left in pledge, hee set forward to *Roan*, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of *Seyn*: whither tidings was brought him of Queene *Annes* death, & that King *Richard* purposed to marry Lady *Elizabeth*: a feare indeed farre exceeding the former, shee being the Princesse by whom hee must claime, whereupon much distemperature arose, euery mans braine working vpon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make ouer into *England*, to interpose the proceedings ere the match was fully made, whereupon Earle *Richmund* with two thousand men onely, and a small number of ships, set sayle from *Harfleut* the fifteenth of *August*, and the seuenth day following arriued at *Milford* hauen in *Wales*, where taking land hee came vnto *Dale*, and thence the next day marched to *Hereford* west, ten miles into the Maine, from thence he marched to Cardigan, where he had newes that the Countrey was forelaid against him, but finding that vntrue, he made still forward, beating downe such Houlds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady *Margaret* his mother, to the Lord *Stanley*, *Talbot*, and others, signified vnto them, he meant to passe *Seuerne*, at *Shrewesbury*, and thence to march directly towards *London*. In his way to *Shrewesbury*, there mette him Sir *Rice ap Thomas* a man of great command in *Wales*, with a number of men to side in his quarrell, which *Henry* afterwards requited in making this his first aider the Gouernour of *Wales*.

Earle Henry teth forward iourney.

A sudden

Henry of and ioined Milford

Henry sent of arriuall Mother and others.

Sir Rice ap Thomas ioineth Henry.

(47) The Earle more boldly from *Shrewsburie*, held on his march to the Towne of *Newport*, whither Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with two thousand strong from the young Earle of *Shrewsbury* gaue him his aide. Then passed he forward to *Stafford*, and had conference there with Sir *William Stanley*, and proceeding forward was honourably receiued into the City *Lichfield*, where *Thomas* Earle of *Darby* with fiue thousand armed men had beene some few daies before, but hearing of Earle *Henries* approach remoued to *Anderson* to auoide suspition of the jealous King that kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

Sir Gilbert bot ioineth Earle Henry

Henry commeth to Lichfield.

(48) King *Richard* at this time helde his Court at *Notingham*, where being informed that Earle *Henrie* with a small company was landed in *Wales*, made small account of what he could doe, altogether relying vpon the Lord *Walter Herbert*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas* two principall men, in whom hee conceiued no little trust: yet lest this new risen spring might gather in more heads, he sent to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* willing them with a selected power to represse the insolency of this head-strong Earle: moreouer he sent for Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* Knights, all of them in great iealousie and mistrust, commanding them with their forces to come and attend vpon his person which accordingly they set forward to doe, meane while sending his Spials to know the way *Henrie* went, had intelligence that hee was past *Shrewsbury* without any impeachment; whereat storming in choller and cursing their vntruthes whom hee had put in trust, craued vengeance from heauen, and instantly

King Richard Notingham.

Iohn Duke of Norfolke, Earle of Northumberland. Tho. Earle of Surrey sent to the King. Brakenbury. Bourchier. Hungerford.

King Richard put in choller.

ſtantly intended to reuenge it himſelfe; then hauing notice the Earle was at *Lichfield*, and his partie increaſed by daily repaire, incontinently hee marſhalled his followers; and like a valiant Captaine and politike leader ſet forward his Battailes fiue and fiue in a rancke. In the middeſt of his troopes he beſtowed the Carriages belonging to his Army: and himſelfe mounted vpon a white Courſer, inuironed with his Guard, followed by his footmen, and the wings of Horſemen ranged on euery ſide, with a frowning ſterne countenance, but yet in great Pompee, ntred the towne of *Leiceſter* after the Sun was ſet, being full of indignation and ſwelling in anger, which ſomewhat he aſſwaged with threats of reuenge.

(49) Earle *Richmund* from *Lichfield* departed for *Tamworth*, and in the way met Sir *Thomas Bourchier* and Sir *Walter Hungerford* going towards the King, who vpon this vnlooked for occaſion, and knowing themſelues in what ſuſpition they ſtood, ſecretly left the company of their Captaine *Brakenbury* the night following, and wandring in waies vnknowne, with much adoe gotte ſafely vnto the Earles Companies.

(50) In the like danger through darkeneſſe of night, *Henry* himſelfe chanced to come; for albeit he was a man both valiant and forwad, and by his owne wiſdome could manage his weightieſt affaires; Yet now hauing notice that King *Richard* with a ſtrong army was neere, and that his father in law, the Lord *Stanley* ſtood as a Neuter, he was ſtrucke deepe in his dumps, and with twenty light Horſe-men lingering behind, ſo ſeriouſly muſing what was to bee done, as laſtly, he loſt the ſight of his Hoſt, and by the darkeneſſe of night miſſed his way; neither durſt he for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to *Tamworth*, but lay in a ſmall village about three miles diſtant, to his no little griefe, and his whole Armies great amaſement, the one prognoſticating it to be a preſage of an ill beginning, and the other doubting ſome detriment of their Lord, but in the dawning of the next morning cõducted by good fortune he came to his Hoſt, excuſing that his abſence was to haue conference with his ſecret friends; and then priuily departing to the Lord *Stanley*, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

(51) But contrariwiſe, King *Richard* was wrapped and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir *Iohn Sauage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, and Sir *Simond Digby*, in whom he had repoſed great truſt, but alſo in the dreadfull dreames which nightly he ſuffered, wherein to his ſeeming, terrible diuels ſo pulled and haled him, as by nomeanes he could take any reſt, which fearefull imaginations ſtrucke ſo deep an impreſſion vnto his heart, that the ſignes thereof appeared in his countenance, howſoeuer hee ſought to put them off in ſhew.

(52) But being determined to put himſelfe to the triall of battell, or elſe, (and that rather) enforced by diuine Iuſtice to pull the reuenging hand of heauen againſt him, in the morning he marched toward the enemy, and vpon a faire plaine called *Redmore* neere vnto *Boſworth* about ſeuen miles weſt from *Leiceſter* he pitched downe his Tents, and thence ſent a Purſeuant to the Lord *Stanley*, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his preſence, which if hee refuſed to doe, he ſware by Chriſts paſſion, his ſonnes head ſhould off before that he dined. The Lord *Stanley* anſwered the Purſeuant, that if the King did ſo, he had more ſonnes aliue; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This anſwere declared, King *Richard* commanded the Lord *Strange* incontinent to be beheaded, at the very ſeaſon, when the two Armies came in ſight each of others, but his counſellors tolde him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might better bee done when the field was fought: whereupon the Lord *Strange* was deliuered priſoner to the keepers of the Kings Tents, and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the Lord *Strange* eſcaped with life, by this bad tyrants too good a death.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battel being come, he drew out his Army vpon the plaine, whoſe order for fight he thus placed, the foreward he ordered of a maruellous length, to ſtrike the more terror in the Beholders hearts, in whoſe forefront he placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the reſt, the leading whereof was committed to *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, with whom was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, his ſonne, his owne Battaillion was furniſhed with his beſt approued men of warre, hauing Horſmen for wings on both ſides of his battel: and being thus ordered for their further incouragement King *Richard* mounted in place to bee heard, thus ſaid to his Souldiers.

The order of K. *Richards* battell.

(54) "My faithfull followers, friends, and ſe-
"lected Chiefetaines, I confeſſe by your puiſſant
"valours I firſt aſpired to the top of this royal eſtate,
"in obtaining & wearing this Diademe of Imperiall
"Maieſty, and maugre the ſeditious attempts of all
"cankered aduerſaries, by your prudent & politike
"counſels I haue ſo gouerned the Realm, People and
"Subiects, as I haue omitted nothing I hope apper-
"taining to the office of a iuſt Prince, nor you preter-
"mitted any thing belonging to the parts & duties
"of moſt prudent Counſellors. And albeit, that in
"the getting of the Garlãd I was prouoked by ſiniſter
"Counſell, and ſeduced by a diabolical temptation
"to cõmit a moſt wicked & deteſtable Act, yet with
"ſalt teares and ſtraite pennance I haue, I truſt, ex-
"piated that hainous offence: which abominable
"crime, I deſire you as clearely to forget, as I daily
"remember to deplore and lament. If you will now
"vouchſafe to call to minde in what caſe we al ſtand,
"and in what doubtfull petill wee are intrapped, I
"doubt not but that you will with me confeſſe, that
"if euer amity preuailed betwixt the raiſed, and the
"raiſers, betwixt the Prince and his Subiects, this
"day requires as much in vs both. For if wiſe men
"ſay true, that there is not ſo much power in get-
"ting, as there is pollicy in keeping; the one, meere
"fortunes chance, the other wiſdoms deepe inſight,
"then I with you, and you with mee this day muſt
"needs take labour and paines, to keepe that preheminence & poſſeſſion by force, which by your pru-
"dent labour I haue obtained. The diuel, you know,
"a continuall enemy to humane ſociety, a diſturber
"of Concord, and a ſower of ſedition hath entred
"into the heart of an vnknowne *Welſhman* (whoſe
"father I neuer knew, nor him euer perſonally ſaw)
"exciting him to aſpire and couet our Realme and
"Crowne, to the diſheriting of vs and of our po-
"ſterity: you ſee further how a company of Trai-
"tors, Theeues, Out-lawes, and runnagates of
"our owne Nation, beſides a number of beggerly
"Britaines, and faint hearted Frenchmen, are ayders
"and partakers of this his wicked enterprize, ready
"at hand to oppreſſe and ſpoile vs, our lands, our
"wiues and children; which eminent miſchiefes,
"if we then will withſtand and reſiſt, wee muſt liue
"and die together as brethren, fight together as Li-
"ons, and feare not to die together like men; thus
"reſolued, beleeue me, the fearefull Hart neuer fled
"faſter before the greedy Grayhound, the ſilly Larke
"before the ſpar-hauke, or the ſimple ſheepe before
"the Wolfe, then theſe proud bragging enemies
"will run out of the Field at the ſight of your manly
"viſages. For haue we not already manifeſt tokens
"of victory and triumphs? Is not the Captaine of
"the Rebellion *Richmund* a Welſh milke-ſop, of no
"courage and leſſe experience in Marſhall feates of
"war, brought vp by my brothers means, and mine,
"like a bird in a cage, in the Court of the Duke
"of *Britaine*, neuer ſaw Army, neuer wore Armour,
"without practiſe, and therfore without knowledge,

King *Richards* Oration vnto his Souldiers.

King *Richard* confeſſeth his fault.

"how to gouerne a field. What are his followers but "a sort of fainting runagates, whose fearefull eies, "as they could not behold our raies in peace, can "worse abide to see our royal banner displaied against "them in fight; for their owne consciences shall be- "wray their guilt; their oathes, their periury; their "promise, infidelity; and the sight of vs their annoin- "ted Soueraign shall either cause them shamefully to "fly, or submissiuely to yeeld themselues to our mercy. "As touching his French and Britaine aiders, their "valours haue beene well knowne to our Noble "Progenitors, often vanquished but neuer vanqui- "shers, onely braggers without any great deeds, "drunkards without discretion, Ribaulds without "reason, Cowards without resistance, and (in a "word) effeminate, lasciuious, and neuer seene in "the Front of a Battell, seeking ten times more "meanes to flie and escape, then once to assault the "face of their enemies. Therefore like valiant Cap- "taines aduance forth your Standards, and make "knowne your manhood by dint of sword, and be "yee sure that if euery one of you giue but one sure "stroke, the day wilbe ours; for how can a handfull "withstand a whole Realme? Aduance therefore "forward, my Captaines; in whom I well know is "wanting neither courage, pollicy, wisdome, nor "puissance. I therefore desire you, for your loue "to meward, the zeale of your native Countrey, "and the safety of your Prince and selues, to shew "this day your true English valour, and for my selfe "I assure you I will this day either triumph in a "glorious victory, or die in this quarrell with im- "mortall *Fame*; in whose Palace all our names shall "be enrolled, if we preferre the renowne of our "Countrey, before our owne liues. Now *S. George* "*for vs*, and *vt for victorie*; hast therefore forward, "and remember this, that I am he who with high "aduancement will preferre the valiant and hardy, "and with seuere torture will punish the dastard and "cowardly Runaway. The Oration ended, as it gaue courage to some, so gaue it distast vnto others, whose hearts carried gall though their mouthes dropped hony; some intended to turn to Earle *Henry*; some determined to take part with the strongest; and some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so vn- sure was he of his Subiects loyaltie, that had been so trayterous to his owne Nephewes.

The diuers opinions of King Richards host.

(55) *Earle Richmond* then seeing King *Richard* thus embattelled, sent to the Lord *Stanley* who stood houering aloofe off, to come helpe him to order his fight, whose answere was, that *Henry* should doe it himselfe, and that he would come to him when he saw time conuenient, which strucke the Earle into a great dumpe, but now hauing no time for delay, ne- cessity compelled him to order his men. The Fore- ward he made single according to his small number of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, o- uer whome *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* was Captaine, the right wing was led by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*; and the left assigned to Sir *Iohn Sauage*: Earle *Henry* himselfe with his vncle *Iasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* gouerned the Main-Battell, better repleniſhed with horse, then foote, whose whole number consisted hardly of fiue thousand, the kings doubling the number and more. The Battels thus ordered, *Earle Henry* armed at all peeces sauing his helmet, rode from ranke to ranke, and from wing to wing, incouraging his men, and the more to enerease their hot spirits, mounted vp- on a little banke, the better to be seene and heard, these wordes he vttered in all their hearing.

Lord Stanley sent for to Earle Henrie.

The Earle marshaleth his bat- tailons.

The Earle of Oxford Captaine of the Archers.

"(56) If euer God gaue victory to a iust quar- "rell, if euer he aided warre for the tuition of a king- "dome or Countrey, or euer succoured them that "fought for the reliefe of poore Innocents, oppres- "sed by tyranny, then no doubt my friends and fel- "low souldiers, but that this day he will giue vs a "triumphant victory. For if we consider for what, "and against whom we fight, we may not doubt but "that God himselfe will fight for vs. The thing "which we are here ready to try by sword, is the li- "berty of the Land from vnder the vsurpation and "yoake of a Tyrant, and hee, against whom we "draw sword, is the Monster (for I may not call him "man) which feareth neither *God*, *Lawes*, *Iustice*, "nor *Humanity*, an homicide, a murderer of his "owne kindred, a destroier of the Nobilitie, a Mawle "to his subiects, and a firebrand to the whole King- "dome, whom iust vengeance craueth to haue quen- "ched: and consider I pray you, who be of his band, "euen such as by murder and vntruth to their kin "and Countrey, haue got wrongfull possession of "our rightfull inheritance, letting your wiues weep, "and Orphanes wander, to seeke their liuelihood "where they can get it, whose teares I doubt not "crie in the eares of the Lord, who will punish these "Malefactors either with pricke of conscience cow- "ardly to flie, or deliuer themselues into our handes "without Battell. Consider further, I pray you, "that in yonder great Battell are men brought more "for feare then for loue, by force compelled and not "willinglie assembled; persons that desire more the "destruction, then the life of their Captaine, and fi- "nally a multitude, whereof the most part be our "friends and the least part his that leades them; and "surely it stands in suspence, whether the malice of "the souldiers towards their Generall, or his feare "conceiued against them, be the greater, for this is a "rule infallible, that as ill men daily couet to destroy "the good, so God appointeth the good men to con- "found the ill, and if it be true that Clerkes preach "that the one is to be hated, and the other beloued, "who then can spare yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of "*Gloceſter* vntruly calling himselfe king, that hath "broken both the Lawes of God and man, in the "blood of his brother, the murder of his Nephews, "the death of his wife, the slander of his owne mo- "ther, and the bastardizing of his brethren. If you "haue not heard, yet I haue read that *Tarquin* the "proud, for the rape of *Lucretia*, lost the Kingdome "of *Rome*: yet was not his fact so detestable as *Ne- "roes*, who slew his owne mother, to behold the "place of his conception: but yonder vsurper is "both these persons in one, a *Nero* in murder of his "young Nephewes, and in defaming the wombe of "his owne conception: and a *Tarquine* intending to "defile, and carnally to know his owne Neece vnder "pretext of holy Matrimony, which Lady you are "witnes, I haue sworne shalbe my wife. This is the "quarrell for which we are here this day assembled, "and for whose equity we craue God to be iudge: "a good beginning of his Protection we haue alrea- "dy seene, in escaping the treasons laid for vs in *Bri- "taine*, the dangers of Seas, and our safe arriuage vnto "this place, not hunted by anie, but rather our selues "hunting after that furious Bore; who this day, and "in this place, is so intangled in his owne toyle, as his "crooked tuskes shall not be able to gnaw the cords "of his snare asunder, nor himselfe haue power, to "free himselfe from his pursuers, whose Iauelines (I "doubt not) shall be died in the blood of this filthie "swine, and shall well rid the world of an vglie hogd- "backed Monster: which thing to accomplish let vs "remember, that victory is not gotten by multitude "but by manhood, but the smaller number we bee, "the greater is our glory if we vanquish, if vanqui- "shed fretting time shall neuer consume our memo- "ry, that died to free our selues, and Nation from "the oppression of an vsurping Tyrant; and thus I "assure you, that for so iust a cause you shall finde "me this day rather a dead Carrion vpon the colde "ground, then a Carpet prisoner kept aliue for re- "proch. Aduance therfore forward like true hearted "*Englishmen*, display your Banner in defence of your "Countrey, get the day and be Conquerors, loose "the Battell, and be villaines; God and *Saint George* giue vs a happy successe. Which no sooner was said but that the Souldiers buckled their Helmes, the Archers stript vp their sleeues, bent their bowes and frushed

Henry Earle of Richmonds ora- tion.

The resolute Earle Henries souldiers.

frushed their feathers attentiuely listening when the Trumpet should giue the sound of Battell.

(57) Betwixt both the Armies there lay a great marish, which Earle *Henry* left vpon his right hand, with purpose to haue that for a defence, as also the Sunne at his backe, and face of the enemy, which when King *Richard* perceiued, with sound of trumpet and shout of his Army, hee passed the Marish, when the bow-men on both sides let freely flie their arrowes: the rest comming to encounter with strokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to be encompassed by the enemy, commanded euery of his rankes to keepe within ten foot of his Standard, which being accomplished, and their fight a while stayed, their opposites mistrusting some fraud or deceit, ceased likewise from theirs, many of them willing inough so to doe; notwithstanding, the L. *Stanley* at the same time ioyning with the Earle, a cruell battell was againe begunne, and manfully continued vpon either part. Till lastly, King *Richard* hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Richmund* was but slenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and them also busied in their owne guardes, meant by his incounter to finish the day, as the onely man, vpon whom stood all the hope of his enemies successe; and therefore hauing the markes of Earle *Henry*, made from the range of his owne battell, and vpon the spur with his Speare in his Rest, ranne violently towards him in a furious spleen; in which rage, at the first brunt, hee bare downe and ouerthrew the Earles Standard, and slew Sir *William Brandon* the bearer thereof; next matching with Sir *Iohn Cheiney* a man of great might, manfully threw him to the ground, thereby making an open passage by dint of sword vnto the Earle himselfe: *Richmund* beholding the high valour of *Richard*, most lion-like coped with this cruell Bore, and held him maugre his tuskes at his sword point, betwixt whom the fight was so desperate, that *Henries* company were strucke in great despaire; at which very instant Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thousand tal fresh Souldiers, who entred the battell with such courage and valour, as they bare down all before them where they went, whereat the Kings side began to faint, and to giue ouer fight, but the more resolute a while maintaining their ground, and now mistrusting treason among themselues, turned their backes and ran away, whereby King *Richard* presently perceiued the downefall of his ill raised glory, and the full period of his short raigne: and all hope of resistance now past, a swift horse was brought to escape the field, with comforts that another day might set the victory on his side: but with a mind vnmatchable in hatred against *Henry*, or rather to haue his death registred in fames honorable role, whose life had beene blotted with the penne of diuulged infamie, hee hastily closed his helmet, saying, that that day should make an end of all battels, or else in this now in trying he would finish his life, which last was presently performed; for thrusting into the middest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting among the thickest, hee obtained more honor in this his two howres fight, then he had gained by all the actions of his whole life.

(58) There died that day with him *Iohn* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, *Sir Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more: *Sir William Catesby* one of King *Richards* chiefe Counsellors with two others, were taken and two daies after beheaded at *Leicester*, among them that escaped were *Frances Vicount Louell*, *Humfrey*, and *Thomas Stafford* brethren, which three tooke Sanctuary at *S. Iohns* in *Glocester*. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* though he submitted himselfe vnto *Henry*, yet was hee committed to the Tower and therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries* part onely ten men were slaine, as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* wrote the newes from the field, whereof for note Sir *william Brandon* was the best, in all to the number of foure thousand men. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of *August*, and yere of Christ Iesus 1485. in the field *Redmore*, neere vnto *Bosworth*, in the Countie of *Leicester*; after which Earle *Henry* gaue thankes vnto God, and commending his Souldiers, with sufferance for them to take the spoiles of the field, dubbed many of the knights; which his doings was so acceptable to the whole Army, as with great applause they all cryed *King Henry*, *King Henry*; whose forwardnesse to him-ward, when the Lord *Stanley* perceiued, hee tooke K. *Richards* Crowne, found among the spoile of the field, and set it vpon the Earle of *Richmunds* head, thereby confirming the election of the people, at which instant beganne the raigne of this new King.

(59) The slaine body of the vsurping Tyrant, all tugged, and torne, naked, and not so much as a clout left to couer his shame, was trussed behind *Blanch Seint-Leger* (or *White Bore*, a Pursuant at Armes,) like a hogge or Calfe, his head and Armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legges on the other, and all besprinckled with mire and bloud, was so brought into *Leicester*, and there for a miserable spectacle the space of two dayes lay naked and vnburied, his remembrance being as odious to all, as his person deformed, and lothsome to be looked vpon: for whose further despite, the white Bore his cognizance was torne downe from euery Signe, that his monument might perish, as did the monies of *Caligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the Senate: Lastly, his body without all funeral solemnity was buried in the Gray-Friers Church of that City. But King *Henry* his Successor, of a princely disposition, caused afterward his Tombe to bee made with a picture of Alablaster, representing his person, and to be set vp in the same Church, which at the suppression of that Monastery was pulled downe, and vtterly defaced; since when his graue ouergrowne with nettles and weedes, is very obscure and not to be found. Onely the stone chest wherin his corpes lay, is now made a drinking trough for horses at a common Inne, and retaineth the onely memory of this Monarches greatnesse. His body also (as tradition hath deliuered) was borne out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed vnder the end of *Bow-Bridge*, which giueth passage ouer a branch of *Stowre* vpon the west side of the Towne. Vpon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a stone of some height, against which King *Richard*, as hee passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strucke his spur, and against the same stone as he was brought backe, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken, as a wise woman (forsooth) had foretold, who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his spurre strucke, his head should be broken; but of these things, as is the report, so let be the credite. Dead he is, and with his death ended the factions a long time continued betwixt the Families of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*; in whose bandings, to bring, set & keep the Crown on their heades, eight or nine bloudy set battels had beene fought, and no lesse then fourescore persons of the bloud-royall slaine, as *Philip Commines* the French Writer saith; many of them being wel knowne to himselfe: after which stormes, and this Tirants death, a blessed vnion ensued, by ioining those houses in *Henry* of *Lancaster*, and *Elizabeth* of *Yorke*.

(60) Hee was of Stature but little, and of shape deformed, the left shoulder bunching out like a Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face short, a cruell countenance, in whose aspect might bee perceiued both malice and deceit. When hee stood musing (as hee would doe oft) his vse was, to bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand euer on his dagger, which euer hee would chop vp and down in the sheath, but neuer draw it fully out. Pregnant in wit hee was, wily to faine, apt to dissemble, and haugh-

The purpose of Earle Henry.

The fight begun

Strength & courage of King Richard.

Two Chieftains cope together.

William commeth with new supplie.

Kings side lower fight.

Valiant stage of King Richard.

King Richard slaine in the field.

Is beheaded.

The number slain at Bosworth field.

Harding saith 27.

Henry proclaimed king in the field.

Dead Richards body starke naked, was trussed vp to Leicester.

Hollinshed.

King Richard laid naked to be scene of all.

His badge defaced and torne downe.

K. Richards monument.

K. Richards coffin made a drinking trough.

A flying prophecy of King Richard.

With Richards death dieth the quarrell of Yorke and Lancaster.

Phil. Comi. l. 5. c. 7.

The description of K. Richard. Iob. Hardings continuer.

haughty of Stomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *York*, and a Collegiat Chauntery in *London*, neere vnto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barking*; he endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with fiue hundred Marks of yeerely reuenew; and disforrested the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his brother had incloſed for his game: he raigned two yeeres, two moneths, and one day, and was buried, as we haue ſaid.

Iohn Stow.

Iohn Rouse.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the ſecond daughter and Coheire to *Richard Neuil*, the ſtout Earle of *Warwicke* and *Saleſbury*, was firſt married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the ſonne to King *Henry* the ſixth, and after his death was remarried to *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Anno* 1472. afterwards by vſurpation King of *England*, with whom in great State and ſolemnity ſhee was Crowned *Queene* the ſixth of *July*, and yeere of Saluation, 1483. She was his wife to the laſt yeere of his Raigne, and then leauing her husband to chooſe another *Queene*, was laid at reſt in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, in this thing happy, that ſhe ſaw not the death of the Tyrant.

His Iſſue.

(62) *Edward* the ſonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely childe of them both, was borne in the Caſtle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmund*, in the Countie of *Yorke* Anno 1473. and being vnder foure yeeres of age was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth, the ſeuenteenth of his Raigne; but his father King *Richard* in the firſt of his vſurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the foure & twentieth of *Auguſt*, and yeere of *Chriſt*, 1483. he then being about ten yeeres of age, vnto whom alſo the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his father, and much vpon the time of his mothers deceaſe, ſaw not the reuenge that followed the Tyrants Raigne, whoſe bad life no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely offices done him in his life, and at his death.

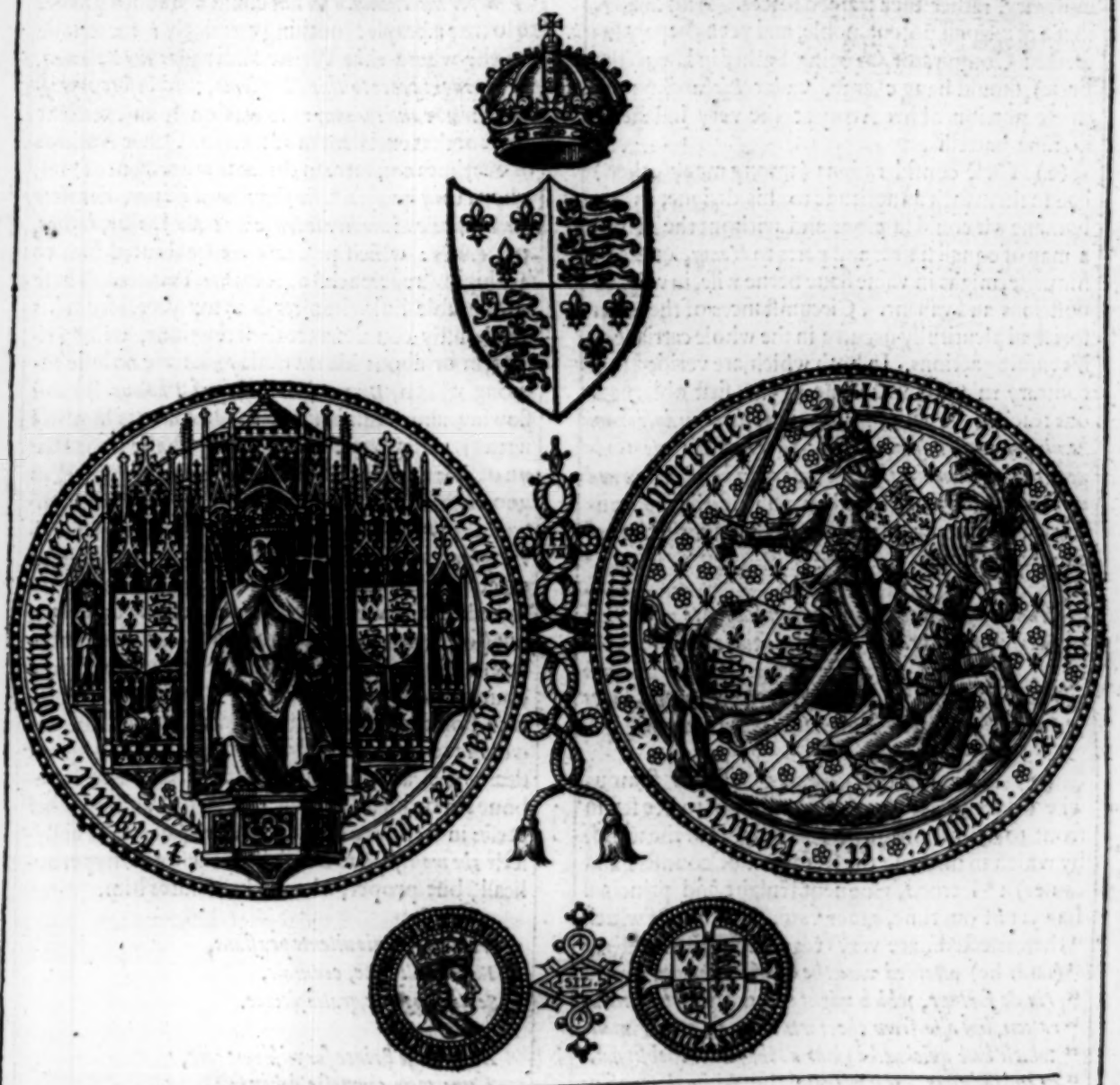
Iob. Roſſ. Warw.

Camb. Brit.

HENRY

HENRIE THE SEVENTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 57



CHAPTER XX.

HENRIE of that name the ſeauenth, hauing by ſuch mixt meanes of *valor* and *practiſe* as are alreadie deſcribed, obtained the poſſeſſion of *Englands* Crown, we muſt now preſent vnto you his actions in the perſon and ſtate of a King, maintained by him with like mixture of *courage* and *skill* as it was atchieued; to the verification of that rule, *That things are kept by the ſame Arts whereby they were gained.* In deſcribing whereof, wee meane nothing leſſe, then for humoring the vaine admirers of phraſe and conceit, to mount vp into Panegyricall flouriſhes, in honor of the man, though his excellent vertues would worthily beare, if not duely alſo exact them: yet may wee not omit to obſerue, that as in his attaining to the Crowne, there was (through diuine prouidence) a concurring diſpoſition of all important Circumſtances, without which his attempt might haue proued diſaſterous; ſo hee, hauing now poſſeſſed the Soueraigne power, and maſtered the State in the maine pointes, eaſily made circumſtances waite vpon his wiſdom, and to take their forme from his directions: Of the firſt kind, wherein his felicity deſerues to be celebrated, were theſe. That he by the *Male*-line a meere ſtranger to both the roiall houſes, as deſcended from the *Welſh* and *French*, and by the *female* ſpringing out of ſuch a family of *Lancaſter* (the *Beauforts*) as by the ſame law which enabled it to inherite in ordinary eſtates, was made incapable of ſucceſſion in the Regalitie, ſhould ſo ſafely be conuaied away into forraine parts, there to continue an head of expectation and reuolt, during

Generall obſeruations concerning this Princes whole courſe.

D. 1485. Auguſt. ſtate of his ſ com-ſement.

v. p. 1649

Concurrence of furtherances to K. Henries deſignes.

ring the inteſtine troubles and dangers, to him ineuitable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme of *England* ſhould bee ſo auerted from *Richard*, (though a very honorable, wiſe, iuſt and neceſſary Prince, after hee was ſomewhat ſetled) as for his ſake, to neglect (in a ſort) ſo many naturall heires of the houſe of *Yorke*, ſome of them in right preceding *Richard*, ſuch were the children of *Edward* the fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richards* elder brethren, and all of them iuſt barres to the Earle of *Richmund*, who ſcarce had any thing of a legal title, or of a warrantable intention; but his purpoſe to remoue an *Vſurper*, and marry the *Lady Elizabeth*, the rightfull inheritrice. Thirdly, *a long and fatall ſlackneſſe* of *Richard* in his warlike preparations, through the meer contempt of his enemy the Earle, which was the cauſe, that both hee landed ſecurely, and *Richard* was driuen to fight in a manner with tumultuary, rather then trained forces. And finally, that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deepely ſuſpected Conſpirator, (as being Father in law to the Earle) ſhould haue charge, vnder *Richard*, ouer a chiefe portion of his Army at the very inſtant of ioyning battell.

* *Fabian* ſaith, *Richard* fearing little, prouided little defence.

(2) Theſe conſiderations (among many other) had in them ſuch an aptitude to his deſigne, as no humane wit could faſhion, and without the which a man of equall ſtarres and parts to *Henry*, or *Henry* himſelfe, might in vaine haue beene wiſe, in vain, induſtrious and valiant. Circumſtances of the other ſort ſhall plentifully occurre in the whole carriage of his enſuing actions. In both which, are verified two contrary rules; for the ſtate of the firſt obſeruations teacheth vs with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctorum hominum conſilia hæc vna vincit Dea, This one Goddeſſe can effect more, then the wits of an hundred learned men*; ſpeaking as an Heathen man of that famous Idole Fortune; and in the ſecond, that which *Iuuenall* excellently noteth;

Plautus.

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia, ſed te
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus.

Iuuenal.

No Goddeſſe wants, where Prudence guids, though Chance
A Goddeſſe deemd, fond Men to Heauen aduance.

(3) Now for the *Character* of this famous wiſe Prince (which with reaſon ought to bee ſet in front to his actions, as certaine lights of the mind, by which to diſcerne the fountaine of counſels and cauſes) a * learned, eloquent Knight, and principal Lawyer of our time, giues vs many things, of which "theſe ſelected, are very regardable. *This King* "(ſaith he) *attained vnto the Crowne, not onely from a* "*priuate fortune, which might endew him with a mode-* "*ration, but alſo from the fortune of an exiled man,* "*which had quickned in him all the ſeedes of obſeruati-* "*on and induſtry. His wiſdom* (ſpeaking thereof, as "it was in his raigne) *ſeemed rather a dexterity to* "*deliuer himſelfe from dangers when they preſſed him,* "*then any deepe foreſight to preuent them a farre off.* "*Iealous hee was ouer the Greatneſſe of his Nobility, as* "*remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp. Great and de-* "*uout reuerence hee bare vnto religion, as hee that* "*employed Eccleſiaſticall men in moſt of his affaires. In* "*his gouernment hee was led by none, ſcarſely by his* "*lawes, and yet he was a great obſeruer of formality in* "*all his proceedings, which notwithſtanding was no im-* "*pediment to the working of his will. In his warrs* (mea-"ning domeſticke) *he was rather confident then en-* "*terpriſing, by which alſo hee was commonly not the* "*poorer. Generally, hee ſeemed inclinable to liue in peace,* "*and in the quenching of the Commotions of his ſubiects,* "*hee was euer ready to atchieue theſe wars in perſon,* "*ſometimes reſerning himſelfe, but neuer retiring him-* "*ſelfe. Of nature he coueted to accumulate treaſure: in* "*expending whereof hee neuer ſpared charge that his af-* "*faires required, and in his foundations was magnificent* "*enough. He choſe commonly to employ cunning perſons,* "*as he that knew himſelfe ſufficiently to make vſe of their* "*vttermoſt reaches, without danger of being abuſed with* "*them himſelfe.*

The deſcription of K. *Henries* minde and qualities.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon, ſieg. MS.*

(4) * Another hauing a purpoſe to write in *Engliſh* the hiſtory of this *Henry* (an argument which for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wiſe a man as *Henry* himſelfe,) hath among many extraordinary praiſes (moſt what framed out of his ſtrong affection) truly noted concerning his atchieuement of "the Crowne: *That the Almighty hand of God brought* "*him ouer the toppe of the higheſt and moſt dangerous* "*obſtacles, to ſway this Scepter, when neither Title,* "*Power, nor* (great) *Probability could giue him ſo much* "*as one ſound puſh to ſet him forward.* And of the man "himſelfe, *That hee entertained that, as ſodaine, as So-* "*ueraigne change of fortune, with ſuch moderation, and* "*vntranſported diſcretion, as it well appeared hee had* "*throughly conquered himſelfe, before hee ſubdued the* "*Vſurper his enemy.* What could bee added greater to ſo true a prayſe? nothing certainely; for that he (as elſe-where that Writer ſaith) *was the Salomon, who brought peace to this Kingdome, long before oppreſſed by warre and tyranny*: it was onely an excellent effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors of our times concurre in the ſame iudgement of him, whom they prayſe * *for ſingular wiſdome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; for* * *policy, iuſtice, and grauity*: which princely vertues cauſed him to bee highly reuerenced of forraine Princes. Theſe honourable Eulogies after ſo many yeeres from his death, iuſtly countenance their relations, who * writing, in or about his owne dayes auerre no leſſe; among whom, *Bernard Andreas* of *Tholouz* is moſt flowing and abundant. This *Andreas* (as himſelfe writes) was afterward entruſted with the inſtruction of Prince *Arthur* (eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry*) in good letters, though hee was blind; and hauing aſwell the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Hiſtoriographer*, (how hardlie ſoeuer thoſe two faculties meet with honour in the ſame perſon) meant to haue hiſtorified and poetized the Acts of this king, but (for want of competent and attended inſtructions in many places of chiefe importance) left his labour full of wilde breaches, and vnfiniſhed; yet in ſuch points as he hath profeſſed to know, not vnworthy to bee vouched: for there is in him a great deale of cleare elocution, and defæcated conceit aboue the ordinary of that age. Hee, among other verſes in honour of this our *Henry* (whom he enſtyleth *the moſt ſapient King*) hath theſe not hyperbolicall, but proper, wherein hee ſalutes him,

* *Iohn Do. of S. MS.*

* *Hall. and P. 909.*
* *Io. Stow's Hen. 7.*

* *Bir. Aud. Fabian Pol. Verg. &c.*

Princeps ingenio nitente præſtans,
Famâ, religione, comitate,
Senſu, ſanguine, gratiâ, decore.

A peereleſſe Prince for wiſdome rare,
Fame, piety, courteſie, debonaire,
Knowledge, birth, grace, and feature faire.

Whereby alſo, after theſe pourtracts of his inward faculties, and gifts, may be gueſſed that a body they had for their mortall manſion, no way vnſutable; and it ſeemes by that *Maieſty* (ſo they call the Images of our Kings, which are carried for repreſentation in their funerall Chariots) which at this day is * extant, that hee was of ſtature tall and ſlender, ſomwhat round viſaged, and though in * his childhood ſickly, yet of aſpect in all his outward lineaments, ſo noble and gracious, as well preſaged, and afterward fitted the moſt fortunate height to which he was now aſcended. But notwithſtanding theſe great praiſes, there want not ſome who think him to haue been an heauy Father to the common wealth, which by ſundry courſes he greatly laboured to bring vnder, as a ſeeming ground-worke of his owne, and his poſterities ſecurity. And in his laſt dayes *Auarice*, (the naturall maladie of age) tooke him ſtrongly, the enuy whereof he partly diuerted from himſelfe by

* *Mem. in Wiſ.*
* *Bernard. Andr.*

by the ſplendor of ſome few publik buildings, which as they gaue the people cauſe to talke of their braueric, ſo they alſo inſenſibly wrought in their light minds a mittigation of their burthen.

(5) Let vs now behold his vertues as they are ſhiningly deduced into action. After the Battell he hauing truly firſt aſcribed the whole good of his ſucceſſe to God, commanded, that to the body of * his enemy King *Richard*, *an honourable interrement* ſhould be giuen in the Friers at *Leiceſter*, where notwithſtanding * *hee was with little reuerence buried.* From thence the King made ſpeed to *London*, as to the chiefe ſeat and Epitome of the Engliſh Monarchie, whithout which no Prince found himſelfe heere ſecure enough: he entred the Citie vpon a * Saturday, as vpon a Saturday he obtained his triumphall and Crowning victory. The Mayor of London and his fellowſhip,* receiued him in violet at *Harnſey Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shordich*) was honoured with a very great troope of the Peeres, and Nobles in his traine, at which our Poeticall Hiſtorian *Andreas* was preſent, and ſaluted the victorious Prince with certaine Latine *Sapphicks*, which he ſung vnto him as himſelfe writeth. But *Henry* ſtaied not in Ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which (it ſeemes) hee did purpoſely eſchue, for that (*Andreas* ſaith) hee entred * couertly, meaning belike, in an Horſe-litter or cloſe Chariot. His lodging was in the Biſhoppe of *Londons* Pallace, where (after publike offertories and ſolemne thankes giuen to God in the Cathedrall Church of *S. Paul*) the buſineſſe of his Coronation was ſeriouſlie conſulted of; which was afterward (vpon his remoue to the Tower, where hee * created his vncle *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bedford*, and other Eſtates) with due pompe and rituall magnificence * accompliſhed at *Weſtminſter*.

(6) But the naturall ſolder and indiſſoluble cement, which muſt make this Kingdome ſtand, was his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter of the late *Edward* the fourth. This as a point of moſt importance was with great maturity and iudgement againe thought vpon, when *Henry* was now already crowned. The remoter danger, ſuppoſed to reſide in the perſon of *Edward* Earle of *Warwick* (only ſonne and heire, euen in his infelicities, to that vnfortunate Prince *George* Duke of *Clarence*) was preuented; for he had beene, by King *Henries* direction, brought vp priſoner from the Manour of * *Sherif-hutton* in *Yorkſhire*, (where aſwell he, as the Lady *Elizabeth* were kept by King *Richard* vnder guard) and immediatly ſhut vp within the Tower of *London*.

(7) *Frances* * Duke of *Britaine* had offered *Henrie* before his departure to match him with the Ladie *Anne* his eldeſt daughter and ſole heire, but hee was otherwiſe affected, as placing his loue where it might afford him greateſt & preſenteſt ſtrengths. *Andreas* addeth, that King *Edward* himſelfe deſtinated his eldeſt daughter vnto *Henry* then Earle of *Richmund*, and ſought in his life time to haue effected it; but his meaning being (belike) ſuſpected, as but a drift to get *Henry* into his hands, the motion tooke no hold as reſerued till God had cleared the way of all ſuch impediments, as might hinder the conſolidation of both the Royall families, *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, (after their ſo mortall and confuſiue maſſacres) in the perſon of one Soueraigne.

(8) The Lady her ſelfe, beſides youth and beautie (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her from her * infancy *a wonderfull feare, and care to pleaſe God, and a like dutieous and humble carriage toward her parents: her brothers and ſiſters ſhee did exceedinglie loue, and as well toward the poore, as all the Seruants of Chriſt, ſhee bare a ſingular affection.* * Her Vncle (the late vſurper) in contempt of God and man (whoſe Lawes he was ſo long accuſtomed to violate, till the iuſt reward thereof did at the length ouertake him) inceſtuouſly meant to haue defiled her, vnder the abuſed name of Matrimonie. When therefore the newes of his death came to her eare, the ioy of her heart brake foorth into theſe words. * *So yet at the laſt thou haſt, O God, regarded the humble, and not deſpiſed their praiers. I well remember, neither ſhall I at any time be weary to remember, that my moſt noble Father of famous memory meant to haue beſtowed me in mariage vpon this moſt comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of him; but my Father being dead, I want ſuch good friends as ſhould motion ſo great a matter: and perhaps hee will take a wife from forraigne parts, whoſe beauty, age, fortune, and dignity ſhall bee more then mine. What ſhall I ſay? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to * any. What if I acquainted my mother therewith? Baſhfulneſſe forbids: What if ſame of the Lords? Audacity wanteth. O then that I might but confer with him! perhaps in diſcourſe I might let ſlippe ſuch a word as might diſcouer my intention. What will bee I know not: this I know, that Almighty God cannot tell how to abſent himſelfe from them who truſt in him. Therefore I make an end of thinking, and repoſe my whole hope vpon thee, O my God, doe with mee according to thy mercy.* Shee ſecretly thus reuoluing all matters, and reſoluing of them in her minde, was heard from aboue; for King *Henry* hauing vnderſtood the honour, chaſtity, and ſingular vertues of the maiden Princeſſe, the rather inclined to make her the Soueraigne of his affections: aſſigning therefore * a day, wherein (for the vtter aboliſhment of all Hoſtilities betweene the two Roiall houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*) to eſtabliſh an vnion of Families by coniunction of their two perſons in marriage.

(9) The meane while he wiſely goes on to ſecure the maine, which conſiſting in ſetling the generall ſtate, and ſecuring his owne perſon, he, for the one, * holds a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and for the other, inſtitutes a certaine number of choiſe * Archers, with allotment of fees and maintenance, which vnder a peculiar *Captaine*, and the name of *Yeoman of the Guard*, he aſſigned to that ſeruice, for him and his ſucceſſors, Kings and Queenes of *England*. In the Parliament was attainted *Richard* late Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſtiling himſelfe by vſurpation, *King Richard the third*; and with him by name many other of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet withall to lay a foundation for his green Gouernment in loue and clemencie, hee, during the Parliament proclaimed free pardon and entire reſtitution of their fortunes, to all ſuch as ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy, and made oath of Fidelity. A ſeaſonbale and neceſſarie Act; Whereby hee greatly weakened malicious humors, and wanne to himſelfe no ſmall acceſſion of friendſhip and ſeruices; for many forſooke Sanctuaries, and tooke vp their refuges in his goodneſſe and moſt gracious fauour. And to remoue all ſcandall and danger from his friends, he reuerſed and reuoked all former Acts, hurtfull either to himſelfe, or to them for his cauſe, the whole houſe of Parliament, * concurring finally in eſtabliſhing by a ſolemne Act, the Crowne vpon him, and his heires for euer.

(10) After diſſolution of which Parliament, the King redeemes ſuch pledges, as he had left in *France* for money borrowed, and aſſumes into his Councel thoſe two renowned agents in aduancing his fortunes, *Iohn Morton* and *Richard Foxe*, as the moſt neceſſarie parts and ſupports of his State; the former of which, not long after (*Thomas Bourchier* dying) was elected and enthronized *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the latter, was foorthwith aduanced to be Lord Keeper of his Priuy Seale, & ſucceſſiuely preferred to the Biſhoprickes of *Exeter*, *Bath* and *Welles*, *Durham*, and *Wincheſter*.

(11) The moſt wiſhed and moſt welcome * day of marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* being now come, was celebrated by them with all religious and glorious magnificence, and by the people, with * fires of ioy, dancings, ſongs and bankets through *London*, all ſorts and ſexes beſeeching

† *Petr. Andr.* MS. Her Chriſtian & chaſte meditation about mariage.

† How then did *Andreas* know it? either hee doth poetize heere, or elſe had it from her after-relation.

† *Iohn Da. of Hereford* MS. *Holinſhed.*

*7. Nouemb. * *Hollinſh.*

* The Kings Guard firſt inſtituted.

King *Richard* and others attainted.

† *Holinſhed.* The Crowne eſtailed vpon King *Henry* and his heires.

The King marieth the Lady *Elizabeth.*

* 18. *Ianuary.* 1486.

* *Petr. Andr.* MS.

ching *Almightie God to send the King and Queene most prosperous succesſe, and an infinite encreaſe of the common ioy, by beſtowing vpon them a young Prince, and other Iſſue at his good pleaſure*: Which prayers (ſaith *Andreas*) our Lord Ieſus Chriſt vouchſafed to heare; the Queene within a while after, proouing with Child, of whom ſhee was happily deliuered in the moneth of September following at *Wincheſter, which to the moſt fortunate King was a new happineſſe, to the Queene a great reioycement, to the Church a ſoueraigne delight: to the Court an exceeding pleaſure; and in briefe to the whole kingdome an incredible contentment*. Nor that without reaſon, as it afterward appeared; for (if God had beene pleaſed to haue granted longer life) *not England onely, but the whole world ſhould in ſuch a pledge haue had cauſe of eternall reioycement*. But God who gouernes all thinges, and in whoſe hand are aſwell the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their liues, diſpoſed otherwiſe.

Prince *Arthur* borne.

*Ber. Andr. M.S.

(12) Meanewhile there were not a few who did enuie to King *Henry* this vnexpected height of felicitie; but they who firſt diſcouered themſelues, were certaine remaines of the late ouerthrow at *Boſworth*, whoſe diffidence, or euill will, was greater then to relie vpon King *Henries* clemencie, or to behold the dazeling brightnes of his new atchieued glorie; and for that cauſe refuſed to forſake the Sanctuarie, which they had taken at *Colcheſter*. Theſe were the Lord *Louell*, *Sir Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother. Who, while the King, ſecure of dangers behind him, was in his Progreſſe at *Yorke*, meaning by affability, bountie and other his wiſeſt courſes, to gaine the good wils of the *Northern* people, (with whom the memory of King *Richard* was very deare) and ſo to weaken the ſtrengths and hopes of all future conſpiracies, forſooke their refuge, and ſecretly in ſeuerall places gathered forces, therewith to ſurprize and dethrone the King. The Lord *Louell* raiſed his forces with ſuch ſpeed, that the King who at *Lincolne* firſt heard of his eſcape, and lightly regarded the ſame, was no ſooner ſetled in *Yorke*, but certaine intelligence came that he approched faſt with an Armie; and withall, that the *Staffords* had aſſembled forces in *Worceſterſhire*, meaning to aſſault the City of * *Worceſter*. The extremity of the King (who neuer dreamt of ſuch a darling) was not ſmall, for neither had he any ſufficient numbers about him of his ſure friends, nor could iuſtly repoſe confidence in the *Northern* men, whoſe loue to King *Richard* their late ſlaine Lord, made them ſtill ſuſpected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore vpon due recollection of himſelfe, hee armes about three thouſand men, (if tanned leather, whereof the moſt of their breaſt-pieces, for want of other ſtuffe, were framed, may be called armour) and ſends them vnder the leading of *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, with commiſſion to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord *Louell* fled by night to* Sir *Thomas Broughton* into *Lancaſhire*, where hee lurked certaine monthes; the headleſſe multitude yeeld without ſtroake, and the felicity of King *Henry* preuailes in euery place; for the *Staffords* hearing what had hapned to their Confederates, diſperſe their Cloude of rebels, and ſpeedily take refuge at *Colnham* a village about two miles from *Abingdon* in *Oxfordſhire*. But the priuiledges of that place * being iuridically ſcand in the *Kings Bench*, they were found vnable to afford protection to open traitors, whereupon they were forceably taken thence, and conueighed to the Tower of *London*, from whence *Sir Humfrey Stafford* was drawne and executed at *Tiburne*, but his brother *Thomas* by the Kings mercy had his pardon. Theſe ſhort dangers and troubles, by reaſon of their ſuddainty did worthily make the King wakefull euen ouer ſmaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from ſo neglected ſparkles. But there followed deuiſes, which in their owne nature were ſo ſtrangely impudent, and in their vent ſo ſtrongly bolſtered, that if *Louels* enterpriſe made him ſuſpitious, theſe other might iuſtly fill him with innumerable iealouſies.

The attempts of the Kings maligners.

The Lord *Louell*, and the *Staffords* rebell.

Hardings continuer ſaith they had taken *Gloceſter*.

Polyd. Verg. in *Henry* 7. *Holinſh.*

**Polyd. Verg.*

Yeere-booke of *Henry* 7. Anno 2.

Traitors taken from Sanctuary and puniſhed.

He is called Lord *Stafford* by *Hardings* continuer.

(13) The records are immortall, which teſtifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in poſſeſſion, is a verie olde Stratagem. What troubles a *Pſeudo-Nero* wrought, by ſupport of the *Parthians* (who wonderfully fauoured *Nero* liuing,) the *Romane* writers teach vs. Neither hath the *Diuell* (Father of Impoſtures) any ſo ſolemne practiſe, as Perſonation and Reſemblances of true, whether men or things. Inſomuch that ſome Diuines haue thought, that as he can, and often doth tranſ-ſhape himſelfe into the forme of a Celeſtiall Angell, ſo that he alſo deceiued our firſt mother vnder that reſplendent but aſſumed habit. And what miſchiefs he wrought, in this very kind of thruſting out into the world falſe pretenders, the ſpeech of wiſe* *Gamaliel* teſtifieth, who rehearſeth the names of *Theudas* and *Iudas Galilaus*; but the world hath ſince had more woefull experience hereof, in that execrable Impoſtor *Mahomet*, pretending to bee the *Meſsiah*. In *England* it ſelfe (before the time of this *Henry*) what ſtrange practiſes and conſpiracies were ſet on foote vnder the title of a *Pſeudo-Richard* in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth, the former Hiſtories haue ſufficiently opened, ſo that this Prince encountred nothing new in the Generall, howſoeuer peſtilent and extraordinarie in the particular. Indeed his raigne (more perhaps then any other of his predeceſſors) afforded plentifull matter for ſuch deuiſes to worke vpon, there being many then, who hauing beene* *conceaued* (as it were) *in the bowels of Sedition, and nouriſhed with the bitter and pernicious milke of diſſention*, were not onely apt to embrace, but alſo, where they were not offered, euen there to beget occaſions of confounding all. *Men, *who could neither endure warre, nor peace long, nor any lawes in either, as deſirous to enioy the licentious violences of ciuill warre; a* miſery, which all wordes (how wide ſoeuer) want compaſſe to expreſſe*. The ſtrange attempts of which kind of men (or rather Monſters) wee ſhall ſee exemplified in the ſubſequent tragedies. *Richard Simon*, an ambitious and impoſterous wretch, and withall a Prieſt, neither vnlearned, (the ſacred ſhadow of which name the rather countenanced his practiſes) in hope to make himſelfe the principall Biſhop of *England*, plotted the aduancement of *Lambert Symnell* (being his pupill in the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford*) to the Crown of *England*; inſtigated thereto by the diuell, and ſuborned by ſuch as fauoured the *White-roſe faction*, vpon this occaſion. There went a rumour, that *Edward Earle of Warwicke*, ſonne and heire to *George* the late vnfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, ſecond brother of King *Edward*, **was either already murthered, or ſhould ſhortly be*. This Architect of guile, *Simon* hauing this *Symnel* in tuition, (the *ſonne of a Baker, or Shoomaker, but a wel-faced and Princely-ſhaped youth, of no* very euill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) meanes out of this rumors aerie ſubſtance, to produce an apparition and prodigie, which in Title, behauiour, and artificiall anſwers (infuſed by his Tutors practiſes) ſhould reſemble * one of King *Edwards* children. Here we muſt confeſſe that our authors leade vs into a perplexitie: Some* affirming, that this counterfet was exhibited to the world vnder the name of *Edward* Earle of *Warwick*, ſonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, by the moſt turbulent and fatall Earle of *Warwicke* ſlaine at *Barnet-field*. But hereunto reaſon ſeemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman haue, not onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the Queene of *England* then in being, was the indubitate eldeſt daughter and heire of King *Edward* the fourth, and ſiſter and next heire to *Edward* the fifth? Neither wants there ancienter authority then any of the others, affirming, that this Idoll did vſurpe the name of one of King *Edwards* ſonnes; many arguments concurring to buttreſſe this affirmation. For, if at the

Corn. Tacit. Hiſtor. Suet. in Ner. cap. 57. Counterfeit Princes enacted to deſeate the true.

*Act. 5.

Mancell executed in Queene Elizabeths time for aſſuming the perſon of Edward 6.

*Jo. Dia. M.S.

*Polyd. Verg. Henry 7.

*Io. Dia. M.S.

The firſt Idoll erected againſt King Henry.

*Polyd. Verg. Henry 7.

A falſe Idoll in the forge.

*Polyd. Verg.

Bern. Andr. *Polyd. Verg.

*Polyd. Verg.

Holinſh. Iohn Stow.

Lambert Symnel. Hiſtorie recorded and vindicated.

Bern. Andr.

the ſame time (as *Polydor* writeth) it was bruted, that *the ſonnes of King Edward the fourth had not* been murthered vnder their vſurping Vncle *Richard*, but were eſcaped, and liued in obſcurity beyond the Sea; how can that be true, which *Stow* and the reſt (who follow *Polydore* therein) affirm, that *Lambert* was crowned King of *England* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, as heire to *George Duke of Clarence*? For with what iniurie to the roiall brethren (fained to be aliue) was that? Verily there ſeemes no coherence in the circumſtances, nor apparence of truth in the ſubſtance. And how much ſtronger to the purpoſe of the Conſpirators was the fiction of an *Edward*, the Kings ſonne, and himſelfe once proclaimed King, then of an *Edward*, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of *Clarences* heire? But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other? then that by rumoring his murther, they might bring the perſon of King *Henry* into common deteſtation for his crueltie; for clearing whereof the King publikelie afterward ſhewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that *Lambert* was called *Edward*, yet * one who then liued, ſaith directly, that this Cypher was dubbed & mounted from his owne meane ranke to the title of a King, vnder the name of the ſecond brother, who for certaine was called *Richard*: but what Record there is to the contrary, is to vs as yet vnknowne; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly paſſe with a Iury of ordinary Criticks, and Cenſors for vnchallengeable euidence.

(14) This aery *Typhon* (which graſped at the embracement of the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*) thus throughly ſchooled and inſtructed, is ſecretly conueighed by his Sinonian Tutor to *Dublin*, the chiefe City of the Iriſh, where he was confident of partakers, as amongſt the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the houſe of *Yorke*; which affection was firſt breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, the firſt of that line, who publikely claimed the Engliſh Crowne. His hopes deceiued him not, for the Lord * Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* (of the noble Familie of the *Geraldines*) preſently profeſſed himſelfe for the plot, and by his authority and perſwaſions drew the generality of the Iriſh after him into it. Meſſengers are hereupon diſpatched, vpon all hands both into *England*, to ſuch as they had hope of, and into low *Germany* to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter of King *Edward* the fourth, Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundy*, a moſt mortall enemy of the Lancaſtrian family. In both places the lighted matches of ſedition found powdry ſpirits, and wonderfull correſpondence. There is flocking from all parts to ſupport the quarrell, and the Iriſh (to haue the glory of giuing *England* a King) proclaim & reuerence this painted puffe, & flying bubble with royall Style and honors.

(15) *Henrie* ſeeing the fire ſo ſtrangely kindled round about the wals of his beſt hopes & ſtrengths, fals ſeriouſly to counſell at the Monaſtery of *Carthuſian* Monkes neere *Richmund*, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, 1. *That general pardon* (to ſtay the minds of as many as it was poſſible) *ſhould without any exception bee proclaimed to ſuch as from thenceforth ſhould continue dutifull.* Which was principally done to temper, and aſſure ſome priuate perſons, as Sir *Thomas Broughton* and others, whoſe forces, willes, and wealth were held moſt in ſuſpition. 2. *That Elizabeth* late wife to *Edward* the fourth, and mother in law to *Henry* now King of *England*, *ſhould forfeit all her lands and goods for that* (contrary to her faith giuen to them, who were in the plot for bringing in *King Henry*) *ſhe had yeelded vp her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant Richard.* 3. *That Edward Earle of Warwicke then Priſoner in the Tower, ſhould bee openly ſhewed aliue in London.* All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for ſtill the plot went on.

(16) The condemnation of *Elizabeth Queene* Dowager, rather moued enuy towards *Henry*, then relieued his cauſe; for to many the iuſtice of that ſentence was doubtful, the circumſtance of a *mother* in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the iudgement it ſelfe did alſo want example. The iuſtice was doubtfull both in regard of the cauſe, and of the proceeding. Of the cauſe, for how could ſhee haue defended her daughters by the priuiledge of ſanctuary from ſuch a Wolfe and Tyger, as would haue infringed it for her ſons, had they not been quietly deliuered to his bloudie hands? The ſame Tyrant doth now demand her daughters as to honour, not to ſlaughter; but if it had beene to ſlaughter, what helpe? ſhe, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yeelds them to him, when ſhee neither could, nor durſt detain them. But you ſay ſhe violated her faith, and hazarded thereby the liues and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cauſe. A great crime certainely. But *Richard* was in title, and power a King, and hung ouer her head with inceitable terrors; when *Henry* of *Richmund* was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in baniſhment, and without any apparence of preuailing, and her ſelfe a friendleſſe widdow. The manner or proceeding was no leſſe ſtrange; for by what law or triall was ſhee condemned in a Præmunire? Shee neuertheleſſe is put out of all, and confined to the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where finally ſhe ended her dayes, borne to bee an example of both fortunes, hauing from a forlorne widdowes eſtate beene raiſed to the bed of a Bachelour Monarcke; and in his life time beene reduced to the ſeeming of a priuate fortune, when her Lord was driuen to flie the land; and afterward ſaw thoſe turnes and varieties as few Queenes euer felt, or ſaw ſo many, or more contrarie; whether we regard the heighth of worldly felicity, when ſhee did behold her ſonne a King, or the depth of miſery, when the Tyrant inuaded his Crowne and life, or now her daughter being Queene, and her ſelfe a miſerable priſoner. The conſideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections; ſo the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſentence verifies that collection among others, which *that learned Gentleman makes of this Kings raigne in theſe words. *Hee had* (ſaith hee) *a very ſtrange kind of interchanging very large and vnexpected pardons with ſeuere executions. Neuertheleſſe, (his wiſdome conſidered) it could not be imputed to any inequality, but to a diſcretion, or at leaſt to a principle, that hee had apprehended, that it was not good, obſtinately to purſue one courſe, but to trie both wayes.* Howſoeuer that was; certainely, ſhee being ſo iuſt an obiect of his commiſeration, who had married that daughter, by which hee enioyed a Kingdome, and gotten that verie power, wherewith he ruined her; it cannot bee reaſonably thought, but that there were other moſt important motiues, perſwading ſuch a ſharpe courſe, or otherwiſe, that it muſt bee reckoned among the chiefe of his errors. But as in the times of her flouriſhing eſtate, ſhe founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in *Cambridge*, which of her is called the *Queenes*; ſo we will leaue to thoſe her Beneficiaries the farther ſearch of this Argument, and deploration of her fortune, which ſeemes ſuch to vs, as if King *Henry* affected to leaue ſomewhat in this example, wherewith to oppoſe & amaſe the world. Vnleſſe perhaps it were, that hauing proclaimed a generall pardon for all offences without exception to ſuch as in future ſhould remaine loyall, and foreſeeing that ſome, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefite, might alſo bee cunningly practiſed with to fall away, vpon diſtruſt of his word, when once hee had ſerued his preſent vſes, hee therefore meant (by ſo cleare a demonſtration, as the vtter vndoing, and perpetuall empriſonment of his wiues owne mother,) to giue them aſſurance, that hee, who vpon her perſon had beene ſo ſeuere a puniſher of faith-breach, would

Queene *Elizabeth* depriued of her eſtate, and condemned to a Monaſtery.

A probable cauſe why King *Henry* dealt ſo rigorouſly with his mother in law.

neuer violate it in his own, and thereby ſecure them in that point, and ſecure himſelfe of them.

John de la Pole Earle of Lincolne and others, flie to the Dutcheſſe of Burgundy.

(17) Yet neither could this deuiſe take ſo good effect, but that *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne* (ſonne of *Iohn de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth* King *Edward* the fourths ſiſter) ſecretly fled into *Flanders* to the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, whither *Francis* Lord *Louell* was likewiſe not long before eſcaped. Sir *Thomas Broughton* (another principal Confederate) temporized in *England*, there to remaine a ſtay to the buſineſſe, aſwell for mutuall intelligence, as receit of an Army when it ſhould arriue. This Earle of *Lincolne*, beſides that he could not with any patience behold a Lancaſtrian weilding the Engliſh *Scepter*; was alſo *of a* **ſharpe wit, and high reach*, and therefore not without an ambitious ſenſibility, that in countenancing King *Henry*, hee wronged that expectancie, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his mother, ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth, and to King *Richard* the third, who had * deſigned him for heire apparant, & contracted his ſiſter the * Lady *Anne de la Pole*, to *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*: was alſo the rather animated by *letters receiued from his aunt the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, earneſtly calling vpon him for his preſence. This Dutcheſſe was the ſecond wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, * ſlaine by the *Switz* at the battell of *Nanci*; by whom thogh he had no iſſue, yet by reaſon of her great dower, & wiſe behauiour among the Dutch, ſhee was ſtrong in money and friends; all which ſhee was willing to conuert to the vtter ſubuerſion howſoeuer of the Lancaſtrian line. Though therefore, ſhee well knew that this *Lambert* was but an Idoll, * hammered out of the hote braine of that *Bontefew Richard Simon*, yet ſhe embraceth the occaſion, countenanceth the Impoſture, and leaues nothing vnſaid or vndone, which might giue life and ſucceſſe to the enterpriſe. The Earle, the L. *Louell*, and others ſhee furniſhed abundantly, and ioyneth vnto them a renowmed Coronell *Martin Swart*, a Gentleman of * honorable birth, exemplary valour, and ſingular experience, and certain ſelected companies, to the number of about two thouſand Almaines, which ſoone after arriue at *Dublin*. *Lambert*, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Chriſts Church there ſolemnly by them crowned King of *England*, *feaſting and triumphing, rearing mighty ſhowtes and cries, carrying him thence to the kings Caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſeene and noted; as hee was ſurely (ſaith *Stow*) an honourable boy to look vpon; though nothing leſſe was meant, then that hee ſhould enioy that honour if they preuailed; as meaning then to erect *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*. Poſterity might worthily doubt of the truth of theſe ſo deſperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practiſed in the higheſt affaires of mankind, but that the thing is ſo vniuerſally teſtified, and alſo that the higheſt affairs of the world (when once they are paſſed) are little better then ſuch like Pageants.

**Polyd. Verg.*

** Cambd. in Notting.*
** Io. Leſle.*
** Ber. Andr.*

** Phil. de Com.*

** Iohn Da. MS.*

**Polyd. Vergil ſaith he was ſumma genere natus.*

Lambert crowned King of England at Dublin.
Iohn Stow.

(18) K *Henry* (on the other ſide) though he had by moſt diligent eſpials endeuoured to know the truth of *Lamberts* quality, to diuert the ſtreame of affections, which he ſaw inclined that way, for that the practiſe was carried with ſuch wonderfull art, as that very many (otherwiſe diſcreet and ſober men) were induced to beleeue that hee was indeed King *Edwards* ſonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King *Henry*, did vndoubtedly ſtay very many from open reuolt, but much more the carefull watch which was kept at the Ports, to hinder the eſcape of Malecontents or factious Fugitiues: yet he manifeſtly ſaw, that it wold in the end come to a field: for which cauſe he takes order for the leuie of an Armie, reſoluing to giue his enemies battell with the firſt opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull faſhion of the Engliſh, (who are naturally moſt impatient of lingring miſchiefes) to put their publike quarrels to the trial of

Ber. Andr.

King Henry prouides for battell.

the ſword. *Lambert* attended with *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Francis* Lord Vicount *Louell*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, or rather *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* (belike his ſonne) and Coronel *Swart*, with an Army of deſperate and pickt ſouldiers, aſwell *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, as *Iriſh* (all fired with infinite hopes and promiſes to bee enioyed vpon the ouerthrow of King *Henry*) come on ſhore in *Lancaſhire* at a place called the pile of *Fowdray*, where they ioine with their aſſured confederate Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and his ſequele; and after ſome ſhort refreſhment in thoſe partes, march with erected courages againſt King *Henry*, taking their way through *Yorkeſhire* (the hoped nurſery of their ſureſt friendſhippes) and gloriouſly publiſhing their new King euery where, though without any increaſe of force by concourſe, (for King *Henries* wiſdome had marred their errand,) their iourney was directed toward *Newarke* vpon *Trent*.

Cambd. in Leiceſtersh.

Lambert lands in Lancaſhire.

(19) The King then at *Couentree*, being by ſuch ſcowtes as hee had appointed for that ſeruice, preſently aduertiſed of *Lamberts* arriuall, and hauing his forces ready vnder the conduct of *Iaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*, becauſe delay in this caſe was on all hands reputed miſchieuous, ſets forward to *Nottingham*, and by a wood ſide called *Bowri*, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardneſſe to reuenge themſelues by the ſword of that indignity, which was offered to the Engliſh name by ſtrangers and rebels, who durſt hope to giue them a ruler. Thither repaired *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *George* L. *Strange* his ſon, Sir *Iohn Cheinie*, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no ſmall ſinewes to K. *Henries* muſters. *Polydor* hath diligently ſet downe the names of ſuch principall men in thoſe parts as repaired thither, partly voluntary, partly ſent for to the common defence of the King and Kingdome; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency; yet their names doe well deſerue to be remembred, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. He recounteth ſixty fiue Captaines which aſſembled from places thereabout, vnder whome there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or ten thouſand, the Engliſh vſually, till of late, hauing commonly an hundreth and fifty in a Company. Their ſurnames (beſides *Edward* Lord * *Haſtings*) are in him as followeth; *Longford*, *Montgomerie*, *Vernon of the Peke*, *Shurley*, *Folgeham*, *Griſley*, *Sutton*, *Stanley*, *and Stanley*, *Houghton*, *Meryng*, *Stanhop*, *Clifton*, *Stapleton*, *Willoughby*, *Perpoinct*, *Babington*, *Bedyll*, **Brudenel*, *Markham*, *Merbury*, *Borough*, *Tyrwit*, *Huſey*, *Shefeild*, *Newport*, *Ormeſton*, *Tempeſt*, *Knyuett*, *Willoughby*, *Dygby*, and *Dygby*, *Harrington*, *Sacheuerel*, *Vyllers*, *Fylding*, *Poultney*, *Vaux*, *Gryne*, *Gryffin*, *Lucy*, *Belknap*, *Throgmorton*, *Gray of Ruthin*, *Wolſton*, *Fynder*, *Philips*, *Cheney*, *Cotton*, *S. Iohn*, *Mordant*, *Terell*, *Rainſford*, *Poynton*, *Daniel*, *Marney*, *Armidel*. From the vttermoſt bounds of the North, there repaired alſo other chiefe perſons and leaders (ſaith he) as * *Ogle*, **Newyle*, * *Latimer*, *Bulmer*, *Langford*, *Norres*, *Newyle* of *Thortinbrig* and *Williams*. The Earle of *Lincolne* neuertheleſſe comes forward with his Counter-king, nothing perhappes adding greater courage to that ſide, then the example of *Henry* himſelfe, who with leſſe numbers (but much more ſecret Art) preuailed in a pight field at *Boſworth*: his meaning was to get into *Newarke*. The King wakefull vpon all aduantages, and perfectly inſtructed of his enemies courſes (whom deſperation did thruſt forward to a daring hope) diſlodgeth with his Army, & paſſeth through *Newarke*, leauing it behind him about 3. miles, to intercept the *Lambertines*, and there ſits downe againe. The Earle of *Lincolne* encamps with great brauerie and ſhew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

Nottingham the Rendeuous of K. Henries ar.

** Hiſt. Angl.*

Great repaire of the noble and people to him.

Polyd. Virg.

** Polydor cals him Regalis, ning a Baron.*

Brun de Ragis, in Polydor erroniouſly cals him

** Theſe three ſeeme Barons as them whom he meaneth by principes viri.*

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, neere to a little village called *Stoke*. The *Earle of Lincolne* marſhalled his people by the aduiſe of

of *Cornwall Swart* and others, to the best aduantage vpon the a Brow or hanging of an hill expecting the charge. The *Almaines* were all of them hardie and approued men, and throughly well-appointed, and so in likelihood were such *English* as stood for that side; but the Irish, besides multitudes and fiercenesse, had small prouision, saue (after the rude manner of their Nation) darts, skeins, or the like. The maine of the Battell rested wholly vpon the *English* and *Almains*. King *Henry* on the other side, (as hee that thirsted for an end of this bloody daies worke,) speedily disposed his whole numbers into three Battailions: the Voward whereof was best replenished with store of choice and picked men, well armed and appointed, and fortified with wings. The armie being thus ordered, *Andreas* saith that King *Henry* vseth this speech.

"(21) Most faithfull Lords, and you most valiant "Companions in Armes, who haue (together with "vs) endured so great perils by Land and Sea; lo, "we are againe against our wils, drawne to trie our "fortunes in another Field. For the Earle of *Lin-*"*colne* (a periured man) without any occasion mini-"stred by vs, defends an vniust quarrell against vs: "neither doth he it dissemblingly, but most openly "impudent, without any feare of God; not so much "onely to endamnage vs, as to fulfill the humor of a "giddie, and intemperate-tongued woman, who is "not ignorant that her blood was extinguished by "her brother *Richard*; but because that line did al-"waies maintaine a most deadly fewd against ours, "shee (without any great regard to her Neece, my "deerest Consort) assaies to destroy aswell vs as our "posteritie. Yee see therefore how often wee are "prouoked by them, but they shall not carrie it a-"way vnreuenged. God therefore and his holy An-"gels we first call to witnes, that we are prouident "both night and day for your safetie, and for the "Common quiet; though thus the ancient enemy "repugneth. But God, a iust, strong, and patient "Iudge, will also bring a remedy to this euill. In the "meane time we exhort and admonish you, that the "consideration of our iust inheritance be at this pre-"sent more forceable with you, then their wicked-"nes; neither doubt, but that the same God, who in "the former warre made vs victorious, will enable "vs to triumph now also ouer these enemies. Let vs "therefore set vpon them courageously; for God is "vpon our side to assist vs.

(22) The *Earle of Oxford* (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make answere, but the King hastening to the proofe, brake off all Ceremonies; and the signe of Battell giuen, they thunder forward with showts of people, and sound of martiall musicke, and like a blacke tempest, powre themselues vpon the Front of the Enemies Battels; who rushed forward with equall violence and furie, as men that at once encountred against feare and fortune. The fight continued doubtfull aboue *three houres. A long space for men of courage to be emploied in killing one the other, and fit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles *English* wanted nothing but a good cause, and the *Almains* gaue not place to the Kings people in any point worthy of gallant Souldiers, but sold their liues dearely, and their *Corenell Swart* had scarce any before him in personall performance. Neither were the *Irish* behind for their parts, if their skinnes had beene sword-proofe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the rest. Briefly, the wonder of that daies worke was, that Christian men, in no sounder a quarrell, could dare to die so boldly, such chiefly, as the Earle of *Lincolne* and some others, who knew the secret of that desperate enterprize. *But God, the Lord of reuenges, punishing their vniust malice, with a suddaine whirle-winde rising in the heat of the Battell, (euen as when Constantine fought against the Enemies of the Church) our souldiers, who seemed vanquished, became victorious* For the Kings vantgard * reenforced it selfe, and gaue so furious a recharge, (in likelihood vpon this encouragement sent as it were from Heauen) that it vtterly brake the Enemies squadrons, and giuing in among them with full randon, slew * first such Captaines as relisted, and put the residue which yeelded not, either to the sword flight. Herewith the whole Armie * shouted, the trumpets sound victorie, and the generall crie runnes King *Henry*, King *Henry*. When the battell and chase were ended, so that there was time and leasure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the slaine bodies carried; for all the chiefe Captaines; the Earle of *Lincolne* himselfe (though the King would gladly haue had him saued, to come thereby to a greater light of his dangers) the Lord *Louell*, *Sir Thomas Broughton*, *Corenell Swart* and * *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Generall of the Irish, were (like * *Catiline* and his Complices) found to couer those places dead, which they defended liuing, among foure thousand other souldiers which were slaine vpon that side. The King at this battell lost * almost halfe the People in his Vantgard, and Surgeons had store of worke among the Suruiuers, so that the Garland gained at this iourney was not vndipt in blood; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honor or speciall note, fell vpon the Kings side.

(23) Among the Prisoners was the *Counterfeit* himselfe, and the lewd contriuer of this wicked Stratagem, *Richard Simon*, who with little change may most truly be called another *Sinon*. The King (who reserued himselfe in this battell, (as in others, but *neuer retired) made both their persons examples of his clemency. For *Lambert* being questioned, how *such a** *breeching-boy as he was, durst attempt so great a wickednes, diuied not, that hee was compelled thereunto, by certaine bad persons, who were of that conspiracie*; and as for his parents quality, *hee confest them to bee such as indeed they were; altogether of base and despicable calling.* **Sim* subtil, or Sir *Richard Simon* the Priest, whether for discouery of some great secrets, or the extraordinary reuerenee borne to his function (*extraordinary* say we, for otherwise * Priests had beene openly put to death) was not executed, but * condemned to a dungeon, and perpetuall shackles. *Lambert* (whom the glittering periwig of regall style did but lately so adorne) was condemned to * the Kings kitchen, there to manage spits at the fire; who if *his wit and spirit had answered his late Titles, would haue chosen much rather to haue beene turned from the Ladder by an hangman.* But * hauing in this abiect condition giuen sufficient proofe that he was but a Puppet, or a property in the late tragicall motion, **he was at length (promoted wee cannot say) made one of the Kings Falconers*, in which estate it seemes he liued and died inglorious. This battell was fought vpon a* *Satterday*, a day of the weeke which is * obserued to haue been fauourable and luckie to this *Henrie*. His first care after the victory setled, was that which most became a religious Prince, the humble and ioyous acknowledgement of thankes to God, in the very place. From thence he passeth to * *Lincoln*, where he spent three daies in publike supplications, processions, and thanksgiuings, and sent his Standard to our *Ladies Church* at *Walsingham* in *Norfolke*, there to remaine as a Monument of his victorie and gratitude. Such as were taken in the Battell or chase, are then executed. From *Lincoln* he progresseth into *Yorkeshire*, where hee tooke a seuere course aswell by execution, as ransome, for purging those parts from such as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At *Newcastle* about * the middle of *August*, he dispatcheth his experienced and trusty Agent *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exceter*, and *Sir Richard Edgcumbe* Knight into *Scotland*, there to settle a peace with King *Iames* the third, to empeach the retreat and protection, which his enemies and rebels found therein. Himselfe hauing spent a great part of Summer in this progresse, or rather itinerary Iusticing, returnes by *Leicester* toward *London*. Those prudent Ambassadors

The King prouailes.

*Polyd. Verg.

*Bern. Andr.

The Earle of *Lincolne* and all the chiefe leaders of that side slaine in the field; *Polyd. Verg. *Edm. Campian Hist. of Ireland. *Cr. Salust. in Conio. Catil.

*Polyd. Verg. But *Bernard Andr.* saith that very few were slaine.

*Fragm. MS.

*Vapulo. Bern. Andr. MS.

*Io. Da. MS.

*Thomas Walsin. in H. 4 & alib. *Polyd. Verg. Holinsh. who also followes Polydor, *Polyd. Verg. *Io. Da. of Hen. MS.

*Polyd. Verg. Lambert's fortunes. *Io. Da. MS.

*16. Iun. A. D. 1487. A. Reg. 2. *Bern. And. MS.

*Polyd. Verg.

*A. Reg. 3. Ambassadors into Scotland.

sadors in the meane time negociating with the Scottish King, wrought * him to bee more inclinable to a perpetuall peace; then it stood with his safetie to let his Subiects vnderstand, who fauoured him not. Seuen yeeres truce is consented vnto, with a secret promise of King *Iames* to renew that terme, as it began to expire; with which assurance the Ambassadours returning, gladded their wise Soueraignes heart; who thereby found that the Bishop of *Excester*, was no lesse industrious in preseruing his Regall state, then he had beene prudent in furthering *Him* vnto it. The firebrands and readiest fuell of Rebellion thus seemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himselfe in the Grace and fauour of his people, nor lesse of forreigne Princes, *Margaret Dutchesse* of *Burgundy* (his implacable* *Iuno*) excepted; whom the newes of her Nephewes the Earle of *Lincolnes* death, and the bloody blowing vp of all her late hopefull and costly contriuements, did gall and wound extreamely; but added fresh appetites of reuenge to her former immortall malice, which * neuer gaue ouer working, till shee had vented another no lesse prodigy then *Lambert* was. But the King being honoured and sought vnto, aswell by a *Nuncio* * from the *Romane* See, who obtained leaue to publish a Croisado heere against the Turkes, as also from the *French*; after his many labours, aswell Martiall as Ciuill, susteined on behalfe of himselfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall * entric into *London*, which was adorned in the best manner. And in the same moneth vpon * *Saint Katherines* day, his wife *Elizabeth* was Crowned *Queene of England*, as if that then first hee had held himselfe assured of Roiall estate: for he saw not what dangerous lifts would yet bee giuen by that vnquiet Ladies practises, to heaue him out of authority.

(24) The next maine action which sifted the iudgement, and tride the sinnewes of King *Henry*, was a forraigne case of more difficulty and Art, then of intestine danger, as in which the high and paramount respects of Common-weale were intangled, or encountred with offices most neerely concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which neuer is more blemished then with the note of ingratitude. A dispute and combate betweene wisdome and blood, publike and priuate, (if any quality, or action of a King may be said to be priuate) which seemed worthy of so excellent, cleare, and considerate a discourse, as that of *Henries*. You heard what notable fauours and humanities, when he liued a banisht Earle in the Continent, he had receiued, first of the Duke of *Britaine*, then of *Charles* K. of *France*; so that he stood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, & could acknowledge no lesse. *Charles* (more ambitiously then iustly) desired exceedingly to annex *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, taking occasion of the time, and other circumstances, which all seemed to conspire with his affections. The Duke old, and the father of one onely daughter suruiuing till marriage; *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, and riuall of King *Charles* in the same desires, (aswell for the *Dutchy*, as the daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King *Henry* alwell obnoxious to the *French* for benefits, as busied in his particular at home: and the Duke of *Britane*, by succouring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other *French* Lords, whom King *Charles* reputed his aduersaries, ministred to the *French* an occasion (or colour at least) of warring vpon *Britaine*, and so by the apt concurrence of circumstances, to annexe it by conquest, if by treaty hee could not. *Henrie* of *England*, now knowne to bee victoriously setled, seemes worth the Courting. Ambassadors come from the *French*, *who lay open the wrong offered by the* Britaines, *in succouring the enemies of* France, *put* Henrie *in minde of passed benefits; and pray his assistance, or at the least a neutrality*; but altogether concealing the mystery of this warre, which was to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*. Howsoeuer, *Henry*, though he well enough knew, that a King must euer bee the best part of his *Councell*, (for what are others opinions, if himselfe want the happinesse, or iudgement, to choose the best?) propounds the points to his priuy Councell, whereupon he Christianly *offers himselfe a Mediatour betweene* the French *and* Britaine; an office, in which it was apparant he might best satisfie all obligations and duties both to God and them. *The* French *pretend liking, but in the meane time follow their designe hard. Henry* sends his Chaplen, Master *Christopher Yrswicke* a man * whom he very often imploied. The *French* maske on. Things come to some extremities. It becomes manifest that King *Charles* abused the King of *Englands* credulity; for the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* was brought by siedge to point of yeelding, while messengers, and packets, outwardly oiled with the name of peace, slide to and fro, and the *French* doubt nothing so much, as lest the *English* should stirre, before their victorie had made *Britain* irrecouerable. The Lord *Woodvile* (as without the Kings will, or priuity) slips ouer into *Britaine* with three or foure hūdred choise men to assist the Duke, and came time enough to bee slaine with almost all his Souldiers, at the battel of *Saint Albin*, where the *French* wanne the day; notwithstanding that the *Britains*, the rather to appall their enemies, had apparelled * seuenteene hundred of their owne Souldiers in white Coates with redde Crosses, after the *English* manner, and made thereby a shew of two Regiments of *English*. The *Britaines* had a great losse in that battel, wherein they were made fewer by sixe thousand. The Duke of *Orleance* and Prince of *Orange*, who then were *British* in faction, were taken Prisoners in the same fight. The *French* lost about twelue hundreth, and their *Generall* an *Italian*. So that the state of *Britaine* seemed ripe for a fall.

(25) But King *Henry*, hauing long since suspected, and foreseene, what the vttermost marke of the *French* might be, and seeming to haue enough suffered the interest, which they might expect in him as a man, to be abused by their practises to the preiudice of his other friend, the Duke of *Britaine*, (who forgate not to sollicit and vrge that point,) had made the quality of this affaire known to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpose assembled; as meaning by authority thereof to purge himselfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reason of Gouernment required, which would not assent, *that* Britaine *should be made* French, *left by that accession their Neighbourhood might grow intollerable*, Britaine *hauing so many Sea-townes and Outlets to mischiefe the* English *trafficke*. Himselfe was otherwise also sufficiently resolued, *that the general good ought to predominate the particular, and that his priuate obligations ought not to entangle, or preiudice the publike seruice*. The Parliament therefore, considering that which stood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of *Britaine*; it being (besides all other respects) a perillous example, to suffer the great to deuoure the lesser Neighbour States, vpon pretences of iustice, or reuenge. Forces are leuied; but (for respect of King *Charles*, and in hope that the shew of preparations would stoope him to equall conditions,) not yet so roundlie, as the *Britons* necessities expected. Meane while that no formality or Princely Ceremony should be vnaccomplished, King *Henry* by his Ambassadours *certifies King* Charles *of his Parliaments decree; praies him to desist from farther Hostilitie; otherwise that he must assist the Duke, but yet (for the* French *Kings sake) with this reseruation, of pursuing his subiects no where but in* Britaine. *Charles* made small account of these ouertures, because hee truly perswaded himselfe that the *English* aides would not arriue in season; which fell out accordingly; for before that time, the *French* had gotten that victorie, (whereof euen now wee spake) at the Battell of *Saint Albin*. Vpon newes whereof, the English Regiments were immediatly sent ouer vnder *Robert* Lord

Broke

* *Left in Iacob. 3.*

Bishop *Foxe*, first a great fartherer, and now a chiefe preseruer of King *Henries* Regality.

* *Bern. Andr.* MS. The Dutchesse of *Burgundies* immortall malice.

* *Polydor. Virg.*

* *Bern. Andr.*

* 3 *November. Anno D.* 1487.

* *Add. to Fab.* *Elizabeth* Crowned Queene of *England.*

A difficult case, whether King *Henry* should aide the *Britaines* or no.

Charles King of *France* practiseth to ioine *Britaine* to his Empire.

Ambassadors out of *France* to King *Henrie.*

John Rouse Middlesex.

The Lord *Woodvile* slaine in *Britaine.*

* *Paulus Aem. in Carol. 8.*

The Battell of *Albine*, where the *French* vaile.

King *Henrie* pens the Parliament.

The Parliament grants aide of money to support the warre of *Britaine.*

Polyd. Virg.

Broke Generall, Sir Iohn Cheiny, Sir Iohn Middleton, Sir Ralfe Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Lewes, and Sir Edmund Carewell Knights, and Coronels. The whole Army consisted eight thousand men. These march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the *English*, whiles they are fresh, as * being then almost invincible, containe themselues within their Campe; but yet * molest the *English* with continuall skirmishes on horseback in seueral places at once; finally to the profit of the *French*, who * were alwaies put to the worse, the Archers receiued them with such perpetuall stormes. In the meane space, *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* dies, leauing in effect, one only daughter, the Lady *Anne*, (for the other, * being the younger) deceased not long after. This altered the whole state of the cale. The *British* Nobility (vnder their young Mistresse) immediatly fall at variance among themselues, and the *English* thereby were on euery hand in danger: so that God (as it appeared by the sequele) had destined *Britaine* to bee annexed to the Crowne of *France*; for the *English* (after fiue moneths stay) were in wisdome compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come vpon them, and *Britaine*, destitute of competent defence, (her Rulers disagreeing among themselues) was finally by the marriage of King *Charles* with the Lady *Anne*, made a parcell of the *French Monarchy*, as hereafter will appeare.

(26) King *Henry* the while was againe in danger to haue had present vse of Souldiers at home. Wee shewed, what care was heeretofore taken by him to weede the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithstanding, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, (Lieutenant of the North) signified at an assemblie (according as the truth was) *that the King (though the Northern people had besought it) would not remitte one penny of such Subsidy, as was granted in Parliament for supportation of the warres in* Britaine * *lest the Acte of State should bee reuersed at the rude peoples pleasure; but that on the contrary Commission and warrant was sent downe for him to see the same leuied by distresse, or otherwise:* the desperate multitude, falsely supposing that the Earle was the occasion of such an answere, did suddenly set vpon him at the incitement of one *Iohn a Chamber*, and furiously murdered him, with certaine of his seruants in a place called *Cocklegge* by *Thrusk*, eighteene miles from *Yorke*. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head vnder Sir *Iohn Egremond*, a discontented Knight of those parts, openly declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the causelesse killing of a most noble Lord had beene one of them. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* sent from Court with some forces to represse their increase, skirmisheth with a route of these Rebels, beats them away, and takes *Iohn a Chamber* prisoner. The whole swarme flockes to *Yorke*, where they roosted about three or foure daies, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was euer one of the first in the necke of such occasions) they scattered themselues, but the ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and *Iohn a Chamber*, with some others, were executed at *Yorke* after an extraordinarie manner. Sir *Iohn Egremond* escaping, fled to the common Center of all King *Henries* dangers and enmities, *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundy*; so that though the colour of rising was about money, yet *Egremond* at left had reference, it seemes, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, vpon the old ground of quarrell (*hatred of the Lancastrian Familie*) and this to bee but a sparke or flash of that great and troubleous fire, which afterward brake foorth and blased so prodigiously. The Earle of *Surrey* is left by the King (hauing * seuerely punished the murtherers) Lieutenant of the *North*, and Sir *Robert Tonstall* Knight, as chiefe Commissioner for leuying the rate or subsidie.

(27) [illegible] King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and King of *France*, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinadors, for that they had compelled Prince *Iames*, his sonne, to be the leader and vnnaturall Head of those armes, which traiterously (as pretending to haue a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depose an euill King) they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by earnest Ambassadors, but could obtaine no other then this outragious answer: *That there was no talking of peace vnlesse he would resigne his Crowne.* King *Henry* and King *Charles* vehemently protested against these their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambassador, *that they thought the same to be as a common iniury done vnto themselues; & the example to be very wicked and pernicious, and not sufferable by Princes, that Subiects should be permitted to put hands vnto their Soueraigne.* Hereupon it came to a Battell at *Bannocksborn* by *Stripelin*, whereat K. *Iames* (rashly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was (notwithstanding the contrarie commandement of the Prince his sonne) slaine in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the battel ended. By reason of this infortunate precipitation of the *Scotish* King, *Hadrian de Castello* an *Italian* Legate, whom Pope *Innocentius* the eight had sent to take vp the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arriued not in *England* till the battell at *Bannocksborne* was passed,) but not too late to receiue honour at the hands of King *Henry*, who respecting his wisdome and excellent learning, (vpon the speciall commendations first * of *Iohn Morton* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, but afterward vpon his owne experience of the man in sundry employments to the *Roman* Sea,) bestowed vpon him the Bishoprike of *Hereford*, and (after resignation thereof) the Bishopricke of *Bath* and *Wellet*; who was also at the length created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the sixth. * *But who is hee among many thousands* (saith *Polyd.*) *that vseth not to admire these outward honours which may alike be giuen to the vnworthy aswell as to the well-deserning, and may alike be taken away from either? But the praise of this* Hadrian *is of another farre more noble kinde and eternall: for he was the man who first reuiued the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other sorts of abstruse and exquisit learnings, as in which himselfe excelled.* Thus doth *Polydor* (himselfe an *Italian*,) celebrate the learning of his Country-man, of whose other qualities, yet others write more hatshly; as that out of meere ambition to be Pope (without any other grudge) hee conspired, with *Alphonso Petrucci*, and other sacred Cardinals, to murther Pope *Leo* the tenth: induced thereto by suggestion of a Witch, who foretold him that one *Hadrian*, an old man, of meane parentage, of great Learning and wisdome, should succeed in the Papacy. The man thought it must needs be himselfe, as being, though of very base Parentage, yet of some noble qualities: but another * *Hadrian*, the sonne of a Dutch Brewer, and instructer of *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, prooued to be the man; and this our *Hadrian* lost by deputation all his promotions whatsoeuer, for his nefarious attempt. Into such extreame folly is learning and wisdome metamorphosed, where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious discretion to manage it aright.

(28) And albeit the King himselfe could verie gladly haue spent his time in the studies of peace, as

* Lesley in Scotl. l.

* Polyd. Virg.

King Henry in vaine seekes to reconcile the Scots to their King.

In. Ersk. Bish. of Rosse.

James the third King of Scotland slaine in battell by his Subiects.

* In. Stow Annal.

K. Henries bountie to a stranger for Learnings cause.

* Polyd. Virg. l. 26

The first reuiuer in this age of pure Latine and choise learning.

Godwins Catal. of B. B. in Bath, &c. pag. 309. Paul. Iouius,

* Hadrian 6.

Warre with *France* and the causes.

those which were farre more apt for the seruice of God, and for attaining of knowledge, then in martiall tumults; yet the quality of his supereminent place enuied vnto him that felicitie; for he was necessarily drawne into a warre with *France* vpon lesse occasions. *Anne* the young *Dutchesse of Britaine*, (by their aduise, who affected to preserue the liberty of that Dukedome, which by vnion with *France*, would be absorpt & extinguished,) had so farre entangled and engaged her selfe with the Procurators of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, that shee was not only publikely cõtracted, but cõtented (for vttermost performãce of those rites whereof marriage by proxie was honorably capable) to take vpon her the Bride, and being solemnly bedded, to permit *Maximilians Deputie*, in the presence of sundry Noble witnesses aswell men as women, to put in his legge, stript naked to the knee, betweene the spousall sheetes, that ceremony seeming to amount to a Consummation. *Charles* King of *France*, notwithstanding these solemnities, and his owne particular engagement with the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *Maximilian*, (whom for the purpose of marriage he had already entertained into *France*,) did so ambitiously and vehemently couet to gaine *Britaine*, that vpon confidence of his force, hee resolued to breake through all respects, and not only to offend all his forreine friends, but to make them his iust enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Instruments are therefore very secretly set on worke, and batterie is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpose. Ambassadors also (the *Lord *Frances of Lutzenburg*, *Charles Marinian*, and *Robert Gagwine* *Generall of the Order of the holy *Trinitie*, are dispatched to *Henrie*, praying that with his good will he might dispose of the body of the Lady *Anne* in marriage according to the right which he had thereunto, as the chiefe Lord of whom shee held the *Dukedome*. *Henry denied the request*, but yeelded notwithstanding to send Ambassadors into *France* there *to Capitulate about a peace*. The *French* carried this affaire with notable Art, for to diuert the world for looking into the depth of their drift, King *Charles* still detained the young Lady *Margaret*, *Maximilians* daughter; so as at most it could be but suspected, that *Charles* meant to match her with some of his blood, and all the entercourse of *Orators* and Ambassadors vsed in the meane time, tended but to hold the *English* busied vpon other obiects, till they had wrought their feate in the Court of *Britaine*. For *Maximilian*, (to let the world see what iniuries shall be offered euen to Kings, that are not strong) him they altogether neglected; King *Henry* they plaied with, and *Ferdinando* King of *Castile* (who was ready to ioine with *Maximilian* and *Henrie* *against the *French*) they resolue to appease, with rendring vp vnto him the Counties of *Ruscinoon*, and *Perpinian*; as accordingly they *did, without *reembursement of one penny of those 300000. Crownes, for which *Iohn* King of *Arragon* (father to *Ferdinando*) had morgaged them. The young Ladies doubts, rising either out of religion, or point of honor, his cunning Agents, and Emissaries wipe away with these solutions. *That Maximilians daughter was not of yeeres to consent, and therefore the contract betweene King Charles and her, did not binde either in law, or conscience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was void, for that it was done without the consent of her Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, whose ward or Client shee was.* The Ladie vanquished in her iudgement with these reasons, attracted with the present greatnes of King *Charles*, and loath by refusall to make her Countrey the seat of a long and miserable warre, *secretly yeelded to accept of another husband.* *Thomas Goldstone* Abbot of *S. Augustines* in *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, King *Henries* Ambassadors into *France*, hauing beene dandled by the French during these illusiue practises, returned without other fruite of their labors.

*Stowes Annal.

*Bern. And. MS.

The *French* carried the practise of marrige with the inheretrix of *Britaine* most artificially.

*Polyd. Verg.

*Iob. Til-Chron.
*Lu Marin. lib. 20. de reb. Hispan.

The yong Dutchesse married by proxie.

(29) What could now the most patient doe lesse then take sword in hand vpon so palpable and vnworthy illusion? But *Maximilians* wrongs were too impudent and intollerable; for Charles sent home the Lady *Margaret*, and married the Inheretrix of *Britaine*, annexing it to his owne Realme: whereas King *Henrie* found himselfe rather mockt, then otherwise empaired. *Iames Contibald* hereupon comes Ambassador from *Maximilian*, and obtained his requeste, which was, *that they with ioynt forces should by a certaine day prefixed, inuade the French*, in full reuenge of these their bold prouocations; *Maximilian* for his part, promising to support that warre with at least ten thousand men for two yeeres. King *Henry* hauing formerly in abundant manner prouided himselfe of treasure, was ready before the day with a roiall army: but *Maximilian* (whose will to worke the vttermost mischiefe to *France* was not doubted,) being sent vnto by King *Henry*, signifying his forwardnes, was found vtterly vnfurnished. Causes of *Maximilians* weakenesse in state, were the rebellions and dislikes of his Flemish Subiects cherished by the *French*, the iealousie of Princes neighbourhood making them vniustly glad either of others molestations. For subduing whereof though King *Henry* had heretofore giuen him good and successefull assistance vnder the conduct of *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney* Gouernour of *Callis*, the Lord *Morley* and others, whereby he the rather ouercame; yet was hee the feebler, as then, by reason of so fresh exhaustures. King *Henry* with good cause was not a little troubled at these newes, secretly signified by his trustie Almner M^r. *Christopher Vrswick*, and Sir *Richard Risley* knight, his Ambassadors to *Maximilian*; For hee was very loath to vndergoe so great an Action vpon his particular strengths, though he doubted not to finde a potent party among the *Britaines*, (whose affections were as yet but loosely setled toward King *Charles*,) and yet farre more loath to deceiue the expectation of his owne people, who had so largely contributed; Chiefly the City of *London*, out of which, euen in those daies he receiued for his furniture in that voiage almost * ten thousand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it seemes by our Author) two hundreth pounds besides from euery Alderman, where the same King could not, but with some difficulty, leuie in the third yere of his Reigne a loane of foure thousand pounds, whereof three of the best Companies are noted (as for hauing done and deserued extraordinarily) to haue lent aboue nine hundred. And verily this wise King (knowing how great a strength that rich City was vnto him) humored that people with all sortes of popularities, for himselfe did not onely come among them, and cause himselfe to be entred a brother, in *one of their Companies, but ware the habite at a publike feast, and late as Maister, as is verie credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wisdome therefore saw, that in giuing ouer the inuasion of *France*; he should sloathfully abandon a goodly occasion of making himselfe vniuersally acceptable to his people. His resolutions therefore are by him at least wise pretended to continue, and for that cause he sufficiently encreaseth his numbers, that he might seeme able to goe through with that enterprize alone; and though the time of yeere were too farre spent (for he landed not at *Calais*, till the sixth day of October) yet marcheth he with his whole forces toward *Boloigne*, being wel assured that with this trowell he should at once plaister two wals, that is, humor his *English* subiects, and for a peace draw to himselfe store of Crownes from the *French*.

Britaine vnit to France.

Maximilian prouided to ioine with

*Addit: to Fab. Chron.

King Henr pularities in don. *The Mer Taylors.

A.D. 1 An. reg.

The chief names who ued in this age.

(30) He had with him besides the flower of his Nobility, and Captaines, answerable numbers of People fit for the seruice. The most named persons were these, *Iasper* Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant Generall of the Army, *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Shrewsburie*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Deuonshire*, *and Ormond*, sundry Barons, as *Dawbeney*

ney, *Abergenny*, *Delaware*, *South*, *Hastings*, *Cobham*, *&c.* But it is needlesse to weary our selues with long relations of a short voyage; for King *Henry*, *before hee set forth out of England*, was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Gouernour of *Henault*, according to instructions on the French Kings behalfe, to accept of conditions, which till *Boloigne* was besieged (as now by him it was) was not knowne. The ignorance of this mystery made many forward Gentlemen to morgage their lands, and runne into much debt for their fuller and brauer furniture, in hope to get great matters in this warre, whereof to their griefe they found themselues deceiued. In the mean time the L.*Cordes* hauing met at *Calais* with *Richard Fox* Lord Bishoppe of *Exceester*, and* *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, the Kings Commissioners; after iust and long debatement, concluded vpon Articles of peace betweene the two Kings.

(31) *Boloigne* was brought to some distresse, when by interuention of this agreement it remained safe and quiet King *Charles* was chiefly moued to buy his peace at a deare rate, both for that the state of *Britaine* was as yet vnsetled, and for that hee meant forthwith to march into *Italy* for the * conquest of the Kingdome of *Naples*; and K. *Henry* on the other side was not vnwilling, because *Maximilian* had failed, and *Britaine* seemed clearely past possibility of euiction. To which may be added, a naturall, noble, and religious inclination in King *Henry*, to liue in amity with his neighbours; *the inckling of new * dangers*, then in brewing against him by the turbulent, and vnappeaseable Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, and * cherished by King *Charles*; and lastly, the enrichment of himselfe by reembursing the charges both of this, and the *British* warre out of the French elsewhere, whereby he should farre the better bee able to withstand all forrain practises, or domesticke outrages. As for the preseruing of himselfe, and his honour with his Subiects, hee wanted not both true and honourable glosses: Such as were the care to auoid vnnecessary effusion of Christian bloud: the vses of his presence at home, besides many other: but his wisdome in the carriage of this right weighty action was chiefly eminent in this, *That hee would not enter into Treaty, till he was in the field; and that with such a puissance, as was likely enough to force his owne conditions; nor suffer the least signe of his secret willingnesse to peace, or inward doubt of troubles at home, to creepe out at any crany or chinke of his discourse or carriage*, whereby he as farre outwent the French fairely, as they formerly seemed to haue ouerwrought him subtlely. Had they truly beene informed in those points, it is probable they might haue gone a cheaper way to work: for, besides what other Articles soeuer, it was concluded, That *Henry* should * not *quit his clayme to France*; but that for a Peace, which by the contract *was only to continue during the two Kings liues*, *Charles* of *France* should pay in present to *Henry* for his charges in that warre, * seuen hundred, forty and fiue thousand * Duckets, and twenty fiue thousand Crownes yeerely toward the expenses, which hee had heretofore been at in aiding the *Britons*. Which (by the English called Tribute) was duly paid during all this Kings raigne, and also to *Henry* his son, till the whole debt was run out, thereby to preserue amity with *England*. There were moreouer (by *Henries* consent, who was thus content to gratifie his Peeres at anothers cost) not onely present rewards, but also certaine annuall pensions allotted to the chiefe Lords of his priuie Councell. A course of bounty which might otherwise haue proued preiudicious to the seruice of the King of *England*, by engaging his Counsellors affections to the French: The siege of *Boleine* lasted till the eighth day of November, & *Henry* (whom his Queens most * tender, frequent and louing lines, did the rather inuite to speediest returne,) hauing setled all his transmarine affaires, * arriued at *Douer*, from whence hee iourned to *Westminster*, there to celebrate the Feast of Christmas. This voyage into *France*, affording no greater exploites then wee haue heard, was celebrated by blind * *Bernard* with hyperbolicall and well-borne verses not ordinary, in which directing his speech in honour of *Henry*, to the *Howres* he concludes.

Effugite igniuomos celeres coniungere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Hora protinus ecce parat;
Non opus est vobis; quia si priuatus Apollo,
Pauerit Admeti rursus & ipse boues,
Principis hic nostri vultus Iouialis, abundè
Lumina, crede mihi, Phœbe recede, dabit.

(32) The famous counterfeisance of *Perkin Warbecke*, with which the braine of the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundie* had long trauelled, doth now beginne to disclose it selfe, and make new businesses for King *Henry*. The inglorious glorie of the first inuention in his raigne of this kind of vexation, *Lambert Simnels* person had giuen to his Master the wily *Simon*, so that our Dutchesse was but an imitatrix, and yet perhaps shee gaue not place in any point to the first example, or Archtype, neuertheless the fortune of the first deuise, being no more successefull then it was, might reasonably haue deterred her from the edition of a second: but whether it were an immortall enuie toward the Lancastrian race, or a burning zeale of aduancing one that might at leastwise beare the name of a *Plantagenet*, though by any sinister practises; as if it had beene lawfull to attaine her ends (admit them iust) by any iniurious courses, shee resolues to erect another Idoll, as perceiuing by the first, how notable an engine impostur was, to trouble *Henry*; being well assured, that *England* was ful of corrupt humors, and ill-affections to worke vpon, not so much through the desert of her present King, as for that the dregges which naturally reside in the bottom of mens hearts, where most bloudy and barbarous factions haue for a long time weltered, and wurried one the other with various euent, were not clensed and auoided. The Diuell therefore ready to furnish all attempts which may raise trouble, and mischiefe, easily fitted her. There was come therfore to her hands a youth adorned with such a shape, as might easily perswade the beholders was worthy of a noble fortune: he had thereunto a naturall fine wit, and (by reason of his abode in *England* in K. *Edwards* dayes) could speake our language, as also some other, which hee had by a kind of wandring trauell obtained. This youth was borne (they say) in the City of *Tornay*, and called **Peter Warbecke*, the* son of a conuerted Iew, whose Godfather at Baptisme King *Edward* himselfe was. The English in * contempt (and for a note perhaps of his forraine birth) did afterward call him by a diminutiue of his name, *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Him the Dutchesse (as a fitte peece of timber, out of which to carue a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, & makes him take shape according to that *Idea*, which shee had prefigured in her working imagination; before the which the late honours of her house conspicuous in three Princes (which altogether made not twenty and fiue yeeres of raigne) did so perpetually houer, as her soule could neuer take contentment, but in the hope that the house of *Yorke* should againe be the dwelling place of Maiesty.

(33) Her offence against *Henry* wanted not many seeming reasons, but none so great, as that hee had slaine her own brother King *Richard*, who albeit he was there reputed murtherer of her Nephewes, yet were they a degree more remoued from her, and so lesse deere in likelihood then a brother; and howsoeuer shee might secretly detest, or believe the commitmẽt of that parricide, yet could she neuer brooke (seeing they were gone) that the reward of her brothers death, and that euen to him who slew him, should bee the Crowne of *England*, whereby not onely

R. Henry returned.

* Ande. Hist. 613

The Dutchesse of *Burgundy* addresseth a *Pseudo Richard* against *Henry*.

* *Polyd. Verg.*
* *Bern. Andr. MS.*

* *Polyd. Verg.*

Causes mouing the Dutchesse to beare K. *Henry* so mortall hatred.

onely her brother, but the whole male-line of her family was for euer to bee excluded; much leſſe could ſhee (a Plantagenet) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the ſurname of a newly raiſed Familie. Theſe and other conſiderations in the breaſt of a Lady, bred vp in a dominating Family, her ſelfe a Dowager, in ſuch a fortune, as in which ſhee was Paramount for the time, and abſolute without controlment, being careleſſe withall of ſauing for poſterity, becauſe ſhee was without a child, and in that regard the more abundantly ſtored with treaſure; all which made her ſpirits ouer-boile with impatience and virulency; ſo farre forth, that hauing infuſed al her principles into *Peter* her creature vnder the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, ſecond ſon of King *Edward* the fourth; ſhe moſt couertly ſends him into *Portugall*, from thence to take his *Icarean flight*, as * elſewhere is related. Neuertheleſſe, there will not (perhaps) want ſome, who in defence of the Dutcheſſe, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Nobleneſſe* of *Spirit*, in ſeeking the honour of her houſe; which, if it might paſſe for ſuch among the heathen, yet can it not among Chriſtians; much the leſſe, for that her duty to *England*, & the royall flouriſhing eſtate of her own Neece, the right heire, exacted at her hands a greater tenderneſſe.

* *Infra § prox. & ſequent.*

(34) That *Peter Warbecke* ſhould bee inflamed by her fauours, and encouragements, to dare in earneſt the perſonation of a Kings ſonne, ſeemes not a thing to bee admired; for there is in humane nature (which ties not her ſelf to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kind of light matter, which will eaſily kindle, being toucht with the blazing hopes of ambitious propoſitions. He therefore vpon the firſt diſcloſe of * himſelfe, did put on ſo excellent a ſeeming as might iuſtly moue *King Henry* to bee iealous, whereunto the pernitious practiſe might come at laſt; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young vpſtart, but onely the conſcience of a truth, and truth it ſelfe: which makes me call to mind * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyr in *Venice*, made by art ſo neerely to reſemble a true Diamond, that with much difficulty, and but by one onely lapidary, it was diſcouered; which if it had beene graced with ſome great Princes, wearing, what could want to haue made it paſſable for a very Diamond of greateſt value? *Perkin* came ſuch from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage bee reſpected) aſſumed the image and reſemblance of a king, being otherwiſe not ſo much as a meane Gentleman. Neither can it be maruelled at, if ſuch a Phantaſme as this, did abuſe, and trouble the common people of that time; for euen to ſuch as do write thereof, it begets a kind of doubt (which without ſome little collection of their ſpirits doth not eaſily vaniſh,) it ſeeming almoſt incredible, that ſuch a bloudy play ſhould meerly be diſguiſed and fained; the diſcouery therefore was worthy ſuch a wit as King *Henries*, and the puſh it gaue to his ſoueraignty did throughly try his ſitting, being of force enough to haue caſt an ordinarie rider out of ſadle.

Perkin Warbecke fits the Dutcheſſes turne, by exact repreſentation of a *Richard Plantagenet*

* *Videinfra § prox.*

* *Pancirollus.*

(35) Therfore, it was the Dutcheſſes miſfortune, that her inuentions (if they were hers) had to encounter ſo politicke and conſtant a man as King *Henry*; whoſe prudence ſearcht into the abſtruſeſt ſecrets, and whoſe diligence ouercame all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margarets* courſe to vent her Creature at the firſt was exquiſite; for ſhe (as in a Magicke practiſe) hauing kept him ſecret till ſhee ſaw her time, cauſeth him to bee cloſely conuayed into * *Portugall*; from whence (attended with fitte aſſociates and Priuadoes) hee ſailes into *Ireland* (the Foſter-place and nurſery of immortall good will to the houſe of *Yorke*) where (notwithſtanding their late calamities,) he ſo ſtrongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of falſe hopes, and miſts of ſeemings, as he was ſure of partakers in great plenty. *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, hearing (and perhaps beleeuing) that the Duke of *Yorke* was aliue, and glad to haue ſo probable an occaſion of doing miſchiefe to *Henry* of *England*, in regard of theſe flagrãt enmities which as then remained vnquencht betweene them, inuites Duke *Richard* moſt officiouſly to *Paris*, and beſides all other honours, aſſigned him (at his comming) a guard for his perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captaine. Afterward there repaired to this new Duke, Sir *George Neuill* Knight, (a * baſtard of the noble houſe of the *Neuils*,) Sir *Iohn Taylor*, *Rowland Robinſon*, and about an hundreth Engliſh, to whom (as a principal) wee may adde * *Stephen Frion*, French Secretary to King *Henry* himſelfe; all which, together with the whole Strategeme, was ſmoakt out of *France* with the firſt graine of incenſe ſacrificed vpon the Altars of Peace at *Boloign*, after the ſame was once made and ratified (as you haue heard) between the French and vs. The Dutcheſſe then ſeeing her artificiall creature thus turned againe vpon her hands, *pretends an extreame ignorance that euer ſhee had ſeene him before that preſent, and an exceſsiue ioy for his miraculous eſcape, and preſeruation*, which ſeemed ſuch to her (as ſhee pretended) as if hee had beene reuiued from death to life, and that the fable might want no quickning, which her perſonall countenancing, or her Court could afford, ſhee openly ſalutes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Roſe of England*, and queſtions him of the manner of his eſcape, with ſuch like, to beget a firme beliefe in the hearers, that ſhe neuer had ſeene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe vnto him all honour, and ſhee enuirons his perſon with a guard of thirty men in murrey and blew. Neither was hee in any point wanting to his part; but fitted ſuch likely anſweres to all queſtions, and ſuch princely behauiours to all occaſions, as made fame bold to publiſh him with the fulleſt blaſt of her Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*; and as it is ſo obſerued of ſome, that by long vſing to report an vntruth, at laſt forgetting themſelues to bee the Authors thereof, beleeue it in earneſt; ſo theſe honors making our *Peter* to bury in vtter oblivion his birthes obſcurity, he ſeemed to bee perſwaded; that hee was indeed the ſelfe partie, whom hee did ſo exactly perſonate. Nouelty, and impudency were ſcarce euer knowne to haue found more applauſe, or beliefe, euen among many verie wiſe, and (otherwiſe) worthy men; who moued in conſcience, and not onely vpon diſcontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the onely right heire of the Engliſh Diadem, as if, whether he had beene the true one, it was paſt diſpute. This intoxication, & abuſion of the world, was wonderfully encreaſed by the ſecret reuolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had ſeene, and knowne the true *Richard*) the cunning conſpirators in *England* had ſent ouer, to informe himſelfe, and them, *whether he was indeed as hee ſeemed*. Sir *Robert* (whoſe preſence and errand were to the Dutcheſſe moſt welcome,) being brought to his ſight, did forthwith giue credite, and conſtantly ſignifie, that *this was indeed Richard Plantagenet, the true Duke of Yorke*, and that he well knew *him for ſuch*. Money and encouragements, were hereupon ſent out of *England*, from ſuch as fauoured him; among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* (by whoſe punctual reuolt from *K. Richard*, he had principally atchieued the Crowne of *England*) * *Iohn Ratcliffe*, *L. Fitzwalter*, * Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwates* Knights, and others; but the maine countenance of the cauſe in forraine parts was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a knight of an honourable fame and family) which moued the ſecret friends of the new Duke to ſet the rumor ſo cunningly on foot among the Engliſh, *that * ſooner might a cloud, which cauſeth thunder, bee caught or knowne, then the Author thereof*; and multitudes beeing weakened therewith, ſtore of humor

A ſummonde[illegible] lation of [illegible] firſt footing [illegible] ter he was pu[illegible] liſhed.

* *Stow Annal.*

* *Ber. Ank.*

Perkin in *Flanders* with the Dutcheſſe.

* *Stow Annal.*

Sir *Rob. Clifford* ſignifies to his friends in *England* that *Perkin* was the true Duke.

* *Bern. Ank.*

* *Stow Annal.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Holinſh.* *Io. Do. MS.*

* *Iohn Do. MS.*

humor, dangerously prepared to mutation, did euery where discouer it selfe.

(36) For preuention therfore of all those effects, which might issue out of these causes, (being in their proper nature most generatiue of sedition, and of all sorts of ciuill furies) King *Henrie* diligently causeth the coasts of *England* to be well and strongly watcht, aswell to empeach the landing of enemies, as the escape of fugitiues: but aboue all, he writes letters to his best friends in forraine parts, & also emploies nimble wits with seueral instructions; some to assaile the constancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*, (the maine stay and credite of *Perkins* cause) with promise of immunity and fauour if hee would returne into *England* in quiet; others, to find out the truth of *Perkins* quality, being furnished with treasure to draw and requite intelligences; and all of them (as occasion should serue) to pretend themselues vehement fauorers of the new Duke. These necessary hypocrites and double faced *Ambidexters*, called *Spies*, (whose seruices, howsoeuer conducible to such as sets thē on worke, yet their perfidious quality cōmonly partakes with that of *Iudas Iscariot*, and often meetes with like reward,) doe plie their charge so roundly that * Sir *Robert Clifford* is secretly drawne off, the new Duke is discouered aswell by them, as by * sundry letters from friends abroad, to bee but *Perkin Warbecke*, and many other mysteries are reuealed. This gaue to the wise King great satisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practise the more, not onely diuulgeth the fraud, but sends ouer sea Sir *William Poinings* Knight, and Sir *William Warham* his Ambassadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* (then gouerned by others by reason of his tender age) who promised not to assist the said *Perkin*, but if the Dutchesse Dowager would doe any such thing to the preiudice of King *Henry*, it was not in him to hinder her, for that she might dispose of her owne. A maine argument vsed by these Ambassadors before the Archdukes Counsell to conuince, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Yorke* was murdered as well as King *Edward* his brother German, as *Polydor* (who seemes to haue had good means to vnderstand these times) rehearseth it, was, *That their vncle Richard should in vaine haue made away the elder brother, if the younger had beene suffered to suruiue, for that the right of the elder, was immediately vpon his death in the younger, and that consequently during his life, King Richard could haue no more assurance, then if the elder were still aliue: which Argument notwithstanding doth at most proue nothing but this: That their vncle the Vsurper might intend, that both his Nephewes should bee murdered, and that hee knew nothing perhaps to the contrary.* Whereas facts are to bee proued by confessions of parties, by witnesses, or vehement presumptions, (though vehement presumptions are said to constitute but an half proof) al which are * otherwhere so supplied, as leaues smal cause to doubt of both their deathes. But *Warham* (a learned Priest and Doctor in the lawes) the mouth of that Ambassage sent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his oration vsed this bitter scoffe, and Sarcasme against the Lady *Margaret*: *That shee in her old age brought forth two Monsters within the space of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the eight, or ninth moneth after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one * hundred and eightieth moneth; and whereas other women brought forth Infants vtterly vnable to helpe themselues, these birthes of hers were tall striplings, and as soone as they were borne, offered battell vnto mighty Kings.* And albeit the Arch-Dukes answere seemed reasonable, yet was not King *Henry* so satisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had secretly furnisht *Perkin* with leaders, hee tooke occasion to banish all Flemings, and Flemish wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subiects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of Romans, or of the Archduke *Philip* his sonne, who by way of *talio* and requitall did the like against the English.

(37) Let vs come now from the addresses of things, to their doing. The high prudence and industry of *Henry* hauing thus discouered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humors which were most vnsound, made it his first worke to raze those groundworks, and purge the veines of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phlebotomie. The * Lord *Fitzwalter*, a principall conspirator, being condemned, and sent to *Calais*, liued there in hope of pardon; but for practising with his Keepers to escape, hee finally payed his head for satisfaction. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney* (Gentlemen of noble houses) as Captaines and Authors of the conspiracy were beheaded, but all the rest aswel Clerkes as Lay-men had their pardons. Not long after these executions and pardons, the King vpon sure intelligence, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whose bosome the secret of all *Perkins* plot lay) was arriued, entred the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that so, if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great, (and whom hee then would accuse, it is probable King *Henry* knew) they might without suspition, or tumult bee attached; the Court, and publike prison for crimes of highest nature, being then within the cincture of one, and the same wall. Sir *Robert Clifford* at his comming into the Kings presence, (though hee was secretly before assured of his life) most humbly praying and obtaining pardon, appeached (among many others) Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at first giue credite (or at least wise pretended, not to giue credite) to the accusation of a Peere so great, and so neere vnto him: but vpon farther search, finding the same confirmed with circumstances, and particularly, for that he said to *Clifford*, * *Hee would neuer beare Armes against the young man, if he knew him for certaine to be the sonne of King Edward*, hee resolueth to vse seuerity against the delinquent.

(38) But *Bernard Andreas* directly saith, That (besides bare words and purposes) *Sir William had supported Perkins cause with treasure*, wherein hee is recorded so to haue abounded, as that in his Castle of * *Holt* he had in coine and plate to the value of forty thousand Markes, besides lands of inheritance in sundry places about, to the yeerely value of three thousand pounds (a prety stocke in treasure at those times, to vphold the first brunt of a warre, and a large extent of land to furnish the wing of a powerfull battell with able souldiers out of *Tenancies*) with all which the same Author in plaine wordes saith, *That hee promised to defend the said Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome.* And if we haue any insight into King *Henries* disposition, it seemes to vs, that before he entred into the Tower, he not only knew the Lord Chamberlaine vnsound, but also that for his quiet apprehension hee chiefly repaired thither. *Stanley* being hereupon attached and referred to farther examination, is said * *To haue denied nothing of all that wherewith hee was charged*, which he perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that king *Henry* would pardon him in respect of passed seruices, they (in their effects considered) being the greatest whereof mortality is capable, *preseruation of life, and gaining of a Kingdome.* But the poore gentleman found himselfe farre deceiued in his politicke Lord and Master, who (to teach mankind thereby, *how dangerous it is to make a King*) was not vnwilling to cut him off, as perswading himselfe, that those seruices proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cause now ceasing, the contrary effects might proue as pernicious, as the other had been aduantageous and auaileable. The King was vnwilling to displease his Father in Law, *Thomas* Earle of *Derby* (brother german to Sir *William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while suspend his iudgement; but rigour finally preuailed, and hee was at *westminster* openly arraigned, conuicted, and afterward

* *Stow Annal. Polydor* cals him but a knight.

K. *Henry* expects Sir *Rob. Clifford* in the Tower of *London.*

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine accused.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Iob. Stow Annal.*

* *Illum tutari & in regnum adduc cere promisérat,*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

Stanley Lord Chamberlaine beheaded.

ward at the block on Tower-hil beheaded. In whose office *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney* a most faithfull and moderate man succeeded. This sharpe iustice exercised vpon so eminent a person, was of great vse in the stay of peoples minds through the Realme of *England*. But in *Ireland* they were not so setled, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deuey* (a Monke of *Langton* Abbey) was sent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir *Edward Poinings* Knight, with souldiers; whose greatest diligence and cares were not wanting, to punish such as heretofore had aided *Perkin*, or might hereafter. The Earle of *Kildare* Lord Deputy, falling into suspition with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended, and sent prisoner into *England*; where the King did not onely graciously heare and admit his defences, but also returned him with honour, and continuation of authority. In the meane time (the errour, or weakenesse of the Burgundian Dutchesse and her *Perkin*, suffering their enemy in this sort, to puruey for his own security, and their depulsion) hee yet for farther assurance of himselfe makes a progresse into *Lancashire*, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Countesse his mother, where among all other his secret purposes, he throughly satisfied the Earle, both for the iustice and necessity of Sir *William Stanleyes* death.

(39) These certainely, were perillous times to liue in, and vndoubtedly full of infinite iealousies, and hypocrisies, nor vnlike to those lately passed, * *wherein there was nothing so plaine, and openly proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well-counterfeited iewels make the true suspected*: these generall distrusts being among the strange gradations, by which the incomprehensible prouidence doth vse to chastise insolent Nations and to make regular Princes, meer and absolute. But the *Dutchesse* and her *Perkin* knowing al things as they passed in *England*, resolue notwithstanding to proceede; and therefore taking aduantage of the Kings absence in the North, he with a force of broken and discontented persons, sets saile for *England*, and approcheth the coasts of *Kent* about *Sandwich* and *Deale*, there to beginne his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of *England*, vnder the borrowed name and title of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtfull at first what to doe, yet at the last considering that his Souldiers were for the most part of desperate fortunes, and felonious qualitie, (though hardy otherwise, and approoued men of warre,) remembring withall the mischiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but training them within danger vpon promise of succour, assaile, and driue them to their shippes, take fiue of the Captaines, *Mountford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintin*, and *Genin*, and * one hundreth, sixty and foure others, which were all of them afterward executed. *Perkin* himselfe who would not trust his person on shore, being worthily troubled at the inauspicious fortune of his followers, presently hoised sailes, and returned to his Lady Patroneesse and Creatrix, into *Flanders*.

(40) These newes being brought to the King, where he was then in the North, he is * said to haue giuen God thanks, and declared his ioy in these words. *I am not ignorant (most mercifull Iesu) how great victories thou hast giuen mee, vpon the Saturday at the praiers of thy most gracious Mother, all which I ascribe not to my deserts, but to the bounty of thy celestiall grace. Thou seest, ô most benigne Iesu, how many snares, how many deceits, how many weapons, that terrible* Iuno *hath prepared, notwithstanding that after my marriage shee faining herselfe ioyfull, hath faithfully promised to beare toward vs all fauour and good will, but shee, more changeable then the winde peruerting all things aswell diuine as humane, feares not God, but in her fury seekes the vtter ruine of her owne blood. Thou, ô God, who knowest all, deliuer vs also (if we seeme worthy) from these euils, but if our sinnes haue deserued to suffer, doe thou, ô Lord, thy good pleasure. Neuertheless wee owe to thy Grace immortal thanks, which though with our tongue we cannot vtter worthily enough, yet must they bee rendred. We are alwaies of good courage, and so minded for certain, that no prosperity, no aduersity, no chaunce, no distance of places, or times, shall once make vs of thee vnmindefull.* The most modest King hauing ended his speech, doth foorthwith (saith our Author) seriously deliberate with his Councell what was to bee done heereafter. It may probably seeme, that he had withdrawne into the North, to inuite *Perkin* (by occasion of his absence) the rather to take Land, that so hee might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, if his Subiects should reuolt to *Perkin* in any numbers, or if they did not, then might he fall into his hands, by landing vnwarily vpon trust of the peoples fauour, and so by a more compendious, and easie way settle his Estate; of which he failed but little, by the said counterpolicy of the Kentishmen. In regard whereof, in the first Act of Councell, praise and thankes were decreed to them, with which Sir *Richard Gylford* Knight was presently sent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons vpon the Coasts.

(14) The Dutchesse on the other side, seeing the South of *England* proue so drie, and barren to her driftes, conueighes againe her Idoll into *Ireland*, where shee well knew there could not want partakers; and *Perkin* himselfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by so long personation of a Kings sonne, and heire, ambition had throughlie kindled his youthfull blood) was now no little cause of bringing things to an issue by his owne forwardnesse. * *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, whither as one willing to keepe the English busied (* *Henry* hauing forbidden his Subiects all traffike with the Flemmings, and all other of his sonne the Archdukes Subiects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore led thereunto in honour and conscience; * *Charles* also King of *France*, but specially the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, (by whom this bubble was first blowne vp, and put abroad) did concurre to the molestation of King *Henry*; *Maximilian*, and the *French* King, more secretly, but the Dutchesse with all her Oares and Sailes plied it in open view. Borne vp by these supporters he the rather easily drew the Irish to assent to his pretext; but his counsell weighing with themselues that the Irish-mens friendship, how firme so euer, was insufficient in respect of their nakednesse and pouerty to worke their wishes, hee according to such aduises as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, crosseth into *Scotland*, *for feare of punishment*, saith * *Andreas*; if perhaps by the Kings true Subiects within *Ireland* hee should chaunce to bee apprehended; but the euent shewes, that it was not onely for his more security, but principally *to strengthen his enterprize with the Scotish aide*, whereof in those daies hee had small reason to bee doubtfull; and his case was such, that no third course was left vnto him, but either to fight and conquer, or liue branded with immortall infamy both of Cowardize and impostur. *Henry* hearing these things was not slacke to prouide for his iust defence, greatly carefull vpon what coast this wandring clowd would at length dissolue it selfe, in what effects soeuer; and therefore obserued all his waies with as much curiosity as was possible.

(42) *Iames* the fourth, a yong Prince of great hope was at that time King of *Scots*, to whom this bold counterfeit (being specially recommended, for the true *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, by the * King of *France*, and vndoubtedly much more by the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*,) repaires; and had most courteous entertainement, and audience, the effect whereof *Andreas* thus coucheth: *That the King was finally deceiued by errour, as most of other, though most prudent Princes, had beene before.* But the rare impudency of the

Polyd. Verg. Stowes Annal.

* Sir Tho. Moore in Rich. 3.

Perkin vpon the Kentish Seas.

* Bernard. Andr. saith about 400.

*Bern. Andr. MS.

The Kings praier and speech to God.

Perkin saileth to Scotland.

Perkin succeeded in Scotland.

the Lad, & that connexion which his darings had with so many great Princes, deserue not to bee so slenderlie ouerpassed. Hee therefore being in honourable *manner accompanied, and brought to the presence of King *Iames*, had words to this effect. *That* Edward *the fourth late King of* England, *leauing two sons* Edward *and* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *both very young,* Edward *the eldest succeeded their Father in the Crowne by the name of King* Edward *the fifth: that their vncle* Richard *Duke of* Gloceſter *to obtaine the Kingdome, purposed to murder both, but the instrument employed by him to execute the execrable Tragedy, hauing cruelly slaine King* Edward *the eldest of the two, was mooued to saue* Richard *his brother, whom neuertheleſſe the world supposed to haue beene alike barbarously made away; though falsely (supposed; for that himselfe there present, was that very* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *brother of that vnfortunate Prince, King* Edward *the fifth, now the most rightfull, and lineall surviuing heire Male to that victorious and most noble* Edward *of that name the fourth, late King of* England. * *That hee in his tender age thus escaping by Gods mercy out of the County of* London, *was secretly conueied ouer the Sea,* * *whither when hee was brought, the party who had the conueiance of him in charge, suddenly forsooke him, and thereby forced him to wander into* *diuerſe Countries, *where he remained certain yeeres as vnknown,* *til at length he came to the true vnderstanding of himselfe.* * *In which season it hapned one Henry, son to* Edmund Tydder *Earle of* Richmund, *to come from* France, *and enter into the Realme, and by subtill and fowle meanes, to obtaine the Crowne of the same, which to him the said* Richard *rightfullie appertained. That Henry as his extreame and mortall enemie, so soone as he had knowledge of his being alsue, imagined, and wrought all the subtill waies, and meanes he could, to deuise his finall destruction. That the said mortall enemie hath not only falsely surmised him to be a fained person, giuing him nicknames, so abusing the world, but that also, to deferre, and put him from entrie into England, hee hath offered large summes of money to corrupt the Princes, with whom he had beene retained, and made importune labour to certaine seruants about his (the saide Richards) person, to murder or poison him, and others, to forsake and leaue his righteous quarrell, and to depart from his seruice, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. That euery man of reason may well vnderstand, that the said Henry needed not to haue mooued the foresaid Costs, and importune labour, if he had beene such a fained person. That the truth of his cause so manifest* mooued the most Christian King Charles, and the Ladie, Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundie, his most deare Aunt not onely to acknowledge the said truth, but louingly also to assist him. That now because the Kings of Scotland (Predecessors of the said King Iames) had oftentimes supported them, who were reft and spoiled of the said Kingdome of England, (as in freshest memory King Henrie the sixth,) and for that he (the said King Iames) had giuen cleare signes, that he was in no noble quality, vnlike to his royall Aunce stors, he so distressed a Prince was therefore mooued to come, and put himselfe into his hands, desiring his assistance to recouer the Realme of England, promising faithfully, to beare himselfe towardes the said Scottish King, no otherwise then as if he had beene his owne naturall brother, and would (vpon recouery of his inheritance) gratefully doe to him all the pleasure which lay in his vtmost power.*

(43) *Perkins* speech ended, and his amiable person being fitted with so many countenancing circumstances of state, and seemings, (by the recommendations of great Princes, aide from the *Irish*, assured hope of aide in *England*, and his owne wel-appointed company,) made so strong an impression in the young Kings conceit, that, albeit there wanted not some, who with* many arguments aduised the King *to repute all but for a meere dreame and illusion*, his person was honorably receiued, as it became the person of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and his quarrell entertained; which the more to grace in the Worldes eye, he gaue his consent, that the said Duke of *Yorke* should take to wife the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, daughter to the Earle of *Huntley*, being neere cosen to the King himselfe, a young maide of excellent beautie and vertue. By which marriage, as the gentle King abundantly declared that he tooke him for the very Duke of *Yorke*, so *Perkin*, * (*distrustfull of the Scots*, * *and desirous to gaine the loue and fauour of the Nobles of the Realme*) cunningly serued his owne ends for the present, passing current for a Prince of high blood, and roiall hope. Vpon this ground a warre was presently vndertaken against *Henrie*, and entred into; the King of *Scots* in person, and *Perkin*, followed with great numbers, specially of Borderers, fell vpon sundry parts of *Northumberland*, which they most grieuously afflicted, burnt and spoiled; publishing neuertheleſſe by Proclamation made in the name of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* much fauour and immunitie to all such as would adhere to his iust quarrell, and a* thousand poundes in money, and one hundreth markes by yeere, of land of inheritance to the meaneſt person, that could either take or distresse his great enemy, who (he said) was flying the land. But King *Henry* by his diligence, and wisdome had so setled the mindes of his people in those parts, that there is no mention made of any one person which offered his seruice. This vnexpected auersion so blankt and dampt the Scottish enterprize on *Perkins* behalfe, that the King offended therewith, retired with his armie (laden with booty) into his Realme, and from thenceforth esteemed of his new Cosen the lesse. But King *Henry* not minding to forgiue so vniust and causeleſſe outrages, cals a Parliament, opens his griefes, and praies aide for an inuasiue warre against *Scotland*, which was generally assented vnto, there being scarce anie more gratefull propositions to the *English* in those swording times, then warre with *French* or *Scots*: an humour, vpon which this King did practise to enrich himselfe. For the publike monies by these occasions came into his Exchequer, with a small part whereof he flourished out a show of hostile prouisions, and the Remainder thereupon (if peace ensued, which he alwaies knew how to bring about with honour) was cleerely his owne without account. The summe assented to be gathered was* fixescore thousand pounds, and for collection thereof were granted two dismes, and an halfe, and two fifteenes. But the leuie of this money so granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in *England*; in so much, that the Lord *Dawbeney* being sent *Generall* of the Forces against the *Scots*, and vpon his way thither, was recalled by occasion of inteſtine troubles.

(44) Which troubles had their Originall from the leuie of such payments among the Cornish, as were assessed for the Scottish warres. When therefore the Collectors came among them, the People (being a stout, bigge, and hardy race of men,) tumultuously assembled; whom one *Thomas* * *Flammock* a lawyer, and *Michaell Ioseph*, a blacke-smith or horse-farrier of *Bodmin*, like firebrands of rebellion inflamed, and were followed as Captaines, not without secret and silent relation (as it may be suspected) to *Perkins* pretences, and that hope of redresse (if he were King,) which, by his Proclamations he had colourably giuen to the people, at the time of the Scottish Inuasion; where, among manie other things, (tending to humour such as were maleuolent, by making the person and gouernment of King *Henrie* odious,) this we find.

(45) *Our great enemie* (saith the Proclamation) *to fortifie his false quarrell, hath caused diuers Nobles of this our Realme, whom he held suspect, and stood in dread of, to bee cruelly murdered: as our cosen Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Simond Montford, Sir Robert Ratliffe, William Dawbeney, Humfrey Stafford, and many other, besides such as haue deerelie bought their liues, some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison our right intirely wel-beloued Cosen, Edward sonne and heire to our Vncle Duke of Clarence, and other, withholding*

* *Bern. Andr.*
* *Pol. Virg.*

The Scots inuade Northumberland in Perkins quarrell and reuenge.

* *Procl. P 87. M3*

King *Henry* prepares for reuenge.

* *Add. to Fab.*

The Cornish rebellion.

* *Polyd. Virg. to. Stowes Annal. Holinshed.*

Perkins Proclamation.

The Earle of *Warwicks* emprisonment obiected.

holding frō them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they (should neuer be of might & power, to aid and assist vs at our need, after the dutie of their leageances. He hath also married by compulsion certaine of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our foresaid Cosen the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers other Ladies of the blood roiall, vnto certaine his kinsemen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all wel-disposed Nobles, he hath none in fauour, and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Louel, Oliuer King, Sir Charles Sommerset, Dauie Owen, Rysley, Sir Iohn Trobutuile, Tyler, Chamley, Iames Hobert, Iohn Cut, Garth, Henry Wyot, and such other Caitiues, and "villaines of birth: which by subtile inuentions, and pilling "of the people, haue been the principall finders, occasioners, and counsailers of the misrule, and mischiefe now raigning in England, &c. We remembring these premises, with the great, and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemie, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchises of our mother, the holy Church; to the high displeasure of Almighty God: besides the manifold treasons, abhominable murders, man-"slaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the "people by dismes, taskes, tallages, benevolences, and other "vnlawfull impositions, and grieuous exactions, with many other hainous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole Realme, &c. shall by Gods grace, and the helpe, and assistance of the great Lords of our blood, with the Counsell of other sad persons, &c. see that the commodities of our Realme bee employed to the most aduantage of the same, the entercourse of Merchandize betwixt Realme and Realme, to be ministred and handled, "as shall more be to the Common weale, and prosperitie of "our subiects: and all such dismes, taskes, tallages, bene-"uolences, vnlawfull impositions, and grieuous exacti-"ons as be aboue rehearsed, to be foredone, and laid apart, "and neuer from henceforth to be called vpon, but in such causes as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England haue of old time beene accustomed to haue the aide, succour, and helpe of their subiects, and true liegemen.

Popular insinuations by Perkin.

(46) The tide of people being thus vp: *Flammock* and the *blacke Smyth* (hauing firme promise of the *Lord Audleys* personall helpe) lead them forth toward *Kent*, where they doubted not greatly to encrease their numbers; and had in likelihood so done, but that the singular diligence and wisdome of the King, frustrated their hopes by sundry Princely Arts. Yet they flow on; and to shew what they durst doe, they slew in their way at *Tauntford* the Prouost of *Perin*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidie; and marching forward without offering other violence, *Iames Tuichet Lord Audley* ioines himselfe at the City of *Wels* vnto them, according to secret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From *Wels* they proceed to *Salisburie*, thence to *Winchester*, and so toward *Kent*, where the Countrey was setled and prouided. But the King farther doubting that the Scots would take fresh occasion, by these seditious vproares, to inuade the borders of his Realme, dispatched *Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey* (*a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend those parts, with the helpe of the Bishopricke of *Durham*, and the Marches, till these home-commotions were appeased; that then the Lord *Dawbeney* might with a iust and full Army prosecute the warre against the *Scots*. But *Iames* their King, perceiuing the end of the English intestine warres, would be the beginning of his troubles, thought it best by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before hand as much as hee could, and thereupon fiercely inuaded *Northumberland* againe, and* besieged *Norham* Castell belonging to *Richard Fox*, whom the King for his noble seruices and deserts, had now aduanced from *Exceter*, and *Bath* and *Wels*, vnto the Bishopricke of *Durham*. But the *Scotish* King, hopelesse to winne the Castell, though hauing done much hurt both to it and to the country, withdrew his people before the Earle of *Surrey* could approach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of *Westmorland*, the Lords *Dacres*, *Strange*, *Neuill*, *Latimer*, *Lumley*, *Scrope*, *Clifford*, *Conyers*, *Darcy*, the Baron of *Hilton*, and many Knights, as *Percie*, *Bulmer*, *Gascoigne*, *Penington*, *Bigot*, *Bowes*, *Elarker*, *Parr*, *wharton*, *Strangwith*, *Constable*, *Ratcliffe*, *Sauile*, *Gower*, *Musgraue*, *Mallerie*, *Loder*, *Eueringham*, *Stapleton*, *Wortley*, *Pickering*, *Heron*, *Gray*, *Ridley*, *Griffith*, *Fenwicke*, *Ward*, *Stryeland*, *Bellingham*, *Curwen*, *Warcop*, *Tempest*, *Metcalfe*, and others; who missing the enemy, marched after into *Scotland*, and tooke such reuenge as the shortnesse of their sodaine prouisions would enable.

* *Polyd. Verg.* *Principem præstantissima virtute præditum.*

The Scots inuade and retire. *Epist. Rosse. Polyd. Verg.*

(47) The Rebels on the other side, (whom king *Henry thought not good to encounter in their first heates*; but suffered them to tire their fury, and surbate themselues with a long march, the countries as they past being forelaide from ioyning with them) comming neere to *Kent*, found few, or no partakers there; but the Country strongly defended against them by the Earle thereof, the Lords *Aburgenie* and *Cobham*, with other principall men and their followers; which made diuers of the Rebels secretly shrinke and abandon the enterprise. But the Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, *Michael Ioseph*, and the rest, kept on their way, and encamped vpon *Blackeheath*, between *Greenewich* and *Eltham*, from the top whereof they might behold the Citie of *London*, & the whole brauery of that Horizon. Here they resolue to abide the King, or to assaile *London*. The King on the other side, by the diligence of the Lord Maior, and other the Magistrates, secured the City, which was full of feare and businesse; himselfe enuironed with his Nobles, & the choice of the South, hearing where the Rebell was encamped, resolued by dint of sword to deliuer his people from tiring expectations, and for that purpose marcheth out of *London*, and encamps in *S. Georges* field, where he * lay that night. The next day when he vnderstood that the Enemie had drawne forth his People, and set them in Battell-ray, he sends out *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Essex*, *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolk*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and others, with certaine Cornets of horse, and Companies of Archers, to beset the hill, and the descents thereof, while *Giles Lord Dawbeney* with the strength of his Armie, chargeth the Enemy in *Front*, whom with some slaughter they draue from the Bridge at *Deepford* strand; and then mounting the hill, he and the Earles charge the maine squadrons on all sides, and without much labour breake and defeate them. The number of the Rebels slaine is vncertainely reported, the ods being betweene* two thousand and * three hundreth. The Kings armie returned fewer by three hundreth. Fifteen hundred rebels were taken Prisoners, & the takers had their Prisoners goods granted them. *Iames* Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, and the *Smith* were taken and executed. To all the rest mercy was seasonably extended. The Lord *Audley* led from Newgate to Towerhill in a coate of his owne Armories painted on a paper, reuerst and torne, there paid his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: *Flammocke* and the Smith were quartered. Memorably *strange was the comfort, with which this Blacksmith is said to haue cheered vp himselfe at his being drawne to execution, saying, *That yet he hoped thereby, that his name and memorie should bee euerlasting*. Who could beleeue, that the desire of a long-lasting name howsoeuer should take the affections of so meane a person? Such therefore was the end of this insurrection; but the times being queasy, the King wisely forbare to take any seuere reuenge vpon more then onely vpon the chiefe Leaders, for he was truly informed that this calamitie had not broken the willes of the Cornishmen, who remained ready for any desperate sudden occasion, and therefore he abstained from needlesse exasperations, insomuch as that the quarters of *Flammocke*, and the Smith being once appointed to haue beene set vp in *Cornwall* for terror, were onely fixed about *London*, the King thinking good to temper his iustice euen in such a circumstance.

(48) His next care was so to order the warre against *Scotland*, that the Peace whose foundations he had laid a far off, might bee made to his more honor: & because the iniuries sustained by the youthful errour of King *Iames*, were too publike to bee altogether forgotten; hee sent the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Neuill*, and others, to inuade the Scotish borders with an Army, who pursued the reuenge with great vehemency. Meane-while there arriueth in *Scotland Peter Hyalus* an Ambassador from *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, as from friends equally well affected to both parties, to mediate a peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*, which perhaps in their owne persons would not easily haue beene brought about, the point of honour might thereunto haue giuen such empeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King *Henry* foresaw, there being not onely a strict bond of loue betweene him and *Ferdinando*, but an ouerture, if not a * secret conclusion, to match his eldest sonne Prince *Arthur* with the young Lady *Katherine* daughter of *Spaine*, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. *Hyalus* so handled the point of his emploiment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambassador was a practicke man of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King *Henry* against *Perkin Warbecke*, (* *an imaginary and Stage-play Prince*) for that his Soueraigne Queene had also beene exceedingly molested by a Counterfeit. For *Henry* the fourth, King of *Castile*, and brother to *Elizabeth*, being vnable to begette children, *Ioan* (daughter of *Edward* king of *Portugall*) his wife found meanes notwithstanding to beare one, by occasion whereof, after King *Henries* death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was vndertaken by * *Alfonso* King of *Portugall*, on behalfe of *Isabel* the supposed inheretrix; but Truth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella* sister of *Henry* succeeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*, with her to *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*. The chiefe point of this truce with *Scotland* was, That *Perkin Warbecke* should leaue that Kingdome, seeing king *Iames*, standing vpon his honour, would not deliuer him vp to King *Henry*. *Perkin* hauing now no remedie, did accordingly, taking with him his wife, the Lady *Katherine Gordon*; and with such few as remained to him, past into *Ireland*, where hee had not continued long, but the Cornish-men offer to rise at his arriuall, and to aduenture their fortunes, and liues in his quarrell: Which motion *Perkin* gladly entertained, as perceiuing yet some little hope left to maintaine himselfe, by the troubles, and hazards of others: but the policie and fortune of King *Henry* were growne so venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambassadors came from *France*, and from the Arch-Duke of *Burgundy*; the one to ratifie amity, the other to request the restitution thereof; both which K. *Henrie* (who reposed his whole trust next vnder God, vpon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the English Merchants (who had been somewhat long forbidden by their Soueraigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes dominions) * returning to *Antwerpe* were receiued into the same with Procession: so that *Perkin* could scarce cast his eye vpon any place, not onely where to raise aides, but not where to rest his head, vnlesse perhappes in the Court of the Dutchesse of *Burgundie*; neither in all his fortunes did any thing seeme miserable or vnworthy, but the great infelicity of his wife, whose beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to haue beene so betrayed by her friends temerity. *Perkin* hereupon landing at *Whitsand Bay* in *Cornwall* in September, found meanes afterward at *Bodmin* to raise some thousands of people, whom with most lanish promises, inuective proclamations, and strong impudency, he held together vnder the Title of *Richard* the fourth King of *England*, whose fate was none of the happiest, while the maiesty of her name might so bee played with by impostors. *Perkin* thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of *Exceter*, purposing if hee could winne it by force, to enrich his Souldiers with the spoiles thereof, and to inuite all other loose or lost people to his seruice by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his possession such places of strength as lay in his way to secure his retreat, if (according to the ordinary fortune of warre) any thing should happen to him vnluckily.

(50) But the King (hearing that the varlet was landed, and againe made head against him in Armes vpon trust of the Cornishmens assistance) is said to "haue smiled, vsing these words; * *Loe, wee are again* "*prouoked by this Prince of Rakehelles, but lest my peo-* "*ple should through ignorance bee drawne into destructi-* "*on, let vs seeke to take this Perkin by the easiest wayes we* "*can.* Reason hee had to smile, for now he seemed to see the bottome of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy empounded within the English Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wish of his, *that he might looke his dangers in the face, and deale with them hand to hand*, as the neerest cut ouer to a full conclusion. Hee therefore prouides accordingly, assembling his forces, and his wits (no lesse to bee dreaded then his forces) sending forth his espials into all parts to obserue the tracke, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now seene before *Exceter*, a principall strength and ornament of the Western parts of the Kingdome. *Parleys*, and the allurements of wordes vnder the guilt title of King *Edwards* sonne, prouing vnauaileable with those resolute and faithfull Citizens; *Perkin* forthwith betakes himselfe to violence, sets fire on the gates, mounts his scaling ladders against the wals, and with his vtmost fury labours to force a suddaine entrance, for that as hee suspected, succours could not long bee wanting. The Citizens on the other side, and such of the Country, as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence against the Rebell, and in stead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a passage (for they had not Canon or any other Ordinance) the Citizens threw on great store of fagots and fuell, and so with flame did shut vp the way, when the gates themselues were now consumed; and in the mean while they cast vp trenches, and man their walles, from whence, with the slaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this assault they valiantly draue them. Such messengers as by cords slipt downe the walles, to signifie their perill, sped toward the King; but the loyall diligence of * *Edward Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire*, the Lord *William* his sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of those parts, as *Trencherd*, *Carew*, *Fulford*, *Halewell*, *Croker*, *Edgecomb*, *Semar*, followed with great store of Souldiers, saued him the labour of a personall rescue by timely approch.

(51) *Perkin* hearing thereof, riseth from before *Exceter*, and marcheth to *Taunton* (a goodly town not far off) there to take the musters of his Armie, and to prouide for encounter, where he found very many blanks in the list of his numbers, for that they had secretly shrunke away, as misdoubting the sequell, the Earle of *Deuonshire* being so neere at hand with the power of the Country, and the King vpon his way against them, with the maiesty and terrour of a roiall name and Armie, none of the Nobilitie (which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide. *Perkin* neuertheless makes shew of standing, with such as were left vnto him. The Earle of *Deuonshire* marching towards *Taunton*, in the way there came vnto him *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, a * young Lord full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, [illegible] others excellently well appointed, both for the [illegible] perfons, and their

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*Bern. Andr. MS.

The City of *Exceter* assaulted by *Perkin*.

The Excestrians policy, in defeating fire by fire.

* *Polyd. Verg.*

Perkin at *Taunton*.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

their peoples. These wee finde named as principall; *Bridges, Bainham, Barkley, Tame, Wise, Poyntz, Vernon, Mortimer, Tremail, Sutton, Paulet, Bricknell, Sapcott, Lutterell, Wadham, Speck, Beauchamp, Cheney, Tokett, Long, Latimer, Tuberuile, Stourton, Newbrough, Martin, Lynde, Rogers, Hungerford, Semar, Darrell, Barrow, Norres, Langford, Corbet, Blunt, Lacon, Cornwal*; and many other prime and valiant men of Armes. The King last of all (to permit as little to fortune as was possible) sent *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, and that renowned and trusty Welshman Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the marrow and strength of his Army before, himselfe following in person with such as hee thought good. Neither was his care causeleſſe, for the Cornishmen were come to that height of desperate obstinacy and malice,* *as not one of them but resolued to conquer, or to leaue his carcase in the place.* But God loued him and them better then to suffer it to come so farre; for *Perkin*, whether fearing treason in his owne Army, or otherwise toucht with the conscience of his quality, and damnable estate of the quarrell, wherein it was horrible to die, hauing in his troupe but threescore horse, secretly fled from the seduced Commons. Which when the King heard, hee presently sets out fiue hundreth horse to pursue and apprehend him, before hee should get to the sea, and so escape. *Perkin* and his remaines thus streightned, tooke Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*, a religious house within *New Forrest*, (not farre from *Hampton*) where the Kings Cornets of horse found them already registred; but according to instructions they beset the place, and maintain a strong watch about it day and night. The other Rebels the while without stroke stricken, humbled themselues to their Soueraignes mercy, and found it in vndeserued measure. Other strong troupes of horse are at the same instant dispatched to *S. Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the beautifull Lady *Katherine Gorden* had beene left by her lewde husband. Her without resistance they brought safely to the King, whose beauty the whole Court praised, and pittied; but the King most graciously comforting her, sent her away well attended to the Queene his wife, and for her birthes sake allowed her * maintenance, which in honourable manner supported her during the Kings life & many yeeres after. Her faireneſſe was such, and her presence so amiable, that shee deserued to be commonly called *The white Rose*; whose fortunes (being so far vnworthy either of her birth, her singular modestie, or wiuely faith, notwithstanding the so abiect condition of her husband) as they moued iust commiseration toward her, so they doubled the lustre of her praises.

(52) In the meane while the King makes a reioicefull entrance into *Exceſter*, to testifie his princely loue to the Citizens, whom he highly commended and graced, both for their courage and loyalty; commanding some of the Cornish Rebels to be executed there, which did the better set-off the others contrary condition. There also hee gaue directions, to offer life, and obliuion of all crimes to *Perkin*, if he would voluntarily quit the Sanctuary, and submit himselfe. *Perkin* being now *without hope, without abode, without estate*, most gladly came forth, and did put himselfe into the Kings hands. Reasons leading that wise Prince to extend this fauour, were drawne out of the depth of true iudgement, cleared from vulgar perturbations: first; it was not altogether impossible, but that *Perkin* might escape him, (though by offering selfe-violence) and so the world should leese the light of satisfaction in so profound and perhaps a matchleſſe imposture; then againe his youth might merite some compaſsion; but the infinite desire which *Henry* had, from the mouth of the party himselfe, to learne all the secrets of the plot, and who they were that lay vndiscouered, and yet had finger in the mystical practise, moued him to affect the possession of his person aliue; which now hee had. Thus was this so dreaded a blaze of rebellion suddainly and finally quenched; but not without the teares of many in *Deuon* and *Somersetshire*, whose estates the Kings officers scruzed and drained, in reuenge of their partaking, and supporting the Cornish Rebels, either in the field, or flight. *Henrie* hauing *Perkin* in his power, gaue way to all such scornes and scoffes, which his Courtiers or others were pleased to passe vpon him, the more to make his person contemptible, who well watched followed the King to *London*, whither as he progressed, multitudes flockt about to behold the Caitife, * *who being a stranger, nor any way (whatsoeuer hee boasted to the contrary) descended of Nobles, had dared to trouble so great a Kingdome, and by his crafty conueiances had induced so many Princes and Nations (not without mischiefe and ruine vnto diuers) to beleeue of him, that which hee neuer was.* And that he might in no part bee vnknowne, hee is leasurely conueied on horseback from the furthest part of * *London*, through *Cheapside* and *Cornhill* to the Tower, & backe from thence through *Canwicke-streete* to *Westminster*, as the subiect of wonderment, and of all reproach and infamies. The King hauing in this sort taken reuenge of his so strange an enemy, and by curious and often examination comming to the full knowledge of that his soule desired, did set such to attend, as neuer went an inch from *Perkins* sight, (though hee seemed to goe at liberty) left through the slipperie Arts of his tempting speech and behauiour, hee might vanish into forrain parts, and raise fresh storms in *England*, & bring new comfort to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundie*, the sinnefull countenance of all this cursed Stratageme, whose heart was now almost riuen in sunder with the newes of her *Perkins* most hideous shame and misery; the whole blushing tenour whereof might easily come to her handes at once; for *Henry* caused so much of the principall matter, as *Perkin* had confessed, to bee *committed to the Printing Presse; (an Art then first appearing among vs,) and published. None can iustly wonder, that wee haue dwelt so long in this wonderfull Storie, but rather perhaps wish that more particularities (though with more prolixity) had bin vsed. And though some other Actions as * *Sebastian Cabots* discouery, and ouertures of marriages with *Spaine* and *Scotland*, came betweene this apprehension, & the execution of *Perkin*, yet haue we thought it best, (the sooner & at once to rid our handes of a **knaue*, as *K. Henry* iustly called him) to couch al that which concernes him, here together, not fearing to incurre among the learned, the taxation of committing therein contradiction, and confusion of times.

(52) *Perkin* being thus guarded, doth notwithstanding attempt to escape. And, if it were lawfull to insert particular coniectures, drawn out of the considerations of circumstances, we should perhaps not spare to say, *that his attempt for escape*, was not without the Kings priuity; vsing such instrumentes to perswade, or furnish his flight, as might withall betray him, that so by degrees (occasion taken to cutte him off) the Realme might be ridde from such perpetuall matter of trouble. For the depraued witte and will of man might find or faine reasons to abuse the world still, if *Perkin* were at liberty; *as that the confessions were extorted by feare, or forged by Henry to serue his turne*, and the like. Therfore *Perkins* intention and escape (for hee was escaped) being discouered to the King, all the wayes were beset, and hee so close pursued, that in the end betaking himselfe to a religious house of Carthusian Monkes, hee declared *who hee was, and besought their Prior* in the humblest manner he could, *for Gods sake to begge his life*, which at the Priors suite was granted; but the Kings wrath being kindled, or the passage of his suppressed wrath opened thereby, he banisht all former respects, commanding him to be fettered, and set (for an whole day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold before

The King and his people march toward him.

Polyd. Verg.

Perkin flies from his hoast.

Perkins wife take & honourably vſed by the king.

* *Epiſ. Roſſ.*

The King at *Exceſter.*

Polyd Verg. ſine ſpe, ſine ſede, ſine fortuna.

Perkin yeelds himselfe to the King.

The king re... to London with *Perkin.* *Polyd Verg.*

* *Ieh. Stow* ... 28. Nouemb.

* English ... by *Rich. Hall*

* *Bern. And.*

before the Gate of *Westminster Hall*, and the next day to be alike exposed in* *Golden Cheape*, to the basest of all contempt and scorne, so fettered, stockt, & Scaffolded as before, *to the great wonderment* (saith *Stow*) *of many*, as either insinuating that all were not perswaded of the imposture, or that it seemed strange that one lately of so great Prowesse, should vndergoe so despicable a punishment. But for a seale and total summe of all ignominy and shame (such as no face did euer beare greater) he read his owne confession, written with his owne hand * as followeth.

(54) It is first to be knowne, that I was borne in the Towne of *Turney* in *Flanders*, and my fathers name is *Iohn Osbecke*, which said *Iohn Osbecke* was controller of the said Towne of *Turney*, and my mothers name is *Katherine de Faro*. And one of my Grandsires vpon my fathers side was named *Diricke Osbecke* which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto *Peter Flamin*, that was receiuer of the forenamed Towne of *Turney*, & Dean of the Botemen, that row vpon the water, or riuer called *Le Scheld*. And my Grandsire vpon my mothers side was *Peter de Faro*, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of *Saint Iohns* within the same Towne of *Turney*. Also I had an vncle called *M. Iohn Stalin*, dwelling in the Parish of *S. Pias*, within the same Towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was *Ione* or *Iane*, with whom I dwelt a certaine season.

(55) And after I was led by my mother to *Antwerpe* for to learne Flemish, in a house of a cosin of mine, an officer of the said towne, called *Iohn Stienbecke*, with whom I was the space of halfe a yeere; and after that I returned againe to *Turney*, by reason of warres that were in *Flanders*: and within a yeere following, I was sent with a Merchant of the saide Towne of *Turney* named *Berlo*, to the Mart of *Antwerpe*, where I fell sicke, which sickenesse continued vpon mee fiue moneths. And the said *Berlo* set mee to boord in a Skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English Nation. And by him I was from thence carried to *Barow* Mart, and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

(56) After this, the said *Berlo* set mee with a Merchant of *Middleborow* to seruice, for to learne the language, whose name was *Iohn Strew*, with whom I dwelt from Christmas to Easter, and then I went into *Portingall* in company of Sir *Edward Bramptons* wife, in a shippe was called the Queenes shippe. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a Knight that dwelled in *Lusshborne*, which was called *Peter Vacz de Cogna*, with whom I dwelled an whole yeere, which said Knight had but one eye. And because I desired to see other countries, I tooke licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britaine, called *Pregent Meno*, which brought mee with him into *Ireland*. Now when we were there arriued in the towne of *Corke*, they of the Towne (because I was arrayed with some clothes of silke of my said Masters) came vnto me, and threatned vpon me, that I should bee the Duke of *Clarences* sonne, that was before time at *Dublin*.

(57) But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto mee the holy Euangelists, and the Crosse, by the Maior of the town, which was called *Iohn Lewelin*, and there in the presence of him and others, I tooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaide Dukes sonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was *Stephen Poitron*; and one *Iohn Water*, and laid to me in swearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* bastard sonne; to whom I answered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me boldly; and if I would so doe, they would aide and assist me with all their power against the King of *England*; and not onely they, but they were well assured, that the Earle of *Desmond* and *Kildare* should doe the same.

(58) For they forced not what part they tooke, so that they might bee reuenged on the King of *England*: and so against my will made mee to learne English, and taught mee what I should doe and say: And after this they called me Duke of *Yorke*, second sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, because King *Richards* bastard sonne was in the hands of the King of *England*. And vpon this the said *Water*, *Stephen Poitron*, *Iohn Tiler*, *Hughbert Burgh*, with many others, as the foresaid Earles, entred into this false quarrell, and within short time others. The French King sent an Ambassador into *Ireland*, whose name was *Lott Lucas*, and *M. Stephen Frisham*, to aduertise me to come into *France*: and thence I went into *France*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Scotland*, and so into *England*.

They call him Duke of *Yorke*.

(59) From having thus beene made a publike spectacle, till all eyes were wearied with the view; and imaginations tired with thinking; hee is conuaied to the Tower of *London*: where it had beene happy, if hee had onely wrought his owne destruction; but the bloudy fate (so to speake of his disasterous birth) would not suffer him to perish single. In the same Tower was prisoner *Edward* the young Earle of *Warwicke*, having so beene from the first yeare of *Henry* to this present, for no fault of his, but for that, as a neere Titler to the Crowne, he carried in his liuing person inseparable matter of danger & sedition. Of his simplicity, by reason of his education in prison from his infancy, there is a report, that as one who liued out of the view of the world, hee knew not an * henne from a goose, or one fowle or Creature from an other. To hasten the ruine of so innocent a daunger, behold there breakes foorth a counterfeit Earle of *warwicke*, as if all that which the world saw horrible in *Perkins* darings, had been but a document to instruct others in the like, and that nothing were to be taxed therein, *but want onely of successe*, which whosoeuer could propound to himselfe all things else, were full of encouragement and reason. This counterfeit was a * Cordwainers son of *London*, aged about twenty yeeres, and called * *Ralfe Wilford*, who for falsly assuming the name & title of the said *Earle*, being thereunto taught and suborned (a practise which well declared that the malitious Dutchesse of *Burgundie* did still liue) was hanged at *S Thomas Waterings* by *Southwarke* vpon Shrouetuesday.

A.D. 1498. An.Reg.14. *Perkin* in the Tower, and the Tragicall effects.

Polyd. Verg.

A counterfeit Earle of *Warwick* executed.

* *Addit.* to *Fab.*
* *Holinshed.*

(60) This new deuise to vncrowne King *Henry*, so wakened his owne feares, and the eies of the *Castilians*, (who had secretly agreed to marry their Princesse *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there seemed no sure ground of succession, *if that the Earle of Warwicke were not made away*. A fearefull case, where the false reason of State shall faine to it selfe an impossibility of well doing, without shedding innocent blood, and shall therefore resolue to found vpon so crying a sinne, the hope of perpetuity in succession; sith nothing is truer, *then that sinne was euer an vnsure basis to settle lasting workes vpon*. But ô the narrow capacities of the most seeing men; the confidence whereof did vndoubtedly lead this King (herein not iustifiable, howsoeuer excusable in respect of humane frailty, which might propound to it selfe many feares, and respects both publike and priuate) to connine at the plotted death, or rather formall murder of this harmeleslesse Gentleman, whose wrong may yet moue the hardest to compassion, as it afterwarde stirred God in iustice to reuenge, prospering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly sought to be perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* her selfe was hereof so sensible, that when the diuorce was afterward prosecuted against her by King *Henry* the eight, her second husband, shee is reported to haue said, That it was the hand of God, for

The true Earle of *Warwicke* designed to die.

for that to cleere the way to her marriage that innocent Earle of *Warwicke* was put to vnworthy death. Neither let licentious Practiſes vouch the ſingular Act of *Salomon* in taking away the life of his elder brother *Adonias* to colour this homicide: for he that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, ſhall not onely leaue no *Adonias* liuing, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwickes* ruine, the miſcheiuous and diſmall wretch *Perkin* becomes an occaſion, if not an inſtrument, for he by his ſupple inſinuations and flowing promiſes had corrupted his keepers, the ſeruants of Sir *Iohn Digbie* Knight Lieutenant of the Tower; who (*as* * *was affirmed*) meant to haue murdered their maſter, and then to haue ſet *Perkin*, and the Earle at large, to which practiſe of eſcape the poore Earle is ſaid to haue conſented. *Perkin* for this conſpiracie had his triall at *Weſtminſter*, and hee together with one *Iohn à Waters*, who had beene ſometime Maior of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Tiborne*, had the ſentence of death executed vpon them. *Perkin* at the Gallowes did *reade his former confeſſion, taking on his death that the ſame was true*, and vnder-went his puniſhment with patience. *Walter Blewet*, and *Thomas Aſtwood* (being two of the conſpirators, for the other two, *Strangewaies* and *Long Roger*, being the Lieutenants men alſo, were not executed, nor for ſo much as wee haue read, arraigned) not long after receiued the reward of their offence at the ſame place.

(61) Iuſtice thus tooke hold at laſt of *Perkin Warbecke*, on whom, the Prouerbe which ſaith, that *Pride is the Vſher of ſhame*, was worthily verified. Neither could the world accuſe King *Henrie* for his death, vnleſſe it were, for that he had not hanged him ſooner, but ſuffered him to liue till hee had drawne after him a greater ruine in *Warwicks* perſon, then in all the former tragedies. For this Earle being a chiefe Prince of the blood, and next heire Male of his houſe to the Crowne of *England*, (a crime of which his birth onely made him guilty and not any fact of his) being thus charged to haue giuen aſſent to *Perkins* plot of eſcape, he was publikely arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then High Steward of *England*) by the name of *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwicke*, and indited for *minding to haue eſcaped* (*as they ſaid*) *out of the Tower*, and conſequently according to the dreadfull licence of inferences among our *Engliſh* pleaders in caſes of death) to depriue King *Henry* of his royall Crowne and dignity, and to vſurpe the Title and ſoueraigne office, proſecuting their bloody Poetry with the like ſanguinary ſyllogiſmes, though vtterly without meaſure, or faſhion. The Earle doubly betraied, firſt by the ſetters of the ſnare, and then by their ſilly or deceitfull perſwaſions who were put about him, confeſſeth the enditement, and ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Kings mercie; that is; offered vp his head to be a ſlipperie foundation of King *Henries* farther purpoſes; for ſentence of death was thereupon pronounced as againſt a Traitour. This one practiſe ſeemes ſufficient, if not to caſt vpon *Henry* the Title *of a ſhrewd and perillous man*, yet to raiſe a doubt, *whether* (* as one writes) *hee was more ſincere and entire then Ferdinando King of Spaine, vpon whom* (ſaith that Authour) *he did handſomely beſtow the enuie of the death of Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwicke*. The life therefore of this Prince (according to rigour of lawe) being thus in his power, the King gently pardoned all the paines, but the loſſe of his head, which was cut off vpon a ſcaffold at *Tower-hill*, and then (another gratious fauour) his body was not buried in the Chappel of the Tower, or in any other common place, but at * *Biſham* by his Anceſtors. Iealous (ſaith * one) the King was ouer the greatnes of his Nobilitie, as remembring how himſelfe was ſet vp; and much more did this humour encreaſe in him after he had conflicted with ſuch Idols and Counterfeits as *Lambert Simenel* and *Perkin Warbeck*. The ſtrangenes of which dangers made him thinke nothing ſafe. This Earle was the laſt heire male of the blood, and ſurname of *Plantagenet*; whoſe race as it was a long time glorious for giuing Kings to *England*, (euen from King *Henry* the ſecond) ſo in the end (chiefly for the houſe of *Yorke*) it became hatefull (as it ſeemes) to God and man, for the moſt horrible and inextinguible deadly fewdes, murder, periuries, and other horrors committed within it ſelfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heauily vpon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all thoſe fences, which the poſſeſſion of Maieſtie and numeroſitie of iſſue had for ſundry ages caſt about it, letting in thereby the ſurname of *Tydder* being but two deſcents *Engliſh*, and which now after three deſcents and fiue Princes is alſo vaniſhed. Now, among thoſe few great workes of peace which enſued their firebrands of warre, we muſt remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princeſſe of *Spaine Lady Katherine*. The *interim* from *Warwicks* death till then, brought forth a verie great p'ague, whereof in *London* there are ſaid to haue died about thirtie thouſand. The King and Queene remoue to *Callais* in *May* and returned in *Iune*. The maine *buſines was to reuiew and ratifie the ſtate of amity, and negociations, betweene the *Engliſh* and the Duke of *Burgundies* ſubiects. *Shine* alſo was burnt, and being new builded, called *Richmund*, for which and the like, it will be fitteſt to haue recourſe to vulgar Annals.

(62) The Coaſt of State now ſeeming cleare from al thickning weather, *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella* King & Queen of *Spain*, according to the points of agreemēt betweene them and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth daughter the *Lady Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari* or *Complutum*) ſent her royally appointed in a goodly Flete to *England*, there to fulfill in perſon, what hitherto had beene onely treated of, who after many difficulties tooke land at * *Plimouth* in *October*. *Ferdinando* her father was the ſonne of *Iohn King of Arragon* and *Sicilia*, and although he was vnlearned, as being brought vp among armes and ſouldiers, *yet by vſing the familiarity of wiſemen he alſo became very wiſe*, and proued that great Prince which firſt in theſe latter times recalled the old glorie of *Spaine*, and reared it to ſuch an enuious magnitude, as that the iealouſie thereof hath bred no ſmall quarrels in Chriſtendome. For by his marriage with *Iſabella*, (ſole ſiſter and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*,) he raigned in right of his wife, and iointly with her, ouer thoſe two Kingdomes and their appurtenances, who *together* (ſaith * *Marineus* of *Sicilia*) *did admirable things and workes moſt holy*. They * recouered the huge City and Kingdome of *Granada*, and part of *Andaluzia* from the Moores, after they had beene in violent poſſeſſion thereof ſeuen hundreth and foureſcore yeeres, and hauing purged thoſe places from the filth of *Mahomets* ſuperſtitions, built Churches to the honour of *Ieſus Chriſt*, by occaſion whereof *Ferdinando* was ſurnamed *the Catholike King*. The walles of the Citie of *Granada* at the time of the ſurrender, which (after about tenne yeeres warres) was by *Voabdelis* King thereof made to *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*, had * twelue miles in compaſſe, and in the ſame twelue Gates, and a thouſand towres encloſing ſeuen Hilles couered with building, innumerable people, and ineſtimable riches, & the Spaniſh forces at this conqueſt were about 12000. Horſe, & one hundred thouſand foot. The ſaid King and Queene, beſides many other their mighty actions, did alſo firſt diſcouer *America*, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, & thereby brought a whole new world to the notice of Chriſtendom. *Iſabella* her ſelf, deſcended of the blood roial of *England*, being daughter of *Iohn* the ſecond King of *Caſtile* & *Leon*, ſon of *Henrie* the third King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife (daughter of * *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, third ſonne of our *Edward the third* of triumphall and neuer-dying memorie) was a Ladie,

Perkin condemned & executed.

A.D. 1499. An. Reg. 15.

The Earle of *Warwicke* ruined by *Perkins* conſpiracie.

The Earle confeſſeth the enditement.

Edward Earle of *Warwicke* laſt Male *Plantagenet* beheaded.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Fo. Stow Annal.*

*Sir F. B. MS.

* *Iob. Stow Annal.*

* *Sir Fr. B. MS.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

A.D. 1[illegible] An. Reg.

The Lady [illegible] therine of [illegible] landed in [illegible] Land.

* *Polyd. Virg. Henric. 7.*

* *Add.* [illegible]

* *Rot. alias & opera Sa[illegible] ma.*

* *Franc. Tar[illegible] de Reg. Hiſp.*

The brief *Ferdinandus Iſabella* [illegible] actions.

* *Lud. Mar[illegible] Sic. Lib. 20.*

Iſabella [illegible] of Spaine [illegible] ded from [illegible] Edward the [illegible] King of [illegible] *Anno*, [illegible] Deced [illegible]

die, whose * like the Christian world had seldom any of that wisdome, grauity, chastity, and of so laborious a deuotion, that * *she did not onely day by day performe the Canonicall and howerly taske of prayers vsed by Priests, but many other*, and brought vp her children accordingly.

(63) The Lady *Katherine* being about eighteene yeeres old, and borne of so great, so noble, so victorious and vertuous parents, is with iust maiesty and solemnity openly * married in *Paules* Church to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, aged about fifteene yeeres; and eldest sonne to *Henry* the seuenth, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* assisted with nineteene Bishops and Abbots, mitred, ioyned their hands, and performed all the other Church rites vpon that great day. The vulgar Annals can tell you the splendor and glorie thereof, in apparrell, iewels, Pageants, banquets, guests, and other princely complements, the onely weighty businesse of many weaker braines. A graue Lady (as som haue written) was laid in bed between the Bride and Bridegrome, to hinder actuall consummation, in regard of the Princes greene estate of body; but others alleadge many arguments to proue that matrimoniall performance was betweene thē, howsoeuer her self, (when that afterward came in question) * appealed to the conscience of K. *Henry* the eight (her second husband) if hee found her not a maide. But Prince *Arthur* enioyed his marriage a very short while, for in Aprill following hee died at *Ludlow*, being vnder sixteene yeeres of age: being a Prince, in whose youth the lights of all noble vertues did cleerely beginne to shine. His aptnesse to learn was almost incredible, for (by the report of his * Master) hee had either learned without booke, or otherwise studiously turned and reuolued with his own hands & eies these authors following. In *Grammar*, *Garin*, *Perot*, *Sulpicius*, *Gellius* and *Valla*: In Poetrie, *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Lucan*, *Ouid*, *Silius*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*: In Oratorie: *Tullies Offices*, *Epistles*, *Paradoxes* and *Quintilian*. In Historie, *Thucydides*, *Liuie*, *Caesars Commentaries*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Plinius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Salust*, *Eusebius*. Wherein wee haue beene particular, to signifie what Authors were then thought fitte to bee elementary and rudimentall vnto Princes; and by their example, to all of Noble or gentle birth, whose superficiall boldnesse in books in these frothy dayes, is become most scandalous and iniurious to the honour, and vse of learning.

(64) But before the vntimely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King *Henry* weary of warres and tumults, and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match betweene *Margaret* his eldest daughter, and *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * assurance whereof was published in the February next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Paules* Crosse; in reioycement whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and other signes of publike ioy declared. The * Bishoppe of *Rosse* saith, that the Earle of *Bothwell* did openly handfast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *Iames* at *Pauls* Crosse, being Saint *Paules* day. This contract was brought about in manner following. After that the storme of warre had (by mediation as before said) beene throughly laid betweene the two sister Nations, it chanced certaine of the Scots by their suspitious behauiour, and rough Phrases to prouoke the Garrison of *Norham* Castle to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and droue the rest away. King * *Iames* expostulates this violence very sharply by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most satisfactory answeres. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and Castell were) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the Scotish King to accept amends, wherunto hee in the end inclined, and hauing some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence in *Scotland* (knowing his deepe wisdome and great grace with his Soueraigne) which King *Henry* gladly assented vnto. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of Cistertian Monkes, where the King abode, who hauing roundly vttered to the Bishoppe his offence conceiued for the breach of good termes at *Norham* Castell, and yet being finally pleased to receiue satisfaction, hee then secretly discouered his whole mind, the summe whereof was, *That the king of England would be pleased to giue to him in mariage the Lady Margaret his eldest daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie*. The Bishoppe promised his best diligence, and accordingly after his returne, laboured therein with King *Henry*, who most gladly hearkened thereunto. Whereupon the Scotish King sent the Archbishoppe of *Glasco*, the Earle of *Bothwell*, and others to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainement was hearty and princely. But when the proposition came to scanning at the Councell table, it had not currant passage at first: for there were who obiected as an inconuenience; *That by this marriage the Crowne of England might come to the Scotish line, by the issue of Lady Margaret*. Whereunto it is said, King *Henry* made this answere * *What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, (which Omen God forbid) I see it will come to passe, that our Kingdome shall leese nothing thereby, because there will not bee an accession of England to Scotland, but contrarily of Scotland vnto England, as to that which is farre away the most noble head of the whole Iland, seeing that which is lesse veseth to accrue to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater, as Normandy heretofore came to be vnder the dominion and power of the English our forefathers*. When this was said, the whole boord of councell receiued it as an Oracle, & it went cleare about, *That Margaret should be married to the King of Scotland*. With this answere and other instructions the Scotish Ambassadors were sent home, who afterward returned into *England* with full authority & satisfaction to all *Henries* propositions, whereupon ensued the before said publishment of assurances at *Paules* Crosse. It was a principall Article in this agreement: *That no Englishman should enter Scotland, nor Scot into England without commendatory letters from their Soueraigne*. Which Article was reputed a speciall meane to preserue the peace inuiolable.

(65) But ere the young Lady her selfe was conuaied into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* died, and in * February next ensuing, their mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as shee lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King to repaire his mind with fresh consolations, in aduancing his onely remaining sonne, *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, created him suddainely Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* & *Flint*, within few dayes after his mothers decease. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied, howsoeuer. *Henry* made Prince, espoused soone after (* though with much reluctation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder brothers widdow, * vpon the fiue and twentieth of Iune, at the Bishoppe of *Salisburies* house in *Fleetstreet*. And in this wise, by prouiding so worthy a wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was the chiefe motiue) the king thought, that the estate of *England* was sufficiently setled; wherfore conuerting his cares to the accomplishment of affinity with *Scotland*, hee most sumptuously furnished his deerest eldest daughter for her iourney, & himself in person trauelled frō *Richmund* as farre with her as *Coleweston* beside *Northampton*, where his mother the Countesse lay: * after certaine dayes spent in solace, the King gaue her his blessing, with fatherly counsell and exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her person principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*, and to such Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that seruice; a great company of Lords Knights, Esquiers, & men of Marke attending them as farre as *Berwicke*. At S. *Lamberts* Church in *Lamermoore* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the princi-

Bishop Fox his presence desired by the Scotish King.

King Henries answere to an obiection against the match with Scotland.

* Epist. Ross. et Polyd. Verg.

A.D. 1502
An. Reg. 18.
King *Henry* a Widdower, and *Henry* his sonne created Prince of *Wales*.

* See in the life of *Henry* the 8

* *J. Stow Annal.*

K. *Henry* brings his daughter the Lady *Margaret* on the way to *Scotland*.
* *Epist. Ross.*

The Earle of *Northumberland* deliuers her to King *Iames* within *Scotland*.

principall of his Nobles, receiued her from the hands of the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the next yeere after, married her at *Edenborough*, in the presence of all his Nobility. The King gaue great entertainement to the Englifh, and fhewed them iufting and other paftimes after the Scotifh faſhion. The Scotifhmen (ſaith *the Biſhoppe of *Roſſe*) were not behind, but farre aboue the Engliſhmen, both in apparrell, rich Iewels, and maſſie chaines, many Ladies hauing their habiliments ſet with Goldſmith worke, garniſht with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and wel trapped horſes. Diuerſe Ladies alſo and young Gentlewomen of *England*, attending Queene *Margaret*, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noblemen of *Scotland*, whoſe progenie liues honourably there euen at theſe dayes. The effect of this marriage is grauely deſcribed by the ſame Biſhop in theſe words. *There was perfect peace and ſincere amity betweene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And verily, during the life of King Henry the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred by either of the Princes, but they continued in great loue and friendſhippe, and mutuall ſocietie, contracting of marriages, continuall enterchange of Merchandize betwixt the Subiects of both the Realmes, as they had beene* AL *vnder the obedience of* ONE PRINCE; *where through, Iuſtice, Policy and Riches did flouriſh and abound throughout the whole Iſle of Albion.* And of this marriage is *Iames* the ſixth deſcended, being that ONE PRINCE vnder whoſe obedience AL are now gouerned, as vnder the ſole and lawfull lineall *Monarch of great Britaine:* for this *Iames* the fourth had Iſſue *Iames* the fifth, hee had Iſſue Queene *Mary*, ſhee had iſſue our preſent Soueraigne, the great grandchild of the ſaid Queene *Margaret* eldeſt daughter of K. *Henrie* the ſeuenth.

*In Iac. 4.

The immediate happy effect of this marriage.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but bee comfortable to ſo wiſe a King as *Henry*, they being the fruit as it were of his owne iuſt labours; ſo let vs now obſerue the laſt worldly cares of his raigne, and vpon what obiects hee fixed his mind, freede from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne, and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicity, hee at firſt atchieued, and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloudie buſineſſes, he brought it to ſuch paſſe, that neighbour Kinges reputed it ſafe to entermarry with his family, wee haue already heard: Two principall points tooke vp the laſt Scenes of his life; for the reſt of his time hee wholy employed, either in the ſeruice of Almighty God (wherin hee was ſo diligent, that euery day he was preſent, after the deuotions of thoſe times, at two or three Maſſes, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons,) or in *building*, wherewith hee kept his ſenſes buſied. The one of the two chiefe points, was to watch ouer the waies of his wiues kindred (the remaining branches of the tnrbulent and vnfortunate houſe of *Yorke*) whoſe growth and greatneſſe hee ſuppoſed might at ſome time or other ouertoppe his owne; the other was, vnder opinion of iuſtice, to encreaſe his treaſure out of the common purſes, wherby he ſeemed onerous to many, & ſom what obſcured the brightnes of his former glory, at leaſtwiſe diminiſhed his opinion with the generality. Concerning his courſes holden with his wiues kindred, (the laterall iſſues and ſtaddles of the *Plantagenets*) it fell out thus; which (by * occaſion of the accidentall landing of *Philip* King of *Spain* at this time, wherby the *Earle of *Suffolkes* taking was procured) we thought it beſt to handle here together. *Edmund de la Pole** Earle of *Suffolke* (ſonne to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Elizabeth* ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth) in the ſixteenth yeere of King *Henries* raigne, wilfully ſlew a common perſon in his furie. *Henry* not ſorry to haue occaſion of encreaſing his popularity, by preſenting ſo great a perſon to exemplary iuſtice, and in the ſame act to blemiſh the honour of a man, whoſe quality was to him ſuſpected, cauſed him for the ſame to be arraigned. The fact hee was perſwaded to confeſſe, and therupon had pardon. The Earle neuertheleſſe, as a Prince of the bloud, holding himſelfe diſgraced, by hauing been ſeen a Priſoner at the *Kings Bench Barre*, fled the land diſcontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundie*; but within a while after, being fairely reconciled, hee returned. After which, notwithſtanding, whether it were by reaſon of debt (the certaine attendant of vaine-ſpirited, and baſe-braue-minded Courtiers) wherinto he had deeply thrown himſelf for his furniture, at the celebration of his coſen Prince *Arthurs* marriage, or for that the reſtleſſe ſpirit of enuie in the Dutcheſſe had preuailed, hee taking his brother with him, fledde againe the next yeere after. The King who had pardoned his life, ſeemed now to repent his clemency, * though it is plaine, hee ſpared him of purpoſe, till hee might diſcouer more of a conſpiracy which hee knew was in hammering; but his flight troubled him not a little, knowing the violent humor of that Lord, and remẽbring to what a dangerous & bloudy iſſue his brother the Earle of *Lincolne* had once already brought things at the battell of *Stoke* in the beginning of his raigne.

*A.D. 1506 A.R. 21.

*Addit. to Fab. cals him Duke.

A Prince of the bloud roiall arraigned for murther of a priuate perſon.

(67) For remedy, hee betakes himſelfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the ſecrets of the enemy, Sir *Robert Curſon* Knight (Captaine of the Caſtell of *Hammes* by *Caleis*) faines himſelfe a friend to the Earle, and flies from his charge vnto him. An office vnworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good ſpirit in the world ſtoope it ſelfe to ſuch double faced emploiment, which beſides the treacherous diſſimulations thereof, cannot but bee accompanied with wilfull impieties. For who is admitted into truſt vpon a contrary ſide, without inuocations of Gods holy name, proteſtations, adiurations, oathes, the vtmoſt aſſurances which man can giue to man, to beget a conuenient affiance in his ſincerity? but by this ſtratagem the king ranſackes the boſomes and cabinets of his aduerſaries, diſcouering their deſignes and hopes. Whereupon, *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonſhire* (being moſt nobly deſcended, and hauing to his wife the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of K. *Edward* the fourth, and ſiſter to Queene *Elizabeth* wife of King *Henry*) *William de la Pole* brother to the ſaid *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Iames Tirrel*, Sir *Iohn Windham* Knights, with other, were attached, and committed to cuſtodie, and afterward alſo * *George Neuil* Lord *Abergenie*, and Sir *Thomas Greene* Knight, were likewiſe apprehended, but were ſoone deliuered. The Earle of Deuonſhire, though innocent (for it is the miſery of ſuch great men, that their owne innocency cannot alwayes procure their owne ſafety; but their birthright many times, and often other mens deſignations without their leaſt priuity, is enough to hazard them, yea it is in the power of any conſpirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, ſo that it concernes them *to haue an eye not to their owne onely, but to the behauiour alſo of their whole Alliances and dependancies*) this Earle (I ſay) though innocent, remained Priſoner during this Kings life, and ſome yeeres of his ſonnes raigne, who ſet him at liberty. The other, *William* the Earle of *Suffolkes* brother, had not ſo ſtrict an hand holden ouer him. But Sir *Iames Tyrrell*, Lieutenant of *Guines* Caſtell, and Sir *Iohn Wyndham*, *Welbourn*, ſeruant to Sir *Iames Tyrrel*, *Curſon* a Purſeuant, *Mathew Ionas* yeoman, and a Shipman were condemned of treaſon for aiding the Earle of *Suffolke*. The * two Knights were beheaded at Tower hill. The Shipman quartered at *Tiburne*: * *Curſon* and *Ionas* ſuffered death at *Guines*.

(68) This ſo round and quicke dealing with the Earles complices and fauourers, ſtartled his ſhallow and raw inuentions, and made their whole bulke to ſwarue and ſplinter; but the King reſted not ſo; for vpon the Sunday before the feaſt of *SS. Simon* and *Iude*

Iude, in the ſame yeere, of the ſaid executions, there was publiſhed at *Pauls Croſſe*, by the Kings procurement from Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, a Bull of * *Excommunication* and curſe againſt the ſaid Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Curſon*, and fiue other perſons by ſpeciall name, and generally all other which aided the Earle againſt the King to the diſturbance of the Kingdome. Thus did the moſt prudent *Henrie* purſue his enemies, not onely with ſecret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could aſſemble to make any ſhew, but alſo with ſpirituall lightening; which doubtleſſe, had they beene vpon iuſt cauſe, and by lawfull authoritie fulminated, ought infinitely to bee dreaded of good Chriſtians, becauſe (as *Saint Paul* ſaith) *they deliuer ouer to Satan*. Sir *Robert Curſon* was named, of purpoſe, to make the Earle ſecure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deuiſe, though his Holineſſe were made the inſtrument thereof. Neither did the King leaue heere, for by his letters and meſſengers he ſo preuailed with Pope * *Alexander*, as hee decreed by his Bull, *That no perſon ſhould afterward haue priuiledge of Sanctuary, who had once taken the ſame, and come foorth againe: and that, * if any Sanctuarie-man ſhould afterward commit any murther, robbery, ſacriledge, treaſons, &c. he ſhould by lay force bee drawne thence to ſuffer due puniſhment.* This was of great vſe to the King, and preſerued many ſubiects from precipitation, for the abuſe of Sanctuaries had beene an efficient of many troubles. But the ſame Pope (hauing ſent *Iohn Giglis* his *Receiuer*, to gather mony in *England*) ſhewed himſelfe much more fauourable to ſuch as perpetrated thoſe ſaid hainous offences, as alſo, *Vſury, ſimony, rapines, adulteries, or whatſoeuer offences (excepting certaine offences againſt the Pope and Clergy, &c.)* when he ſent a * *Bull* of pardons (for money) to all ſuch offendors in England; *diſpenſing alſo thereby, with ſuch, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they ſhould now retaine ſtill without ſcruple of conſcience, ſo as they paid a ratable portion thereof, vnto his Holineſſe Receiuers.* Sir *Robert Curſon* (though before acourſed by the Pope) returnes, when he ſaw fit time, into *England*, and withall into wonted fauour with his Soueraigne. The Earle, ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtript of all hope to doe much harme, wandred about *Germany* and *France* to finde repoſe, but in the end quite tyred, he put himſelfe into the grace and protection of *Philip* then in *Flanders* who by the death of *Iſabella* was King of *Spaine*, in right of *Ioan his* wife, eldeſt daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Iſabella*; where hee remained in baniſhment, till King *Phillip* was driuen by tempeſt in the moneth of *Ianuary* into *England*, as hee meant to haue paſſed through the *ſleeue*, or *Engliſh* Ocean, into *Spaine*, there to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdome and other the appertinances.

(70) The chiefe Ship of the *Nauie Roiall*, wherein the King was, and two other (all the reſt being ſcattered by the fury of the weather into ſeueral places and other Ports of *England*) thruſt into Harbour at * *Falmouth*. Himſelfe weary and ſicke with the violent toſſings of the Sea (whereunto hee had neuer as it ſeemes, beene vſed,) would needes come on ſhore, and refreſh his ſpirits, though the principall men about him diſſwaded that courſe, as foreſeeing it would procure a longer ſtay, then the nature of their occaſions would perhaps well beare. And ſo indeed it fel out, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) dominions, where he had no power ouer himſelf, nor others, & the rumor of arriuall ſtirring the men in authority thereabout, Sir *Thomas Trenchard* Knight with the ſuddē forces of the Coūtrey, not knowing what the matter might bee, came thither, and vnderſtanding the royall quality of the perſon, inuited him with all humble humanity to his houſe, and foorthwith diſpatched poſtes to Court; not long after Sir *Iohn Caro* Knight (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired alſo, purſuing the like humble entreaties; which the King, fearing conſtraint, becauſe they were but ſubiects and durſt not let him paſſe without their Lord and Maſters leaue neceſſarilie yeelded vnto. Vpon notice of this mightie Princes caſuall arriual, King *Henry* preſently commanded the Earle of *Arundel* to entertaine him till himſelfe could come, who very magnificently did ſo, with * three hundred Horſes by Torch-light; and in the meane while King *Henry* himſelfe prepares. *Philip* perceiuing, that whatſoeuer ſpeed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to ſtay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to preuent it, and came vpon the ſpurre to *Windſore*, that he might be gone againe the ſooner, after whom Queene *Ioan* his wife came leaſureably. The reſt of this entertainement, becauſe it hath matter of weight, and is well ſet downe by *Polidor Vergil*, it ſhall ſuffice vs to follow his footſteps. At *Windſore*, the two Kings, after long and ſeuerall diſcourſes, beganne to conferre about renewing their league. *Henry* required *that Edmund Earle of Suffolke might be deliuered vp into his power*, which *Philip* denied to be a thing that he could doe, as holding it moſt vnreaſonable to be the author of his death, whom he had taken into Protection: but when at the laſt he found, that no excuſe nor reaſon, could ſatiſfie, for that, *Henrie* voluntarily offered to ſaue the Earles life, he promiſed to doe therein what he deſired, and preſently tooke order for his ſending ouer. According whereunto, King *Henry* (to draw out the time, till he had the wiſhed prey) conueied King *Philip* to *London*, to ſhew him the head City of his kingdome, out of which after a little ſtay hee reconducted him. The Earle in the meane time, who conceiued horror at the firſt newes of King *Philips* landing in *England*, as fatall to him, and reſolued that no hope was longer to be repoſed in the faith of forraine Princes, *came ouer not vnwillingly*, preſuming that after pardon of life, hee might alſo in time regaine his liberty; or if that hope failed, yet ſhould he at leſtwiſe obtaine to die, and bee buried in his Countrey. But King *Philip* and his Queene, hauing feaſted with her ſiſter the *Princeſſe of Walles*, departed *England*. The Earle was brought through *Flanders* to *Calleis* vpon the ſixeteenth of March, and landed at *Douer* vpon the foure and twentieth of the ſame, conueighed thither by Sir *Henrie Wiat*, and Sir *Iohn Wiltſhire*, with threeſcore men in armour of the Garriſon of *Calleis*; and at *Douer* Sir *Iohn Louel* and others receiuing him, guarded him ſafe to the Tower of *London*. King *Philipp*, not long after his landing in *Spaine* deceaſed, being not thirtie yeeres old. That tempeſt which draue him into *England* was holden by the people as prodigious; for it blew down the *golden Eagle* from the famous Spire of *Pauls* Steeple (being of Copper richly ouerguilt, of fourty pounds weight, in length foure foote, and in breadth three,) which alſo in the fall thereof, brake and battered the ſigne of the *Blacke Eagle*, in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where now the *Schoolehouſe* ſtands. This accident euen then made ſome coniecture, that the Emperour *Maximilian* (whoſe Imperiall Enſigne the *Eagle* is) *ſhould ſuffer ſome loſſe accordingly* (ſaith *Polydore*) *as indeed he did by the death of King Philippe his ſonne*. Which (if any ſuperſticiouſly delight in Calculations of that blind nature) we may well parallell with that * lightning which ſtroke the letter *C.* out of *Caſar* in the inſcription of *Caſar Auguſtus* his ſtatue; wherupon it was gathered, that *Auguſtus* ſhould liue but *one hundreth* daies after, and then bee called a *God*, (*Æſar* the remaining ſyllables ſo ſignifying in the old *Hetruſcan* tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

(69) Thus was the Earle of *Suffolke* brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the ſafe cuſtody of his perſon within the Tower. The other wordly point wherein he chiefely beſtowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courſes ſeeming very grieuous and full of bitterneſſe; the too griping

* *Fl. Sato Annal.*

The Kings of *England* and *Spaine* at Windſore.

Polyd. Verg.

The Earle of Suffolke deliuered vp and ſent to the Tower.

The ominous fall of the weather-cocke of *Pauls*.

* *Suet. in Aug. cap. 97.*

King *Henries* gathering of treaſure.

griping *greedinesse*, and too-profuse *lauishnesse* of money in Princes, being both alike offensiue to a well setled estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom *Polydor* is chiefe) as not proceeding from any deprauation or vncorrected affection of his nature; but from an opinion and forecast of generall profite: because a Princes humor of gathering, tendeth, though with distast of particular men, to the good publike, whereas his profusenes, though with some particular mens profite, endeth in the empouerishment of the whole. And *Henry* himselfe protested (saith *Polydor*) *hee did it not for loue of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce minds of a nation bred vp among factions*: though they (saith the same author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his *Instruments*, *cried out *they were not so much the darts of seuerity, which did hit them, as of auarice*. Yet *Polydors* Apologie may be current: for it is not to bee doubted, but that such vse the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, we can hardly find any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so importune and harsh, by which hee raised money. Let vs heare in this point the obseruatiue *Knight. *Of nature* (saith hee) *Henry coueted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preseruation of Monarchies, a naturall desire to discharge their Princes, though it bee with the vniust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute vnto Cardinall Morton, and Sir Reinald Bray, who (as it afterward appeared) as Counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so sound his humor, as neuertheless they tempered it.* Where it is truly said, *it afterward appeared*: for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite banished, the king did not let loose the reines to his immoderate desire of hauing, which yet was not more sinnefull, then the meanes vnder him practised, were odious. *For *Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise then the seruile following of his owne humors, gaue him way, and shaped him meanes to those extremities, whereby himselfe was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor disauowed.* And this we take to be a true iudgement. To bee particular in the recitall of thinges worthy to die in forgetfulnesse, is not onely to recite, but in a sort to teach them also, as some, who by broad inuectiues, haue as it were read a lecture of those vices, against which they haue pretended to inueigh. But publike and shamefull Arts may more safely be deliuered. The instruments whome the King set on worke (or who perhaps set the King on worke) were *two Lawyers, *Richard Empson* (afterward knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Esquier; their employment was to cal the richer subiect into queon for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in vpon the people, as it were at vnaware, like a kind of authorized robbers, masked vnder the pretext of *seruice for the King*, and the names of *Delators* or *Promoters*, a * familiar sickenesse in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courses to execute their employment, were voide of all conscience and colour. For one of them was to *outlaw persons secretly, and then to seise their estates*, driuing them to chargefull compositions with the King, and heauy bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More detestable was another practise of theirs. For *there *were false Iurors and ringleaders of false Iurors, who would neuer giue any verdict against the will of their patrons*, the said *Empson* and *Dudley*; so that if any durst stand out vpon triall, the destiny of their causes was squared forth by the leaden rule of those fellowes consciences; which to bee a truth, the expiatory punishment which K. *Henry* the eight tooke of them in the first yeare of his raigne, doth clearely conuince. By these meanes many honest and worthy subiects were rigorously fined, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted, which filled the land with sorrow and repinings. Among very many others thus abused Sir *William Capell* Alderman of *London* was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth yeer of the kings raign, had beene scruzed, vnder the colour of moth-eaten and vnreuiued *Lewis*, aboue sixteene hundreth pounds sterling, and was now againe plaide at a-fresh, and another hand drawne vpon him for two thousand pounds, which because he would not pay, hee was by *Dudley* commaunded prisoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which ensued, all such prisoners were released. If any perhaps will slight the hard vsage extended to Citizens, and to the like, they are vnwise therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may so fall out that the personall vexation of some few, merits no great pitty; yet the example is pestilent; and it is a part of the cunning, to choose out at first such for patternes, as vpon whose persons least compassion may fall, which examples may afterward bee extended to whomsoeuer. These reuels and rages against the wealthier sort continued, till it pleased God to sting the Kings heart with iust compunction, toward the horror of his death; who had the fauour from heauen, as to lie sicke of a consuming disease, which wasted him by such insensible degrees, as gaue him the vse of his whole selfe (as it were) till the last gaspe, whereby hee had meanes to recollect himselfe, after those many soule-wounding assaults which attend regall greatnesse, and to submit his thoughts to such ghostly admonishments (touching another life) whereunto in dayes of health, the hearts or eares of great Princes are seldome attentiue.

(71) About the yeere of his death, hauing vnderstood that *Lewis* King of *France*, despairing of issue male, had annulled the Contracts made betweene *Charles* King of *Spaine* (sonne of the late King *Philip*, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of *Charles* the fifth) and the Lady *Claudia* his eldest daughter, whom he newly betrothed to *Francis* of *Valois* Dolphin of *France*, and Duke of *Angolesme*; King *Henry* (whose care for preseruation of the common quiet, and good of his Country, by forrain alliances, was euer holy in him and awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger daughter the Lady *Marie*. The French King to haue the aduise of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scots*, in the bestowing the said Madam *Claudia* his eldest daughter, had before sent *Bernard Steward* Lord *Dobigny*, and the President of *Tholouz*, Ambassadors for that purpose; who finally in effect receiued this answere: * *That the said King Iames thought it best that his eldest daughter should be married within his owne Realme of France, for if she were married vpon any forraine Prince, it might giue colour to claime title to the said Realme afterward. And if he did marrie her at home, rather to him the said Francis, whom he had appointed to succeed then any other.* Which resolution was very acceptable to K. *Lewis*, because it iumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King *Henry* therefore hearing that King *Charles* might bee obtained, so pursued the point * by the prudent managing of *Richard Fox* (now Bishoppe of *Winchester*) his Ambassadour, that King *Charles* his Ambassadors comming out of *Flanders*, where hee was educated, and meeting him at *Calais*, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady *Mary* then about ten yeeres of age (as King *Charles* himselfe) was by solemne contract assured to him for wife.

(72) Now therefore his sonne *Henrie* Prince of *Wales*, being heire of the Crowne, and married; his eldest daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, Queene of *Scotland*; the Lady *Mary* his youngest, prouided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood of perill by competitors, or busie Factionists, buried in the Tower, by the emprisonment of *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the state of things ripe for a successour: death (the executioner of the Almighties sentence,) was ready to discharge him of

A.D. 1
A.R. 23.

The King

sicke.

Pol. Verg.

King Henry

to assure his

daughter

to Charles

of Castile.

The French

sends for

to the King

Scots.

* Epist.

* Polyd. Ver.

The Lady

promised

Charles.

A.D. 1

A. Reg.

K. Henry

dies.

*Sir Fr. B. MS

*Sir F. B. MS

King Henry giues way to the needlesse molestation of his people.

Addit. to Hard. The foule practises vsed to empouerish the subiect.

*Cor. Tacit.

* Polyd. Verg.

*Io. Stow Annals.

of the prison of his flesh. Before he departed, * *well disposed persons tendering the health of his soule, did both in sermons, and otherwise, informe him of the excommunications against informers*; Wherefore he of his blessed disposition, granted to all men generall pardons, certaine onely excepted. In his life time hee founded the goodly Hospitall of the *Sauoy*, built sixe religious Houses for *Franciscan Friers*, three of them for *Obseruants*, and the other three for *Conuentuales*. Of his building also was *Richmund* Pallace, and that most beautifull peece, the Chappell at *Westminster*, the one the place of his death, and the other of his buriall: which formes of more curious and exquisite building, he and Bishoppe *Foxe*, first (as is reported) learned in *France*, and thence brought with them into *England*. He died about the age of fiftie two yeeres, vpon the two and twentieth of * *April* hauing raigned twenty three yeeres and eight moneths. A right noble, wise, victorious and renowned King, and one whose piety would haue beene farre more eminent, then all his other vertues, if from the beginning the malignant quality of the times, would haue permitted him to liue in quiet. He specially honoured the remembrance of that Saint-like Man, *Henry* the sixth, the founder of his Family, and Propheticall fore-teller of that fortune which now hee died seised of, whom also he laboured to haue * Canonized for a *Saint*, but that Pope *Iulio* held that honour at two high a rate. It is reckoned by some writers * of that age among his principall glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the sixth, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, did in their seuerall times, with authority and consent of the Cardinals, elect and chose him for *chiefe defensor of Christs Church*, before all other Christian Princes. In his last will and Testament, after the disposition of his soule and body, hee deuised and willed *Restitution should bee made of all such monies, as had vniustly beene leuied by his Officers*. A most pious and truly Christian care, wherby also appeareth, that hee hoped the wrongs done vnder him were not so enormous nor innumerable, but that they might fall within the possibility of redresse. The description of his whole man, is had in the beginning of his life, and the course thereof described in his Actions. There remaine of his wisdome many effects, and those as his fame likely to continue for euer.

His Wife.

(71) *Elizabeth* the first Childe Legitimate, and eldest daughter of *King Edward the fourth*, was at the age of nineteene vpon the eighteenth of Ianuarie and yeere of Christ Iesus, 1485. married vnto King *Henry the seuenth*, whereby was vnited the long contending Families of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, and the Roses red and White ioined into one, to the great ioy of the English Subiects. Shee was crowned at *Westminster* vpon the fiue and twentieth of Nouember, the third of her husbands Raigne, and of Grace 1487. Shee was his wife eighteene yeeres and twenty foure daies, and died in childebed in the Tower of *London*, the eleuenth of February, euen the day of her owne Natiuity, the eighteenth of her husbands Raigne, and yeere of our Saluation, 1503. and is buried at *Westminster* in the most magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and gilt where shee with her husband lie entombed.

His Issue.

(72) *Arthur* the eldest sonne of King *Henrie* the seauenth and of Queene *Elizabeth* his wife was borne at *Winchester* the twentith day of September, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred eighty sixe, and the second of his Fathers raigne. In whose fifth yeere he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall* and Earle of *Chester*; and at the age of fifteene yeeres, one month and twenty fiue daies, vpon the foureteenth of November, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and one, espoused the Lady *Katherine* daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, shee being then about eighteene yeeres of age, in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul, London*; and presently sent into *Wales* the better to gouerne that principality by his owne Presence, enioyed his marriage bed onely foure moneths and nineteene daies, departing this life at *Ludlow* the second of Aprill, the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and two, of his Fathers raigne seuenteene, and of his owne age fifteene yeeres, sixe moneths and thirteene daies. His body with all due funerall solemnities, was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Maries* in *Worcester*, where, in the South side of the Quire he remaineth entombed in Touch, or Iette, without any remembrance of him by picture.

(73) *Henrie* the second sonne of King *Henrie* the seuenth and of Queene *Elizabeth* was borne at *Greenwich* in the Countie of *Kent*, the two and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninety and one, being the seuenth of his Fathers raigne. In his Infancy he was created Duke of *Yorke* and Marshall of *England*, and so trained vp in his youth to literature as hee was rightly accounted the best learned Prince in *Europe*, and by the death of his brother succeeded his Father in all his Dominions; whose Raigne and Acts are presently to be related.

(74) *Edmund* the third sonne of King *Henry* and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninetie fiue, and in his young yeeres was created Duke of *Sommerset*, which Title hee no long time enioyed, being taken away by death at *Bishops Hatfield* before hee attained fully to fiue yeeres of age, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and fiue, and fifteenth of his Fathers Raigne, and his body lieth interred at Saint *Peters* in *Westminster*.

(75) *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King *Henrie* and of Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was born the nine and twentieth day of Nouember the yeere of Christ 1489. and fifth of her fathers raigne; shee at the age of foureteene was married vnto *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and three, vnto whom shee bare *Iames* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander* and a Daughter: which last three, died all of them young; and after the death of King *Iames* (being slaine at *Flodden* Field in fight against the *English*,) shee was remarried vnto *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Angusse*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene, vnto whom shee bare *Margaret*, afterward espoused vnto *Mathew* Earle of *Lennox*, Father by her of the Lord *Henrie*, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the vpper ende of the Chancell in the Parish Church of *Stepney* neere *London*, vpon whose Graue is engrauen in brasse, as followeth:

> *Heere lieth Henry Steward Lord Darle of the age of three quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and Heire of Mathew Steward Earle of Lennox and Lady Margaret his wife, which Henrie deceased the XXVIII. day of Nouember in the yeere of our Lord God. 1545. whose Soule Iesus pardon.*

Her second sonne was *Henrie* Lord *Dernley* a Noble Prince; and reputed for person one of the goodliest

Gentlemen of *Europe*, who married *Marie* Queene of *Scotland*, the royall Parents of the moſt roiall Monarch *Iames* the firſt King of great *Britaine*, and of the *Britaine World*. And her third ſonne was *Charles* Earle of *Lennox* father vnto Lady *Arbella*.

(76) *Elizabeth* the ſecond daughter of *King Henry* and Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene was borne the ſecond day of *Iuly*, one thouſand foure hundred ninety two, and died the foureteenth of *September* and yeere of Chriſt, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie fiue, and is interred at *Weſtminſter*.

(77) *Mary* the third bloſſome of the Imperiall Roſe-tree of *England*, was firſt wife to *Lewis* King of *France*, who liued not long after, and died without iſſue by her. Her ſecond husband was that Martiall and pompous Gentleman, *Charles Brandon* Duke of Suffolke.

(78) *Katharine* fourth daughter of this ſeuenth *Henry* and of *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne vpon Candlemas day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, who was called to her part in a far better Kingdome within a ſhort while after.

HENRY

VIII. Monarch 58

HENRIE THE EIGHT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

CHAPTER XXI.

THe rich and wiſe King (*Henry* the ſeuenth) gone (as is ſaid) the way of all fleſh, his ſonne bearing the ſame name, a moſt magnanimous & heroical Prince, ſucceded in his Throne ouer al his dominions, as the only true heir vnto the Crowne, by both the houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*. His birth was at *Greenwich* in the yeere of Grace, 1491. the twentieth two of Iune: and his youth ſo trained vp in literature, that he was accounted the moſt learned Prince of all Chriſtendome, induced with parts moſt befitting a King, both in lineaments of body, and liberality of minde, beſides his ripe knowledge in politicke affaires, and was made the more agreeable to the affections of men, by the conſideration of his flouriſhing age, as hauing not attained vnto nineteen at his fathers death. In his infancy hee was created Duke of *Yorke*; at twelue yeeres (his brother deceaſed) Prince of *Wales*, and at eighteene became ſole Monarch of the land, when at *Weſtminſter* vpon Sunday the twenty fift of Iune, euen the feſtiuall of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1509. hee with his beauteous Queene *Katherine* receiued their Crowns at the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, no Prince giuing better hopes vnto iuſtice, or ſeeking the wealth of his ſubiects more then himſelfe.

1509.

The moſt learned King of Chriſtendome.

King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* crowned. *Edw. Hall.*

(2) His Counſellors he choſe of the graueſt di-

uines

King Henry vſed to ſit often in Councell him ſelfe in perſon.

uinces, and the wiſeſt Nobility, with whom hee not onely often ſate, to the great encreaſe of his politicke experience; but would alſo yeeld his authority to their graue and farre inſeeing wiſdomes: Of whom the plaints of Petitioners were ſo mouingly regarded, that Proclamations went forth, with promiſe of reſtitution, to them that had beene wronged by *Dudley* or *Empſon*, two perſons that had abuſed the authority of K. *Henrie* his Father, by enriching their owne coffers, with the vtter vndoing of many better ſubiects. Theſe men, King *Henry* the ſeuenth had made his Inſtruments for the finding out of offenders in his penall Statutes, themſelues being learned in the lawes, and apt inough to execute their Commiſſions to the full: for, by their daily informations and recouering of fines, they digged and brought a ſiluer Mine into the Kings Exchequer, ſome veines whereof by the way, ranne alſo into their owne coffers, to the great vexation of all, and vtter vndoing of many; whereat the Noblemen grudged, the Gentility repined, the Commons lamented, and all of them felt the teeth of theſe rauening Wolues: But the father King departed, and his ſonne ſet on his throne; the complaintes of the oppreſſed ſo oppreſſed the King and his Councell, that *Dudley* and *Empſon* were ſent priſoners to the Tower, and both of them by Parliament attainted of Treaſon.

Dudley, Empſon.

Iob. Stow.

Hollinſh. pag. 791.

Edw. Hall.

(3) *Edmund Dudley* by deſcent was a Gentleman, and by profeſsion a Lawyer, hauing both wit and wordes at will, had hee not abuſed both to his own deſtruction. *Richard Empſon* his inferiour by birth, was the ſonne of a poore Sieue-maker, but yet had hee ſtepped before him to the degree of a Knight: Theſe night-ſprung Muſhrumps that ſucked the earthes fatneſſe, from far better plants then themſelues, ſaw not the many hands ready to plucke vp them by the rootes, when the ſeaſon ſhould ſerue to cleare the land of ſuch weedes: for albeit they had their diſcharge vnder the Kings owne hand to doe what they did, and their ſeruice knowne Crowne ſeruice, a matter impugnable, yet no ſooner were they left to ſtand vpon their owne baſis, but that they felt the weight of their done wrongs too importunable for them any longer to beare; for ſo importune were all degrees againſt them, that *Dudley* forthwith in *Guild-hall London* was arraigned and condemned to die: and King *Henry* in progreſſe, (through the cry of the people) could take no pleaſure, til he had ſent for *Empſon* into *Northamptonſhire*, where among them hee was arraigned, and receiued ſentence of death, which was ſo deſired and followed, as to ſatisfie his Subiects, the King ſent a ſpeciall writ for their executions, which with great ioy of all was performed vpon Tower hill, by taking from them their heades; when they left their riches to be ſpent by others, and their names to remaine vpon Record for the Caterpillers of thoſe times: whoſe like if any ſuch liue, ſhall leaue their hatefull remembrance to the like ſtaines of reprochfull infamy, how pleaſing ſoeuer the promotion ſo gotten in their owne eyes ſhall ſeeme, or the employments in their ſelfe conceites accounted profitable to the State.

In Tocester Northamptonſhire

Edmund Dudley condemned.

Jo. Stow Annal.

(4) This iuſtice of King *Henry* wanne him great praiſe of his people, and his charity extended towards *London*, when that City was ſore diſtreſſed with famine, by ſending ſixe hundred quarters of corne, great loue, ſo that neuer any King entred his raigne with better hopes then himſelfe. That his perſon was tall, is not to bee doubted, though not like vnto *Saules*, as ſome haue alleadged, whoſe report is, that at the ſiege of *Bulloigne*, he was higher by the head then any in his Campe, and euery ioint proportionable to ſo royall a ſtature: but that hee was ſtrong, his many Iuſts and Tilts, and fights at *Turney* (moſt dangerouſly performed) was manifeſted vpon them that vnderwent his heauy hand: for at Tilt hee bare downe a man at Armes both horſe and all, and threw Sir *William Kingſton* a Knight of great ſtrength to the ground at Barryers; with battell-axe he combated againſt one *Giot* a Germane very ſtrong and tall, and lent him better blowes then he could againe repay.

K. Henries iuſtice and charity commended.

Holinſh.

Henry a goodly man of ſhape and ſtature.

K. Henries great ſtrength.

(5) His glorie thus mounted the Trophie of fame, and young *Henry* the onely morning ſtarre in this Weſterne Orbe, Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, fearing the further incroch of the French, who then had entred into ſome part of *Italy*, thought this Prince the ſtrongeſt pillar whereunto to truſt, and the fitteſt Carde to trumpe the French King, well knowing the Title that the Engliſh Kings had vnto *France*, and the readineſſe of his Subiects to forward that way: whereupon writing his letters vnto King *Henry*, complained againſt *Lewis* the French king, and twelfth of that name, who neither (as hee alleadged) *eſteeming of God, good fame, nor conſcience, detained the reuenewes of the Clergy, ſupported the Cardinall William to aſpire the Papacy, aided in the ſiege of Bonen, Alfonſo of Ferrara, and the Benteuoly, both traitors to the Papal Sea, where hee intended to lay the foundation of his Empire, to vſurpe all Italy, beſought him for the pity of our Sauiour, and by the vertue of his famous anceſtors,* (for I vſe the words of the Popes briefe) *that neuer forſooke the Church of God in diſtreſſe, and by the filiall obedience, the ſtrongeſt bond, to enter into the holy league, they hauing elected him againſt Lewis*, Caput fœderis Italici.

The Popes letters vnto King Henry.

(6) And indeed to ſpeake as it was, *Lewis* much emulated King *Henries* greatneſſe, fearing that fortune would giue him occaſions to make his claime by ſword vnto the Kingdome of *France*; which the ſooner hee did by this holy fathers inſtigations, and by his Herauld *Clarentius* roughly demanded, the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Anion* and *Maine*, and with them alſo the Crowne that king *Lewis* ware. The Scotiſh king likewiſe, in caſe of *Andrew Barton* ſlaine in his Piracies (as the Engliſh alleadged) by the Admirall of *England*, accounted the truce broken, and ſought the reuenge vpon the Borders adioining. Againſt theſe two nations yong *Henry* at once prepared, and happily obtained faire victories againſt both: but the ſucceſſe of the one, (though not following preciſely the time) we meane to relate before wee enter diſcourſe of the other.

K. Henry demanded France.

John Leſly Biſhop of Roſſe.

A.D. 1510.

(7) The enterpriſe great which K. *Henry* meant to vndergoe, hee thought it good wiſdome to ioyne amity with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, and many other Princes, holding alſo correſpondency with Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, that buſie Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then propounding his purpoſes in Parliament, ſent ouer certaine Nobles before him into *France*, and afterward followed them himſelfe, pitching downe his Tents before the Towne of *Terwin*, where he raiſed his royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt the Citie with a ſtrait ſiege.

K. Henry league with ny Princes. Guicciard.

King Henry entreth France.

An. Reg. Edw. Hal.

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour repaired, and to the great honour of *Henry* entred into his pay, wearing the Croſſe of Saint *George*, with a roſe (the Kings badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and receiued wages by day for euery of his, according to their degree: The French ſeeing the Towne in diſtreſſe, ſought the reliefe with victuals, and men, but were ſo encountred by the king and his company, as that many of their chiefeſt Captaines were taken, and ſixe of their Standards wonne, the reſt for ſafeguard of life ſo poſted away, that this conflict was called the battell of Spurres.

Sleidan Com. The Emperour ſerueth K. Henry.

Angleria Paulus Iouius

(9) Then was the battery broght ſo neer their wals, that many breaches were therein made, and the Towne by compoſition yeelded vnto the King; whereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was ſent to ſee all things ſafe, who ſtucke vpon the higheſt Turret the Banner of Saint *George*, and tooke the oath of alleagiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge King *Henry* their ſupreme Lord: This done, the King as a Conquerour entreth *Terwine*, ſent thence their

Battell of Spurres.

A.D. 1513. Auguſt.

Terwin wonne and the Citizens ſweare to Henry.

their Ordinance, dismounted the Turrets, cast downe the walles, filled vp the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedrall Church and Bishops Pallace.

(10) Then was the siege remoued vnto *Turnay*: about which City King *Henry* commanded diuers Trenches to bee cast, and placed his Ordinance to such aduantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the same. Into this Towne a great number of the French from the Countries adioining had lately fled, relying much vpon the strength and safety of the place, which indeed had euer beene accounted so inuincible, that this sentence was engraued ouer one of the gates. *Iamais ton me a perden ton pucellage, thou hast neuer lost thy maiden-head*: Notwithstanding, it was yeelded vp vnto *Henry* with ten thousand pounds sterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of foure score thousand, then tooke their oathes to become his true Subiects, and foure of their principall bare vp the Canopie vnder which the King in triumph-wise entred, hauing born before him his sword, axe, speare, and other abiliments of warre, euery Citizen holding a staffe-Torch for his light. The safe keeping of this City, the King committed to Sir *Edward Poinings* Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom hee there made his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Wolsey* his Almoner the Bishoppe of *Turnay*. The yeere now spent, and season vnfit for the fielde, a surceasse from warre was determined vntill the next spring; whereupon all were shipped for *England* with full payment, and praise, but *Terwin* and *Turnay* stucke heauily vpon the French mens hearts.

(11) King *Lewis* thus endammaged in his owne Dominions, thought it best policy to pay like for like, to which end at the first attempts against *Terwine* hee solicited *Iames* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage vnto King *Henry* of *England*) to disturbe the peace of his Subiects, that so hee might bee drawne out of *France*; which *Iames* for his part put presently in practise: for writing his letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behalfe, charged him with breach of Truce, both in the case of his Scots slaine at the sea, as also against his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, against which last he desired him to desist, otherwise hee should bee forced to reuenge the *Frenches* wrongs vpon his English: and to giue letters of Mart to recouer the losses of his Subiectes.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Maiesticall spirite, most highly offended at these his brothers requests, and threates, was so farre ouergone with fury and rage, that *Lions* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby somewhat daunted at his present answere, which he desired might be sent in writing, refusing to carry in words his reply to his Soueraigne. This *Heralds* wise and weighty request, was forthwith granted, and letters framed to King *Iames* demands, answering those imputations with rough and round words, which notwithstanding hee neuer read or saw, being slaine in the battell of *Flodden*, before that *Lions* could come to deliuer the same.

(13) For *Iames* King of *Scots* preparing for war, had in the meane while entred the borders, and with his Ordinance battered and wonne the Castell of *Norham*; making still forward vpon the English. Against whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North, at his going into *France*, assembled an Army of twenty sixe thousand strong, vnto whom came his sonne the Lord Admirall of *England*, with a great supply of good souldiers well appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcastell* came vnto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell besides a little Towne called *Brankeston*, vnder *Flodden* hill, a mountaine lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwixt the riuers of *Till* and *Tweed*, where vpon a rising banke, the Scottish hoast had taken the aduantage of the ground; vnto King *Iames*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* sent *Rouge Croſſe* a Pursuant at Armes, with proffer of battell to bee done vpon Friday the ninth of *September*; if so it pleased his Highnesse, who withall carryed this message from the L. Admirall, that he was come in person to iustifie his Act against *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the last drop of his bloud in the Vant-gard of the field.

Lord *Howard* profereth battel vnto K. *Iames*.

(14) King *Iames* most readily accepted the offer, and by his Herauld *Hay* sent the Earle word, that if he were as then in *Edenbrough*, yet would hee most gladly come to fulfill his desire; and withall sent his letters for the iust occasions giuen him to inuade *England* as hee did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched vpward along the riuer, and by two Bridges passed ouer with his hoast, making still forward, as thogh he ment either to haue taken into *Scotland*, or else to circumuent K. *Iames* his returne, which hee perceiuing, hasted downe the hill, putting from him his horse, raised his roiall Standard, and as a most valiant Chiefetaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

King *Iames* accepteth of battel.

Iohn Rosse.

(15) The Scotish Ordinance discharged from aboue, ouershot the English with very small dammage, and the ground of no difficult ascent, gaue them the easier accesse, so that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who lead a wing to the Vant-gard (whereof his brother the Admirall was Captain) got almost to the height; against whom the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argile*, with their Battels of Speares on foot so violently encountred, that they beat down, and brake the wing of the English, wherein many were slaine, and the horsemen disbanded, and put to flight; but presently recalled, ioyned themselues againe to the great battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *Iames* that saw this first brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, supposing verily the English had fled, and therefore most valiantly he aduanced forward, not staying for the reregard to second his battel, and encountring the Earles Battalion, a bloody fight was performed, with the losse and life of many a man: but strength neere spent, and the Scotish somewhat disioyned, through force of a great shore of arrowes falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing three bands reserued for the like purpose, with a fresh onset inuaded the open sides of the enemy, whose force was so violent, that the Scots no longer were able to stand, but tooke downe the hill vnto flight, which the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argile* perceiuing, did their best to stay them, and fighting most valiantly, themselues were slain in the same place.

The fight begun.

Paulus Iouius.

The Scots at the first encounter beat the *English* backe.

The battels ioin.

The Scots put to flight.

(16) King *Iames* then perceiuing the wings of his Battell distressed and gone, and that the enemy began to enclose him about; with a stout resolution incouraged his men, willing thē to regard the person of their King, their own honor, their valiant Ancestors, and now their present imploiments; that their blood might bee bought deare to the English, and the Scotish valours recorded for euer in the volumes of fame for this their one daies work; & thereupon rushing among the thickest began a most eager & bloody battel, and piercing through with a strong hand went so far, that he had almost ouerthrown the Earles Standard: thus busied in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing discomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine battell, and the Lord *Dacres* with his Horse-men came vpon their backes, so that the Scotish were forced to fight in a round compasse, but being ouer-laid, the Kings Standard was strucken downe, and himselfe most valiantly fighting slaine in the middest of his enemies: with whom died three Bishops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes* the Kings base sonne, two Abbots, twelue Earles, and seuenteene Lords,

The valiant courage of K. *Iames*.

James King of *Scots* slaine with 13. Earles, and 17. Lords.

Knights and Gentlemen a great number in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners saith *Paulus Iouius*.

King *Iames* body embalmed and buried at *Shine*.

(17) The next day when the Scouts had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English busied to burie their dead: the body of King *Iames* was found slaine among the rest, hauing receiued many bloody wounds, and most of them deadly: for his sides were stucke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middest, and his left hand in two places almost cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding he was descried, and knowne by the Lord *Dacres* and others to bee the King: and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was solemnely brought vnto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surrey*, where no doubt it was honourably enterred: but at the dissolution of that House, in the daies of King *Edward* the sixth, it was (as almost all other Monuments were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among old timber, stone and lead, which *Iohn Stowe* the Relater saith, himselfe so saw: and further declareth (let him bee the Author) that the seruants of *Launcelot Young* Glasier to the late Queene, being at *Shine* in new glasing the windowes, either vpon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest: but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gaue it to their Master, who opening the lead found therein the Head of a man retaining fauour, though the moisture were cleane dried vp, whose haire both of Head and Beard was redde, which after he had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to bee buried in Saint *Michaels* at Woodstreet *London*, the Church of the Parish wherein himselfe dwelled.

Iohn Stow Survey of *London* in Criplegate Ward.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *Iohn Stow*, *Iohn Lesby* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that *it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird Bonehard then slain in the battel: and that K. Iames was seene aliue the same night at Kelso, whence hee passed vnto Ierusalem and there spent the rest of his daies in holie contemplation: but howsoeuer it is* (saith he) *he neuer was seene any more in Scotland, no more then Charles Duke of Burgundy was in his Country after the Battell of Nanze: howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that hee escaped, and would againe shortly returne.* This battell was fought vpon the ninth of September, the yeere 1513. and is commonly called the battell of *Floddon* or *Flodden* Field: whence with victory, the Earle Generall departed, with the embalmed Body of King *Iames*, whom hee presented vnto Queene *Katherine*, who with the Gauntlet of the slaine King sent the newes of the victorie vnto her Lord King *Henrie*, then lying in his siege before the Towne *Terwine*.

Iohn Sleidan. Phil. Comin.

Edward Hall.

(19) But as these his proceedings went prosperously forward, and his fame daily spread in further parts, so the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held side with his sailes) began to fal off suddenly, & vpon the occasion as followeth. It had beene concluded betwixt King *Henrie* the seuenth, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles* his eldest sonne should marry *Marie* the younger daughter of the English King, with a Princely Dowry agreed vpon, but shee being young, and not tenne yeeres of age, and the *Castilian* vnable to giue assurance of her pension assigned, that match went not forward during the life of her father, howbeit King *Henrie* her brother regarding greatly her honour, prouided for the marriage, and signified so much to the Counsell of *Flanders*: who dallied him off with many excuses, & lastly sent him word they could not receiue her that yeare.

The *Flemmings* fall off from king *Henrie*.

Hollinsh. pag. 830.

A.D. 1514.

(20) This therefore gaue *Lewis* King of *France* occasion to hammer at a peace, and making Pope *Leo* his, they both together put it in practise, the readier was *Henry* to listen thereunto, both for the loue he bore to his sister, and for the great regard he held of the Apostolike See, whence *Iulius* the second, and this Popes Predecessor had lately sent him a Cappe of maintenance and sword, and by decree of Councel giuen him the Title *Christianissimo*; which were receiued with great thanks, and solemnities. The *French* Kings desire was to marry the said Lady *Mary*, whose dowrie hee assigned to bee thirty two thousand Crownes by yeere, during her natural life, couenanting further to pay vnto King *Henry* her brother, the summe of one hundred thousand Crownes annually for fiue yeeres continuance.

Great fauours betwixt the Pope and King *Henrie*.

In Consil. Lateran.

A marriage concluded betwixt King *Lewis* and Lady *Mary*.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Marie* with an honourable Company was shipped at *Douer*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse Dorset, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, being her chief conductors: whose fleet had not passed two leagues at Seas, but that a sudden tempest arose, and so violently raised the waues, as their Ships were seuered each from others, some into *Flaunders*, some into *Callis*, and hers with great difficulty strucke in at *Bullen*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and her selfe borne to the shore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirty six Ladies all their Palfreis trapped in crimson Veluet, embroidered with gold, her selfe all in Cloth of siluer, her horses and Chariots in Tissue-cloth of Gold, and Crimson veluet set with Goldsmiths worke, more like an Angell then a humane Creature, mette with King *Lewis* at *Abuile*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was solemnized; where the French so gazed at the newe Queenes beauty, as they could not cast their eies from her attractiue raies, nor the infirme King bee satisfied with any other obiect whilest shee was in presence; for (so saith *Guicchardine*) *hee gaue him selfe ouer to much to behold her most excellent beauty, not considering her young yeeres, being not yet eighteene, with the vnequality of his owne expired; nor the constitution of his weake decaied body.* For hauing beene sicke before this his marriage, and not well recouered of his lingring disease, (though he set the faireſt shew outward) liued with this his faire Queene onely eighty two daies, and then by his death left her to chooſe another husband to her best liking, which shee shortly did in her second match.

Lady *Mary* landed at *Bullen*.

Lady *Mary* married vnto King *Lewis*.

Guicchard.

Lewis the French King dieth.

(22) For thus left a stranger in the *French* Court, and desirous to returne againe into *England*; King *Henrie* her brother, sent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Suffolke*, to conduct the young Queene out of *France*. This Duke a gallant, and of a goodly presence, so courted his Charge, and carried himselfe in the eie of her melting affections, as his loue entred deepely into her tender heart: which thing indeed King *Henrie* perceiued before, for which cause, as was thought, hee raised him to the grace of a Duke; howsoeuer the Gemme thus got, and too precious to bee lost, hee made her his owne, by celebration of marriage, before hee past *Callis*, and thence sent to intreate his Soueraignes consent, who seeing it was booteleſſe to vndoe what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowrie kept backe by the *French*, and other grieuances complained of, caused no little troubles betweene the two Realmes as shall be related in place conuenient. In the meane while let it not seeme ouer tedious if we briefly runne ouer the rising and height of *Thomas Wolsey*, that pontificall Priest, seeing that many dependances of Storie had their euents in the Acts of this man, who with the King raigned together as King, if not before him in managing the State.

Queene *Mary* falleth in loue with Charles Duke of *Suffolke*.

Erasm. Ep.

(23) His birth was at *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolke*, his parents poore, but of an honest report, and himselfe a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit: his education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his first preferment from the Lord *Marquesse Dorset*, who bestowed vpon him a benefice in his gift, in regard that hee was tutor vnto his sonnes, which Sir *Amias Paulet* so crosse him in, that he tied *Wolsey* by the feete in the Stockes though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deedes, whereof he had iust cause to repent: for

Thomas Wolsey his rising.

Marquesse Dorset *Wolseis* preferrer.

for the Schoolemaſter no ſooner was mounted into the Chancellorſhippe of *England*, but that hee laid his command vpon *Paulet*, and retained him as Priſoner in the Middle Temple the ſpace of 6. yeeres: but in the meane time Marqueſſe *Dorſet* dying, left *Wolſeyes* pillar of hope altogether vnpoliſhed, and the baſe thereof it ſelfe vnſetled vpon any firme ground. ſo that *Wolſey* now ſought his fortune in *France*; who comming to *Calleis*, became ſeruant to Sir *Iohn Naphant* the Treaſurer of that Towne, where hee carried himſelfe with ſo great diſcretion, as ſhortly his maſter preferred him to the King.

(24) This Scholler hauing thus caſt Anchor at Court, the hauen of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very ſeruiceable alſo both to Doctor *Fox* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*, *Secretary, and Lord Priuie Seale*, as alſo to Sir *Thomas Louell Maſter of the Wardes, and Conſtable of the Tower*: but moſt of all vnto Fortune, that now fitted occaſion to make her ſelfe famous in this poore Butchers ſonne. For King *Henry* hauing vrgent buſineſſe with *Maximilian* the Emperour, ſent this his Chaplen vnto him in Poſt, who poſted againe before hee was thought to bee gone, and withal concluded ſome points forgot in his directions, to the high content of his Soueraigne Lord the King: for the which hee beſtowed vpon him the Deanrie of *Lincolne*, the worthieſt promotion vnder the degree of a Biſhoppe: then was hee made the Kings Almoner, and preſently following one of the Priuy Councell; wherein his aduiſe was ſo wiſe, and his perſwaſions ſo weighty, that hee was continually imployed to be their expoſitor to the King, alwayes carrying a moſt ſpeciall regard, to preferre his Maieſties will howſoeuer it went; ſo that his mouth was the onely Organ that euer ſounded his pleaſure, and freedome from troubles of all State affaires.

(25) But warres hauing beene commenced betwixt *England* and *France*, and *Turnay* loſt from the obedience of *Lewes*, King *Henry* gaue his Almoner the Biſhopricke thereof, and changed his Deanery of *Lincoln* into the Biſhopricke of the ſame Dioceſſe, and not long after ſet alſo the Miter of *Yorke* vpon *Wolſeyes* Wiſe-head: whereby hee became (as it were) three Biſhoppes at once, and now being *Primas Angliæ*, carried himſelfe accordingly, by erecting his Croſſe in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iuriſdiction of *Canterbury*, which ſeemed vnſufferable; the dignity of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giuing way to inferiours, accounted the infringing of all religious liberties; Wherefore *William* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* found himſelfe ſore agreeued to haue the Croſſe of *Yorke* (which owed him obedience) aduanced with his, and that in his preſence, for which hee greatly checked the preſumption of this proud Prelate.

(26) But *Wolſey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him by the inſtigations of the Kings, both of *England* and *France*; obtained to bee made Prieſt, Cardinall, and *Legatus de Latere*, vnto whom Pope *Leo* ſent a Cardinals hatte, with bulles of authority in that behalfe, yet were theſe high Preſents brought in no better a caſe, then in a mean budget, which ſeemeth ſomewhat diſgracefull in the new Cardinals eye; wherefore hee commanded a ſtay to bee made of the bringers approach; and for the greater honour to this honourable preſent, arrayed him in moſt coſtly ſilkes, beſeeming ſo great an Ambaſſador, who aduancing forward, hee cauſed to be encountred by a number of gallant Gentlewomen, and a great aſſembly of Prelates vpon Blacke-heath, by whom hee was conducted with much honour through the City of *London*, and his Preſent deliuered at *Weſtminſter*, attended by many mitred Biſhoppes and Abbots, with a rich ſhew of Copes, as if it had been a Kings Coronation.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legatiue, to weare now his hatte without controll of an equall, hee obtained the purſe with the broade Seale of *England*, which Archbiſhoppe *Warham* had enioyed long before the death of King *Henry* the ſeuenth, and was made Lord Chancellour in his roome; ſo that beſides the purſe and mace of that honourable Office, hee had two Croſſes and two Pillars, borne euer before him by the talleſt Prieſts that were to bee found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable eſtate, the King beſtowed on him the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, and in *Commendam* the Abbey of Saint *Albanes*, and with them hee held in Farme, the Biſhoprickes of *Bath*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, enioyed by ſtrangers incumbents, not reſiding in the Realm, ſo that now ſeeming a monſter with ſeuen heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Biſhoppe; let vs thus leaue him dandled in Dame Fortunes lap, till ſurfetted with dalliance ſhee caſt him from thence.

(28) But the ſtate of *Londons* Tradeſ-men proſpered vnder his greatneſſe nothing ſo well, for ſuch was the concourſe of ſtrangers, and ſo much were they borne with, by the ſuperiors, that they abuſed the Engliſh, openly in the markets, kept from a Citizen his owne wife with his plate, yea, and paſt with a ſmall pennance for killing an Engliſhman. Theſe firſt were complained of in a Sermon at Saint *Maries* Spittle, and afterwards aſſaulted, and much hurt done to their ſubſtance and houſes, for which riotous offence *Iohn Lincolne* the onely inſtigator was hanged; and foure hundred men, boyes, and eleuen women led in ropes along the City in their ſhirts, and halters about their neckes to the Kinges Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where his Maieſty ſitting vnder a cloath of eſtate, pardoned the offences to the great reioycing of the Londoners.

(29) But the loſſe of *Turney* ſticking ſore vpon the ſtomacke of the French King, hee ſought to redeeme it againe with money, and to that end ſent his Ambaſſadors into *England*, where it was concluded, that the City ſhould bee deliuered vnto *Frances Valois* then King of *France*, paying for the ſame vnto *Henry* ſixe hundred thouſand Crownes in twelue yeeres continuance, that is to ſay, fifty thouſand Crownes a yeere, that the Duke of *Albanie* ſhould bee recalled out of *Scotland*, and that the *Daulphin* ſhould marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young daughter, which marriage if ſo it happned not to take effect at the yeeres of conſent, then *Turnay* ſhould be redeliuered to the Engliſh; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinall ſhould receiue a thouſand markes yeerly for the reuenewes of the ſaid Biſhopricke, and vpon theſe Couenants were hoſtages for further aſſurance deliuered.

(30) But peace much affected among Chriſtian Princes, and daily increaſed of moſt potent Eſtates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authority, abuſe, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might haue leaſure to looke into their own charges at home. To buſie their heads therefore from all ſuſpition or iealouſies, Pope *Leo* the tenth deuiſed the meanes, by a preparation intended for the holy lands warres; a ſubiect in ſhew very religious, howſoeuer the former ſucceſſes had proued it not pleaſing to God, when to recouer the City once holy, and to build vp that which Chriſt by propheſie had caſt downe, as much Chriſtian bloud was ſpilt to raiſe thoſe ruinous wals, as there was morter laid to faſten the ſtones of their firſt building.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were ſent from the holy See of *Rome*, one into *France*, another into *Germany*, and Cardinall *Campius* into *England*, with whom was ioyned *Wolſey* in Commiſſion, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinall, ſent ſtore of red cloth vnto *Calleis*, to make them meet followers of ſo great a Lord; and *Campius* landed at *Douer*, *Wolſey* cauſed the Townes thorow which he ſhould paſſe, to receiue him with proceſſion: and ſo being brought by the Gentility of *Kent*

Wolſey made L. Chancellor of *England*.

Iob. Stow.
1 *Turnay.*
2 *Lincolne.*
3 *Yorke.*
4 *Wincheſter.*
5 *Bathe.*
6 *Worceſter.*
7 *Hereford.*

A.D. 1517. Ill May day.

The Engliſh abuſed by ſtrangers.

Rich. Graſton.

A.D. 1519.

Turney deliuered vpon compoſition.

Articles of agreement betwixt K. *Henry* and K. *Lewis.*

The Pope an enemy to Chriſtian peace.

The warres for *Ieruſalem* vnpleaſing to God. *Luc.* 19.

Cardinall *Campius* came Legate into *England.*

The Honourable receiuing of Cardinall *Campus.*

Kent vnto Black-heath neere vnto *Greenewich*, was there mette and receiued by the Duke of *Norfolke*, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, he shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Roabes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to *London*, in more pompe and estate then *Christ* did to *Ierusalem* when *Hosanna* was sung.

Matth. 21 9.

(32) Eight Mules hee had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud *Wolseis* eies, therefore twelue more hee sent him to furnish his Pageants through the streets of *London*, these either wanton, or ashamed to bee wondred at, plaied the skittish Iades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph foorth passed, these beasts by breaking their Collers and escaping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers vpon the cold ground; whose lids flying open laid most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell olde Breeches, Bootes and broken shooes, from others torne stockings tottered ragges, olde Iron and horse shooes, and for fainting by the way therein was bestowed, and now cast abroad, broken meate, mary-bones, rosted egges, and crusts of bread, ywisse worth the keeping: this Shipwrack made vpon the Shelues of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the muliters to bestirre them, who like good thrifty marriners saued from spoile as much as they could, and trussing vp their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinal, who (good man) was iogging on afore with his Crosses, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto *Pauls* Church, where hee was mette with many mitred Bishops, and attended vpon to *Bath* place, where we will leaue him, and returne to the place where wee left.

The Cardinals rich treasures shewed in Cheap side.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt *England* and *France*, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that ende great preparation made aswell of the one as of the other. But in the heate of this businesse, King *Henry* had word that *Charles*, his Queenes Nephew, and new made *Emperour*, would visit him in *England*, which accordingly hee did, accompanied with the Queene of *Arragon*, and a most Royall Traine, and was as Roiallie entertained by King *Henry*: the cause of his comming was to hinder the peace concluded with *France*, for although, this Emperour were young, and but newly established; yet was hee wise and well foresawe the hurt that this amity with *France*, would bring him, and therefore came in person of purpose to disswade the Kings mind and to stay his entrance with the *French* if he could, but finding *Henry* so forward in those proceeds, he baited his hooks with golden gifts to the Cardinall, and wanne him wholly to his deuotion.

Charles the Emperour cometh into *England.*

Iohn Stow.

(34) King *Henry* passing the Seas vnto *Callis*, met with King *Frances* at a place appointed, and for that purpose newly built betwixt the Townes of *Guisnes*, and *Arde*: where to describe the Iusts, Banquets, and Maskes were to fill vp (with *Hall*, *Grafton* and *Holinshed*) whole sides of excessiue great Cost. At *Callis* also the same time the Emperor, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Sauoy* landed, whither King *Henry* and his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the *French* King, though he kept it to himselfe, and consented vnto the ancient league tripertite betwixt these three Monarches, which done the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

Rich. Turpin.

King *Henrie* goeth into *France.*

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

(35) Displeasures shortly arising betwixt the Emperour and the French King, King *Henry* assaied to bring thē to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from the *French*, imputing the fault vnto *Frances* for suborning the *Scots* against him, and King *Frances* againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of dissimulation, abhorred practises and what not: but whersoeuer lay the defect, the Duke of *Albany* was sent into *Scotland*; the French followed a Spanish ship fraught with the goods of *English-Mer-*

A.D. 1521. An. Reg. 13.

Variance betwixt *England* and *France.*

Iohn Stow.

R. Grafton.

chants vnto *Margate*, and tooke her euen in the Kings streams, in both which King *Frances* excusing himselfe with ignorance, alleaged no breach of truce broken by him.

(35) Then was it thought best by the *Cardinals* aduice to repay like with like, and therefore counselled his King, to reare *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* against *France* and to perswade him to inuade the very heart thereof, incouraging him with sufficient pay, and making him his Champion generall of the Field; whilest the Emperor likewise held him play against *Millan*. And to that end was sent in way of loane to the Emperour a great summe of money, and forreine Princes sollicited to take armes against *France*, for effecting which, King *Henry* sent his Ambassadors to the States of *Venice* and *Swissers* with these instructions as followeth.

Taken out of the Cardinals [illegible] letters dated [illegible] nary 16. Anno 1524.

Duke Burbon made King [illegible] ries Captaine General. Instructions of King *Henry* [illegible] in Anno 1524. *Rich. Pace* Secretarie.

(36) That whereas in a treatie of peace it was concluded betwixt the *Emperor*, King *Henry*, and *Frances* the French King, that if any Controuersies should arise betwixt any two, the Prince not inuading should giue aide and assistance against the inuader: but now the Emperour being inuaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of *Navarre*, and in his owne Countrey by *Robert de la Marth*, and others by his procurement, and our king (said they) being often called vpon by the Emperor, hath often entreated the French King to surcease, but hath nothing obtained besides faire words and detraction of promises. Complaining likewise that in the intercourse of these businesses, the French King contrary to his Oath had sent the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (in contempt of King *Henry*) and to the great danger of the yong Kings death or deposition, he being the next in blood to succeed, and to the dishonour of the Queene mother, had caused a separation betwixt her and her lawfull husband the Earle of *Angus*. That the French King had deteined the payment compounded for the deliuery of *Turnay*; and kept backe the dowry of his sister *Queene Dowager of France*, that he had entertained the rebellious Subiects of King *Henry*, and spoiled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was vnremembred the danger that the *Venetians* stood in, if the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Seigniories of *Ieans*, and *Millane* were lost from the Empire. These therefore seemed faire proiects vnto King *Henry* for him to warre against *France*, and to that end, a generall Muster by Commission was taken of all able men from sixteene yeers and vpward, of euery *Hamlet*, *Village*, *Burrough*, *Citie*, *Hundred*, and *Shire*, throughout *England*, which seemed to many another Domesday Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre against *France*.

The wrongs done by the *French* vnto *English*.

Iohn Lesl.

The Queene Dowry vnpa[id]

A.D. 1521. A generall m[uster].

Io. Stow.

(37) In this great and hasty preparation, *Charles* the Emperour, as he passed toward *Spaine*, landed at *Douer*, where King *Henrie* mette him, and in great estate brought him to *London*; which was so prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had been the Kings Coronation, and in the Blacke-friers the Emperour was lodged in a most Princely Palace new built by the King; then was he feasted at *Winsor*, where he sate in his state, in his Mantle and Garter, and by receiuing the Sacrament these two Potent Monarches tooke their Corporal Oathes to obserue the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour *Charles* agreed to stay for, and take to wife the young Princesse Lady *Marie*, King *Henries* then onely daughter; and in such golden bands of loue, *Charles* and *Henrie*, seemed to be linked, as in *London* this sentence was set vp in the *Guild-hall* ouer the doore of the Counsell Chamber, where it still remaineth.

Charles the Emperour com[es] againe into *England.*

Holinsh. in *H.* 18. *Henrie.*

The Empe[ror] affianceth [himself] to *Mary.*

Carolus, Henricus, vinant, defensor vterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.

(38) Why the Titles defender of Church and Faith, were attributed vnto these two Princes

is

is no maruell; for *Charles* choſen Emperour, was ſcarſly confirmed, but to purchaſe the Popes fauor, he directed forth a ſolemne Writ of Out-lawry againſt *Martin Luther*, who then had giuen a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King *Henry* likewiſe was renowned in *Rome*, for writing a booke againſt the ſaid *Luther*: vnderpropping the tottering or downe-caſt countenance of the Popes pardons; which *Luther* ſhrewdly had ſhaken; the Pope therefore to ſhew himſelfe a kind father vnto thoſe his ſonnes, gaue them theſe Titles; which in truth were none other, then the ſame which they ſware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empires were firſt ſet vpon their heades. But with what acceptance his Holineſſe receiued King *Henries* booke, his owne Oration ſolemnely made at the deliuery thereof vnto M. *Iohn Clarke* the preſenter and Kings Ambaſſador, in his Conſiſtory, and in preſence of his Cardinals ſufficiently doth ſhew, the tranſlation whereof we haue inſerted as we finde it in the Originall it ſelfe.

"Wee doe receiue this booke with all alacrity: it is "indeed ſuch as there could not bee any thing ſent "vs, and our venerable brethren, more acceptable "then it is. For the King himſelfe, a moſt mighty, "moſt prudent, and moſt truely Chriſtian Prince, "wee know not whether wee may more prayſe or "admire, being the firſt that by warre with happy "ſucceſſe hath ſubdued the enemies of the Church "of Chriſt, that ſeeke to rend Chriſts coat, and at "laſt ouercomming the enemies, hath reſtored peace "to the Church of God, and to this holy See. But "now againſt ſo foule a Monſter, both to vnder-"ſtand, to bee able, and willing to write this book, "hee hath ſhewed himſelfe no more admirable to "the whole world for his elegant ſtyle, then for his "wit. We humbly giue thanks to our Creator for "giuing ſuch a Prince to defend his Church, and "this holy See, deſiring the ſame God to grant to "this his King a happy life, and all his deſires, and "after this life in his heauenly Kingdome, to keepe "for him an euerlaſting Crowne. And we ſo farre "as wee are able to entreat of God, will neuer bee "wanting to the ſaid moſt wiſe King in the faculties "granted to vs of God.

(40) To manifeſt which his readineſſe, himſelfe among his Cardinals decreed an augmentation vnto King *Henries* royall Stile to bee annexed vnto his others; confirming the ſame by his Bull, which that it periſh not by the deuouring teeth of Time, wee haue here publiſhed from the originall Parchment, and leaden ſeale it ſelfe, as followeth.

(41) *Leo Epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorũ Dei, &c. Leo Biſhop ſeruant of the ſeruants of God; to our moſt dearely beloued Sonne in Chriſt, Henry King of England defendor of the Faith, health and Apoſtolicall Benediction. Wee by diuine permiſſion, the chiefe ouerſeer for the gouernment of the vniuerſall Church, though vnſufficient for ſo great a worke, doe powre forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith without which no man can attaine to ſaluation, may receiue continuall increaſe, and that thoſe good lawes and conſtitutions decreed by the wiſdome and learning of ſuch as are in authority, eſpecially the faithfull in Chriſt, for reſtraining the attempts of all that labour to oppreſſe the ſame, or by wicked lyes & fictions ſeeke to peruert and obſcure it, may proſper with perpetuall increaſe, doe beſtow our paines and vtmoſt endeuour in our office and Miniſtery. And like as the Romane Biſhops our Predeceſſors, were wont to ſhew eſpeciall fauour to Catholike Princes (according as the quality of matters and times required) eſpecially to them that in troubleſome times, when the madneſſe and perfidious dealing of Schiſmatikes and heretikes moſt of all abound, did abide conſtant and vnmoueable, not onely in ſoundneſſe of faith and pure deuotion to the holy Romane Church, but alſo as the moſt legitimate ſonnes and valiant Champions of the ſame, oppoſed themſelues both with mind and body againſt the furious madnes of Schiſmatikes and heretikes: ſo likewiſe alſo doe wee deſire to extoll your Mateſty with worthy and immortall praiſes, for your high and immortall deſerts and labours towards vs, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permiſſion wee ſit, to graut vnto it thoſe things for which it ought to watch, and driue away the Wolues from the Lords flocke, and to cut off with the materiall ſword rotten members, which infect the myſticall body of Chriſt, and to confirme the hearts of the faithfull in ſoundneſſe of beliefe. Now where of late our beloued ſonne Iohn Clarke your Maieſties Orator with vs, being in our Conſiſtory before our venerable brethren of the holy Romane Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the ſame, exhibited a booke vnto vs to bee examined and allowed of vs, which booke your Maieſties ſelfe (who doth all things with diligence and nothing amiſſe) enflamed with charity and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent deuotion toward vs and this holy See, hath compoſed, as a moſt worthy and ſouereigne Antidote againſt the errors of diuers heretikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late ſtirred vp and brought in by Martin Luther; And your ſaid Orator hath alſo largely declared vnto vs, that your Maieſty is ready, and purpoſeth, like as you haue confuted the notorious errors of the ſaid Martin, by true reaſon and inuincible authorities of ſacred Scripture, and Ancient fathers, ſo you will puniſh to the vttermoſt of your power, all thoſe of your whole Kingdome, that ſhall preſume to follow, or defend them: and we haue diligently and exactly peruſed and viewed the admirable doctrine of your ſaid booke, watered with the dew of heauenly Grace, and doe heartily thanke Almighty God, from whom euery good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchſafed to inſpire your Noble mind, inclined to euery good thing, and to endue you with ſo great Grace from heauen, as to write thoſe things, whereby you are able to defend his holy faith, againſt ſuch a new Innouator of damned errors; and alſo incite by your example all other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, to be willing to fauour and further with all their beſt aides the Orthodoxall faith, and Euangelicall truth, whenſoeuer it bee brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it alſo meete, that they who haue vndertaken ſuch godly labours for the defence of the faith of Chriſt, ſhould haue all prayſe and honour of vs; and wee are deſirous, that not onely the things themſelues which your Maieſty hath written, being both of moſt ſound doctrine, and no leſſe eloquence, ſhould bee extolled and magnified with condigne commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our authority; but alſo that your Maieſty ſhould bee graced with ſuch an honour, and ſuch a Title, as that both for our time and euer hereafter all men might perceiue how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Maieſties hath been vnto vs, eſpecially offered vnto vs now at this time. Wee, who be the true ſucceſſors of Peter, whom Chriſt at his aſcenſion into heauen left his Vicar on earth, and to whom hee committed the care of his flocke: We I ſay, who ſit in this holy ſeate, from which all dignities and titles doe flow, vpon mature deliberation had with our ſaid brethren about theſe things, haue by the generall agreement, and conſent of them decreed, to beſtow vpon your Maieſtie this title, namely,* THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And accordingly by theſe Preſents doe inſtile you with ſuch a title, commaunding all faithfull Chriſtians, that they name your Maieſty with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the Word* KING, *they adioine* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And truely wee diligently conſidering and weighing your ſingular merits, were not able to bethinke vs of a name more worthy and conuenient for your Maieſty, then the excellency and dignity of this Title, which ſo often as you ſhal heare and reade, ſo often you may call to mind this your ſingular vertue and great deſert, nor may you by this Title puffe vp your ſelf in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and bee more valiant and conſtant in the faith of Chriſt, and in deuotion to this holy See, by which you haue beene exalted, reſpecting in the Lord the giuer of all good things, leauing this as a perpetuall and immortal monument of your glory to your children, ſhewing them the way vnto the like, that if they ſhall deſire to be graced*

also with such a Title, they must labour to do such works, and to follow the excellent steps of your Maiesty, whom, accordingly as you haue well deserued of vs, and this said See, together with your wife, and all your Children that shall be borne of you, or of them, we blesse with our Benediction, with a large and liberall hand in the name of HIM, *from whom the power of granting this blessing is giuen vnto vs, praying and beseeching that Almighty One, who saith,* By mee Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whose hands are the hearts of Kinges, *that hee will confirme your Maiesty in your holy purpose, and encrease your deuotion, and by your worthy endeuours for the sacred faith, so to illustrate your renowme, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Testimony which wee haue giuen of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may neuer bee iudged by any to be false or vaine. Lastly, wee desire God, that after this life ended, hee would make you partakers of his eternall glorie. Giuen at Rome at Saint Peters, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord God,* 1521. *the fift Ides October, the ninth yeere of our Papacy.*

Thus subscribed,

Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Sanctiſ. With twenty fiue other Cardinals and Bishops, vnderwriting their seuerall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from these Priestly and Papall gratulations, let vs returne to leade our Story vnto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour *Charles* had beene entertained in King *Henries* Court, wee haue said, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, hee repaired to *Southampton*, where hee tooke his shippes for *Spaine*, whose conductor through the narrow Seas was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, who hauing wafted him vnto *Biscay* with a gallant crew of Gentlemen, made thence saile into *France*, and in *Britaine* besieged & wonne the strong Towne *Morlais*, and with the Garrison Souldiers of the Marches dayly bickered with the heart-burning French, and dayly went away with the better, but new stirres arreared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where hee declared to his Highnesse what hee had done in *Britaine*.

The Emperour departeth *England*.

The L. Admirall winneth *Morlais*

(43) King *Henries* businesse thus on foot in *France*, hee thought to pursue it with all the aduantage hee could, and first to find the Scots play, who were euer fast friends to the French, he sent the Lords *Rosse* and *Dacres* to secure the North-borders, appointing for his Lieutenant in those partes the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, and sent the Lord Admirall of *England* againe into *France*, who diuided his Army into three Battalions, the *first* whereof, was led by *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*; the *Middle*, the Earle conducted himselfe, with the assistance of his brother Lord *Edmund Howard*, and the *Rereward* was gouerned by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* both of them Knights of the Order, the Colonell of the horse was Sir *Edward Guilford*.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* Lieutenant of the North.

L. Admirall sent againe into *France*.

(44) These in September entred into the *French* Pale, and made toward the Castell of *Heding*, vnto whom ioined the Burgundians, sent from the Lady *Margaret* then Regent of *Flanders*, vnder whose colours serued many Spaniards; *Surrey* thus set forward, burned all things where he came, demolishing the Castles and Townes of *Sellies*, *Brumbridge*, *Senekerk*, *Botingham*, *Manstier*, *Nerbins*, *Dauerne*, *Culumberge* and *Fringes* the Townes and Churches fortified of *Boards*, *Vans*, and *Saint Mary de Bois*: but laying his siege against *Heding* was forced for want of battering peeces, to breake vp againe and depart: In whose returne hee burnt the Townes and Castels of *Dorlens* and *Darrier*, and comming to *Calleis*, set saile for *England* with a wonderfull great Booty.

Holinshed, p. 875.

The English make great spoiles in *France*.

(45) In this while the Duke of *Albanie* being made Gouernour of *Scotland* with an Armie of fourescore thousand drew vnto the Borders, whence hee sent into *France* for six thousand Almains, which were promised, and daily expected though in vain, for none came at all. The Earle of *Shrewsbury* with eight and twenty thousand strong, drew likewise towards the Borders, but the Scots lying still, without further inuasion, an abstinence from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the English kept, the sequell well shewed; for the King ordaining *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the whole *Marches*, he either refrained to impeach his honor by breach of truce, or else loth to be disquieted of his soft rest, made meanes to the King, to bee discharged of the office, which was forthwith bestowed (and thankefully accepted) vpon *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* lately returned out of *France*, who deliuered the charge of the East & Middle Marches vnto the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, and the West vnto the Lord *Dacres*, who presently made a road into *Scotland*, and returned with booty.

Polyd.

The Duke of *Albany* comes to the Borders.

A surceasse of warre.

Thomas Lord Admiral made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(46) *France* and *Scotland* thus assailed at once, a Parliament was assembled at *Blacke-Fryers* in *London*, wherein Cardinall *Wolsey* moued, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the yeerely reuenewes of all spirituall liuings, to bee paid for fiue yeeres continuance, and the tenth part of all temporall substance to maintaine this great charge of the King, for the exact collection whereof the Cardinall was so forward, as he moued, and would haue had euery man sworne for his wealth, had not the Citizens of *London* vtterly refused it; which when the King heard of, he was highly displeased with *Wolsey*, and said, that ere long hee would looke to thinges himselfe without any Substitute.

A great subsidie granted.

Polydor.

(47) Among other great esteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the least that the Emperour in person had twice come into *England* to visite him, and euen at this time *Christian* King of *Denmarke* with his Queene, vnto whom Queene *Katherine* was Aunt, landed at *Douer*, and was honourably brought vnto *London*, where they were royally feasted, and after two and twenty dayes intertainement, receiuing great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to *Flanders*, where hee remained as a banished man out of his owne Country.

The King and Queene of Denmarke come into *England*. *Edw. Hall*, f.

(48) King *Henry* purposing his further pursuits, sent a great Army into *France*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Suffolke Charles Brandon*, attended vpon by the Lords *Montacute*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Marneie*, *Sands*, *Barkley* and *Powis*, nineteen Knights, six hundred demi-lances, two hundred Archers horsed, three thousand more of them on foot, fiue thousand *Bill-men*, and seuenteene hundred Garrison Souldiers, with one thousand fiue hundred labourers and Pioners. These departing *Calleis*, first besieged, and wan *Bell-Castell*, and then entring *Picardy*, there ioyned vnto him three thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse of Almans and Spaniards; with these hee assayled, and tooke the Castell of *Bounegard*, wherein hee put Garrison, wanne *Braye*, *Roie*, *Lihome*, *Montdedier* and *Boghan*: but the winter come on, & the weather extream in wets and frosts, besides other wants euer following the Winters Warriers, the Duke was enforced to breake vppe Campe; and from *Calleis* came safely to the Court, where, vnto King *Henry* hee was very welcome, but much more vnto the French Queen his wife.

The Duke of Suffolke sent into *France*.

Places won the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The Duke of Suffolke returneth into *England*.

(49) The *Scotish* (as we haue said) keeping the Borders, and the *English* making inroades, where the places were weakest, the stirres betwixt them began daily to increase. In so much as the Duke of *Albany* sent a *Herauld* vnto the Earle of *Surrey* the Kings Lieutenant of the *North*, to offer him Battell, promising on his honour if he tooke him Prisoner, his ransome should be easie, and his person courteously dealt with; who returned as rough an answere,

Holinsh. pag. Duke *Albany* courteous

as the offer was kinde, saying *hee would abide Battell if he durst giue it, and if the Duke were taken either by him or his, hee would strike off his head and send it for a present to his Master the King of England.* So netled was the Earle against the French, that had raised *Albany* thus against *England*, and King *Henry* (as Bishop *Lesly* reporteth) tooke from the Scots inhabiting *England* all their goods, sending them into their Countrey on foote, with white Crosses sewed vpon their vppermost Garments by which they were knowne and suffered to passe. The Scots vpon the Earles answere were wonderfully enraged, and seeking the reuenge, some of them passed ouer the water, and hotly besieged the Castle of *Warke*, which the Englishmen as valiantly defended, and in their resistance slew almost three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retyring againe to their Campe.

(50) The Regent not able to digest the Earles pill, commanded his Armie to march forward into the English Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much reioiced, but the wiser of the Nobility vrged this in their Counsell, that hauing displaied in warlike manner, their Banners vpon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Countrey from the spoile, they saw no great reason further to proceed, no necessity or cause mouing, besides the Quarrell of the French: and therupon repayring to the Regent, they demanded why they should proceed further, alleadging that at his commandement (yea and that willingly) they had so farre passed, for the defence of their Countrey, which was sufficient without further inuasion of the others, the time so conuenient in the nonage of their young King, and the action so dangerous, wherein all the Peeres of *Scotland* were assembled, to attend and suffer the doubtfull issue of warre, which euer is vncertaine, and more losse in one battell many times suffred, then gaine can be gotten in manie: whereof too too lamentable experience (said they) we haue had by King *Iames*, that by peace and life, brought *Scotland* to her best, but by his warre and death almost to the worst, therefore would we know (said the Nobilitie) whether this your intent stands with the weale of the King and vs, or else is prosecuted in the cause of your selfe and the French.

(51) The Duke making some pause, lastly replied and said; "This question would haue beene "demanded ere now: for well you know, that from "*Scotland* I beare my name, honour and lineage, "haue passed the Seas from the noble Realme of "*France*, for the loue of my Countrey, to set you in "amity which were at dissention, by whose diuision "your Realm lay prostrate to destruction and Con"queste, for whose aid you see I haue procured the "French to ioine with you against the English. A"gaine, when these warres were determined by Par"liament, you made me your Captaine, authorizing "me to inuade *England* with Banner displaied, then "was no question or demand of the cause; neither "haue I entred the quarrell without your agree"ment; and therefore may I iustifie my present do"ings, and yet to me it seemeth there is cause suffici"ent, with fire, sword and blood, to enter *England*, "if we be not too forgetfull, and will submit our "selues to dishonour and reproach: for we all know "that the Realme of *Scotland* is ours by inheri"tance, and that portion of the world allowed to "our Nation to enioy; how can we warre better, "then to maintaine our naturall inheritance, against "which the *English* giue daily attempts, with man"slaughter, murthers, thefts and spoiles: haue we not "then (thinke you) iust cause to make warre? The de"fence of a kingdome, is the office of a king, the ho"nour of the Noble, the seruice of the Souldier, and "the duty of a naturall Subiect. But be it as you "will, yet hauing so puissant an armie to auoide our "owne reproach, and encouragement of the Ene"mie, let vs campe here still on the Borders till we "see what the English men intend.

(52) But *Margaret* Queene of *Scots* soliciting her brother for a peace, these stirres brake vp for a time, as those in *France* did shortlie after, by the working wit of *Cardinall Wolsey*, who in the State affaires was euer one, which made him the more emulated, and the grieuances of the commons euer cast vpon him; in so much that it was commonly spoken he was the causer of the heauy imposition granted to maintaine the kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subiects, as the paiment thereof was vtterly denied to the appointed Collectors, with weepings, Cursings, and great acclamations, yea and almost grew to an open rebellion: for *Kent* denied it to the Lord *Cobham*: *Essex* refused to commune with the commissioners: *Huntingtonshire* resisted, and would not heare them, *London* would be taxt by none but their *Aldermen*: and *Suffolke* rose vp in Armes, making pouerty their Captaine. Of these stirres when King *Henry* heard, he had great indignation, blaming the Counsellors, and wrote his letters vnto euery County, that no such demands should be paid: and the Cardinall to curry fauours with the Commons gaue it forth forsooth, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause; hee beganne to alienate the heart of King *Henry* against his Nephew the Emperor, and caused him to withhold pay from the Duke of *Burbon* his late made Generall: which was the cause of the *French* Kings Captiuity. For *Burbon* incamped within the Towne of *Pauia*, and besieged by the *French* in most warlike manner, was for want of his said pay so desperate of life, that hee attempted a most dangerous escape. In the dead of the night he set a part of his Company to assaile the enemy on that side of the Towne which was left strong, himselfe issuing secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side. The watch but slender and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besieger turned their Ordinance to the place of the crie, when as suddenly *Burbon* was at their backs, and winning their Ordinance discharged them against their owners, slew their souldiers, cut downe their Tents, and by the Vice-roye of *Naples* was the *French* King taken prisoner in the Field.

(54) This fortunate successe made these *Almaines* more bolde, who presently with the Imperiall Ensignes marched towards *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, vnto whose walles in one day they gaue three assaults, in the last whereof *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* their Generall was slaine; notwithstanding the City was taken and sacked; Pope *Clement* in the meane while, to make all sure as he thought, thundred out his Curses, and with Bell, Booke and Candle, committed those *Lutherans* to Hell, who neuertheless broke down that windy Bulwarke, and with great slaughter forced him with twentie three Cardinals, into the Castle of Saint *Angello*, where they kept them besieged from the sixt of May, vnto the tenth of December: in which time, in mocking of the Pope the souldiers to make solace, would apparell one in Pontificall attire, who somtime should blesse them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse-backe with a Whore set behind him should so passe the streets, that the Pope and Cardinals might see him. These contumelies and Papall Captiuities were grieuously taken by many Christian Princes, insomuch that *Caesar* in *Spaine* forbad all Enterludes to be plaid, and Pageants prepared for ioy of the birth of his sonne, Prince *Phillip*, to be pulled downe. In *France* by the Court of Parliament the Duke of *Burbon* was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes puld downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King *Henrie* of *England* answer the Emperours letters, wherein hee excused himselfe from hauing any hand in the action.

(55) Whilest

Margaret Queene of *Scotland* worketh a peace.

Cardinall *Wolsey* hated of the commons.

The Subsidy denied to be paid.

A.D. 1525. K. *Henry* falleth from the Emperour.

Guicchard.

Burbons desperat attempt.

The King of *France* taken prisoner.

Burbon marcheth toward *Rome*.

Burbon slaine.

Pope *Clement* and his Cardinals imprisoned.

Sleiden. Com. li. 6.

Charles the Emperour sore grieued at the Popes captiuity.

Troubles in *Ireland.*

(55) Whileſt theſe things were in working at *Rome*, aroſe great troubles in *Ireland*, the *Kerns* caſting off all obedience, and killing the Kings ſubiects where they found them: againſt whom *Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdome, made foorth his power, and followed them himſelfe with ſuch danger of life, that the viſor of his Helmet was ſhot off, as hee purſued the enemy through the deſert woods: but theſe Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed at one time againſt *Scotland* and *France*, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into *England*; and *Piers Butler Earle of Oſorie* made Deputie of *Ireland* in his ſtead; betwixt whom, and *Girald Fitz-Girald*, Earle of *Kildare*, whoſe ſiſter hee had married, aroſe no little ſtrife and debate, which grew to that height as King *Henry* ſent Commiſſioners to trie and examine the differences, which was ſo cleered on *Kildares* behalfe, that *Oſorie* was diſcharged of his Office, and the Lord *Fitz-girald* ſworne deputy in his place; whereat *Cardinal Wolſey* (whoſe hand chiefly ſteered all ſtates affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of *Kildare*) was highly offended, and to vndermine the foundations of this his new Gouernment, gaue eare vnto *Oſorie*, who accuſed the new deputie of many miſdemeanors, among which theſe were the principall; that he winked at *Deſmonds* eſcape whom he ſhould haue attached by order from the King: that he grew ouer familiar with the natiue Iriſh; and that he put to death the Kings beſt ſubiects: for theſe the Lord Deputie was commanded into *England*, in whoſe abſence *Oſory* his enemie was againe choſen Lord Deputie by the Kings Counſell, but himſelfe none of the wiſeſt for polliticke Gouernment, was altogether therein ruled by his wife, and ſhee made it no courteſie to abuſe her huſbands honour againſt her natural brothers folly: who now in *England* muſt anſwer his demeanour before the Lords of the Counſell, and to their Table was hee brought, where the Cardinall Lord Chauncellor made his faults nothing leſſe, and thus addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Earle of *Kildare*.

Holinſh. pag. 84.

Diſcention betwixt the Lord Deputies of *Ireland.*

Kildare accuſed to the Cardinall.

(56) "I wot well (my Lord) that I am not the "meeteſt at this boord to charge you with theſe "treaſons, becauſe it hath pleaſed ſome of your "Pew-fellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed ene-"my to all Nobilitie, and namely to the *Giraldines:* "but ſeeing euery ſhrewd boy can ſay as much when "he is controuled, and theſe points ſo weighty, that "they ſhould not be diſſembled of vs; and ſo appa-"rant, that they cannot be denied of you: I muſt "haue leaue (notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlander) to "be the mouth of theſe honourable Lords at this "preſent, and to trumpe your treaſons in your way, "howſoeuer you take me. Firſt you remember, how "the lewde Earle of *Deſmund* your kinſeman (who "paſſeth not whom he ſerueth might he change his "Maſter) ſent his Confederates with letters of cre-"dence vnto *Francis* the *French* King: and hauing "but cold comfort there, went to *Charles* the Em-"perour proffering the helpe of *Mounſter*, and *Co-"naught*, towards the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, if either "of them would helpe to win it from our King. How "many letters, what precepts, what meſſages, what "threats, haue beene ſent you to apprehend him "and yet not done? Why ſo? Forſooth I could not "catch him? Nay, nay Earle, forſooth you would "not watch him: If hee bee iuſtly ſuſpected, why "are you partiall in ſo great a charge? If not, why "are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it "will bee ſworne and depoſed to your face, that for "feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, "ſhunned his ſight, altered your courſe, warned "your friends, ſtopped both eares and eies, againſt "his detectors, and whenſoeuer you took vpon you "to hunt him out, then was he ſure afore hand to be "out of your walke. Surely, this iugling and falſe "play, little became either an honeſt man called to "ſuch houour, or a Noble man put in ſo great truſt:

The Cardinals ſpeech at the Counſell Table againſt *Kildare.*

"had you loſt but a Cow or a Horſe of your own, "two hundred of your retainers would haue come "at your Whiſtle to reſcue the prey from the vtter-"moſt edge of *Vlſter*: all the *Iriſh* in *Ireland* muſt "haue giuen you the way. But in purſuing ſo need-"full a matter as this was; mercifull God, how "nice, how dangerous, how wayward haue you "beene? One while hee is from home, and ano-"ther while hee keepeth home, ſometimes fled, "ſometimes in the Borders, where you dare "not venture. Ywiſſe, my Lord, there bee ſhrewd "bugges in the borders, for the Earle of *Kildare* to "feare; the Earle, nay the King of *Kildare*: for "when you are diſpoſed, you raigne more like then "rule in the land: where you are pleaſed the *Iriſh* "foe ſtandeth for a iuſt Subiect: hearts and hands, "liues and lands are all at your courteſie: who ſaw-"neth not thereon, cannot reſt within your ſmel, and "your ſmell ſo rancke, that you tracke them out at "pleaſure. Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour & at laſt brake out, and interrupted him thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals talk.

(57) "My Lord Chauncellor I beſeech you "pardon me, I am ſhort witted, and you I perceiue "intend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, half "my purgation wil be loſt for lack of carriage: I haue "no Schoole trickes, nor art of memory: except you "heare me while I remember your words, your ſe-"cond proceſſe will hammer out the former. The Lords aſſociate, who for the moſt part tenderly loued *Kildare*, and knew the Cardinall his manner of taunts ſo ready being inured therewith many yeeres together, humblie beſought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter vntill it were examined throughly.

The Lords order *Kildare.*

"(58) That granted: It is good reaſon (quoth the "Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this "boord: but my Lord, thoſe mouthes that put theſe "things into your mouth, are very wide mouthes: "ſuch indeed as haue gaped long for my wracke: "and now at length for want of better ſtuffe, are "faine to fill their mouthes with ſmoake: what my "Coſen *Deſmond* hath compaſſed, as I know not, ſo "I beſhrew his naked heart for holding out ſo long. "If he can be taken by mine agents that preſently "wait for him, then haue mine aduerſaries bewrai-"ed their malice: and this heape of heinous wordes "ſhall reſemble a ſcarre-Crow, or a man of ſtraw "that ſeemeth at a bluſh to carry ſome proportion, "but when it is felt and peized, diſcouereth a vanity "ſeruing onely to feare Crowes: and I verily truſt "your honours ſhall ſee the proofe by the thing it "ſelfe, within theſe few daies. But goe to: ſuppoſe he "neuer be had? What is *Kildare* to blame for it "more then my good brother of *Oſorie*, who, not-"withſtanding his high promiſes, hauing alſo the "Kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lea-"ſure? Cannot the Earle of *Deſmond* ſhift but I "muſt be of Counſell? Cannot he hide him except "I winke? If he be cloſe am I his mate? If he be frien-"ded am I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of accu-"ſation which they vrge againſt me, wherein they "are ſtabelled and mired at my firſt deniall. You "would not ſee him (ſay they): who made them ſo "familiar with mine eie-ſight? Or when was the "Earle within my view? Or who ſtood by when "I let him ſlip? Or where are the tokens of my "wilfull hudwinke? But you ſent him word to "beware of you: who was the meſſenger? Where "are the letters? Conuince my negatiues, ſee how "looſe this idle geare hangeth together. *Deſmond* is "not taken: well, you are in fault: why? Becauſe you "are: who proueth it? No body: What Conie-"ctures? So it ſeemeth: To whom? to your ene-"mies. Who told it them? They will ſweare it. "What other ground? None: Wil they ſweare it my "Lord? why then of like they know it, either they "haue mine hand to ſhew, or can bring forth the "meſſenger, or were preſent at a Conference, or pri-"uie

He anſwereth the Cardinals obiection.

"uie to *Desmond*, or some body bewraied it to them,
"or they themselues were my Carriers or vicege-
"rents therein: which of these parts wil they choose,
"for I know them too well: To reckon my selfe
"conuict by their bare wordes, or headlesse sayings,
"or franticke oathes, were but meere mockerie. My
"letters were soone read, were any such writing ex-
"tant, my seruants, and friends are ready to be sif-
"ted: of my Cosen of *Desmond* they may lie
"loudly, since no man here can well contrary
"them. Touching my selfe I neuer noted in
"them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue
"gaged on their silence the life of a good hound,
"much lesse mine owne: I doubt not, may it please
"your honors to appose them, how they came to
"the knowledge of those matters which they are so
"ready to depose: but you shall find their tongues
"chained to another mans trencher, and as it were
"Knights of the Post, suborned to say, sweare and
"stare the vttermost they can, as those that passe not
"what they say, nor with what face they say it, so
"they say no truth: but on the other side, it grieueth
"mee, that your good Grace, whom I take to bee
"wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposi-
"tion wisheth mee well, should bee so farre gone in
"crediting these corrupt Informers that abuse the
"ignorance of your state and Country to my peril.
"Little know you (my Lord) how necessary it is,
"not onely for the Gouernour, but also for euery
"Nobleman in *Ireland*, to hamper the vnciuill
"neighbours at discretion, wherein if they waited
"for processe of law, & had not those liues and lands
"you speak of within their reach, they might hap to
"loose their own liues & lands without law. You
"hear of a case, as it were in a dream, & feele not the
"smart that vexeth vs. In *England* there is not a mean
"Subiect that dare extend his hand to fillip a Peere
"of a realm: In *Ireland* except the Lord haue cunning
"to his strength, and strength to saue his Crowne,
"and sufficient authority to take theeues and varlets
"when they stir, he shall find them swarme so fast
"that it will bee too late to call for iustice. If you
"will haue our seruice take effect, you must not
"tie vs alwayes to these iudiciall proceedings wher-
"with your Realme (thanked be God) is inured.
"Touching my kingdome, I know not what your
"Lordshippe should mean thereby; If your Grace
"imagine that a Kingdome consisteth in seruing
"God, in obeying the Prince, in gouerning with
"loue the common wealth, in supporting subiects,
"in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in bride-
"ling blind affections, I would bee willing to bee
"inuested with so vertuous and roial a name: but if
"therfore you tearm me a King, in that you are per-
"swaded that I repine at the gouernmēt of my soue-
"raign, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuil li-
"uers: I vtterly disclaim that odious term, maruelling
"greatly that one of your Graces profound wisdom
"would seeme to appropriate so sacred a name to so
"wicked a thing: but howsoeuer it bee (my Lord)
"I would you and I had changed Kingdomes, but
"for one moneth, I would trust to gather vppe
"more crummes in that space, then twice the reue-
"newes of my poore Earledome: but you are well
"and warme, and so hold you, and vpbraide not
"mee with such an odious terme. I slumber in a
"hard Cabine, when you sleepe in a soft bedde of
"Downe: I serue vnder the Kings Cope of hea-
"uen, when you are serued vnder a Canopie: I
"drinke water out of my skull when you drinke
"wine out of golden cups: my Courser is trained
"to the field, when your Gennet is taught to am-
"ble: when you are graced & belorded, & crouched
"and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our
"Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these girds the Lord Chancellor much fretted, and finding *Kildare* to bee no babe, deferred the hearing of his cause, till more proofes were produced from *Ireland*; then in a great fume hee arose from the Councell board, and committed the Earle vnto prison, against the minds of most at the Table, who knew well, that this his accusation was more of hatred borne by the Cardinall, then any occasion giuen by the accused late Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* stept to the King, and craued that *Kildare* might bee his prisoner, offering to bee bound in goods and body for his forth coming, whom hee obtained, though with no great liking of the L. Chancellor, who daily entertaind new plaints against him, till at last hee pressed him sore with letters sent to *Oneale* and *Oconor*, to encourage their rebellions against *Osorie* the Lord Deputy; which letters were brought them by his own daughter and their sisters, the Lady *Elice Fitzgirald* wife to the Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare committed to prison.

Kildare accused for suborning of Traitors.

(59) This presumption being vehement, the King suspitious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends faint, *Kildare* was sent to the Tower, where he committed himselfe to God, and expected dayly his death, but with such couragious resolution, as hee being in play with the Lieutenant at slide-groat, when the mandate was brought for his execution on the next morning, and seeing the Lieutenant strucke into a suddaine sadnesse; by Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is some madde game in that scrowll; but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle: and when the worst was told him, now I pray thee (quoth he) doe no more but learne assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Highnesse be witting thereto or no; the Lieutenant louing his prisoner well, repaired to the King, and shewed him the Cardinals warrant, who then controuled the sawcines of the Priest (for those were his tearmes) and gaue the Lieutenant his Signet for a countermand, whereat the Cardinall stormed, but *Kildare* deliuered from his eminent death, and not long after from his imprisonment also, was sent into *Ireland*, where at his entrance into *Dublin*, he was met with a solemne procession, and so brought into the City; so welbeloued was this Earle abroad, and at home,

Kildare committed to the Tower.

Kildares noble courage. *Holinshed. Hist. of Ireland.*

Kildar receiued into *Dublin* with procession.

(60) But the French Kings fortunes were nothing so good, who was straitly imprisoned at *Madrill* in *Spaine*, and great suite made for his deliuerance, which notwithstanding would not be heard. The Queene mother then Regent of *France*, wise of her selfe, and forwarded by others, saw no better means to free her sonne the King, then to enter amity with *England*, which to accomplish, she solicited King *Henry*; working vpon the occasions then ministred, which was some vnkindnesse growne betwixt the English King, and the Emperour, the one of them more strange by the greatnesse of his fortunes, and the other in iealousie of lessening renowne. The sparkes of which Cinders were steared to flame, by *Wolsey* that euer was in the eare of the King: alleadging his potency, so much esteemed of all Christian Princes (a sound very tunable in *Henries* wide eare) would bee lesse regarded by the Emperours late victory; who now beganne to carry himselfe with another respect, and neuer after that victory gotten subscribed his letters to King *Henry*, according to his accustomed manner, *your Sonne and Cosen*; but to the draught of his Secretaries, infixed his hand with the word *Charles* and no more.

The French king imprisoned at *Madril*. *Guichard*.

Queene mother soliciteth King *Henry*.

Dislikes betwixt the Emperour and K. *Henry*.

(61) These dislikes and other intercourses of State, drew *Henry* shortly to a peace with *France*. In the exemplification of which league the Venetians, and other Princes were left to their choise, whereof himselfe notwithstanding would bee stiled the Protector. And to his leaguer Ambassadors sent these instructions to moue the States to consider the Emperours aspired greatnesse, who now commanded the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*; the Dutchie of *Millan*, the Seigniorie of *Ioan*, the Countie of *Asti*, and other possessions in *Italie*, the whole Country of *Germany*, being the greatest part of Christendome, already either totally in his

Peace betwixt *England* and *France*.

Sighed with his owne hand, in Ann. 1526.

The great Dominions of the Emperour.

possession, or facilly might bee at his command, hauing likewise the lower parts thereof, as the Countries of *Artoys*, *Flanders*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Henault* and others; from the which also a direct passage lay vnto the Dutchie of *Burgonie*, *Auernie* and *Burbon*, besides the Realmes of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Granate*, *Galice*, *Asturia*, *Perpynyon*, *Russinian*, and other parts of *Spaine*; whereupon hee with some other Princes complained, and sought the French Kings deliuerance, which when it was gotten, King *Frances* acknowledged *Henry* next vnder God to bee the onely meanes: * but was so slacke in performance of Couenants, that when the Emperour sent to haue them accomplished, he with vnpriucely termes returned the answere, with challenge of combate, which when the Emperour had accepted, hee shrunke backe, and made meanes of a league.

* Sleidan. com. l. 6

(62) But howsoeuer the vnconstancy of our king *Henry* hath beene blanched forth for not holding himselfe in his leagues or couenants of amity with other Princes; yet the cause being so as some haue obserued, there were occasions giuen aswell as oportunity taken: for *Charles* the Emperour contrary to couenant receiued *Grancetor* a tatterous rebell condemned by Parliament, whom hee refused to deliuer, though the King made earnest suit for the man. Moreouer by his Ambassadors in a Treaty of perpetuall peace; holden at *Windsor* Castell, the nineteenth of *Iune*, and foureteenth of King *Henries* raigne; it was concluded that *Charles* the Emperour should contract the young Princesse the Lady *Mary*, and take her to his wife, when shee came to able yeeres, which (as *Holinshed* saith) himselfe sought, at his being in *England*, promising to remaine vnmarried, till that Princesse had past her Minority, and againe before the battell of *Pauia* (she now growne vnto sixe yeeres of age) sent his Ambassadors to haue her stiled Empresse, and to bee made Gouernesse of the low Countries; all this notwithstanding after that victory against the French King, hee beganne to recall, and to make small account of that match, pretending the desire of his subiects to haue an heire of his body, which for long time hee could not by Lady *Mary*; but rather as the *English* iudged, the cause was the money receiued in loane from King *Henry*, whereby (as hee thought) the greatest part of her portion was already paid; and the Emperours wants being great, * *Isabel* the sister of *Portingall* was much affected: with whom plenty of gold was expected, and great liberality offered by the Emperials in desire to haue an Empresse of their owne Nation.

Alls and *Mon.* p. 1239. Occasions of king *Henries* displeasure.

A.D. 1522.

Holinshed in An. 18 Hen. 8.

Mary styled Empresse.

The Emperours excuse for not taking Lady *Mary* to wife.

* The daughter of *Emanuel*, and sister to *Iohn*, both of them Kings of *Portingall*.

(63) Besides, against this marriage with *Mary*, his Counsell of *Spaine* also excepted, alleadging her to bee begot of his brothers wife, whereby her legitimation might bee called in question, as also the issue of her body, which they in their wisdom thought meet to preuent; these no doubt were the causes that the negotiation of these two Potentates grew daily more desperate. And for his falling off from the French King, these occasions may well bee alleadged.

Alls and *Mon.* pag 1192.

Lady *Maries* legitimation called in question.

(64) That whereas it had beene couenanted at the marriage of Lady *Mary* vnto King *Lewis* departed this life, one hundred thousand Crowns should bee paid to King *Henry*, and thirty two thousand Crownes yeerely for her Dowry, during terme of life; both which notwithstanding were retained and kept backe vnpaid. 2. That the said French King had listned vnto Cardinall *Poole*, who was sent to him from the Pope to stirre warres against *England*. 3. That contrary to his Couenant hee had entred alliance with the house of *Medicis*, and had married his daughter *Magdalen* vnto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, then an hostile enemy vnto King *Henry*. 4. That hee had made suit to match his second sonne *Henry* Duke of *Orleance*, with Lady *Mary*, the onely then Heire apparant of *England*, which when it came to conclusion, was put in suspence by *Anthonie Vescie* one of his French Commissioners, who then made doubt whether the marriage of her mother being wife to the Kings owne brother, could bee dispensed with, or the Children begot in this second bed legitimate, or by law allowed to succeed in the throne.

The occasions King *Henry* had against *France*.

Alls and *Mon.* p. 1239.

Obiection of French for Lady *Maries* legitimation.

(65) These considerations no doubt drew the King to bee vnconstant to them that were vnconstant in themselues, and the question of Lady *Maries* legitimation serued such doubts in his melting conscience, as neuer after could be made sollid: whereof Doctor *Longland* his Confessor, is said to bee the first man which told the King that his marriage was vnlawfull, vnto whose opinion other great Clerkes did likewise consent; whereupon a rumor ran that the King would be diuorced from the Queene, and the occasion thereof altogether cast vpon the Cardinall of *Yorke*, in displeasure taken against the Emperour, vnto whome hee had beene suiter for the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*; whereof failing, hee reuenged his spleene vpon his innocent Aunt Queene *Katherine*, in mouing the King to cast her off, and to become Suiter vnto the Dutchesse of *Alenzon*, sister vnto the French King; these rumors King *Henry* himselfe forbad; but with no better successe then was the report of Queene *Annes* death, the wife of the Vsurper; both euents following before the mouthes of those relaters could be stopped; vnto which lamentable accident my penne must now enter.

King *Henry* in doubt of his marriage.

Iohn Stow.

Cardinal ded with the Emperour.

Polyd. Verg. Io. Stow.

(66) King *Henry* ouercome by the aduise of his Councell (lest so great a Dowry assigned should indammage *England*, if Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* married elsewhere) presently vpon the death of his father, and not fully forty dayes after he had begunne his raigne (by the dispensation of Pope *Iuly* the second) tooke her to wife, shee hauing beene wedded and bedded with Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as wee haue said.

Tho. Mor.

King Henrie marriage of in question.

(67) This match made by king *Henry* the seuenth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* their parents, Prince *Henry* hauing then attained but to tenne yeeres of age, when he came to foureteene, proscribed against it, as by a deed vnder his own hand, I haue here inserted, the tenor thereof faithfully translated out of Latine, is thus as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. In the presence of you reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Richard* by the grace of God, and See Apostolike, Bishoppe of *Winchester*. I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* doe say, affirme, and by these Writings declare; That although in the time of my Minority, and when I was vnder yeares of marriage, I absolutely contracted matrimony with the most vertuous Lady *Katherine*, daughter of the King of *Spaine*, and although also the saide Contract by reason of my being vnder age, doth now appeare of it selfe insufficient, weake, and of no force, vigour, or efficacie: yet forasmuch as that now I am come to perfect yeeres, and that thereby the said Contract may peraduenture bee thought & seeme, by silent consent, mutuall abode in one house, by giuing and receiuing gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoeuer, to bee apparantly sufficient, and confirmed: Therefore I *Henry* Prince of *Wales* doe here protest, and make knowne to all men that I intend not to approue, ratifie, or confirme in any sort this pretended contract by any thing that I haue said or shall say, haue done, or shall doe: but do at this present renounce the same, freely, and of mine owne accord, vnconstrained either by force, fraude, entreaty, or any way else: and I deny it, and wholy purpose and intend, quite to relinquish this pretended contract of Matrimony by the best wayes and meanes that by law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I may or shall bee able to doe: and expresly doe disauow the same, according as by these presents I doe disclaime it, and disauow it; and I protest that I nei-

Prince Henry disclaimed the contract.

I neither will nor intend to consent vnto the said Contract, or vnto the said Lady *Katherine* as my espousall and wife, by any word, deede, act, or gesture to be spoken, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoeuer, whensoeuer, or howsoeuer for the time to come. In witnesse whereof I desire, require, entreate, and adiure you all to giue testimonie heereunto.

By me Henry *Prince of* Wales.

The aboue written Protestation was read and made by the aforesaid Noble Prince Lord Henrie, in the presence of the reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord Richard *by diuine permission Bishop of Winchester, sitting iudiciously in his Court; and I the Notary vnderwritten, at that time present, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the presence of the vnder-named witnesses: in the yeare of our Lord God,* 1505. *the eight Indiction of the most holy See, of our father and Lord in Christ, by diuine prouidence Pope Iulius the second, in his second yeere, and* 27. *of the moneth of Iune, in which day the saide worthy Prince was of perfect yeeres of marriage, as then he did there affirme: in a certaine outward Court within the royall Palace of Richmond, situate in the West-part of the said Palace: Concerning all and singular which things, the aforesaid most noble Prince instantly required and entreated me the aforesaid Notarie to frame an instrument, and likewise the witnesses vnderwritten to giue testimonie. In iustification of all and singular the premisses, the aforesaid Noble Prince hath superscribed his name; and the witnesses as aforesaid entreated and required haue subscribed their names, with their owne hands.*

Miles Daubney.
C. Sommerset.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicolas West.
Harry Mainy.

So it is as aboue said which I *Iohn Read* doe witnesse by my hand and Seale.

The second protestation when he came to yeeres of marriage.

Notwithstanding this prescription foure yeeres after, and the first of his raigne, hee tooke the said Lady *Katherine* to wife; and without all exception enioied her nuptial society the space almost of twenty yeeres; in which time shee had borne him two sonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one daughter Lady *Mary* growne now vnto tenne yeeres of age. But the scruple of Conscience increasing more tender in the Kings breast, he first refused the Queenes bed; and then mouing the doubt vnto his owne Diuines, sent for the opinions of the most Vniuersities in *Europe*, as to *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Bononie*, *Burges*, *Anion*, *Padua*, *Tolouz*, *Vincentia*, *Vauia*, *Foro*, *Iuly*, and others, which howsoeuer they then stood for the Pope, and hee allowing (by his Predecessors dispensation whose doing could not erre) the Matrimonie lawfull, yet these Academickes concluded against it, and signified the contrarie vnder most of their common Seales as the relation of the Kings Agent imploied vpon the same purpose for that of *Padua* doth import, which writing vnder his owne hand I haue seene, and heere wil insert his words, as followeth.

Pleaseth it your Highnesse to bee aduertised, that as this day I obtained the Common Seale of the vniuersity of Padua in substantiall and good forme; for all the Doctors were assembled vpon Sunday, and the case was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highnesse, and desired a Notary to set his signe and hand vnto an instrument by Leonicus and Symeoncus deuised in Corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testifie that this instrument was their deed, deuise, act and conclusion. And more credence to be giuen to the said instrument they caused the Chancellor of the Potestate here to set his hand and seale for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Coppy of all the which things I send vnto your Highnesse by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be aduertised that the Generall of the Blacke Friers hath giuen commandement that no Blackefrier dispute the Popes Power: Notwithstanding Prior Thomas Omnibonus procureth daily new superscriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commandement shall come vnto his hands. My fidelity bindeth me to aduertise your Highnesse that all Lutherans bee vtterly against your Highnesse in this cause, and hath letted as much with their wretched poore malice without reason or authority, as they could and might, as well heere as in Padua and Ferrara, where bee no small company of them: I doubt not but all Christian Vniuersities if they bee well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highnesse. And to obtaine their assent as well through Italie, France, Almaine, Austrich, Hungary and Scotland, I think it maruellous expedient for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause.

The Lutherans against K. Henries diuorce.

At Venice the first of Iuly at night, *Anno* 30.

And in another letter dated from *Venice* the *xiii.* of Iuly the said Agent thus writeth. *I haue procured vnto your Highnes as appeareth by the Originals being in my hand alone, the Subscriptions of an hundred Diuines, beside the conclusion* Collegij Theologorum Pacamnet. *vnder their common Seale, whereof I haue sent your Highnesse a Copy, &c.*

Now as touching their determinations, these are the abstractiues taken out of larger discourses, whereof you may reade, if you please more in *Hollinshed*:

The decree of the Lawiers in the Vniuersity of *Paris*.

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniuersity of Paris, after many disputations and reasons, made vpon both sides, turning and searching of Bookes, both by the Law of God, the Popes Law and the Ciuill Law, we say, that the Pope hath no Power to dispense in this case of Matrimony. Yeouen vnder the Seale of their faculty at Saint Iohn Lateranense in Paris, May 2. 1530.

The Iudgement of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of Paris.

The Deane and the faculty of holy Diuinity in the Vniuersity of Paris to all them to whom this present writing shall come, wisheth safety in Christ; For the Question proposed we came together in the Church of Saint Martin, and there for the same cause had a solemne Masse of the Holy Ghost, and vpon our oathes determine, that the foresaid Marriage with the Brothers wife departing without children is so forbid by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispence with such Marriages, whether they be contract or to be contracted; to which this our assertion we haue caused the Seale of our faculty, with our Notaries signe to be put to this present writing. Dated in our Generall Congregation. July 2. *Anno* 1530.

The determination of the Ciuilians of the Vniuersity of Aniou.

After wee the Doctors and Rector had discussed and examined many places aswell of the Law of God as of mans Law, vpon sufficient deliberation taken, wee define and determine, that neither by the Law of God nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Christian man, no not with the authority of the See Apostolike, or with any dispensation granted by the Pope to marry the wife that his brother hath left. In witnesse whereof wee haue commanded the Scribe of our Vniuersity to signe this present publike instrument with the great Seale of our said Vniuersity.

Enacted

Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Anion. May 7. Anno 1530.

The Determination of the Vniuersity of Burges.

We the Deane and facultie of Diuinity, in the Vniuersity of Burges, after the example of Saint Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quieting of the conscience, to whom this our writing shall come; the Question moued is whether the brother taking the wife of his dead brother, the marriage consummated, and perfect, be a thing lawfull or no. We by much labour and turning of Bookes, euery one of vs a part by himselfe, free from corruption, the better to obey the truth, finde it forbidden by the Leuiticall law which is Gods, and that such marriage is an abhominable discouering of his brothers shame, which cannot be allowed by the authority of any man: which our determination we haue caused to be signed with the seale of our faculty, the tenth day of Iune, and yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The opinions of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of *Bonony*.

All wee Doctors of Diuinity in this Vniuersity, vnto whom this Question was propounded, whether it was forbidden only by the Ordinance of the Church, or else by the Law of God, that a man might not marry the left wife of his brother departed without children, and hauing examined the matter euery one of vs alone, lastly came altogether, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought forth the reasons for the contrary part, with those of the most Reuerend Father Cardinall Caietaine, yea and of the dispensation for raising vp seed to his brother, spoken of in Deuteronomie; thus we determine, giue iudgement, and say, and confidently doe hold and witnes that such marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vppon, and vtterly abhominable, not only for a Christian man, but for an Infidel vnfaithfull or heathen: and that it is prohibited vnder greeuous paines and punishments by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man, and that the Pope, though he may doe much, vnto whom Christ gaue the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, hath no power to a dispensation to anie man to contract such marriage: In witnes whereof we confirme this our iudgement, both vnder the Seale of our Vniuersity, as also with the Seale of our Colledge of Doctors of Diuinity, and haue subscribed it in the Cathedrall Church of Bonony this tenth of Iune, the yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Padua.

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambassadors did humbly require of vs, that wee would vouchsafe to search out with all diligence this question following, whether to marry the wife of our brother departed without children is forbidden onely by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of God also: and if forbid by both the Lawes, whether the Pope may dispence with any man for such Matrimony or no? which Question we haue discussed and as farre as we can, haue made it cleere, both priuate euery man by himselfe and after al together openly; we say, iudge, decree, witnesse, and for truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage: yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euery Christian man, and to be abominate as a greeuous sinne, and that it is cleerely forbidden vnder cruell penalty by the Lawes of nature, of God, and of man, and that the Pope vnto whom the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen are committed by Christ the Sonne of God hath no power to dispense by the right of Law for any cause, suggestion, or excuse, that any such Matrimony should be contracted. In witnesse whereof wee haue made this writing, and haue authorized it, with the accustomed Seale of our Vniuersity, dated at Padua in the Church of the Heremites of Saint Augustine the first of Iuly, and yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Tholouze.

It was treated in our Vniuersity of Tholouze: whether it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had beene wife to his brother now departed, and without children: as also whether the Pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke allowing it by his dispensation, it be lawful: to resolue which, the best Doctors of Diuinity, and the Laws, did sweare that they would obey the sacred Counsels, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers, and falling to conclusion stucke fast vpon this point, that it is lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, nor by the Law of nature, to take her to wife that his brother hath left: neither can the Pope dispence with this law of God: as touching the commandement in Deuteronomy that the brother should marry his wife to raise vp seede vnto him, that his name should not perish among the Tribes of Israel, we answere that that Law was but a shadow and figure of things to come, which vanished away as soon as the substance of the Gospell appeared. Thus haue we giuen our sentence, which wee haue signed with our Authenticall Seale of this Vniuersity. Teouen at Tholouze, the Calends or first day of October, the yeere of our Lord, 1530.

These and many more were read by the Lord Chauncellor vnto the lower house of Parliament that they might report in their countries, the Kings iust cause of diuorse. To forward which (as was thought) Cardinall *Wolsey* the said Lord Chancellor was sent Ambassadour into *France*, laden with Crownes, as *Guicchardine* saith, and with surpassing Pompe as *London* beheld, who with 900. Horse passed the Bridge toward *Doner*, and so into *France*.

Guicchard. Rich. Tho. G. Cass.

But rumors in *England* still spreading of the good Queens diuorse, about a yeere after, K. *Henry* to satisfie all, sent for his Nobles, his Councellers, Iudges, and many wise Commoners vnto whom he made a most pithy Oration, shewing them with what "care he had ruled almost twenty yeeres with ho- "nour and victory, which as he said, would shortly "be clouded, if he should die and leaue them a liti- "gious Heire, examples he shewed of the wofull ex- "perience of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, in whose dissenti- "ons the Realme was like to haue beene vtterly de- "stroied: and although (saith he) we haue a daugh- "ter to the great comfort of her mother and me, "yet it is told vs by great Clearkes, our marriage is "not lawful, but that she stands in case of illegitima- "tion; and we both, are said to liue in abomina- "ble Adultery; thinke you (my Lords) that these "words doe not touch my very soule, the perill "whereof we venture, as you doe also your inheri- "tance, for which cause I haue asked counsell of the "greatest Clearkes in Christendome, and haue like- "wise heard the opinion of mine owne. But as tou- "ching the Queene, if it bee iudged by the Law of "God that she is my lawfull wife, there shall be no- "thing more acceptable vnto mee, whose noble "conditions, I assure you, (besides her great "Parentage) is most gentle, louing and obedient, "whereof I haue had a true experience almost these "twenty yeeres: and were I to choose a wife (if the "marriage might stand with Gods Law) my Choise "should be of her, before any other woman in the "world, and if it shall otherwise be prooued, I shall "not onely be most sorrowfull for parting with so "louing a companion, but much more haue occasi- "on to lament my chaunce, and life in so foule a sin; "these then are the sores that torments my minde, "for the sauing of my soule, and for which cause I "haue heere assembled you, that you may declare "to our louing Subiects this our true meaning, and "to stay if it may be the rumors of vnstaied reports: and this being said, he let them to depart, each man bewraying in countenance the affection of his mind, some pitying the King to see him so perplexed, some fauouring the *Queene* sorrowed her case, and some sighed

A.D. 15

The King's C tion to his N bility.

Edward Ha

The King plaint.

The cours dation of Q Katherine.

sighed deepely at this strange speech and sudden alteration.

(68) But the *Cardinall* of *Yorke* fearefull to wade too farre alone in these troubled waters, desired the assistance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings licence, which with his Legatine authority, commanded many learned men both Diuines & Lawyers, from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the presence of many Bishoppes besides. These assembled at *London*, were shewed the Instruments and Seales of many forraine vniuersities; all of them disabling the marriage, and holding the dispensation (allowing it) vnlawfull: but because that string could not bee touched without sound of reproch to the Pope, as also to cleare the King from calumnious reports; it was thought fittest to send the saide instruments to *Rome*, whereunto these so appointed set their owne seales, with an humble request to his Holinesse, that an indifferent Iudge might be sent them, to determine this great and strange cause of the King; which was so followed by his Ambassadors in the Popes Court, that *Laurence Campeius* a Cardinall of great credite and wisdome, from their Consistory was sent into *England*, vnto whom, wise *Wolsey* Cardinall of *Yorke* was ioined in commission, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cause pleaded, & to giue sentence definitiue, as they found the equity of law.

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordained at the Blacke-fryers in *London*, and the King with the Queene remoued themselues vnto his palace of *Bridewell* neere adioining, whence ere long they were summoned by Processe personally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, hauing seueral seates ordained vnder clothes of estate, mounted somewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Presidents, vnder whose feet sate the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Consistory-wise, was furnished with Bishoppes, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counsellors, in most solemne wise: the Doctors for the King, were *Simpson* and *Bell*, and his Proctors *Peter* and *Tregonell*: for the Queene were *Fisher*, *Standish*, and *Ridley*, a very little man but a great Diuine, the Court thus set, and Commission read, the Cryer called the King, by the name of King *Henry* to come into the Court, who forthwith answered and said, Here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court, who made no answere at all, but presently rose vp, and going about the Court to the King, fell down on her knees, before his feet, and in the hearing of the people spake thus in effect.

"Sir, I desire you to take some pitty vpon mee, "and doe mee Iustice and Right: I am a poore wo- "man, a stranger borne out of your Dominions, "hauing here no indifferent Councell, and lesse as- "surance of friendshippe. Alasse, wherein haue I "offended, or what cause of displeasure haue I gi- "uen, that you intend thus to put mee away? I take "God to my Iudge, I haue beene to you a true and "humble wife, euer conformable to your will and "pleasure, neuer gaine-saying any thing wherein "you tooke delight, without all grudge or discon- "tented countenance; I haue loued all them that lo- "ued you, howsoeuer their affections haue beene "to mee ward, I haue borne you children, and bin "your wife now this twenty yeers, of my virginity "and marriage bed, I make God and your own "conscience the Iudge, and if it otherwise bee pro- "ued, I am content to bee put from you with "shame. The King your Father in his time for wis- "dome was knowne to bee a second *Salomon*, and "*Ferdinando* of *Spaine* my Father, accounted the "wisest among their Kings; could they in this "match bee so farre ouerseene, or are there now "wiser and more learned men, then at that time "were? surely, it seemeth wonderfull to mee that "my marriage after twenty yeeres should bee thus "called in question with new inuention against me "who neuer intended but honesty. Alasse Sir, I "see I am wronged, hauing no Counsell to speake "for me, but such as are your Subiects, and cannot "bee indifferent vpon my part. Therefore I most "humbly beseech you, euen in Charity to stay this "course, vntill I may haue aduise and counsel from "*Spaine*; if not, your Graces pleasure be done. And thereto withall rising, and making lowly obeysance to the King, departed thence, leaning vpon the Arme of her receiuer, each man expecting shee had returned to her seat, when as shee tooke directlie out of the place; which being perceiued, the Cryer againe called her by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court; Madam quoth her guid, you are againe called; on, on, said shee, it maketh no matter, this is no indifferent Court for me; therfore goe forward.

Queene *Katherine* departed the Court.

(70) The King perceiuing that she was departed, presently spake thus vnto the assembly. "I will "(quoth hee) in her absence declare before you all, "that shee hath beene to mee a most true, obedient "and comfortable wife, endued with all vertuous "qualities and conditions, according to her birth; "and in lowlinesse equals any of baser estate. With that Cardinall *Wolsey* made vnto the King an humble request, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to declare before that honourable audience, whether hee had beene the causer of this his intended diuorce, wherewith hee was charged in the opinions of the people.

The Kings report of his Queene.

"My Lord Cardinall quoth the King, I can well "excuse you in this, and rather affirme that you "haue beene against mee, in attempting it thus far: "but the chiefest motiue for this matter, was the "scruple of conscience, conceiued vpon certaine "words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon*, the French "Ambassador, sent from the King to conclude a "marriage betwixt Prince *Henry* his second sonne, "Duke of *Orleance*, and our onely daughter Lady "*Mary*, which Bishoppe made doubt, and desired "respite to bee satisfied for the legitimation of our "said daughter, in respect of our marriage with this "woman, being my owne brothers wife, which pre- "sently engendred such scruples and doubts in me, "that my conscience hath beene continually vexed, "lest by continuing in that sinne after knowledge, I "draw Gods indignation against me, which I feare "wee haue already done in that hee hath sent vs no "Issue male, and them that were begot in this nup- "tiall bed, no sooner came into the world, but were "taken againe thence, and hopelesse now of more "issue by her, it behoueth me to consider the state "of this Realme, and the danger that may follow "for lacke of a lawfull Prince to succeed. This bur- "den too weighty for my weake conscience (not in "any dislike of the Queenes age, or person, with "whom I desire onely to continue, if our marriage "may stand with the law of God) I haue in this "place assembled you our graue Prelates, and lear- "ned Diuines, to determine of, and will God wil- "ling submit my selfe to your iudgements. My "doubts in this case I moued in confession to you "my Lord of *Lincolne*, and ghostly father, whereof "your selfe being somwhat trobled, said you would "aske counsell of you all my Lords. Then of you "my Lord of *Canterbury* being Metropolitane, I got "licence to put the matter in question, to which "grant you all put your seales, as here in this Court "the same is to bee seene. True it is, said the Lord of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not but that all my bre- thren here present will acknowledge the same. Not so my Lord said the Bishoppe of *Rochester*, you neuer had my hand to that Instrument, nor neuer shal. Indeed said *Canterbury* you did it not your selfe, but admitted mee to subscribe your name, and allowed mee your Seale; vnder your correction said *Roche- ster* that is not so; Well, well, (quoth the King) you are but one man, against whom at this time we will not dispute, and so rose vp, and the Court adiourned

The King excuseth the Cardinall.

King *Henries* conscience and care.

The Bishoppe of *Rochester* contradicteth the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The second sitting of the Court in Blacke Fryers.

vntill another day. Which was vpon the next following, and twenty of May; the two Cardinals being set, the Lawyers were ready vpon either parts. Against the lawfulnesse of the marriage was alleadged the other formerly solemnized with Prince *Arthur*, the Kings elder brother, and the nuptiall knowledge of Lady *Katherines* body, which was vehemently prosecuted by the Kings learned Councell, by many reasons and likelihood of truth: one was, that Prince *Henry* had beene deferred from creation and title of Prince of *Wales*, the space of sixe monethes after *Arthurs* decease, as doubtfull whether Lady *Katherine* had beene by him conceiued with child; for which cause as was alleadged the saide Lady had procured a second Bull from the Pope, with this toleration, *vel forsan cognitam, and peraduenture carnally knowne:* which Bull was onely purchased to dispence with this marriage. That she was carnally knowne, was vrged the report of his Chamberlaine, vpon certaine wordes spoken by Prince *Arthur* the first morning that hee rose from her bed.

Fox Mar. p. 1194

Holinshed. p. 913.

Reasons to disproue the marriage.

Edward Hall.

(71) The Negatiues denied all the presumptions, and this last, too farre vnbeseeming that reuerent assembly and honourable Court. But by these Authenticall Records which M. *Fox* had in his custody, the matter is past all contradiction for her carnall knowledge, where it is affirmed that the Ambassadors of *Ferdinando*, being in *England* to see the same mariage consummated, returned their knowledge of their mutuall coniunction, as that nothing was left vnperformed of any nuptiall right, and they being of yeeres able to explete the Act, hee aboue fifteene, and shee aboue seuenteene, laide both in one bed almost fiue monethes together, doe assure vs the certainety of that, which they made their greatest doubt, vnlesse the Popes dispensation was a Core to the cause. But that shee was carnally knowne the Vniuersity of *Padua* had concluded in their sentence, whom the Emperors Ambassadors earnestly solicited, either to retract their said grant, or to giue forth a new sentence vpon the case that the Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illustrissimo Principe Arthuro*, or to determine that this Matrimony was not *dirimendum*, which in no wise they could obtaine though they offered very largely to haue it done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded, but nothing concluded touching the diuorce; wherupon the King sent the two Cardinals to perswade with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to himselfe, which would bee farre better, and more honourable for her, then to stand to the tryall of law.

Great presumptions that Qu. *Katherine* had been carnally known by Prince *Arthur*.

Ex MS. by the Kings Agent.

The Emperour sought to reuert the sentence of *Padua*.

The two Cardinals perswade the Queene.

(72) These Legates accordingly repaired to *Bridewell*, and in presence staied for the Queene, who presently from among her maides at worke came forth vnto them, hauing a skeine of white threade about her necke; at whose sight shee said, alacke my Lords, I am very sorry to make you attend vpon me; what is your will? if it please your Grace (quoth Cardinall *Wolsey*) to goe into your priuy Chamber, we will deliuer the cause of our comming: my Lord (quoth she) this place is most fit, I pray you therfore declare here your minds. With that hee began his speech in Latine which she presently interrupted, saying, that shee vnderstoode the English very well.

Wolseyes speech to the Queene.

"(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinall) wee are "come in goodwill, to know your Graces mind, in "this great matter of your marriage, and to giue "you our aduise with the best seruice wee can. My "Lords (said shee) I thanke you, but for answere of "my resolution, I cannot so suddenly make, the cause "is great, and toucheth mee very neere; I am here "a stranger, a poore woman lacking witte, not able "to answere such noble and wise personages as yee "be, I haue need of counsell, and they be in *Spaine*; "for thinke you my Lords, that any English subiects, "will bee for me against the King? forsooth I know

The Queenes answere.

"they wil not, I pray your Lordships be good vnto "me, a forrainer and destitute of friends, and assist "mee with your Counsels, which I will bee glad to "heare. And thereupon taking them by the hands, led them into her Chamber, where they stayed somewhat long; which done they departed, and made relation of her answere vnto the King. Who nothing pleased at the answere shee made them, sent againe certaine Lords vnto her, to shew her the determinations of those Christian Vniuersities, who had prescribed the marriage vnlawfull, and to wish her to remit the matter for the quieting of the kings conscience vnto foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lords: vnto whom shee answered saying, "the King "my Father which concluded my marriage, I am "sure was not so ignorant, but he asked counsell of "Clerkes and well learned men, before hee married "me the second time: for if he had had any doubt in "my marriage, hee would not haue disbursed so "great a treasure as hee did, and then all the Doctors "agreede my marriage to be good; insomuch that "the Pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be "done, did both dispense and ratifie the second mar-"riage, against whose doinges I marualle that a-"ny person will speake or write. But as touching the "determinations of the Vniuersities, I am a woman "and lacke witte and learning to answere to them, "but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whe-"ther they haue done iustly or partially: for this I "am sure, that neither the Kings father, nor my fa-"ther would haue condiscended to our marriage, if it "had beene declared to bee vnlawfull; and where "you say, I should put the cause to eight persons of "this Realme for quietnesse of the Kings conscience; "I pray God send his Grace a quiet conscience: and "this shall bee your answere, that I say I am his "lawfull wife, and to him lawfully married, and by "the order of the holy Church, I was to him espou-"sed as his true wife (although I was so worthy) and "in that point I will abide till the Court of *Rome* "which was priuy to the beginning, haue made ther-"of a determination and finall end.

(74) The King then hopelesse of his Queenes consent hasted his Lawyers to forward their diuorse, which daily they did, and the Consistory at *Blacke-Friers* daily frequented, all points in Law were opened to the full, so that nothing now remained but the sentence of the Iudges: for which a solemne day was assigned when the King in person came to heare it himselfe. His seat taken, and the Court set, after a crie for silence the proceedings were openly read, and all doubts cleared, the learned Counsell at Barre called for Iudgement, wherunto *Campeius* the Popes stoute Champion, vpon his stiffe gouty legges stood vp, all men expecting the sentence of Diuorce, but the Cardinall now not to learne what hee had formerly determined, said flatly, I will not giue iudge-"ment in this matter, too high for vs, considering "the estates of the Persons, and the doubtfulnesse "of the occasions alleaged, vntill I haue made a full "relation to the Popes holinesse of all our procee-"dings, whose counsell and commandement in this "case I will obserue and follow, vnder whose autho-"rity we sit and are commissioners, therefore I will "adiourne the Court for this time according to the "order of the Court of *Rome* from whence our sem-blable iurisdiction is deriued. Which how it displeased the King, the Sequell will shew, and how then taken the words of the Duke of *Suffolke* did wel declare, who stepping foorth with a sterne countenance vsed these words, It was neuer merry in *Eng-"land* since we haue had any Cardinals among vs.

King *Henry* secutes his diuorce.

Cardinall *Campeius* refers the cause of Diuorce to the iudgement of the Pope.

The saying of the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The Iudgement thus staid, the King sent his Secretary *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome*, to follow that Court, whether Queene *Katherine* had made her appeale: and Cardinall *Campeius* admitted to depart, went away in no such estate, as was held fit for a man of his place, but rather as one suspected to carry with him more then his owne, had all his Chests

Cardinals ...s searched.

...Sleidan. ...Lib. 9.

...e cause why ...pion staied ...nce.

...ſing greatnes.

...lib. pag. 848.

...rodip. Abb. ...ter.

...n. Campian.

...Hal.

...plaints a... ...Wolſey.

...ſo declina...

...lian Com. l. 9.

...Stow Annal. ...numb. 6.

...numb. 18. ...Hall.

...t causes of ...ge against ...Cardinall.

Cheſtes ſearched at *Calis*, euen to the Cloke-bags and Males. The cauſe of this ſtay (ſaith *Sleidan*) was, that the *French* King, an entire friend vnto *Rome*, had no better ſucceſſe in *Naples*, againſt the Emperour, whom the Pope durſt not diſpleaſe, the Lady *Katherine* being his Aunt, for whom the Emperour was ſo earneſt, as in her behalfe he laboured *Millan* and many other places, that their learned men ſhould not determine againſt the ſaid Queene. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, that *Campeius* denied his ſentence for the Diuorce, certaine it is, that Cardinall *Wolſey*, fell likewiſe in great diſpleaſure of the King, though hee ſought to excuſe himſelfe with want of ſufficient authority: but now his Sunne hauing paſſed the Meridian of his greatneſſe, began by degrees againe to decline, till laſtly it ſet vnder the cloud of his fatall eclipſe.

(75) Formerly wee haue ſpoken of the riſing of this man, who now being ſwolne ſo bigge by the blaſts of promotion, as the bladder not able to conteine more greatneſſe, ſuddenly burſt, and vented foorth the winde of all former fauours. Vaine glorious he was, in ſtate, in diet, and in rich furniture for houſe, and in prodigall intertainements, more like to a Prince then a Prelate, attended with ſo many officers, and ſeruants as is almoſt incredible, were not his Check-roll yet to bee ſeene. At his maſſe he was ſerued by Dukes, and Earles, who tooke the aſſaie of his wine on their knees, and held him his Baſen at the Lauatorie. And being Ambaſſador vnto the Emperour at *Bruxels*, was there waited vpon by manie noble men of *England*, and ſerued at Table by his ſeruitors vpon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germaines* which behelde it: and indeed ſo much ouertopped the Pompe of a ſpirituall function, as he ſeemed to the more humble, to be mad for ioy; and him doth *Campian* iudge, rather to be a Baſtard of ſome Prince, then the ſonne of a Butcher, ſo moulded for the one, and ſo farre mounting from the other: exceedingly wiſe he was and very wel ſpoken, but full of reuenge and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled aſleepe with flattery, inſatiable to get, but princely in beſtowing, lofty to his enemies, and not eaſily reconciled, which haſtened his fall, when he firſt began for to ſlippe. *Queene Katherine* in her cauſe, did grieuouſly accuſe him, the Counſell for their parts, did article againſt him, the Law found him in a premunire vnto the King, and Sir *Thomas Moore* in the high Court of Parliament inueighed bitterly againſt him.

(76) The firſt ſteppe of his diſcent was his diſlike of the Kings affection vnto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing fauourable to his Pontificall Pompe, nor no great follower of the Rites of thoſe times, which moued the Cardinall (the *Pope* hauing aſſumed the ſentence of *Queene Katherines* cauſe vnto himſelfe) to write vnto his holineſſe to deferre the iudgement of Diuorce, till he had wrought the Kings minde in another mould. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the Kings eare, and laſtly coſt the proud Cardinall his life. For the broad Seale firſt taken from him, and his other Biſhopricks elſewhere beſtowed, his Houſe and furniture ſeazed vpon, and himſelfe remoued into the North, at *Cawood* Caſtle ſeuen miles from Yorke, was ſuddenly arreſted (for arrogant words importing a deſire of reuengement, ſaith *Sleidan*) by the Earle of *Northumberland*, whence he was conueied toward *London* by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in which iourney at *Leiceſter Abbey* he ended his life, whoſe death himſelfe had haſtened by taking an ouermuch quantity of a confection to breake winde from off his ſtomacke, and in that Church was there enterred.

(77) The grudges againſt this Cardinall were many and great, not onely for the eſpeciall fauour he ſtood in with the King, and great ſtroake he bare at Counſell Board, (both which commonly breede emulation vnto the man ſo eſtated) but for his intollerable pillings, who to patch vp his pride in the raiſing of his new Colledges, erected at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, by the licence of *Pope Clement* 7. ſuppreſſed fortie Monaſteries of good fame, and bountifull Hoſpitalitie, conuerting all their goods and moueables into his owne Cofers; which were ſo ſtuffed with treaſure; that twelue Barrels full of gold and ſiluer were laid aſide, to ſerue the Pope in his warres. As alſo that he emptied the Land of twelue ſcore thouſand pound, enforced by him from the King. All which he conuerted to relieue, and ranſome the Pope then in Priſon, to the great impoueriſhing of his Maieſties Cofers. That his owne reuenewes by his faculties, licences, and other legantine exactions did equalize the Kings yeerely Reuenewes, and laſtly his pride ſo intolerable, as no leſſe then twelue hundred horſe for his retinue, foureſcore Wagons for his carriage, and threeſcore Mules for ſumpter horſes attended him into *France*. But *ſic tranſit gloria mundi*, and the higheſt floud is ſubiect to an ebbe.

Mr. Fox in Acts and Monuments. Forty Monaſteries ſuppreſſed by Cardinall *Wolſey*.

Edw. Hall.

(78) But whilſt the matter of the Kings marriage hung thus in ſuſpence the ſpace of two yeeres, and other Ambaſſadors intended to bee ſent vnto *Rome*: it chaunced Doctor *Cranmer*, Doctor *Stephens*, and Doctor *Fox* to meet at *Waltham* at one Table, where the two later, great Agents for the King, fell in diſcourſe of his cauſe by termes, and ſtrength of the Ciuill Law. Well ſaid Doctor *Cranmer*, if I might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the King ſhould bee ſurer ſetled in the cauſe of his Conſcience, then thus to be poſted off with delaies from yeere to yeere. This ſpeach *Doctor Fox* made known to his Maieſtie, which ſounded very tunably in his eare, then was *Cranmer* ſent for, conferred with by the King, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to reſpect the perſons but the cauſe; who to him commended the vertuous perfections of his Queene, with whom aboue all others he moſt deſired to continue, if their marriage could bee made warrantable by Gods Lawes: to which end he commended the care of Bookes, and of his other Prouiſions vnto the Earle of *Wiltſhire* at *Durham* Place. The Doctor thus ſet on worke, when he leaſt looked to be ſo imploied, proued by Scriptures, General Councels, Auncient Writers, beſides the preſent, and his owne opinion, *that the Biſhop of Rome had no authority to diſpence with the word of God, nor the Scriptures.*

Doctor *Cranmers* opinion of the controuerſie.

Doctor *Cranmer* ſent for to the King.

Cranmers collections againſt the Pope.

(79) The treatiſe thus finiſhed, he preſented it to the King, which when he had well read, and weighed the ſubſtance therein conteined; Will you (quoth he) Maſter Doctor abide by what you haue writ? that will I by Gods grace ſaid *Cranmer*, euen before the Pope himſelfe, if your Maieſty will ſo aſſigne it; Marry quoth the King to him ſhall you goe. Whereupon *Thomas Bullen Earle of Wiltſhire*, *Doctor Stokeſley*, *Elect of London*, *Doctor Lee the Kings Almoner*, the Doctors *Crane*, *Bennet*, and *Cranmer*, were ſent to the Pope then at *Bononie* in *Italy*. The day approached for audience of their Ambaſſage, and the high Prelate ſet vpon his Throne of Eſtate, the Doctor prepared to make his Oration in defence of what he had writ, when on the ſuddaine he was interrupted by an vnmannerly ſpaniell of the Earles, who ſeeing the Pope put forth his foot to be kiſt, caught in his teeth the Pontificals great Toe, ſo that theſe Ambaſſadors diſdaining to kiſſe where the dogge had taken an aſſay, let the Pope draw backe his foote, and ſo loſt that eſpeciall fauour offered vnto them. The Propoſition then made, that no man *iure diuino* could or ought to marry his brothers wife, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* by no meanes could diſpence to the contrary, was replied vnto, that it ſhould be anſwered at more leaſure, when his holineſſe returned to *Rome*; in the meane while, to grace *Cranmer* the more, he gratified him with the office of the Penitenciariſhip, and ſo diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors: who all, ſauing *Cranmer* returned

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto the Pope.

Fox Acts and Monuments, pag. 2034.

Anſwere to the propoſition put off.

ned to *England*; but he tooke his way towards the Emperour (to whom the cause somewhat appertained) being then at *Vienna* in his expedition against the Turke, vnto whose learned men he offered disputation, and in priuate conference so satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most respected for learning in the *Emperours* Court, as he held the Proposition most true. Whereupon others learned were discouraged to dispute, and suffered *Cranmer* to depart without any further proceedings.

Cornelius Agrippa yeeldeth to the proposition.

(80) The matter thus manifested in most parts of *Christendome*, this *Gordians* knot was lastly vnlooſed by King *Henrie* himselfe, who now besides this his marriage, beganne to call in question, what authority the Pope had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act passed against his vsurped *Hierarchy*, and all persons forbidden to appeale, or to make any paiments vnto *Rome*. The Kings marriage with Lady *Katherine*, was by the same Parliament dissolued, and his separation from her, made by the Archbishop of *Canterburie* to stand good, and effectuall by Law, and that Queene *Katherine* from thenceforth should be called Princesse *Dowager*, which doings shee tooke so to hart, as shee procured the Popes curse against King *Henrie*, and his Realme, which curse was set vp at *Dunkirke* in *Flaunders*, for that the bringer thereof durst come no neerer. And the Pope in reuenge of himselfe, being set in his Consistory accompanied with his *Cardinals*, proceeded to the Censure of these great Princes marriage, which he then adiudged to stand most firme and Canonicall, and enioyned King *Henry* to hold matrimoniall society with the said *Katherine* his lawfull wife and Queene, and in that estate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and louing husband to doe, and if he refused to accomplish these premisses, then to be compelled thereunto, and neuer after to be heard in any Court as touching the inualiditie of the said marriage, and to pay the expences of the said trauerse, as he the holy father should limit and thinke meete. This was done a yeere after that the King had married Queen *Anne*, and bare date from *Rome*, the 23. of March and yeere of *Christ* 1534. For in the meane while King *Henry* had set his affection vpon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, a Phenix indeed in his Princely eye, and another *Hester* for *Englands* saluation, both in her selfe and roiall Bud succeeding, as the heauens and world doe witnes to this day. Shee was the daughter of *Sir Thomas Bullen* Viscount *Rochford*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of Ladie *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*. This Earle *Thomas* her father was the sonne of *Sir William Bullen*, whose wife was Lady *Margaret*, the second daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and the said Sir *William* was the sonne of Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Maior of *London*, who lieth buried in *Saint Laurence* Church in the Iewrie, pictured in his winding sheete vpon a Plate of Brasse, and about his Graue-stone vpon a border of brasse in many places these words are written, *Now thus, Now thus, Now thus*, whose Charity was extended vpon the poore housholders of that Citie, in distributing among them a thousand pounds. His Lady was *Anne*, eldest daughter and Coheire vnto *Thomas Lord Hoo* and *Hasting*, and his discent out of the house of the *Bullens*, an ancient Family in the Countie of *Norfolke*; accursed therefore be the pen, that slanderously bringeth this rose from a defiled Bed, whose *Serpents* mouth to vphold his God the Pope, hath spewed out his poison of vntruthes, and made his tongue a sharpe sword against the Lords annointed; let him therefore receiue his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Satan the father of Lies.

The Popes vsurpation forbid by Parliament.

Ex Parl 24 H.8. K. *Henries* marriage dissolued by Parliament.

Fox Mart. 1197.

Katherine Dowager.

Holinsh. pag 936.

Pope *Clement* 7. adiudgeth the marriage lawfull.

The discent of *Anne Bullen*.

Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Maior of London. *Anno* 1457.

Sanders in Schis. Angl.

The thunderings of Pope *Clement* 7.

Sleidan. com. li. 9.

(81) This Ladies religion was different from all Papall indulgences, imbracing the Gospell that then began in our vulgar language to bee read, for which cause saith *Sleidan* she was accounted a *Lutheran*, cause enough to bee enuied at, by the Bishops of that time.

Anne Bullens religion.

Sleid. com. lib. 9.

(82) Her, the King inuested Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke* with Mantle and Coronet, both in regarde of her Nobilitie and many vertues (for so runne the wordes of her Patent) which done, he tooke the seas, for *France*, accompanied with such a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not been seen, and among many Ladies *Anne Bullen* was one, where hee complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope as hee called him; who would haue Kings in person to attend his leasure at *Rome*, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expose themselues and affaires at his will there, to bondage and great danger; and therefore he earnestly requested that the Pope might bee summoned to a Councell, to answere the many abuses that hee had offered vnto most of the Princes in Christendome, and vnto himselfe not the least; who for his part had allowed him threescore thousand Angels monethly to maintaine an Army for his deliuerance out of the Castle of *Angell*; where the Emperials vnder the Prince of *Orenge* kept him. Which his businesse being ended in *France*, and the King againe returned into *England*, he presently (though priuily) married the said Lady *Marchioneſſe* in his Closet at *Whitehall*, in the presence of many; the Lady *Anne Sauage* bearing her Traine, and Doctor *Lee* doing the rites of their coniunction, who was afterwards consecrated Bishop of *Chester*, *Couentree* and *Lichfield*, and President of *Wales*.

Anne Bullen created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*.

A.D. 1532 Octob. 11.

K. *Henrie* complaineth of the dull Pope.

King *Henrie* allowed the Pope 60000. Angels monethly.

(83) The Romanists much fearing that *Babel* would downe, if Queene *Anne* might bee heard against wicked * *Haman*, sought to vnderproppe the foundations thereof, with certaine deuises of their owne; and that the same might passe without note of suspition, they laid their forgery euen vpon Heauen it selfe; whose pretended Oracle *Elizabeth Barton* (commonly called, the *holy maide of Kent*) was made to bee; and the pillers of this godlesse Fabricke were *Edward Bocking*, a Moncke by profession, and doctor of Diuinity, *Richard Masters*, Parson of Aldington, the Town wherein she dwelt, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Hugh Rich* a Frier, *Iohn Adestone*, and *Thomas Abell*, Priests, put to their helping handes, and *Henrie Gould* Bachelour of Diuinity, with *Iohn Fisher* the Reuerend father of *Rochester*, imploied their paines to daube these downe-falling walles, with their vntempered Morter. The Scribes that set their pens for her Miracles, were *Edward Thwaites* Gentleman, and *Thomas Lawrence* Register, besides *Haukherst* a Monke who writte a letter that was forged to bee sent her from Heauen; and *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gould*, were the men which dispersed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy maide *Elizabeth* made a Votarisse in *Canterbury*, was taught by *Bocking* her Ghostly Father, and suspected Paramour, to counterfeit many fayned trances, and in the same to vtter many vertuous words for the rebuke of sinne, vnder which, more freely shee was heard against *Luthers* Doctrine, and the Scriptures translation, then desired of many: neither so onely, but that shee gaue foorth from God, and his Saints, by sundry suggestiue Reuelations, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, and second marriage, he should not raigne in his Realme one moneth after, nor rest in Gods fauour the space of an houre. But the truth discouered by Gods true Ministers, this Oracle gaue place as all other such did, when Christ by his death stopped their lying mouthes: for her selfe and * seuen of her Disciples were executed for Treason at Tiborne, and the other sixe put to their fines and imprisonment. With the like counterfeit reuelations and fained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham* vnto his vnhappy ende, when as by the working of *Iohn de la Court*, his own Confessor, together with *Nicolas Hopkins* a Monke of the *Carthusian* Order, in the Priorie of

* The Pope.

Elizabeth Barton the false Oracle of the Romanists.

The assistants of this false Prophetesse.

Read Statut. *in Anno* 25. of King H.8.

The counterfeitings of *Elizabeth Barton*.

Edward Hall, Iohn Stow, Holinsh.

Cranmer, Cromwell, Latimer,

* *Elizab. Barton Edward Bocking Richard Deering Richard Risby Richard Masters Henry Gould.* Two Monkes.

Iohn Stow.

of *Henton* in *Somersetshire*, who by his visions from heauen forsooth, heartned him for the Crown; but before his owne Coronet could aspire to that toppe, hee worthily lost both head and all vpon Tower-hill for his treason, Ann. Dom. 1521. Vnto such sinnes the world was then subiect, and into such conceites their reputed holines had brought them, not onely among the simple and vnlettered, but euen with them that seemed to bee learned indeed: for by certaine predictions foreshewing a great deluge, Prior *Bolton* of Saint *Bartholmewes* in *London* was so fearefull, that hee built him a house vpon the height of *Harrow* hill, storing it with prouisions necessary, to keepe himselfe from drowning, *in A. D.* 1524.

(84) But the Popes Holinesse fearing the euent of the game, if euery man might set and cast at his Crowne, thought it high time to lay hand on his own State, and to keepe what was left, lest al would bee gone; to which end he sollicited many Christian Princes to stand on his part, and among them sent his Brief vnto *Iames* the fift king of *Scotland*, desiring his assistance against King *Henry* of *England*, whom in his Consistory hee had pronounced to bee an Heretike, a Schismatike, a manifest Adulterer, a publike murtherer, a committer of Sacrilege, a Rebell, and conuict of *Lesæ Maiestatis*, for that hee had risen against him who was his Lord. And therefore he had iustly depriued him of his said Kingdom, and would dispose the same to him and other Princes: so as they would assist to recouer the same, a very good prouision, and very well foreseene; for notwithstanding these boisterous blasts from *Rome*, the King kept his Crowne, and was rather feared of the Popes best Abetters, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whose thoughts were now busied for the Coronation of his Queen.

(85) For Queene *Anne* conceiued, and perceiued with Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared, which with all royall obseruances vpon the first of *Iune*, being Whitsunday was performed; and the seuenth of September following, shee bare into the world that excellent Princesse, which afterwardes proued the mirrour of the world, euen Lady ELIZABETH, our late and most famous Queene.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conuersation of this godly Queene gaue great encouragements vnto many, more publikely with boldnes to professe the Gospell; so that the Ministers formerly fled in case of Religion, returned againe into *England*, where the new Testament (translated by *Tyndall*) was read, but with such dislikes to the Bishoppes, that they got it to be burnt. Notwithstanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached against the Popes supremacy, and tooke the oath for the King themselues; abolished his authority by Act of Parliament, and suppressed many Monasteries; leauing their reuenewes to the Kings will; faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the sequell of the sixe Articles by them procured, doth manifestly shew: and those purposely made against the maintainers of the Gospell, whereof Queen *Anne* was the chiefe, who first was most fauourable to those learned Diuines, that laide mans saluation vpon the Rocke Christ, next in procuring a tolleration from the king for them, whose doctrine did daily vndermine the Papall foundation: & lastly, she by no means would consent to marry the King, vntill a lawfull diuorce was had for his separation from Lady *Katherine*, his brother *Arthurs* wife, which thing this Pope greatly withstood: these were causes sufficient to moue his Holinesse to bend his brow, and by his Instruments in Court to cutte off the principal mouer, who foreslowing no time tooke the Ball before his rebound.

(87) For the Queene deliuered of a dead Child, and the Kings affection wandring elsewhere, gaue them occasion to worke on that Subiect, which God in his wisdome would haue downe, lest his deliuerance from the bondage of darkenesse should be attributed to any fleshly arme, or that shee who then sate in the throne of the worlds full felicity, should fixe her senses on so fickle a Center, who hauing had experience what it was to bee a Prince, must henceforth practise the patience of a poore prisoner, which in the third yeere of her marriage, and second of May, to act the wofull Scene of her Tragedy, shee came vpon the Stage, being sent to the Tower of *London*, and charged with high Treason against the King: at whose first entrance shee fell on her knees before *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolke*; and *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary her bringers, desiring God so to helpe her as she was guiltlesse of those things whereof shee was accused, beseeching those Lords to bee Petitioners vnto his Maiesty in her behalfe, who lamenting her case, left her Prisoner with Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the place.

Queene *Anne* deliuered of a dead Child.

Queene *Anne* sent to the Tower.

(88) I will in no wise excuse her guilt, hauing had iudgement and death by law, though others, and that vpon iust occasions before mee haue done, but will speake from them what they haue said; and namely one, that wrote thereof vnto a worthy and reuerent person; in whose defence his wordes are these: *It seemeth very plaine, that the crimes supposed against this Christian Queene Anne, were matters contriued by the deuise of the Pope, and his Instruments her enemies. None of them all that were accused in the same Treason, confessing the Act euen vnto death, but haue left direct Testimonies in writing to the contrary; one meane Groome excepted, namely Marke Smeton, made confession vpon some promise of life belike, but had his head cut off before hee was aware, or had time to recall what he had said.* The like did *Cromwell* the Secretary signifie to the King, after the prisoners had beene throughly examined in the Tower by the Councell, who wrote thus in his letter on the same day; many things haue been obiected, but nothing confessed, onely some circumstances haue been acknowledged by *Marke*. And so doth *Cranmer* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* in his letter of comfort vnto the King, who sore lamented that such a starre was fallen, if her gilt could bee proued, and willed his Highnesse to stand in defence of the Gospell as shee had done, without any report of confessing or acknowledging any such Acts as were obiected, which as *Sleidon* writeth, *were Adultery, and incest, but vniustly* (saith he) *as it is supposed and proued since: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Priuie Chamber, namely, Norris, Weston, Brewton, and one Marks, which contrary to his conscience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment subscribed to a bill, whereby hee condemned both himselfe and all the rest.*

Mych. Sands. The defence of Queene *Anne.*

Cromwels letter to the King vnder his own hand.

Archbishop *Cranmers* letter to the King.

Sleidan. Com. l. 10

L. *Rochford. Norris. Weston Brewton* & *Marks* beheaded.

(89) For vpon the seuenth of May, her brother *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford*, for his supposed offence with these foure before named, were all of them beheaded vpon the Tower hill, but none of them confessing the Action; I haue heard it reported that *Rochford* the Queenes brother comming to her bed side to solicite a suite, leaned thereupon to whisper her in the eare; which the Spials gaue forth that hee did so, to kisse the Queen, howsoeuer, they are dead, and the Queene must die, who two dayes before had beene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolke* being her Iudge; to her inditement shee answered so effectually, that shee seemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was shee found guilty, and vpon the nineteenth day of May, was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the saide Tower, where, in presence of many noble men, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Shiriffes, and some principall commoners, shee is said to haue spoken these words in their presence.

May 15.

Queene *Anne* condemned and beheaded.

"(90) Good Christian people, I am come hither "to die; for according to the Law, and by the Law "I am iudged to death, and therefore I will speake "nothing against it; I come hither to accuse no

Robert Greene, Queene *Annes* speech at her death.

"man, nor to speake any thing of that whereof I am "accused and condemned; as for mine owne offen- "ces God knoweth them, and vnto God I remitte "them, beseeching him to haue mercy vpon my "soule; and if any person will meddle in my cause, "I desire them to iudge the best; and so I take my "leaue of the world, and of you all, and heartily do "beseech you to pray for mee; and I beseech Iesus "saue my Soueraigne and Master the King, the most "godliest, noblest, and gentlest Prince, that is, long "to raigne ouer you. These words she vttred with "a smiling countenance, which done, shee kneeled "down, and with a feruent Spirit said, to Iesus Christ "I commend my soule, Lord Iesus receiue my soule; and repeating those words very often, suddainely the stroke of the sword sealed the debt that she owed vnto death; whose head and body was buried in the quier of the Chappell in the Tower.

King *Henry* married the day after Queene *Annes* death.

(91) Now that her death was rather sought for, then any wise deserued, doth witnesse the sworde, whose edge was not wiped from the bloud of her death, before the marriage bed of the King was prepared for another wife, which was Lady *Iane Seimer* in vertues her equall; who vpon the next day following being the twentieth of May, was married vnto the King, and succeeded this vnfortunate Lady in place of his *Queene*.

Iohn Stow.

Queen *Anne* thought to die guiltlesse.

(92) And albeit *Queene Anne* in her life time had sinned as *Dauid*; or by frailety fell, as who sinneth not; yet that it should be so licentious and vnnatural, the quiet of her conscience at her death, did well witnes the contrary, & her innocency so much more apparant, as her Christian modesty, in excusing her Soueraigne, and yeelding obedience to the law howsoeuer *Poole* and *Paulus Iouius* from their Cardinals spleenes haue filled their pennes to blott her faire name, whose death notwithstanding was so grieuously taken among the German Protestant Princes, who were minded to haue made K. *Henry* the head of their league, that thereupon they vtterly brake off, and refused him, onely for the cause and death of this most Christian *Queene*, whose religion and vertues dayly shewed forth the fruits of her life, both in preferring the best men of gifts vnto the best benefices, and also retaining for her Chapleins them of good fame, whose godly exhortations shee did not onely follow, but would will them freely to tell her what they saw in her amisse. So mercifull shee was to the poore, that shee spent almost her whole reuenew for their reliefe, and in nine moneths space distributed among them to the value of fifteen thousand pounds, intending likewise to bestow a great stocke into the foure quarters of the Realme, to set poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree bee known by the fruits, as truely it is, then these were her lights that shined before men, and the workes that shewed the fruites of her faith farre from such sinnes, as the sway of those times charged her with.

Fox Mar. p. 1234

Latimer to the Bishopricke of *Worcester*.
D. *Shaxton* to the Bishopricke of *Salisbury*.

The godly life of Queene *Anne*.

Act. and *Mon.*

Iames 2. 18.

(93) And by the working of the same faith, her penancy was seene, in her sorrowes conceiued, and thirsting reconciliation vnto them whome shee had any wise offended, as by this worthy example is apparant; when the day before she suffered death, being attended vpon with six Ladies in the Tower, shee tooke the Lady *Kingston* into her Presence Chamber, and there locking the dore vpon them, willed her to sit downe in the chaire of Estate: whereunto she answered, that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at all in her presence, much lesse vpon the seat and state of her, her Queene. Ah Madam quoth shee, that title is gone, I am a condemned person, and by law haue no estate left me in this life; but for clearing of my conscience I pray you sit down; well said the Lady *Kingston*, I haue often plaide the foole in my youth, and to fulfill your command, I will doe it once more in mine age, and thereupon sate downe vnder the cloth of estate; which no sooner was done, but that the Queene most humbly fell vpon her knees before her, and with teares, holding vp her hands, charged her in the presence of God and his Angels, as she would answere her before them, when all should appeare in iudgement, that shee should so fall downe before the Lady *Maries* Grace her daughter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her forgiuenesse for the wrongs shee had done her, for till that was accomplished (she said) her conscience could not bee quiet: what her offence was to her ward, wee know not, but may be supposed not to bee capitall, the Queenes case wayed, the time considered, and her enemies none of the meanest, onely this I obserue, that as shee cleared her conscience of the lesser crimes, so vndoubtedly would she haue done of the greater, if any had been committed, and so as herselfe instantly desired, I count her case to be charitably spoken of, and leaue her and them vnto the Lord.

Out of the relation of a noble man.

The example of Queene *Annes* penancie.

(94) But as one pillar for the Gospels defence was fallen by the death of *Queene Anne*, so another was raised, by raising *Cromwell* from the base of his birth, no better indeed then a Blacke-smithes son, who seruing great *Wolsey* in the office of his Solicitor, was employed by him for the suppression of forty Monasteries, to the erection of his Colledges at * *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, by which he mounted those steps of estate, which set (but not kept) him in the high Chaire of his authority; first by King *Henrie* hee was made Master of his Iewell-house, then Baron of *Okeham* in *Rutlandshire*, then Knight of the Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Essex*, then was hee made Lord great Chamberlaine, and lastly ordained the Kings Vicar Generall; and thus farre fortune brought him from the forge for a fall.

The rising of *Cromwell*.

* S. Frideswide now *Christ Ch.*

(95) For King *Henry* vnstaied in religious resolution (the Supremacy setled where hee would haue it, and the Reuenewes of all Monasteries giuen him by Parliament) sought no further to reforme the Churches abuses, but onely gaue way that the Lords Prayer, the Creede, and Commandements might be read in English, which *Cromwell* procured to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then misliking that their mumblings must downe, and the Monkes sore troubled to mingle English in their Masses, the Lincolnshire men beganne a Commotion vnder the conduct of D. *Mackarell* a Monke, who named himselfe Captaine *Cobler*, and his followers were growne well neere vnto twenty thousand. Against these, the King in person prepared, sending forth his command vnto seuerall Counties, to charge them with a taxation of furnished Souldiers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one we haue seen signed with the stampe of his hand, and sent vnto the Bishoppe of *Exceter* for foure hundred able men, whereof sixescore to be Archers, which great preparation being knowne to the Rebels, they sent to his Maiesty these Articles subscribed with many of their hands, the tenour whereof out of the Originall it selfe was as followeth.

Statut. in An. H. 8. c. 13

The Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandements in the *English* tongue.

Commotion in *Lincolnshire*.

* King *Henry* letter dated at *Windsor* 8. of October, and of his raigne.

To the King our Soueraigne Lord.

The aggreuances of the Commons of *Lincolnshire*.

Pleaseth it your Highnes to be aduertised, that your poore Comminalty, true and faithfull Subiects, in your County of *Lincolne*, at this present time assembled, findeth our selues grieued in these Articles hereafter following.

Suppression of Monasteries.

First, for the suppression of so many religious houses, as be at this instant time suppressed. Whereby the seruice of God is not onely minished, but also the poorealty of your Realme bee vnrelieued, and many persons bee put from their liuings, and left at large, which we thinke is a great hinderance to the Common-wealth.

Act of Vses.

The second Article is, that wee humblie beseech your Grace, that the Act of vses may bee repealed, because we thinke that by the said Act we be clearely restrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our Willes, concerning our lands: aswell for the payment of our debts, for doing of your Grace seruice,

as

as for helping and releeuing of our children, which wee haue had by the ſufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which as we thinke is great hurt and diſcommodity to the Common-wealth.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a taxe, or quindecim granted vnto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeere: which is, and euer hath been leueable of ſchepe and catall: And the ſchepe and catall of your Subiects within this ſaide Shire, are now at this inſtant vtterly decayed and gone. Whereby yff your Grace will take the ſaide taxe, Your ſaid Subiects ſhould be conſtrained to pay iiij.d. for a beaſt, and xii.d. for xx. ſchepe: And that would bee an importunate charge to theym, conſidered the pouerty that they bee in already, and the loſſe which they haue ſuſtained theſe two yeeres by-paſt.

The fowrt Article is, that wee your trew & faithfull Subiects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your Councell, and very nygh about you, ſuch Perſonages as be of lawe birth, and ſmale reputation, which haue procured the premyſſes, moſt eſpeciall for their ſingler lucre and aduantage: the which wee ſuſpect to bee the Lord *Cromwell*, & Sir *Richard Rich* Chancelor of the augmentations.

The fift Article is, your Grace to haue the x^th. and firſt fruits of euery ſpirituall promotion, of the value of xx.l. and aboue. And of all other vnder the ſaid value which doe not keepe reſidence and hoſpitality of their ſaid Benefices.

The ſixt Article is, that wee your true Subiectes find them grieued, that there be diuers Biſhoppes of *Yngland*, of your Grace late promotion, that haue ſubuertyd the faith of Criſt, as we thinke, which is the Archbyſhoppe of *Canterbury*, the Byſhoppe of *Rocheſter*, the Byſhoppe of *Saresburie*, the Byſhoppe of S. *Daueys*, and the Biſhoppe of *Deuelyn*. And in eſpeciall as wee thinke the beginning of all the troble of this Realme, and the gret exactions that hath beene taken of your poore Communalty, haue ryſen by the occaſion of the Biſhoppe of *Lincolne*: by whoſe officers, and by other of the Lord *Cromwels* ſeruants, a great rumor & noiſe is riſen, and the commune voce is, that ſuch Iowellys, plate, and other anornaments of our Pariſh Churches, which we occupie in the ſeruice and honour of God, ſhould bee taken from vs and ſpoiled in lyke maner and facion, as the houſys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and ſyngler the aforeſayd abvſes, Wee your poore and trewe ſubiects humble requirys your grace and maieſty, that it might pleaſe your highneſſe to call vnto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to ſee ſuch Order and direction concerning all and ſingler the premiſſes, as may ſtand with honor and ſewerty of your grace, the welthe and proſperity of your Realme, and the contentation of vs your poore Subiects, and other the whole Communalty of this your Realme. Whereby wee ſhall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soueraigne of vs your Subiects, but alſo accept and take your Grace to bee Supreme head of the Church of Yngland, which wee doe knowledge your Grace trewe inheritance and right.

Alſo your ſaide trewe and faithfull ſubiects, with the hole aſſent of all your Communaltie of the ſaid Shire, moſt humble beſechith your gracious Maieſty, to perdon this poore bearer in doing this his meſſage to your Highneſſe, who is your trewe and faithfull ſubiect, and hath taken this meſſage vpon him for the feruent loue that hee hath to your Grace moſt in eſpeciall, and for the ſtaying of your Cominaltie euer ſens this ruffull began, hath bene as gladde with all his diligence to ſtay the commune people for the effuſion of blood, as bee all his powre he might. The King with good words pacified theſe Commons, who laying aſide weapons imbraced their pardons.

(96) But this cloud ſcarſly ouerblowne, another more dangerous aroſe in the North, which threatned ſoarer ſtormes by the Skies ouercaſt: for fortie thouſand Ruſticks aſſembled in *Yorkeſhire*, furniſhed with Horſe, Armour, Artillery and Abillements for warre, threatned to ſet the ſtay of Eſtate vpon the props of their giddy inuentions. Their pretence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the fiue wounds of our Lord, the Challice, the Cake and other like inuentions of *Rome*, and vpon their ſleeues was writte the name of the Lord: and ſo forward, and ſo feruent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt muſt be termed the *holy Pilgrimage*. Neither were the Rurall onely guilty in this rebellion, but others of greater place and degree were aſſociates therein, namely, *Edward* Lord Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them conſtrained by the Rebels as the ſaid Archbiſhoppe teſtified vnder his owne hand: but voluntary and moſt forward were the Clergy of thoſe parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Percyes*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, and Sir *Robert Neuill* all of them Knights, *Iohn Lacy*, *Richard Beamond* and *Robert Bowes* Eſquires; the Bailiffes of *Snaythe* of *Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beuerly*. And for Captaine Generall, was *Robert Aſke* a meane Gentleman, and one *Rudſtone* his Aſſociate in the Field. Other Commanders they had out of the Common ſort, as *Iames Diamond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fiſherman, ſtiled by himſelfe and others, the Earle of *Pouerty*. What authority theſe bare, among theſe rude multitude may partly bee perceiued by their Mandates, and Commiſſions, ſent foorth in their names, and ſubſcribed with their owne hands, as from the Originals of ſome of them is heere to be ſeene.

Holy Pilgrimage

Ex MS. in Sir Robert Cottons Library.

Lords, Knights, Maſters, Kinſmen, and Friends, wee perceiue that yee bee informed that this Aſſemble our Pilgrimage, which we by the fauour and mercy of Almightie God intendyth to proceede in, is becauſe the King our Soueraigne Lord hath had much inpoceſſions of vs, wee doubt not but yee doe knowne and remember that to our powers we haue beene alwaies as ready in paiments and ſeruices to his Highneſſe as any his ſubiects: and further to acertaine you of the cauſe of our ſaid aſſemble and pilgrimage is this, That forſomuch that ſuch ſimple and euill diſpoſed perſons being of the Kings Councell, hath not onely incenſed his Grace with many things which bee contrarie to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Maieſty, and the Common wealth of this Realme: and thereby hath deſtroied, and yet vtterly intendeth to deſtroy the Church of England, and the Miniſters of the ſame, as yee know ſo wel as we: but alſo the ſaid Councel hath robbed & ſpoiled, and further intendyth vtterly to robbe and ſpoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as vs, if God of his infinite mercy had not cauſed ſuch as hath taken, and heereafter ſhall take this pilgrimage vpon them to proceede in the ſame: and whether all theſe things be true or not, we put it to your conſcience. And if yee thinke it bee true, and fight againſt vs, which intendeth the Comen wealth of this Realme, and nothing elſe, we truſt ye ſhall haue ſmal ſpeed: For this pilgrimage we haue taken hytt for the preſeruation of Cryſts Churche of this Realme of England, the King our Soueraigne Lord the Nobility, Barony and Comens of the ſame, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highneſſe for reformation of that which is amiſſe within this his Realm. And for puniſhment of Hereticks & Subuerters of Lawys; and neither for mony, malice, nor diſpleaſure to any perſon, but ſuch as be not worthy to remaine neere the King our Soueraigne Lords perſon. And further we know if yee ſhould obtaine as we truſt yn God ye ſhal natt, then ye put both vs and you, your heires and ours in bondage for euer; and further yee are ſure of the interdiction of Cryſts curſe, and we clere, and out of the ſame: And yf wee ouercome you, yee ſhall be in our wylls; wherefore for a concluſion, if you wyll not comen with vs for a reformation of the Premiſſes, we certifie you by this our writing that we wyll feyght and dye, both againſt you, and all thoſe that ſhalbe about wards to ſtoppe vs in the ſaid pilgrymage: And God ſhall ſhew his Grace and mercy therein: And then yee

The Captaine of the Commotions letters.

yee ſhall be Iudged heereafter to be ſheders of ſome of Cryſtyn blood, and deſtroiers of your tuyn Cryſten. From Robart Aske chiefe Captaine of the Comynalty aſſembled in pilgrimage, For the Barony and Cominalty of the ſame.

By mee *Robert Aske* yn the name of all the Comynalty and Barony.

Ex MS.

Of ſuch terrour and haughty ſpirit was this Captaine *Aske*, that when *Lancaſter* an Herald at Armes, was ſent to declare the Kings meſſage in *Pomfret* Caſtle (which the Rebels had got by ſurrender from the Lord *Darcy*) hee ſo bluſtred out his anſwers, that the daunted man excuſing himſelfe to bee but a meſſenger, fell before him on his knees; till the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* tooke him vp, ſaying, it was not beſeeming the Coate hee wore, to proſtrate to any, but onely to his Soueraigne. Reade likewiſe if you pleaſe this ſtrange Mandate from ſome meane man among them; the falſe ſuggeſtion that they poſſeſſed the ignorant with, and the Oath whereunto theſe holy Pilgrimes were ſworne, as I finde them recorded by themſelues in theſe very words.

The audacious dealings of the Rebels.

To the Commyns of Hawkeſide pariſh Bailiffs, or Conſtables, with all the Hamlets of the ſame.

Welbeloued we greet you well, and whereas our brother Pouerty, and our brother Rogers, goith forward, is openly for the aide & aſiſtance of your faith, and holy Church, and for the reformation of ſuch Abbeys and Monaſteries, now diſſolued and ſubpreſſed without any Iuſt cauſe. Wherefore gudde brethers, Foraſmuch as our ſayd brederyn hath ſend to vs for ayde and helpe, wee doe not onely effectualy deſire you, but alſo vnder the paine of deadly ſinne wee comaunde you, and euery of you, to bee at the ſtoke Greene beſide Hawkeſide-kirke, the Saturday next being the xxviij. day of October by xi. of the Clokke, in your beſt array: as you will make aunſwer before the heigh Iudge at the dreadfull day of Dome, and in the payne of pulling downe your Houſes, and leaſing of your gudds, and your bodies to be at the Capteyns will: For at the place aforeſaid, then and there, yee and we, ſhall take further direction concerning our faith, ſo farre decayed, And for gudde and laudable Cuſtomes of the Country, And ſuch naughty inuentions and ſtrange Articles now accepted and admitted, ſo that our ſaid brother bee ſubdued, they are lyke to goe furthwards to vtter vndoing of the Commyn welth.

Slanderous vntruths againſt the King.

(97) And the more to drawe forward the rude multitude which were forward enough of themſelues, they ſet forth in writing theſe ſlanderous vntruthes againſt the King.

1 The firſt is that no infant ſhall receyue the bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, bott onleſſe an trybett to bee payd to the King.

2 The ſecond is that no man vnder xx[l]. Landes ſhall eyte no brede made of Wheate, ner Capon, chekyn, gois, ner pigge, bott onleſſe to pay a trybett to the King.

3 The third is that for euery ploghe land the King will haue en trybett, with other diuerſe extreme vrgent cauſes, and hertely fare ye well.

The Oath of the holy Pilgrimes.

The oath of the Pilgrims.

Ye ſhall nat enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commyn welth, but only for the loue that you doe bere vnto Almyghty Godde, his faith, and to holy Churche militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preſeruation of the Kings perſon, his iſſew, to the purifying of Nobilitie, and to expulſe all vilayne blode, and euill Councellers agaynſt the Commyn welthe, from his Grace and the priuie Counſell of the ſame, and that ye ſhall nat enter into our ſaid Pilgramege, for no particuler proffite to your ſelfe, nor to doe no diſpleaſure to no priuey perſon, but by Counſell for the Commyn welthe, ner ſlee, ner murder for no enuye, but in youre hertis put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Croſſe of Criſte, and in your herts his faith, the reſtitution of the Churche, the ſubpreſſion of theſe Herytyks, and their opynyons, by all the holle contents of this Booke.

And for the obſeruation of this Oath, heare another commande of the Commiſſioners, as we find it recorded.

To the Bayliffes and Communes of the Towne of *Skarboro*.

Welbeloyd, we Francys Bygod Knyghte, and Iohn Halom yoman, in the name of all the Communes, commande and charde you, that ye aſſemble your ſelues together mediately vpon recepete hereof, and ſo take thys othe wychys we here ſend vnto yow, and then after in all haſte poſsible to aſsiſt and hayde theis ower brethern, wome wee ſende to you to keepe, and make ſure the Caſtell, Towne, and Port of Skarboro, that no man enter into the ſame Caſtell, that belongys vnto Raſe Euers the yonger Knyghte, nor any outher whiches did not take full parte with the Communes, at ower firſt and laſt aſſemblynge, in whoys name, aethority, or attorney ſoeuer they cume, vnleſſe they haue licence of all the communes, in like manner, yee ſhall truely keepe all ſichys ordinance, and ſhippe to the vſe of the Communes, wythe wyches wee charde you at our late being here, and thys not to faile, vpon payne of yower lyues, yee ſhall refer credence vnto thys meſſyngeres, thus in haſt: Fare yee well, from Settrynton this Mondaye Sancte Mawris daye.

Francis Bigott Knight in the name, and by Commandement of al the Communes.

Againſt theſe rout of Rebels, *George Earle of Shrewſbury*, not ſtaying for the Kings commiſsion muſtred his men, miſdeemed of many, that he meant to be a Pilgrime himſelfe, vnto which ſuſpectors hee made a loyall Oration, diſclaiming all intention againſt their attempts, how colourable ſo euer they laid their pretence; which done he cauſed his Chaplen to miniſter him an Oath of his loyaltie, before them in the Field. It was likewiſe reported that the Earle of *Darby* was ſet forward towards them, whome the Pilgrimes well hoped would haue ſided with them, as by their mandate ſent to the Brethren appeares, where is forbid that none of them ſhould aide him, vnleſſe he tooke the Oath: which he neuer meant to aſſay or ſweare to.

The Earle of Shrewſbury maketh againſt the Rebels.

Ex MS. R. Co.

(98) But true it is the King ſent *Thomas Duke of Norfolke*, Lord Generall againſt them, accompanied with the *Marqueſſe of Exceſter*, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland*; who ioining their powers made towards *Doncaſter*, where the Rebels then lay in their Randiuou; in whoſe ſight immediately they ſet vp their Tents, and determined battell vpon the next day; but on the night betwixt, ſuch fluds of water fell, that the riuer *Dun* ouerflowed his bancke, and admitted no paſſage ouer the Bridge, which thing was taken as a token from God; and thereupon the Lord Generall offered them Conference, alleaging that the King was tender of his Subiects liues, and very vnwilling to ſhed Chriſtian blood: that their cauſe ſhould be fauourably heard, and iuſt complaints redreſſed, if with ſubmiſsion and duty of Subiects, they would yeeld themſelues & affaires to the Kings mercy; that this their rebellious proceedings, was not onely the forerunning meſſenger of deſtruction to themſelues and partakers, but gaue alſo a great aduantage vnto the *Scots*, the dangerous enemie vnto the Land, and them all: with theſe and the like perſwaſions the matter was ſo forwarded, that a conference was appointed at *Doncaſter*, and foure pledges were ſent from the Lord General vnto the

Thomas Duke of Norfolke Lord Lieutenant of the North.

Pardon and peace offered to the Rebels.

the Commons, for the safe returnes of their assigned Commissioners, which were these by name.

Lord Neuill.	*Sir William Constable.*
Lord Darcy.	*Sir Rause Constable.*
Lord Stresse.	*Sir Rich: Tempest.*
Lord Lumley.	*Sir Rause Rememer.*
Lord Latimer.	*Sir William Eustan.*
Sir Thomas Percy.	*Sir George Lawton.*
Sir George Darcy.	*Sir Thomas Hylton.*
Robert Aske Captaine.	*M. Robert Constable.*
Sir Rause Clayer, Seni.	*M. Richard Banner.*
Sir Rause Clayer Iun.	*M. Wiseroppe.*
Sir Rause Euers.	

Whose Articles and demands were these, as followeth.

The instruction for Sir *Thomas Hilton* and other Companyons.

1 *First to declare to the Duke of Norfolke, and other the Lordys, that thentent of our meeting of our partie, surely is meant and thought of assured troth, without any manner of disceyte, or male engyne.*

2 *The second is to receiue the Kinges sauecundyth, vnder the Brode Seale of Englonde, and to deliuer our sauecundyth, and promise, vndre owre hands, for the Lordys there.*

3 *The thirde to entreate of owre generall perdon, for all causys, and all persons, which be within the Realme, wyche in herte, word, or deed assentyd, edyter procured, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods; and that in the sayd perdon, nor other the Kings records, we be not witon reputed, ne taken, as Rebylleous or tretors, nor rehersyd in the same.*

4 *The fourth that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bande or serte, bee not at owre metyng at Doncastre, but abcente themselfe from the Councell.*

5 *The fift, to receiue the Kings answere by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifie the vere etent thereof to vs there.*

Also to know what authority the Lords haue to etreate, in promes with vs ther, as well of owre promes of other things.

Also to know what plege the wyll deliuer for owr Capitans.

Also yf thys pertyculars be concluded, then for to condyscend of other perticulars.

1 *The first touching our faith, to haue the heresyes of Luther, Wyclyf, Hussee, Melanction, Ecolampadius, Busyrs, the Confession Germane, the Applege of Melanqton, the werke of Tyndale, of Berrys, Fryth, of Marshall, Rastell, the Bookes of Sent Germane, and such other of any manner Heresie, without the Realme, not to be kept, but vtterly to be dystryed.*

2 *The secund to haue the supreme of the Chyrch touching cure of sowlle to be reseruyd to the See of Rome, as byfore hyt whas accustomyd for to be; and to haue the consetration of Bysshoppys frome hym without any first fruts, or pencyons to him to be paid out of thys Realme, or ellys a pencion reasonable for the outwarde defence of our fayth.*

Also we beseke humble our most drade Soueraign Lord that the Lady Mary may be legetymate, and the estatutes contrary to the same to bee anulyd for the dome of the tytle that might incur to the Crown by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Also to haue the Abbeys that bee suppressed to be restoryd to their Lands, Howsys, and Goods.

Also to haue the Tents and first fruts clearely dischargyd, onles the Clergy wyll of their selfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crown.

Also to haue the Freres obseruans restoryd to their houses againe.

Also to haue the Heretiks Bishoppys, and temporal men of their seete, to haue condigne ponysment by fire, or such other; or ells to trie ther quarrell with vs and our partakers in batell.

Also to haue the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Chancelor, and Sir Rye. Rych Knight to haue condigne ponysment, as subuerters of the gud lawes of the Realme; and onetemers of the sieue sect of this false heretykes fyrst inuenter and brengers of them.

Also that the Landys in Westmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Dentsyd, Furnes, and the Abbeis lands in Yorke, Worsaidyshire, Kerbyshire, Nenerdale, mayne bee Tennant Right, and the lord to haue at euery change two yeeres rent, in the name of a agar summe, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commens vnder their Seales, and this to be done by Act of Parlement.

Also the hand-gunnys and Crosse-boys, with the penaltie of the same to be reuelled, onles hyt be in the Kings forrests and Parkes to kyllers of Deere.

Also that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may haue condigne ponysment for their extortions in time of visitation, in brybes, of some religyous houses, x.l. xx.l. and for other summes, beside horsys, vowsens, leases, vnder couent seallys, by them taken, and other abominable Acts by them committed and done.

Also to see reformation for the election of Knightes of shire, and the Burgys, and for the vse among the Lords in the Perlament after the ancient custome.

Also the Statute for inclosyng Intackes to bee put in execution, that all Intacks, Inclosys syth Anno quarto Henrici septimi *be pullyd downe exceding Forests, and Parkys to be dystrud of their qūtion, and tax now granted by Parlament.*

Also to haue the Parlyament in a conuenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, and the same to bee so moued shortly.

Also that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all recognisans, statutys, penaltyes, newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Commission may bee pardoned & discharged, aswell against the King as stranger.

Also the Priuilege of the Ryght of the Church to be confirmed by Act of Parlament, and Prysts not to suffer onles they be degraded; a man to bee saued by his Booke; Sanctuary to saue a man in all causes in extreme need, and the Church to saue a man for forty dayes; and further according to the lawes as they were vsed in the beginning of the Kyngys dayes.

Also the libertyes of the Church to haue their old Customes, as the County Palatine of Durham, Beuerley, Reppon, S. Peter of Yorke, and such other by Act of Parliament.

Also to haue the Statute that no man shall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Also the Statute of treason for Wurdys, made sith Anno xxi. of our Soueraigne that now is to bee in like wise repelled.

Also that the common Law may haue place aswell as was vsed in the beginning of your gracious raign, and that all Iniunctions be cleerely denied, and not granted, vnlesse the matter be heard in the Chancery, and there determined.

Also that no man vpon sub pœna, *or Priuy Seale from Trent Northward, appeare but at Yourke, or by Atturney vnlesse it be directed vpon pene of allegyance, or for like matter concerning the King.*

Also a remedy against Exchequor, for fining of false Offices, and extortions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and against the Promoters thereof.

These were the Instructions giuen to their Commissioners to be conferred vpon, all which as it should seeme, were drawne into foure Articles or heads, as by the mynute of the Kings answere thereunto doth appeare: which Originall in many places with his owne hand is interlined with so wise and learned additions, as doe confirme his Kingly care, both for the Church and common weale: the true copy whereof to his great fame is as followeth: his corrections and additions is varied from the rest by a seuerall Character.

[Petitions]

An Answere to the [demaunds] *of the Rebelsin Yorkeshire, by the Kings Highnesse.*

First, as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes bee ſo generall, that it would bee very hard to make certaine anſwere to the ſame; but if they meane the faith of Chriſt, to the which al Chriſten men bee *wonly* bound: wee declare and proteſt our ſelfe to be that Prince, that doth entend, and hath alwayes minded to liue and die in the maintenance, defence, [*and*] obſeruation [and] purity of the [*of the*] ſame. And that no man can or dare ſet his foote by vs in prouing of the contrary. Maruelling therefore much that ignorant people would goe about to take vpon them to inſtruct and teach vs (which hath beene noted [to be] learned) what the faith ſhould be: [*And alſo that they being ignorant people bee ſo preſumtius (ſeeing that wee and our hole Clergy in Conuocaon hath in Articles declaryd it) wold take appon them to correct vs all therein.*] Or that they would bee ſo ingrate and vnnaturall towards vs their moſt rightfull King, and naturall Soueraigne Lord, without any our deſert, vpon falſe reports or ſurmiſes to ſuſpect vs of the ſame, and giue rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very truth by vs theſe twenty eight yeeres vſed, and by our deedes approued.

To the ſecond which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the ſames we ſay it is ſo generall a propoſition that without diſtinctions no man with trouth can anſwere it, neither by Gods lawes, nor by the lawes of the Realme. For firſt, the Church which they mean muſt be known: Second, whether thoſe things which they call liberties, and ſay they would maintaine, be things lawfull and beneficiall to the [*Princes*] comen wealth, or otherwiſe. And theſe knowne wee doubt not but they ſhall bee anſwered according to Gods law, equity and iuſtice. Neuertheleſſe for all their generality this wee dare affirme, that (meaning what Church they liſt) Wee haue done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by Gods lawes and mans lawes, or that is preiudiciall to our common wealth, if our proceedings may bee indifferently conſidered. And in our owne Church of *England*, whereof wee be the ſupreme head on Earth, we haue done nothing ſo [extremely and] as many of our Predeceſſors haue done, vpon much leſſer [*onerous and chargeable to them,*] grounds. Wherefore ſithens this Article partaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they beare any thing therin, we cannot but reckon a great vnkindneſſe and vnnaturalneſſe in them, which had leuer a Chorle or twaine ſhould enioy thoſe profites of their Monaſteries, for the ſupportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince ſhould receiue the ſame towardes our extreme charges, doon, and daily ſuſtained for their defence againſt forraine enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things; the firſt is the lawes, the ſecond is the common-wealth, the third, the directors of the lawes vnder vs. Touching the Lawes, as it becommeth not blind men to iudge any colours, ne to take vpon them to beeiudges of the ſame: ſo wee dare expreſly and boldly affirme as a thing that may bee eaſily and duely proued; that there were neuer in any *One* of our Predeceſſors dayes, ſo many wholeſome, commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the common wealth, as haue bin made in our time, & ſithens ſome of them had [*credite*] [*our affaires*] [experience] & doing [in the world,] that wold now [*parchance*] fain pycke them thanke without deſert. For our Lord forbids that both wee and our Councell ſhould haue loſt ſo much time, as not to know better now then wee did in the beginning of our raigne; what were a Common-wealth, and what were againſt the good and commodity of the ſame, ſeeing wee haue beene a King theſe twenty eight yeeres, and by experience learned the perfiteneſſe thereof: and although the folly and vnkindneſſe of ſome will not perchance let them ſo knowledge it, yet wee truſt and doubt not, but the moſt part of our louing Subiects ſpeciallie, thoſe which bee not ſeduced by falſe reports, doe both thinke it, accept it, and finde it ſo. Now touching the Common wealth, what King hath kept his Subiects ſo long in wealth and peace, ſo long without taking or doing wrong one to another; ſo indifferently miniſtred iuſtice to all eſtates both high and low; ſo defended them from all outward enemies: ſo fortifie the frontiers of his Realme to his no little, and in manner ineſtimable charges, and all for their wealthes and ſureties? What King hath giuen among his Subiects moe generall or freer pardons? What King hath beene lother to puniſh his Subiects, or ſhewed more mercy among them? theſe things being ſo true, as no true man can deny them: It is an vnnaturall and an vnkind demeanour of *you* our Subiects to beleeue or deeme the contrary of it: by whoſe report ſoeuer it ſhould be ſet forth againſt vs. And the beginning of our raigne, where it is ſaid that ſo many Noblemen were Counſellors: we doe not forget who were then Counſellors: for of the Temporalty there were but two worthy to bee called Noble, the oon, the Treaſurer of *England*, the other the high Steward of our houſhold. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy* but [ſcant wel] born [*meane*] Gentlemen, [and] yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by vs, and ſo made Knights and Lords; the reſt were Lawyers and Prieſts, ſauing the two Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Wincheſter*: If theſe then bee the great number of Noblemen, that is ſpoken off, and that our Subiects ſeemed then contented withall, why then bee they not now much better contented with vs, which haue ſo many Nobles indeed, both of birth and condition of our Councell. For firſt of the Temporalty in our Priuy Councell, wee haue the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſſe of *Exceſter*, the Lord *Steward* (when hee is preſent) the Earle of *Oxford*, the Earle of *Suſſex*, the Lord *Sandes* our Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall Treaſurer of our houſe: Sir *William Paulet* Comptroller of our houſe. And of the Spiritualtie, the Biſhoppes of [*Canterbury,*] *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*: *And for becauſe it is more then neceſſary to haue ſome in our Priuy Councell lernyd in our laws, and pacts of the world: wee by the aduiſe of our hole Councell aforenamyd, did elect and chooſe into our Priuie Councell, and alſo into theyr roomes our Chanceler and Priuie Cell, thynking them men in all our opinion, moſt meeteſt for the ſame roomes; and wee with our hole Councell thinke it ryght ſtrange, that yee, which bee but bruts, and inexpert folke, doe take apon yow to appoint vs,* [*Marke who bee meet for our Counſell and hoo bee not.* [Now *therefore now how theſe ſeditious perſons which* how farre be *thus wrongfullie haue borne you thus in hand haue* theſe per- *falſlie abuſed you,*] ſons abuſed,] that recken there were then moe Noblemē in our Priuy Councel then be now: but yet thogh of our great clemency & princely goodnes, we declare now the truth, to pull our ſubiectes from that errour and blindneſſe they were led and trained into, by falſe and vntrue ſurmiſe and report: Wee would againe that euery of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any ſubiect, to preſume to take vpon him, th'appointment of his King and Soueraigne Lords Councell. Ne for our part wee woll take any ſuch thing at any of our Subiects hands. Wherefore wee would that from henceforth they ſhould better remember the duties of good Subiects towards their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further of thoſe or ſuch like things, as they haue nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commens doe name

Additions ten with in Kings hand.

name certaine of our Councel to be subuerters both of Gods law, and the lawes of this Realme: Wee doe take and repute them as iust and true Executors both of Gods Laws, and as ferre as their Commissions vnder vs doe extend. And if any of our Subiects can duely prooue the contrary wee shall proceede against them and all other offenders therein, according to iustice, as to our estate and dignity royall doth appertaine. And in case it be but a false and an vntrue reaport, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet and standeth aswell with iustice, that they should haue the selfe same punishment, which wrongfully hath obiected this to them, that they should haue had, if they had deserued it. And oon thing among others causeth vs to thinke that this slander should bee vntrue, because it proceedeth from that place, which is both farre distant from that where they inhabite, and also from those people which neuer heard them preach. nor yet knoweth any part of their conuersation. Wherefore we exhort all *Ye* our Commens to be no more so light of credit in the beleeuing of yuel things spoken of vs your natural Prince and Soueraigne Lord: Nor of any of our Prelates and Counsailors, but to thinke that your King hauing so long raigned ouer you *with the aduyse off hys Cõsell* hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsailors, as those who so euer they bee that hath put this in your heads *or yee other being but ignorant people and ought off all experyens off prynces affaires.*

Heere in this finall point which yee our Comens of *Yorkeshire, Westmerland, Cumberland,* the Bishopriche of *Durham, Richmondshire, Crauen, Dent, Sedbarre,* and all other places that haue beene seduced to this Insurrection doe desire; and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions. We verilie thinke that the rest of all our hole Commens of many Cuntreys to whom you be in maner but an handfull, will greatly disdaine and not beare it, that you take vpon you to set order to vs and them, and specially to vs [*being*] Soueraign Lord to you both: [*you being rebelles*]

And that [because you be rebells,] you would make them as bearers and pertakers of your mischief, willing them to take perdon for Insurrections which verelie we thinke and doubt not they neuer minded: but like true Subiects to the contrary haue both with heart and deede been ready at our call to defend both vs and themselues: and now for our part as to your demands, we let you wit, that perdon of such things as you demaund lyeth onely in the will and pleasure of the Prince: but it seemeth by your lewde proclamations and salfe conductes, that there bee amongs you which take vpon them both the parts of Kings and Counsailors. Which neither by vs nor by the Generall consent of our Realme hath been admitted to any such roome. What arrogancie is then in those wretches being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subiects without Commission or authoritie: yee and against vs vnder a cloked colour of your wealth and in our name, and as the successe and ende would declare if wee should not be more mercifull vnto you then you haue deserued to your owne vtter confusions. Wherefore wee late all you our said subiects againe witt, that were it not that our Princely heart cannot recken this your shamefull insurrection and most ingrate and vnnaturall rebellion to bee done of malice or rancour, but rather by a lightnesse giuen in manner by a naughty nature to a Comunalty, and a wonderous sudden surreption of Gentlemen: We must needs haue executed an other maner of punishment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selfe to our mercie, wee entend to doe [*as by our proclamations we dought yee be informed.*]

Fynys.

The effect that the Kings reply wrought, is manifest by his free perdons sent vnto the offenders, by Proclamation diuulged by his messenger at Armes and his trumpet throughout the North parts, the tenour whereof from the Originall is, as followeth.

King Henrie's free pardon by Proclamation.

All bee yt, that yowe the Kings Subiects and Commons dwelling and inhabiting in the Shires of Yorke, Cumberland, Westmerland, Northumberland, the Bishopricke of Durham, the City of Yorke, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Kyngston vpon Hull, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Newcastle vpon Tyne, and the Shire of the same, and in other Shires, Towns, Dalis, Places priuileged, the Fraunchises and Liberties within the limits of the said Shires, Cities, and Townes, or any of them, or being reputed or taken for any part, parcell or number of any of them, and such other the Kings said Subiects, inhabited in the Towne of Lancaster, or elsewhere, by North, in the Shire of Lancaster, haue now of late attempted and committed manifest and open rebellion, against his most royall Maiesty, whereby was like to haue ensewde, the vtter rewin and distruction of thes hole Cuntreis, to the grete comforte and auancement of your awncient enemes the Scots, which as his Hienes is credably enformed, doe with a great Redines watche vpon the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who streitely commandeth you to obay your Soueraigne Lord and King, in all things, and not with violence to resist his will or Commandement, for anie cause whatsoeuer it be: Neuertheless the Kings royall Magesty, perceiuing as well by the Articles of their partners sent to his Hyenes: As also dewly enformed by credible reports, that their said offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occasion of sundrie false talis, neuer minded or entended by his Hienes, or any of his Councell, but most craftely contriued, and most spitefully set abroade amongs you, by certaine malitious and seditious persons; and thereupon his Hyghnes inclined to extend his most gratious mercy and pitty towards you, hauing chefe charge of you vnder God, both of your sowles and bodies, and desiring rather the preseruation of the same, and your reconciliation, by his mereifull meyns, than by the order and rigour of Iustice to punish you according to your demeryts, of his inestimable goodnes, benignity, mercy, and pety, and at your most humble petitions and submissions made vnto his Highnes, he is content & plaised to gise and grant, and by his present Proclamation doth gyue & grant vnto you al, and to al & euerie your confederates whereseoeuer they dwell, of estate, degree, or what condition soeuer you or they bee, or by what name or names soeuer they or you be, or may bee called, his Generall and free pardon for all manner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, misprisions of treasons, murders, robberies, felons, and of al accessaries of the same, and of euerie of them, vnlawfull assembles, vnlawfull Conuenticles, vnlawfull speaking of wordes, confederacies, riots, rowts: And all other trespasses, offencies and contempts, done and committed by you, or anie of you against the Kings Magestie, his Crowne or dignitie roiall, within and from the time of the beginning of the saide Rebellion whensoeuer it was, vnto the present day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all paines, iudgements, and executions, of death, and all other penalties, forfeitures, fynes, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Cattels by any of your forfeitures incurred by reason of the premises, or any of them; which Fines, Forfeitures, Lands, Tenements, Heredstaments, Goods, and Cattels, the Kings said Highnes of his speciall grace, and mere motion by these presents, giueth to such of you, as haue or should haue forfeited, or loste the same, by occasion of the premisses or any of them: And also his Highnes is pleased, and contented, that you and euerie of you from time to time, shall and may have vpon your sewtes to be made hereafter in his Chauncery, his said and most gracious and free pardon vnder his great Seale concerning the premisses, without any further Bill or Warrant to bee obtained for the same, and without paying any thing for the great seale thereof: And that you and euerie of you from time to time, may freely and liberallie sewe for his said pardon, when and as often as it shall like you, without anie trouble, vexation or impeachment

for

for the premiſſes, or anie of them, by his heires, or by anie his Officiaries, Miniſters, or Subiects, by anie manner of meanes or in anie manner of wiſe. Prouided alwaies, that you and euerie of you in token of a perfect declaration and knowledge, that ye doe hartilie lament and be ſorrie for your ſaid offencies, ſhall make your humbly ſubmiſsion vnto his Highnes, in the preſence of his right truſtie and right intirely beloued Coſens and Concellairs: the Duke of Norforlke, and the Earle of Shrewſburie his Lieutenants Generall, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies of them, or any of them, or ſuch other perſon, or perſons as the Kings Highnes ſhall appoint for the ſame: Furthermore the Kings moſt roiall Mageſty, ſtreitely chargeth and commandeth, that you and euery of you, ſhall from henceforth, like trew and faithfull Subiects vſe your ſelues, in Gods peace, and his, according to the dueties of alleagance, and that you ſhall in no wiſe hereafter, attempt to make or procure, any ſuch rebellion, intent, vnlawfull Aſſemblies, Riots, Rowts, and Conſpirattons, nor at the Commandement, nor by the Authority of any perſon, of what eſtate or degree, or for what cauſe ſoeuer it be, ſhall ariſe in any forcible manner, and array, vnles it be at the ſpeciall commandement of the Kings Highnes, or his Lieutenant ſufficiently auctoriſed for the ſame. In witnes whereof the Kings moſt royall Mageſty, hath cauſed this his Proclamation to be made Patent, and ſealed with his great ſayle at Richemounte the IX. day of December in the XXVIII. yeere of his Reigne. 1536.

Pexſall.

Notwithſtanding this Generall pardon and merciſull dealings of the King a new Inſurrection was raiſed in the North, wherin many of the former were now againe Actors, as by name *Robert Aske* whom the King had not onely pardoned, but alſo highly rewarded, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Francis Bygod*, *Pulmer*, *Percy*, *Hamilton*, *Tempeſt* and *Lumley*, all of them put to death, as they well deſerued.

Holinſh. pag. 944.

Aske executed.

(99) In which Commotions thoſe men whoſe profeſſion was onely the Booke and their Beades, miſtaking Chriſts meaning, who bad his Diſciples *to ſell their coate, and to buy a ſword*, came armed among the Rebels into the Field, and with them were taken as Traitours againſt the Crowne: for which offence many of them ſuffered death: namely, *Iohn Paſlew* Abbot of *Whaley* in *Lincolneſhire*, *Iohn Caſtegate* and *William Haydocke* Monks of the ſame houſe, *Robert Hobs* Abbot of *Woborne* in *Bedfordſhire*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Geruaux* with *Astbeed* a Monke of that houſe; the Abbot of *Sawley in Lancaſhire* and the Prior of the ſame place, *William Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, the Parſon of *Pudington*, fiue Prieſts of *Lincolnſhire*, and with them their chiefetaine, Captaine *Cobler*, and *Iohn Allen* Prieſt.

Luk. 22. 36. Spirituall men Commotioners.

Monkes hanged for rebellion.

(100) Theſe ſtirres thus quieted and the Statesmen at leaſure to preuent the like, a Commiſsion came foorth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to ſuppreſſe the Monaſteries to the Kings vſe, granted vnto him by Parliament: the one of them, the onely working cauſe, through the gaine that was got by ignorant deuotion, and gadding on pilgrimage, and the other, the Neſt and very receptacle of all traiterous attempters, againſt the peace of the Land and Supremacy of the Crowne. The abuſe of the firſt was ſolemnly ſhewed at *Pauls Croſſe* in *London*, vpon Sunday the twenty foure of February, by Doctor *Iohn Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, where the Roode of Boxley in *Kent*, commonly called the *Rood of Grace*, made with diuers vices to bow downe and to lift vp it ſelfe, to ſhake, and to ſtirre both Heads, hands, and feet, to rowle the eies, mooue the lippes and to bend the browes; was then broken and pulled in peeces. So likewiſe the Images of our *Lady of Walſingham* and *Ipſwich*, ſet and beſprinkled with Iewels, and Gemmes, with diuers others both of *England* and *Wales*; were brought to *London*, and burnt at *Chelſey* before the Lord *Crumwell*. Then the Axes of the hewers began to caſt downe the walles of all

Idols and Monaſteries ſuppreſſed by Parliament.

A.D. 1538.

The Roode of Grace broken at *Pauls Croſſe*.

Lamb. Peram. in Boxeley.

Our Lady of *Walſingham* and other Images burnt.

Monaſteries, whoſe number (as *Cambden* doth account them) were ſixe hundred fourty fiue, beſides fourſcore and tenne Colledges, them of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* not accounted: of Hoſpitals one hundred and tenne, and of Chaunteries and free Chappels two thouſand, three hundred, ſeuenty foure, all of them almoſt were then borne downe with the ſudden deluge of thoſe tempeſtuous times, whilſt the world ſtood amazed, King *Henrie* proceeded, and the Clergy men groaned vnder their owne deſtructions; among theſe the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* was defaced, which did abound with more then Princely riches: whoſe meaneſt part was pure gold, garniſhed with many precious ſtones, as *Eraſmus* that ſaw it, hath written, whereof the chiefeſt was a rich Gemme of *France*, offered by King *Lewis*, who aſked and obtained (you may be ſure, he buying it ſo deare) that no paſſenger betwixt *Douer* and *Whitesand* ſhould periſh by ſhipwracke; his bones by *Stephen Langton* had beene laide in a golden Shrine, his name canonized, and the day of his death made annually holy, ſuch concurſe of Pilgrime, ſuch preſsing to touch him, and ſuch creeping and kneeling to his Tombe, that the prints of their deuotion in the Marble ſtones, remaines to this day; euery Pillar reſounding the miracles of this reputed Martyre, and the Church it ſelfe dedicated to *Chriſt*, forced to giue place to the name of Saint *Thomas*. The Timber worke of this Shrine was couered with plates of gold, damasked and embоſſed with wires of gold, garniſhed with broches, images, angels, precious ſtones, and great Orient Pearles: all theſe defaced filled two Cheſts and were for price of an vneſtimable value. But in ſteede of theſe *Dagons*, the *Bible* in Engliſh was commanded to bee read in all Churches, and Regiſter Bookes of weddings, Chriſtenings and Burials in euery of them to be kept.

Cambd. Brit. 645. Monaſteries in England 90. Colledges 110. Religious Hoſpitals. 2374. Chauntries and free Chappels.

Eraſ. Dialog.

W. Lamb. Peram.

The ſtate and opinion of Thomas Becket's Shrine.

John Stow.

The great riches of Becket's Shrine.

(101) The yeerely reuenewes of theſe, as they were valewed by the Commiſſioners, at their ſubuerſions amounted to an vneſtimable ſumme, as appeareth by the Original Booke it ſelfe preſented to the King, whereof more ſhall be ſpoken in the end of this chapter, and yet moſt of them rated at *Robinhoods* penny-worthes, what their rents were, a libell ſcattered abroad, and read to the king, by demonſtration did proue, wherein was accounted, that vnto the fiue Orders of Friers, (euery houſholder paying them fiue pence the Quarter) the ſumme of fourty three thouſand, three hundred, thirty three pound, ſixe ſhillings and eight pence ſterling, was paid them by yeere, beſides the reuenewes of their owne lands, which was not a little, ſo that not without cauſe many entred into a Monaſticall life, rather to liue at full, and without cares of this world, then to feede the flocke of *Chriſt*, or to winne them, and not theirs, after the example of the Apoſtle. For the Teſtament of *Chriſt*, was vnto moſt of theſe, as a booke ſealed with ſeauen ſeales, and their mouthes vnmuzled they did deuoure, but not tread out the Corne, ſo that the Sunne by their doctrine ſeemed to be darkened, as with ſmoke, and themſelues to be the *Locuſtes* that ouerſpread the ſuperficies of the Earth, whoſe faces were like men, pretending humanity, their haire like women in ſhew of modeſty, their Crownes of counterfeited gould, ſignifying their vſurped authoritie, their teeth like Lyons ſhewing their Tyrannie, their force like horſes prepared for battell, their habergions of Iron betokening their ſtrength, the ſound of their wings, the thundering out their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots in warre, their Tailes (the falſe Prophets) hauing ſtings like vnto Scorpions, and their King the bad *Abaddon*, euen the Angell of the Bottomeleſſe pit. All thoſe alluſions moſt aptly fitting theſe Cloiſtered Friers, who now grown to the height of their ſinnes, their skirts were diſcouered, that their ſhame might appeare; being the only men then laid open to the world.

The great reuenewes of the Monaſteries.

Supplication of Beggars.

The great reuenewes of the Friers.

2. Cor. 11. 14.

Deut. 32. 24.

Apoc. 9.

Ier. 13. 26.

(102) Againſt whoſe doctrine, (beſides many others

thers in other forreine parts) two in the daies of K. *Henry* the fourth, the first English King that put anie to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting *Sir Iohn Oldcastle* and others, that died for the Gospels defence, in the daies of King *Henry* the fift) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henrie* the sixt. One in the daies of *King Edward the fourth*; and tenne in the time of King *Henry the seauenth*, sealed the doctrine against the papall religion with their bloud; all of them being martyred before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King twenty sixe suffered the fire, before the flames thereof could be quenched, which a while was done by the meanes of good Queene *Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the sixe Articles were made: but because this Ecclesiasticke text is handled elsewhere, and seemeth vnsociable to our begunne Subiect, we will referre the Reader for these matters vnto the industrious paines of that worthy and euer venerable man M. *Fox*, taken in his Acts & Monuments of Ecclesiasticall history.

(103) The Monasteries thus dissolued, and the Reuenewes thereof conuerted to temporall vses, King *Henry* ranne in great obloquie of many forraine Potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with Cardinall *Poole* instigated diuers Princes in Christendom to inuade *England* thus fallen from his faith: Yea, & home-borne Subiects disliking the course for Papisticall subuersion, by secret working sought to depriue King *Henry*, and to raise vp *Reynold Poole* vnto the Regall dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The persons conuicted, were Lord *Henry Courtney* Marquesse of *Excester*, & Earle of *Deuonshire*, the sonne of Lady *Katherine*, the seuenth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth: *Henrie Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with Sir *Geffrey* his brother, and Sir *Edward Neuill* brother to the Lord of *Abergauenny*. These *Pooles* were the sonnes of Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the onely daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*: and of these *Reinold Poole* once Deane of *Excester*, and now Cardinall at *Rome* was accounted the onely man.

(104) And this foresaid Lord Marquesse had formerly beene in such fauour with King *Henry*, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his Heire apparant, though at his returne vpon graue deliberation, hee saw it better policy to plucke him down then was vsed in setting him vp, lest in acting his part vpon that infectiue stage, hee put the land to as much trouble as the arreared Duke *Richard* of *Yorke* had done, after hee was ordained heire apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raiser King *Henry* the sixt, and now hauing him and his Abetters vpon the aduantage, the better to secure his owne Estate, hee caused the heades of this Lord Marquesse with the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Neuill* to bee cut off vpon Tower-hill.

(105) The King then a Widdower, since the death of Queene *Iane*, who departed this life two yeeres before, meant to maintaine what hee had done, maugre all opposites: which the better to effect, by the Counsell of Lord *Cromwell*, he sought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne* sister to *William* Duke of *Cleue*, whose other sister *Fredericke* Duke of *Saxony* had espoused, a great fauourer of the Gospell, and maintainer of *Martin Luther* the zealous Preacher and professor thereof. But whether for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that hee would haue his wiues sister bestowed neerer at home (which thing hee pretended) a great hinderer hee was of that match. But the Lady sent into *England*, and married vnto King *Henry*, seemed nothing pleasing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardiner* then Bishoppe of *Winchester* perceiuing, thought it a fitte subiect for him to worke vpon, against the Lord *Cromwell* the maker of the match; hee therefore instigated iealousies dayly into the Kings eare, first exasperating the hatred of the Princes of *Germany* to him-wards, and especially of Duke *Fredericke* his compulsiue brother in Law, the Emperor, French Kings, Scots and the Pope, all seeking at once to raise their powers against *England*. The ciuill tumults lately passed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, hee letted not to remember, and all to nip the spring of the new spreading Gospell, whereby this wise Politician in the end got six such Articles against it, as the Consistory of Hell could deuise no worse. Whose cruelties were such that not long after, and in the dayes of this King, some of those Acts were againe repealed, and some of them qualified, as too sharpe and searching into the bloud of the Kings best Subiects.

The sixe Articles deuised.

32. H. 8. chap. 10. 35. H. 8. cap. 5.

(106) The fruite of these bloud-thirsty instigators, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Lady *Anne of Cleue* soon tasted of, he by imprisonment and death, and she by disgrace and diuorce; hauing been his wife from Ianuary to Iune, in all which time the King refrained the mutuall knowledge of her body, for the dislike hee had of her person, euen at the first sight, as himselfe called to witnesse the Lord *Cromwell* then Prisoner in the Tower, for whose report hee wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and shee good Lady no other cause alleadged, was diuorced by Parliament, when also it was enacted that shee should no longer bee styled Queene. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *George Throgmorton* with speaking of certaine generall words, not excepting therein the Kinges person, which neuerthelesse were thought so sleight and insufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the triall of his Peeres, lest he should bee acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dacres* of the North not many yeeres before had beene; wherfore there was a Bill drawne to attaint him of heresie and Treason, in generall words, rather then in particular proofes, which when hee was dead, passed in both houses of Parliament with the Kinges assent:

Lord *Cromwell* imprisoned.

In a letter written by himselfe. *Ex MS.* Anno 32. H. 8. cap. 25.

Queene *Anne* diuorced by Parliament.

Cromwell after his death attainted by Parliament. *Ex MS.*

(107) Howbeit *Saunders* that seldome speakes well of the Gospels professors, will haue him to die for the breach of a Law made by himselfe, which was, that one appeached of treason, should not come in the Kings presence, till he had tried himself not guilty; but besides that wee find no such Act by him made: his inditement doth not charge him with treason, but with setting at liberty certain persons committed for misprision of treason and heresie; for fauouring and maintaining the translation of hereticall bookes into English; for bearing out *Barnes* and other hereticall Preachers; that himselfe was an heretike, and had spoken words, great words for the vpholding of his said religion, which were, that the King should not change it if hee would: for these things he was attainted by Parliament of high Treason, and that grounded either vpon a Statute made in the fiue and twenty of *Edward* the third, or else by the explanation of that Act which referreth the exposition of Treasons to the Parliament, and so no way did *Cromwel* deuise or make any law of treason, which himselfe first fell into, as that partiall Romanist hath said.

D. Sanderi.

No such things as *Sanders* suppoleth against *Cromwell*.

No act by *Cromwell* to cause his owne death.

(108) But most sure it is, that the Kings affection, altogether guided by the fairest obiect, found no other point in the Compasse to fixe his variable eye, besides that onely, which by his seeming was touched by the Loadstone of nature, and the same to bee the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edward* the brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, against whom *Cromwell* standing in the defence of Queene *Anne*, and vsing words of dislike in the Lady *Katherine*, distastfull vnto the King, was thereupon apprehended (his enemy so working) and vpon the twenty eight of Iuly suffered death with the stroke of the Axe vpon Tower-hill, with whom was beheaded the Lord *Hungerford* of *Heitesbery*, neither so Christianly suffering, nor so quietly dying for his offence committed against nature.

Cromwels dislike of the Lady *Katherine* the cause of his death.

A.D. 1540.

Buggy.

A.D. 1541. May 27.

(109) The ſword thus vnſheathed vpon the necks of the Nobility; ſtrucke off the head of *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, daughter and heire vnto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and mother vnto *Reynald Poole* Cardinall, being neither arraigned nor tried, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had bin. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this preſent yeere loſt his head for treaſon, the twenty eight of Iune. And the next day following *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres* of the South, died at *Tyborne* for killing a priuate man in a fray. Neither was it put vp, vntill that the heades of Queen *Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Iane Rochford* were ſtricken off, the one for Adultery, the other for concealement, as was alleadged, the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpepper*, *Dereham* before ſhee was Queene, and *Culpepper* after, who both were executed at *Tiburne*, the tenth of December, and the twelfth of February following, Miſtreſſe *Katherine Howard* (for ſo in the Act of her Attainture ſhee is called) who had beene ſtiled and receiued Queene for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, and foure dayes, with the Lady *Iane* then widow, and late wife vnto *George Bullen*, Lord *Rochford*, were both of them brought vnto a Scaffold raiſed vppon the hill within the Tower, where they in lamentable paſſions ſuffered death.

Margaret Counteſſe of *Salisbury* beheaded.

Lord *Dacres* hanged.

Stat. in 33. of *H.* 8. cap. 21.

Since the eight of Auguſt proceeding.

Queene *Katherine* and the Lady *Iane Rochford* beheaded.

(110) Howſoeuer thoſe times afforded ſuch Queenes to the Kings bed, or himſelfe vnfortunate in making his choiſe: yet many of no meane iudgement haue rather accuſed King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinke them guilty in the breach of Matrimony. Of *Anne* wee haue ſeene what hath beene ſaid, and of this Queene let vs heare what ſhee proteſted after her condemnation to Doctor *White* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter* her laſt Confeſſor, and by him deliuered to a noble young Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were theſe: *As to the Act my reuerend Lord for which I ſtand condemned, God and his holy Angels I take to witneſſe vpon my ſoules ſaluation, that I die guiltleſſe, neuer hauing ſo abuſed my Soueraignes bed: what other ſinnes and follies of youth I haue committed, I will not excuſe; but am aſſured that for theſe, God hath brought this puniſhment vpon me, and will in his mercy remit them, for which I pray you, pray with me, vnto his ſonne and my Sauiour Chriſt.*

(111) As theſe then in caſe of Treaſons eyther acted or intended, ended their liues; ſo others in caſe of conſcience (though diuerſly affected) came to their deathes, and that by force of the Statutes enacted vnder this King; whereof one was the aboliſhing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refuſers of either made offenders in ſtate of high Treaſon, and the other in caſe of religion, when the ſixe Articles enacted by Parliament, was made Hereſie and death, to ſuch as held or taught the contrary, which Articles were thus concluded in both the houſes of Parliament with conſent of the King.

The oath of ſupremacie enacted.

Stat. *H.* 8, 28. c. 10.

Stat. *H.* 8, 31. *c.* 4.

The ſixe bloody Articles enacted.

1 That after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, the reall and naturall body and bloud of Chriſt, as hee was conceiued and crucified, was in the Sacrament, and no other ſubſtance conſiſting, in the forme of bread and wine, beſides the ſubſtance of Chriſt God and man.

2 That the communion in both kinds was not neceſſarie vnto ſaluation, the fleſh onely in forme of bread, ſufficient for the Laity.

3 That Prieſts after they haue receiued orders might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chaſtity either in man or woman, ought by Gods law to be obſerued, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Chriſtian people.

5 That priuate Maſſes was neceſſary for the people, and agreeable to the law of God.

6 That auricular confeſſion was expedient to be reteined, and continued in the Church of God.

Theſe Statutes I ſay aſwell the one as the other, brought many to their ends, which otherwiſe were very good Subiects, and worthy inſtruments in the common weale: for offending in the firſt, there died Biſhoppe *Fiſher*, and Sir *Thomas More*, beſides many Abbots, Priors, and Friers, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welſh rode ſet Frier *Forreſt* on fire, according to the prophecy very rife in their mouthes, that this holy rode ſhould ſet a whole forreſt on fire. For the other ſuffered in flames, many godly Chriſtians, whereof *Robert Barnes* a reuerend Doctor, and worthy miniſter of Chriſt, the firſt reducer (as M. *Fox* reporteth) of the Vniuerſity of *Cambridge* from rudeneſſe and barbarity, vnto good literature and learning, was with the firſt: And *Anne Aſkew* a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity one of the laſt, who, aboue the weakeneſſe of her ſexe moſt valiantly ſtoode againſt the violence of the time.

Iohn Fiſher. Sir Thomas More beheaded.

Fox. Mart. pag. 1363.

(112) Her birth was worſhipfull, and education accordingly, beſtowed in marriage, vnto *Iohn Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolneſhire*, and commended by *Bale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parts the penſill of *N. D.* with his vneuen hand (euer ouerhard to ſhadow the truth,) hath ſlanderouſly blurred and meaſured thoſe graces in her, by his owne looſe affections, and thoſe wanton Votaries, which in the height of ſinne haue changed the naturall vſe of women againſt nature.

Anne Aſkew ſtory. Ja. Bale Cent. fol. 669.

This young heifer (ſaith hee) *abiding no yoake, a coy dame, and of very euill fame, left the company of Maſter Kyme, to gadde vp and downe a Goſſpelling, and Goſſipping where ſhee might, and ought not, but eſpecially in London, and neere the Court, now ſhee being faire and but twenty fiue yeers old at her death, doth eaſily ſhew what may be ſuſpected of her life, and the myſticall ſpeeches and demands of the Kings Counſell touching her departure from her husband, were grounded vpon ſomewhat, eſpecially in that ſhee called her ſelfe Anne Askew alias Kyme.* Thus farre this ſcandalizing man hath accuſed this holy *Anne* by the outward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anna* by *Eli* was accuſed of drunkenneſſe when her heart was moſt feruent, in ſupplications to her God, and his partiall pen made the fanne to ſift the wheate of her holy conuerſation to finde out ſome chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is ſhee to be condemned vpon the imagerie of his ſuſpicious head (who vndoubtedly would haue told all if any thing could haue beene found) whereas ſhee in the vigour of beauty and weakeneſſe of her Sexe, reſiſted the gaine-ſaiers of the truth with her deareſt blood: teſtifying from the Priſons her faith and conſtancy, and from the Racke preached Chriſt, whereon moſt vnhumanely and againſt kind, ſhee was twice tormented; and laſtly ſealed her teſtimonie in *Smithfield* through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chaire, her bones ſo diſiointed by the Racke that ſhee could not goe.

Rom. 1. 26.

Three conſultations by N. D. pag. 495.

Anne accuſed no rule of Chriſtianity.

Anne and Anna compared.

(113) The irreuerend * *N. D.* whoſe affection to Chriſts Goſpell and loialty to the *Engliſh* Crowne hath ſufficiently ſhewed it ſelfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did demerit the Racke, ſaith that the King himſelfe commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Neeces, *Suffolkes* daughters, and his Queene. Whereas the truth tels vs that the Lieutenant refuſing to racke her the ſecond time was threatned by *Wriotheſley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himſelfe) to bee complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boate and told the whole Tragedy; whereof King *Henrie* ſeemed to be ſore offended, for vſing a woman with ſuch inhumane tortures. But ſuch fauours had the Popes Chickins vnder the ſhroud of the Church and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, euen vpon her that ſlept in his owne boſome, which was Queene *Katherine Parre*, eſpouſed vnto him ſome three yeeres before, and *whom* (as this

Perſons to ſuppoſe. Three conſultations. pag. 495.

See Alli R. 3.

Queene Katherines kitchin

this States intelligẽcer doth confeſſe) *he meant to haue burned had he longer lined. For the truth is (ſaith hee) that the Kings ſickeneſſe and death ſhortly enſuing was the chiefe cauſe of her eſcape; and the error of the Lord Chancellor Wriotheſley, who let fall out of his boſome, the Kings hand and commiſſion for carrying her to the Tower gaue occaſion (the paper found and brought her) to goe and humble her ſelfe to the King; the principal occaſion againſt her, was Heretical Books, found in her cloſet, both brought & ſent her by Anne Askew, whereof the witneſſes were the Lady Herbert, Lady Iane, Lady Tyrwit, and others.* Indeed it is true that by Gods prouidence ſuch papers were let fal out of the Lord *Chancellors* boſome conteining certaine Articles againſt her, with a warrant to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings hand was ſubſcribed: which being found was preſently brought vnto the Queene, whereof the vnexpected content ſo deepely touched her tender heart, that foorthwith ſhee fell into great feares, laments, and a moſt heauy melancholy, and was in ſuch danger of death, that the King came to viſit her, hauing not gone foorth of his Chamber of many dayes before; whereat ſhee ſo reioiced, as ſhee began to amend: and to acknowledge her like loue and duty, the next night following, repaired to the Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the Lady *Herbert* her ſiſter, and the Lady *Iane* the Kings neece, carrying the Candle before her, of whoſe preſence the King ſeemed to be moſt deſirous; and preſently falling in talke of Religion, began to debate ſome queſtion thereof with the Queene, demanding to haue her reſolutions therein, but ſhee knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, and the foreneſſe of his legge to encreaſe his choller, made him anſwere *that ſhe was a woman, accompanied with many imperfections, but his Maieſty wiſe and indicious, of whom ſhee muſt learne as of her Lord and Head, for ſo God hath appointed you (ſaid ſhee) the Supreame Head of vs all, of whom next vnto him I will euer learne. Not ſo, by Saint Mary, ſaid the King, you are become a Doctor Kate to inſtruct vs, and not to be inſtructed by vs as often heeretofore we haue ſeene. Indeede (ſaid ſhee) if your Maieſtie haue ſo conceiued, I haue beene miſtaken in my meaning, who haue euer held it prepoſterous for a woman to inſtruct her Lord. And whereas I haue heeretofore held talke with your highneſſe touching Religion, it was to learne of your Maieſty ſome excellent point which my ſelfe ſtood in doubt of: and ſometimes to the end that you might with leſſe griefe paſſe ouer this paineful time of your infirmity, wherein if by my ouermuch boldneſſe I haue failed in the latter, yet haue I not done in the former, to my no ſmall benefit and comfort. And is it euen ſo ſweet heart?* (quoth the King) *why then, are we friends,* and ſo kiſſing her, gaue her leaue to depart. But the day drawne on for her apprehenſion, and the King diſpoſed to take the ayre, ſent for the Queene to walke in the Garden, himſelfe accompanied onely with two Gentlemen, and ſhee with the three foreſaid Ladies. Whenas ſuddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden, with purpoſe to haue apperhended and carried the Queene to the Tower; whoſe malepert approach the King greatly miſliked, and ſternely beholding him, ſtept aſide, ſaluting him with the names of knaue, foole, and beaſt, bidding auaunt out of preſence. The Queene ſeeing the King chafed, but knew not the cauſe, indeauoured by all meanes to pacifie his Maieſtie, and intreated for the Lord Chancellour, whoſe fault as ſhee thought and alleaged, was rather through miſimpriſion then will, and therfore, ſaid ſhe, I wil become an humble ſuiter for him vnto your Highneſſe. *Ah poore ſoule* (quoth the King) *thou little knoweſt Kate how euill he deſerueth this grace at thy hands: of my word* (ſweet heart) *hee hath beene towards thee a verie knaue.* But in following this tract of blood, flowed from the fountaine of the ſixe Articles, wee haue ſtepped ouer ſome other occurrences that happened ſomewhat before this time, vnto which with thy patience, good Reader, we will returne againe.

(114) King *Henrie* by order of Parliament hauing aſſumed the Stile and Title of *King of Ireland*, with the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the *Iriſh* Nobility, *Iames* his Nephew, King of *Scotland*, tooke it not well, for that, as *Liſley* ſaith, a great part of *Ireland*, eſpecially in the North, had been in poſſeſsion of the Scotiſhmen for many hundred of yeeres before. Theſe diſcontents conceiued, King *Henrie* well perceiued; and becauſe hee would haue no ill will ſo neere him, that had ſo many enuiers abroad, he ſent vnto King *Iames* that it would pleaſe him to repaire vnto the City of *Yorke*, where he would meet him, to conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes, which at firſt was granted, but vpon better aduiſe, vnaccompliſhed, his Counſellors mouing the dangers; and his Clergy the feares, leſt their Religion ſhould be changed to the offence of his confederates the Pope, the Emperour, and the *French* King.

Henry aſſumeth the name of King of Ireland. A. 1542. confirmed by Parl. 35. Hen. 8. Iohn Liſley

The Kings of *England* and *Scotland* appoint to meet at *Yorke*.

(115) The vnkindnes growing from this ſmall ſparke, was preſently kindled into great flames, for Commiſſioners being ſent from both Kings, to view the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at ods about a ſmall peece of ground, and from that tooke occaſion of emulations and warres: to proſecute which King *Henry* prepared an Armie, and ſent them into *Scotland* vnder the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewſbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus* and *Rutland*. Theſe paſsing the *Engliſh* Marches, did much hurt in the Kingdome of *Scotland*. To withſtand whom King *Iames* gathered a power, of fiue and thirty ſtrong, and at Fallaw more meant to haue bidden the Duke battell, which as that writer related, was not then minded to doe, but made againe into *England*, and paſsing the water *Tweed*, ſuſtained great loſſe by the couragious purſuit of the Lord *Huntly*. King *Iames* vpon a luſty courage meaning to repaire the Scots loſſes with the Engliſh ſpoiles, was very forward to follow the Duke into their Borders, but the Scotiſh Nobility wiſely waying the danger of warre, by no meanes would either aſſent, or aſſiſt him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour ſufficient, to haue forced the Engliſh backe with no little loſſe.

A. D. 1542.

An expedition into *Scotland*.

The Scotiſh noblemen refuſe to inuade *England*.

(116) King *Iames* diſcontented at his Nobles denials, made towards the Borders himſelfe; where, mouing the *Lord Maxewell*, *Lord Warden* of the *weſt* Borders, with many other men of ſpeciall fauour and account, to inuade *England*, whereunto they gaue their conſents. Theſe paſſing the Riuer *Eske*, did ſome ſmall dammage vpon the *Weſterne Borderers*, whereof *Thomas* baſtard *Dacres*, and * *Iacke of Muſgraue*, as *Hollinſhed* cals them, ſent word to *Thomas Wharton*, *Lord Warden* for the King vpon the *Weſt Marches*: But the Scots comming forward, they were forced to prepare for fight before the Lord *Wharton* could come, and out of their ſmal company left a ſtand vpon the ſide of a hill.

The Lord Warden of the Weſt. Borders yeeld to the Kings perſwaſions.

* William Muſgraue ſaith Stow.

(117) The *Scots* aduanced forward with no little hope, were preſently danted with the ſight of theſe men, and verily thought that the Lord *Wharton* had aſſembled his Charge, or that the Duke of *Norfolke* with a great Army were come to their reſcue, whereupon they began to conſult what was beſt to be done, and demanding who was deputed Lieutenant by the King, *Oliuer Sinclere* of no great parts nor honorable parentage, being lifted vp vpon the Shoulders of two Souldiers, ſhewed forth the Kings Commiſſion, wherein himſelfe was appointed their Generall, and whereat howſoeuer it was written or read, the Lords tooke no little diſdaine that ſo many more worthy, honourable, and approued Captaines of the Field, ſhould be lead by this his Minion, but no Seruant of *Mars*. In whoſe contempt and for the indiſcretion of their King, they ſuffred themſelues to bee taken Priſoners, and willingly loſt the daye.

The miſtaking of the *Scots*,

Oliuer Sinclere the Kings Lieutenant Generall.

The Scotiſh Nobility in diſdaine of their generall loſt the field.

John Leſlie.

(118) This victory was wonne vpon the twenty fourth

Solem-moſſe.

fourth of *Nouember*, at a place beyond *Carliel*, called *Solem-moſſe*, where were taken Priſoners the Earles of *Caſsils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Grey*, *Sir Oliuer Sinclere*, and others, to the number of one and twenty men of account, who were conueighed to *London*, and committed to the Tower. For griefe of which loſſe, and ſuſpition of his Nobility; King *Iames* fell into a melancholy Paſſion, which the birth of his new borne Princeſſe rather increaſed, then gaue him any cõfort, ſo as hee deceaſed the foureteenth day of *December* following, foreſhewing (ſaith *Leſlie*) great troubles to follow in *Scotland*.

Graſton ſaith foure and twentie.

The death of K. *Iames* of Scotland.

(119) Newes brought neere at one inſtant, of the death of King *Iames*, & birth of the Princeſſe his daughter, King *Henry* intended to doe that by the match of a marriage, which long had beene aſſayed by the ſword of *Mars*: all things ſo conſorting as it did, he hauing one onely ſonne, then aboue fiue yeres of age, and *Scotland* no heire beſide this new borne daughter; their yeeres ſuiting a conſent for marriage, the whole Iland offering both the ioynter and dowry, and that which moſt moued, their chiefe Nobility in his owne hands, to be moulded for this deſigne, as if heauen it ſelfe had bid the banes.

A marriage intended betwixt Prince *Edward*, and the young Queene of *Scotland*.

(120) Thoſe Priſoners therefore which had remained in the Tower only two daies, vpon the twenty one of December, he ſent for to *Weſtminſter*, the Earles and Lords all ſuited in Gownes of blacke damaske, furred with Cunny, where after ſome words of friendly reproofe, they were beſtowed among the Engliſh Nobility, who vſed them according to their eſtates: and the third day in *Chriſtmas* were inuited to the Court at *Greenewich*, where they went before the King to his Chappell, were royally feaſted, and the motion then made for the eſtabliſhing of peace, by the Coniunction of the two Princes, whereunto the *Scotiſh* were as willing as the Engliſh, & proffered all forward aſsiſtance to haue it accompliſhed. So that theſe Nobles were deliuered without other ranſome, and richly rewarded at their departure from Court.

The Scotiſh priſoners honourably entertained.

The Scotiſh priſoners relealed without Ranſome.

(121) Theſe returned into *Scotland*, declared what they had done, and ſo effectually followed the buſines, that in a Parliament aſſembled of the three Eſtates, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace proclaimed to continue betwixt the two Realmes the ſpace of tenne yeeres, which agreements were ſent into *England* by honourable Ambaſſadors, and there interchangeably ſealed betwixt theſe Potent Eſtates. But Cardinall *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing leaſt *Scotland* would change the Church Orders, as *England* had done (the *Bible* already read in their owne language, and the Popes vſurped power called in Queſtion, as then it began to be, by the feruent preaching of Frier *Guiliam*, to the great liking of moſt of the Lords) made ſome exceptions againſt the Earle *Arraine* the new choſen Gouernour, and ſecond perſon in the Land, being neereſt in blood to the young Queene. And the French King not liking this vnion with *England*, ſought by all meanes to breake the ſame match: to effect which, he ſent the Earle of *Lennox* to perſwade with the Gouernour, with great proffers and promiſes of aſsiſtance, but finding him faithfull vnto King *Henry*, preſently made faction for the French, wherein hee drew the Queene mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Montroſſe*, *Menteith*, and many more Peeres, the Cardinall amongſt them euer the chiefe.

Iohn Leſly.

The marriage of Prince *Edward* and Queen *Mary*, concluded by Parliament.

Cardinall *Beton* againſt the marriage with *England*.

The *French* King ſets factions in *Scotland*.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credite with the Queene mother, and made ſtrong by her adherents that fauoured the French, preſently claimed to be Gouernour of *Scotland*, being the ſecond perſon of degree in the Realme, and withall to haue the cuſtody of the young Queene, who with her mother were forthwith taken from *Linlithqw* vnder the charge of the Gouernour *Arraine*, and brought vnto *Striueling* ſtrongly guarded, with the continuall preſence of the Lords, *Leuinſton*, *Erskwin*, *Flemming*, and *Ruthwen*, leaſt Queene *Mary* ſhould be conueyed into *England* vnto King *Henry*. Theſe violent courſes, cauſed great Emulations among the Scotiſh Nobility, each of them ſiding as their affections were ſetled, but laſtly agree to ſet the Crowne on their young Queenes head: prepared for the ſolemnity, whereunto all the Lords came, excepting thoſe that ſtood for *England*, and from them the Gouernour with much adoe was drawne to be preſent at the Coronation: but that accompliſhed, and the ſtate affaires conſulted vpon, it was agreed that the French Kings ſuite ſhould be fauoured, and that the Earle *Arran* ſhould be Gouernour ſtill, whereat Earle *Lennox* conceiued ſuch diſpleaſure, as he became wholy for King *Henrie*, & ioined himſelfe with the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, and *Caſsils*, the Lords, *Maxwel*, *Summerwell* *Gray*, and others that ſtood with the *Engliſh* for the match with Prince *Edward*.

Queene Marie of Scotland crowned.

The Earle of *Lennox* falleth from the Queene mother.

(123) King *Henry* then hearing what was done, and intended; ſent preſently into *Scotland* to demand the Cuſtody of the young Queene, and that certaine Scotiſh Noblemen might be appointed to guarde her in *England*, vntill ſhee came to yeeres of conſent, according to Couenants formerly concluded; which no waies would be granted, and thereupon he prepared an Army thetherward, vnder the Conduct of Lord *Edward Seimer* Earle of *Hertford* Lieutenant Generall by Land, accompanied with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and a Fleete of two hundred ſaile by Sea, whereof Sir *Iohn Dudley*, *Vicount Liſle* was Admirall.

King Henry commandeth the young Scotiſh Queene.

An Army ſent into Scotland.

(124) To the aide of the Scots the Popes holineſſe was very forward, who ſent them the *Patriarch* of *Venice* as his Legate, & Orator, to perſwade their Reſolutions, with whom the French King ſent *Monſieur la Broche*, and *Monſieur Menager*, to lead them to fight, and fifty thouſand Crownes of the Sun, to ſuſtaine the Charge; with munition worth ten thouſand Crownes more. It ſeemeth by *Leſly* that part of this ſiluer fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand, and that therewith he made head againſt the Gouernor, but not able to match him, ſent vnto King *Henry* for aide, with proffer of his ſeruice againſt the French ſide, which ſo well was accepted of *Henry*, as he made him his Nephew, by giuing the Lady *Margaret* his ſiſters daughter to be his wife.

Iohn Leſly.

Iohn Leſly. The Pope and French King in aide into Scotland.

Math. Earle *Lennox* married Lady *Margaret*.

(125) The Engliſh thus ſeconded with this vnlooked for Allyance, Cardinall *Beton* thought good to binde all to the Gouernour, who with the Authority of the Queene *Dowager* proclaimed *Lennox* an Enemy to the State. But in the meane while the *Admirall* of *England* was entred the *Frith*, and at new Hauen landed his men, where ioining his, to the land Seruice, they altogether marched thence towards *Lieth*, himſelfe leading the Vaward, *Shrewsbury* the Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Battell. Theſe comming to *Lieth*, ſpoiled the Town, and thence to *Edenbrough*, burnt the City, and waſted the Country for ſeauen miles about, this done they ſet fire vpon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and then the whole Army returned vnto *Barwicke*.

Earle *Lennox* proclaimed enemie to the ſtate.

The Engliſh enter Scotland.

(126) Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Scotland*, and the maine purpoſe reſting in ſuſpence, King *Henry* well knew where the greateſt rub did lie in his way, which was the French King, the chiefeſt Abetter of the *Scots*, whom he euer vpheld, to hold him tacke at home, leaſt otherwiſe he ſhould tug with *France* for his owne right. And therefore hauing ioined with the Emperour againſt the French, ſent his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand certaine couenants, which if he refuſed, to proclaime defiance vnto open warres, but he not ſuffered to doe his meſſage to the King, returned, and *Henrie* prepared an expedition into *France*, wherein he imploied the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford* and *Surrey*, the Lords, *Ruſſell*, *Grey*, *Ferrers*, *Mountioy*, and *Sainct-Iohn*, beſides many other ſeruiceable Knights, and Sir *Iohn Dudley* appointed high Admirall for the Seas. Of theſe ſome ioined with

A.D. 154

Defiance ſent into France.

Ioh. Stow.

with the Emperials, and shewed their value in the siege of *Mastrell*.

(127) The Duke of *Suffolke* in the meane while strucke downe his Standerds on the East side of *Bolloigne*, and with many sharpe skirmishes, entred the base Towne, which siege King *Henry* himselfe in person seconded, who hauing passed the Seas from *England*, vpon the sixe & twentith of Iuly, encamped before *Bolloigne* on the East-side, whence his Canons so rent the Wals and Bulwarke, as their mounted tops lay vpon the Ground, and his great morter peeces were discharged with so skilfull a Compasse, that their bullets falling downe right, beate all buildings downe vpon the Enemies heads. Whereby (saith *Sleidane*) *in short time he got that, which neither his Father, nor the Kings in former times could neuer winne.* For thereupon the Town was surrendred and cleared of the French souldiers, women and children.

(128) The King like a Conquerour with his sword borne before him entred the Gate, where the Duke of *Suffolke* presented him with the keyes of the Towne, the Trumpets still sounding, and nothing wanting that might applaud his fame. The Towne thus wonne, the English meant still to keep; for the strengthening whereof, the King commanded the faire Church of Saint *Maries* to be taken downe, and in the same place, a mount to be raised for the planting of Ordinance, to annoy any siege. But being thus busied in *Bolloignes* affaires, the Emperour without his knowledge or consent came to a peace with the French King, whereat King *Henrie* was sore displeased, and the sooner left *France*, leauing Sir *Iohn Dudley Lord Lisle*, his deputy in *Bolloigne*, and landed at *Douer* the first day of *October*, to his great honor and ioy of his Subiects.

(129) The French King chafed with this late and great losse, sought to trie fortune in further attempts, and that not onely for the recouery of *Bolloigne* (which with twenty thousand well appointed hee assaied) but also in assayling the English dominions, as the *Ile of Wight* and those parts of *Sussex* that lay vpon the Seas, though with losse of many Captaines and thousands of Souldiers, that neuer returned to tell him what intertainement they had; as likewise in sending aide vnto *Scotland*, where *Monsieur Mungumry* of the Order of *France*, with 5000 strong, entred to maintaine the breach betwixt them and K. *Henry*, which was so followed on both parts, as the English making a Roade towards *Gedworth*, got praise for their valour, but reproch for their spoiles, and the *Scots* renowne for killing the Lord *Eure*, Lord *warden* of the *East-Marches*, with many other Captaines in defence of their Countrey.

(130) Hereupon an Army of twelue thousand strong was sent into *Scotland*, whereof the Earle of *Hertford* was Generall: with these he forraged the Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the Middle-Marches, with *Kelsey* & *Coldingham* Abbey, the *French* not hastie to stay the incursion, lay still, and let them (vnfought with) depart for *England*.

(131) But the warres remoued againe into *France*, the *Reingraue* with a great power came to victuall a Fort built neere vnto *Bolloigne*; to impeach which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of the Towne made forth, but was discomfited in the enterprize, and Sir *Edward Poynings* Captaine of a Band slaine, with fifteene other Captaines, besides many Officers and Common Souldiers. These Princes wars in these violent proceedings, became very fearfull least they would grow to the Common hurt of Christendome, and therefore many other potentates, whereof the Emperour was first, sollicited these Kings vnto a peace, which the sooner was heard and imbraced, for that they were both of them old, and King *Henry* diseased in body, Commissioners therefore appointed certaine articles were agreed vpon: the first thereof was, that the French King should pay vnto King *Henry*, eight hundred thousand Crownes in eight yeeres space, and then to reenter vpon *Bolloigne*, but in the meane time it to remaine vnder the *English*; to accomplish which peace *Monsieur Danehalt* high Admirall of *France*, was sent into *England*; and Sir *Thomas Cheyne* Lord *Warden* of the Cinque Ports, to be the Kings Agent at the Font, for the Baptisme of the Dolphins new borne daughter.

(132) Notwithstanding these Complements, the sight of *Bolloigne* was a great sore in the *French* mens eies, insomuch that *Monsieur Chatillon* Captain of *Mountplaisier*, beganne to make a new *Bastilion* neere vnto the Towne, euen in the very mouth of the Riuer, which the Lord *Grey of Wilton* perceiuing certified the King, what inconuenience would happen if that were made strong; and the same discussed at the Counsell-Table, it passed with one voice that the Peace with *France* was not to be infringed, notwithstanding this French attempt: to which end a prohibition drawne, whereunto King *Henry* also set his hand, that no let should be made against *Chatillon* in his Fort. Howbeit the King commanded Sir *Thomas Palmer* (imploied in this busines) to bid the Lord *Grey* to impeach the new worke, and to flat so much as was raised thereof vnto the Earth. This commission read with the report of Command to the Contrary, the Counsell of State, thought it most meete to follow their instructions in writing, least the words might either be mis-deliuered or mistaken. But the Lord *Grey* causing the messengers words to be writ, and subscribed with all their hands that were present at the report, suddainely and vnlooked for, came to the Fort, and in foure houres space cast downe, what had beene in raising three moneths before, which when the King heard off, he asked his Counsellors what they thought of this, that *Chatillon-garden* was cast downe: amongst whom one of them answered, *the doer thereof was worthy to loose his head*, I had rather (said the King) loose a dozen of such heades as thine is, then his that had done the deed, and immediately sent the Lord *Grey* his pardon with many great thankes.

(133) But now the date of his time almost run, and he preparing towards the way of all flesh, the great and faire Church of the *Gray Friers* London, lately suppressed by himselfe, he caused againe to be opened, and to be made a Parish Church, giuing the reuenewes thereof vnto the Citie of *London* towards the reliefe of their poore, whereunto he gaue fiue hundred Markes yeerely of Lands for euer to maintaine Gods diuine seruice and the said Churches reparations, within whose walles we finde this often written, *This is Christs Church founded by King Henrie the eight.*

(134) And his sicknes increasing to the great danger of life hee prepared himselfe to make his Wil, wherein howsoeuer titles had been vnhabled in Parliaments, he ordained his three children to succeede each after others, for want of other Issue; One thousand markes he commanded to be giuen to the poore, and to twelue poore Knights at *Winsore* each of them twelue pence a day for euer, euery yeere a long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbroidered vpon the breast, wherein was placed the Crosse of *Saint George*, and a Mantle of red cloth to bee worne thereupon, ordaining for his Executors in the minority of Prince *Edward*, these heere vnder named.

1 *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
2 *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor.
3 *William Paulet* Knight of the Order.
4 *Lord Saint-Iohn* Great Master of the Household
5 *Iohn Russell* Lord priuie Seale.
6 *Edward Seimer Earle of Hertford* Lord great Chamberlaine.
7 *Iohn Dudley Viscount Lisle* Lord high Admiral
8 *Cuthert Tunstall B.* of *Durham*.
9 *Anthonie Browne* Knight Master of the Horse.
10 *William Paget* Knight of the Order.
11 *Edmund Montacute* Chiefe iustice of the Common-pleas.

Peace concluded betwixt England and France.

Holinshed.

Chatillon raiseth a fort neere vnto *Bolloigne*.

King *Henrie* cõmand against his own writing.

The Lord *Grey* flatteth *Chatillons* fort.

A.D. 1547.

King *Henrie* sicknes.

Iohn Stow in Surucy *London*.

Dated the 30. of December and 38. of his raigne.

12 *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chiefe Iuſtice.
13 *Anthony Denny* Knight.
14 *Edward North* Knight.
15 *Edward Wotton* Knight.
16 Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*.

And for their aide and aſſiſtance in Counſell he appointed theſe following.

1 *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundel*.
2 *William Parre* Earle of *Eſſex*.
3 *Thomas Cheney* Knight, Treaſurer of the Houſhold.
4 *Iohn Gage* Knight, Cõtroler of the Houſhold.
5 *Anthony Winkefield* Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine.
6 *William Peter* Knight, principall Secretary.
7 *Richard Rich* Knight.
8 *Iohn Baker* Knight.
9 *Ralph Sadler* Knight.
10 *Thomas Seimer* Knight.
11 *Richard Southwell* Knight.
12 *Edmund Pecham* Knight.

King *Henries* death.

And in great penitency for his ſinnes, died vpon Thurſday the twenty eight day of Ianuary, in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1546. when hee had raigned thirty ſeuen yeere, nine moneths, and fiue daies, &had liued fifty fiue yeres, fiue months, & fiue daies, whoſe body with great ſolemnity was buried at *Windſore* vnder a moſt coſtly and ſtately Tombe begunne in Copper and guilt, but neuer finiſhed, in the incloſures of whoſe Grates is curiouſly caſt this inſcription. HENRICVS OCTAVVS REX ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, DOMINVS HIBERNIAE, FIDEI DEFENSOR with what coſt and ſtate this his Monument was intended, is manifeſted by a Manuſcript taken from the true modell thereof, which I receiued from that induſtrious Herauld, Maſter *Nicholas Charles Lancaſter*, and for the great magnificence is worthy heere to be inſerted.

The maner of the Tombe to be made for the Kings Grace at Windſore.

Firſt, the pauement wherevpon the Tombe ſhall ſtand, ſhall be of Orientall ſtone: That is to ſay, of *Alabaſter*, *Porfido*, *Serpentines*, and other ſtones of diuers colours, as in the patterne ſheweth.

Item, vpon the ſame Pauement ſhall be two great ſteps vnder all the worke of like Orientall ſtones.

Item, the Baſement of the Pillers ſhall be of white Marble with Angels holding betweene them Crownes or Garlands guilt, and white Marble as more plainely ſheweth in the Patterne.

Item, aboue the ſaid Baſement and Angels, ſhall be all the old Teſtament, that is to ſay, xiiij. Images in the xiiij. Caſements of the ſame two Pillers of the Prophets, and all the Pillers which ſhall be *xvi.* ſhall be of ſtones *Serpentine*, *Porfido* and *Alabaſter*, and other fine Orientall ſtones, of ſuch colours as is ſhewed in the Patterne; and the foote of euery piller, and alſo the head ſhall be of Braſſe. And euery Prophet ſhall haue an Angell ſit at his foote, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and aboue ouer the head of the ſame ſhall bee the ſtory of his Prophet: in euery of which Story ſhall bee at leaſt *viij*. or *xi*. figures.

Item, aboue all the ſame Pillers ſhall bee another Baſement of white Marble, with a partition being made of ſuch fine Orientall ſtones as the Pillers bee, wherein ſhall bee written ſuch Scripture as pleaſe you.

Item, aboue the ſame Baſement ſhall be the Story of the new Teſtament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apoſtles, the Euangeliſts and the foure Doctors of the Church, and euery Image ſhall haue ſitting at his foote a little child with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Basket full of red and white Roſes, which they ſhall ſhew to take in their hands, and caſt them downe off the Tombe and ouer the Pauement, and the Roſes that they ſhal caſt ouer the Tombe ſhall bee enamelled and guilt, and the roſes that they caſt ouer the Pauements ſhal be of fine Orientall ſtones of white and red.

Item, behinde all the ſame Images of the new Teſtament round ſhall be made in braſſe and guilt all the life of *Ieſus Chriſt* from the natiuity to his aſcention, and it ſhall be ſo clearely and perfectly made, that the Myſtery of *Chriſts* life to his aſcention ſhall plainely appeare.

Item, aboue the ſaid new Teſtament and Images thereof, and aboue the ſaid life of *Chriſt*, ſhall bee a Quire of *xx*. Angels ſtanding vpon a Baſement of white Marble, with great Candleſtickes in their hands hauing lights in them ſhewing to honour and reuerence the ſame Tombe.

Item, all theſe foreſaid figures, ſtories and ornaments ſhall be made to garniſh and ornate the two Pillers of the Church betweene which the Tombe ſhall be ſet.

Item, betweene the ſaid two great Pillers of the Church thus garniſhed, ſhall be a Baſement of white Marble of the height of the Baſement of the Pillers, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of ſuch Scriptures as yee deuiſe.

Item, vpon the ſame Baſement ſhall bee made two Tombes of blacke-touch, that is to ſay, on either ſide one, and vpon the ſaid Tombes of black Touch ſhall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both ſides, not as death, but as perſons ſleeping, becauſe to ſhew that famous Princes leauing behinde them great fame, their names neuer doe die, and ſhal lie in roiall Apparels after the antique maner.

Item, ouer the right hand, ouer both the ſides of the ſame Tombe ſhall be an Angell which ſhall hold the Kings Armes, with a great Candleſticke, hauing as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner ſhall be an other Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candleſticke.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the ſides ouer the ſaid Images of the King and Queene, ſhall be two Angels ſhewing to the people the bodies of the King and Queene holding aboue their Heades veiles of gold, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betweene the ſaid two Tombes of blacke Touch and the ſaid Angell ouer the King & Queene ſhall ſtand an high Baſement like a Sepulchre, and on the ſides whereof ſhalbe made the ſtory of *Saint George*, and ouer height of the Baſement ſhall bee made an Image of the King on Horſebacke, liuelie in Armor like a King after the Antique maner ſhewing in countenance and looking on the ſaid two Images lying on the ſaid Tombes.

Item on the right hand and left hand of the ſaid two Tombes ſhall bee foure Pillers of the foreſaid Orientall ſtones, that is to ſay, on either ſide two Pillers, and vpon euery Pillar ſhall bee a like Baſement of white Marble with partitions for Scriptures as ſhall be aboue the other Pillers. And on the ſame foure Baſements of the ſaid Pillers ſhall bee made foure Images, two of *Saint Iohn Baptiſt*, and two of *Saint George*, with foure little children by them caſting roſes, as is aforeſaid.

Item, ouer the ſaid Image of the King on Horſebacke ſhall bee made an Arch triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and vpon the ſame Arch, in maner of a Caſement of white Marble garniſhed with like Orientall Stones of diuers colours, as the pattern ſheweth, and on the two ſides of the ſaid Caſement ſhall be made and ſet of braſſe guilt, the ſtory of the life of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and one hight of the ſaid Caſement ſhall bee made fiue ſteps, euery one more then other downeward, of like Orientall ſtones, as the ſaid Pillers ſhall ſhew.

Item, on the foure corners of the ſaid Caſement ſhall

shall be made the Images of the foure Cardinal vertues hauing such Candlesticks in their hands as is aboue said.

Item, on the toppe of the highest step of the said fiue steps on the one side shall be an Image of the Father, hauing in his left hand the Soule of the King and blessing with his right hand, with two Angels holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either side.

Item, in like wise shall bee made on the other side the said Image of the Father, hauing the soule of the Queene in his left hand, blessing with his right hand with like Angels.

The height of the same worke from the Father vnto the Pauement shall be *xxviij.* foot.

Item the breadth and largenes of the said worke shall be *xv.* foote, and the Pillers of the Church in greatnes, *v.* foote: and so the largenes of the said worke, from the vttermost part of the two great Pillars shalbe *xx.* foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the *xiij.* Prophets, shall containe euery Image *V.* foote in length, and the Angels shall containe two foote and a halfe in length.

Item, euery of the *xx.* Pillers shall containe in length *X.* foot.

Item, euery of the Images of the Apostles, Euangelists and Doctors shall containe in length *V.* foote and the Angels as is aboue said.

Item in likewise euery of the *xx.* Angels of the quire shall containe in length two foot and a halfe, and in likewise the Images of the Children two foot and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of S^t. *Iohn Baptist* and S^t. *George* and all the figures of the father and Angels on the *V.* steps shall be *V.* foote.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queen shall be of the Stature of a man and woman, and the foure Angels by them of the stature of a man euery one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horseback with his Horse shall be of the whole stature of a goodly man and large Horse.

Item, there shal be a *Cxxxiij.* figures, *xliij.* Stories, and all of Brasse guilt, as in the patterne appeareth.

(135) This magnificent Monarch was of presence Maiesticall, and of Personage more then ordinarily tal, faire of Complexion and Corpulent of body, very wise and very well learned, of a sudden and ready speach, in youth very prodigall, and in his age very liberall, pleasant and affable, but not to be dallyed with, bolde in attempting, and euer thirstie of potent glory: an expert Souldier, and fauouring such as were actiue or seruiceable, according to the then vsuall saying, *King Henrie loues a man*: and indeed somewhat too wel the delights with women, as by his many wiues heere ensuing, may well appeare,

His Wiues.

(136) *Katherine* the first wife to King *Henry* was the daughter of *Ferdinando* the sixt King of *Spaine*, and widow dowager of Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as hath beene said: she was married vnto this King the third of Iune 1509. and first of his Raigne, the yeere of saluation 1509. being solemnely crowned with him vpon the twenty fourth day of the same, and was his wife aboue twenty yeeres, and then diuorced from him by the sentence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: liued three yeeres after by the name of *Katherine Dowager*. Shee deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington* the eight of Ianuary, and yeere of Christ 1535. and lieth interred on the North-side of the quire in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow* vnder a hearse of Blacke Saye, hauing a white Crosse in the middest. A.D. 1533

(137) *Anne*, the second wife of King *Henry*, was the second daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earle of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. Shee was solemnly at *Windsore* created Marchioness of *Pembrooke*, the first of September and twenty foure of his Raigne, hauing one thousand pound giuen her by yeere, to maintaine her estate. Shee was married vnto king *Henry* in his Closet at *White-Hall*, vpon the twenty fift day of *Ianuary*, and yeere of *Christ Iesus*, 1533. being the foure and twentith of his Raigne, and was Crowned with all due obseruances, at *Westminster* vpon *Whitsunday* the first of *Iune*, where the Crowne of Saint *Edward* was set vpon her head, the scepter of Gould deliuered into her right hand, and the Iuory rodde with the Doue into her left. Shee was his wife three yeeres, three monthes and twenty fiue daies, when being cut off by the sword the nineteenth of *May*, her body was buried in the *Quire* of the Chappell in the Tower, leauing her accused fame to bee censured as affections best pleased the vncharitable minded, and her bed to bee possest of a vertuous Lady. A.D. 1532. A.D. 1536.

(138) *Iane*, the third wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Iohn Seimer* Knight, and sister to Lord *Edward Seimer*, Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Sommerset*. Shee was married vnto him the twentieth of *May*, euen the next day after the beheading of *Queene Anne*, and the twenty eight of his Raigne. Shee was his wife one yeere, fiue monthes and twenty foure daies, and died in Child-bed the foureteenth of *October*, to the great griefe of the King, who not onely remoued from the place, but kept himselfe priuate, and wore the Garment of mourning euen in the Festiuall time of Christmas, her body was solemnely conueied to *Windsore* the eight of Nouember following, where she was interred in the middest of the Quire of the Church within the Castell.

(139) *Anne* the fourth wife of King *Henry* and sister to *William* Duke of *Cleue* was married vnto him the sixth of Ianuary in the thirty one yeere of his Raigne, the yeere of Grace, 1540. shee was his wife sixe moneths, after which time certaine Lords of the vpper House of Parliament came into the nether, and alleaged cause for which that marriage was vnlawfull, whereunpon shee was diuorced, and by Statute enacted, that shee should no more be taken for Queene, but should be called the *Lady Anne of Cleue*. See remained in *England* long after the Kings death, though small mention is made of her by any of our Writers, only we finde that she accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London* at the solemnizing of Queene *Maries* Coronation. A.D. 1540.

(140) *Katherine* the fifth wife of King *Henry* the eight, was the daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece vnto *Thomas Howard* his brother, Duke of *Norfolke*: Shee was married vnto him the eight of *August* and yeere of Grace 1540. being the thirtie two of his Raigne, at Hampton Court, and continued his Queene the space of one yeere, sixe moneths and foure daies, and for her vnchaste life was attainted by Parliament, and for the same beheaded within the Tower of *London* the twelfth of February and her body buried in the Chauncell of the Chappell by Queene *Anne Bullen*.

(141) *Katherine* the sixth and last wife of King *Henry* was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall* and sister to Lord *William Parre* Marquesse of *Northampton*, shee was first married to *Iohn Neuill*, *Lord Latimer*, and after his decease, vpon the twelfth of Iuly maried vnto the King at *Hampton Court*, the yeere of Saluation, 1543. and thirtie fiue of his Raigne: Shee was his wife three yeeres, sixe months and fiue daies, and suruiuing him, was againe married vnto *Thomas Seimer* Lord Admirall of *England*, vnto whom she bare a daughter, but died in the same Child-bed, the yeere of Grace, 1548.

His Issue.

(142) *Henrie* the first sonne of King *Henry* by Queene *Katherine* his first wife, was borne at *Richmund* in *Surrey* vpon the first of Ianuary, and the first of

of his fathers Raigne, whose Godfathers at Font were the Lord *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and the Earle of *Surrey*: his Godmother, Lady *Katherine* Countesse of *Deuonshire*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. This Prince liued not fully two months but died in the same place wherein he was borne, vpon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obsequies buried in *Westminster*.

(143) A sonne not named was borne vnto King *Henrie* by Lady *Katherine* his first Queene in the month of Nouember, and the sixth yeere of his Raigne, who liued not long, and therefore no further mention of him can bee made: the deathes of these Princes King *Henrie* tooke as a punishment from God, for so he alleaged it in the publike Court held in Blacke-friers *London*, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) *Marie* the third childe and first daughter of King *Henrie* by *Queene Katherine* his first wife, was born at *Greenewich* in *Kent*, the eighteenth of Februarie in the yeere of Christs humanity, 1518. and the eighth of his Raigne. Shee was by the direction of her mother brought vp in her Childe-hood by the Countesse of *Salisbury* her neere kinswoman, for that as some thought, the *Queene* wished a marriage betwixt some of her sons and the Princesse, to strengthen her Title by that Aliance into *Yorke*, if the King should die without issue Male. In her yong yeeres shee was sued to be married with the Emperour, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleance* in *France*, but all these failing, and shee succeeding her brother K *Edward* in the Crowne, at the age of thirtie sixe yeeres, matched with *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, to the great dislike of many, and small content to her selfe, hee being imploied for the most part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof and the losse of *Calice*, shee lastly fell into a burning feauer, that cost her her life.

Holinsh. p.883.

(145) *Elizabeth* the second daughter of King *Henrie*, and first childe by *Queene Anne* his second wife, was borne at *Greenwich*, vpon Sunday the seuenth of September, the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1534 and twenty fiue of her Fathers Raigne, who with due solemnities was baptized the Wednesday following, Archbishop *Cranmer*, the old Dutches of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* being the witnesses at the Font, and the Marchioness of *Exeester* at the confirmation: Shee succeeded her sister *Queene Marie* in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wisdome, vertue, piety, and Iustice, not onelie the Mirrour of her Sexe, but a patterne for Gouernment to al the princes in Christendome: whose name I may not mention without al dutiful remembrance, and whose memory vnto me is most deare, amongst the many thousands that receiued extraordinary fauours at her gracious and most liberall hand.

(146) Another man-childe *Queene Anne* bare vnto *King Henry*, though without life vpon the nine and twentieth of Ianuary, and twenty seuen of his Raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, some dislike of the King, as the sequel of her accusation and death did shortly confirme.

John Stow.

(147) *Edward* the last childe of *King Henry*, and first of *Queene Iane* his third wife, was borne at *Hampton* Court, the twelfth of October, the yeere of Grace, 1537. and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as is constantly affirmed, like as *Iulius Cæsar* is said to haue been: his Godfathers at the Font, was *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his sister Lady *Mary* being Godmother, saith *Grafton*: Sixe daies after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, succeeded him in all his Dominions, of whom more followeth heereafter.

His Naturall Issue.

(148) *Henrie Fitz-Roie* the naturall sonne of King *Henrie* the eight was begotten of the Lady *Talboise* called *Elizabeth Blunt*, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackamoore* in *Essex* about the tenth yeere of his Raigne; at the age of sixe yeeres he was created Earle of *Nottingham* and in the fiue and twentieth of his Fathers Raigne vpon the eighteenth of Iune in the Kings Pallace of *Bridewell* was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerset*, Lord Warden of the East, West, and Middle-Marches against *Scotland*, and Lieutenant Generall of all the parts of *England* Northward, he was a Prince very forward in Marshal Actiuities, of Good literature and knowledge in the tongues, vnto whom the learned Antiquary *Leland* dedicated a Booke; He married *Marie* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marshall and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, with whom he liued not long, but died at *Saint Iames* by *Westminster* the two and twentieth of Iuly in the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1536. and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*.

A.D. 151

John Stow. An

Thomas Mile. Holinshed Stow. Thetford in Norfolke. p.1137.

THe tempestuous stormes in the Raigne of this King Henrie the eight, and the violent deluge raised against the Church-state of his times; bare downe so many religious strong foundations, and were the destruction of so many beautifull Monasteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would haue much interrupted the narration of his history. Wherefore to reteine their memorials (though their walles are laid waste) aswell for the reuerence we owe vnto venerable Antiquity, as for the example of their Founders holy zeale, we haue inserted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the originall Booke thereof taken by Commission, and giuen vnto the King, we finde them downe, though at their dissolutions their values were fauourably and farre vnder rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations wee want, the rest, Tablewise, to auoid prolixity wee haue set downe in this present following

CHAPTER.

A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOVS HOVSES VVITHIN THE REALME OF ENGLAND AND VVales, with many their Orders, Founders, and Values, moſt of them being ſuppreſſed by King Henry the eight. Together with ſuch other ſacred places, as either then were by him left ſtanding, or ſince haue been erected.

BARKESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Reeding. —	Saint *Iacob* —	By Queene *Alfrith*. By King *Henry* the firſt.	First Nunnes, after Blacke Monks, *Cluniacenſes*.	2116	03	09	00	q
Abingdon. —	Saint *Mary*. —M	*Ciſſa*, King of the Weſt-Saxons. —	Blacke Monkes. —	2042	02	08	ob	q
Bromhall in Windſor Forreſt.	S. *Mary Magd.* —N	*Edward* the Blacke Prince. —	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Biſtlcham now Biſham.	Chriſt Ieſus & our Lady M	*William Montacute* the firſt Earle of *Salisbury*, *A.* 13 *E.* 3.	Canons. —	0327	04	06	00	0
Donington. —	— — F	*Richard de Abberbury* Knight. —	*Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis.*	0020	16	06	00	0
Donington. —	— — H	*Richard de Abberbury* Cheualier. —	— —					
Hamme. —	S. *Mary Magd.* N	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Hurley. —	Saint *Mary*. —M	— —	Blacke Monks, *Weſtmonaſt.*	0134	10	08	ob	0
Murreſley. —	— — P	— —	— —	0014	03	01	00	0
Poghley. —	— — M	The Predeceſſors or Anceſtors of the Abbeſſe of *Almesburie*.	— —	0071	10	07	00	0
Shottesbroke. —	— — C	— —	— —	0033	18	08	00	0
Wallingford. —	Saint *Trinity*. — P	*Edmund* ſonne of *Richard*, King of the Romans, and Earle of *Cornwall*.	Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans*.					
Wallingford caſtle	— —C	*Edward* the Blacke Prince. —	— —					
Wallingford. —	Saint *Iohn*. —H	— —	— —	0006	00	00	00	0

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob	q
Bedfor d. —	— — F.	*Lady Margaret de Patteſhull*. —	Friers Minors, *alij* Grey Friers.	0005	00	00	00	0
Bedford. —	Saint *Iohn*. — H	— —	— —	0021	00	08	00	0
Bedford. —	Saint *Leonard* —H	— —	— —	0016	06	08	0	½
Bigleſwade. —	*Sanctæ Trin. in Ecc Sᵗ. Andreæ* C I	— —	— —	0007	06	00	0	0
Boſco. —	— — M.	— —	— —	0143	18	03	0	0
Buſhemede *alias* Biſſemed —	— — P	*Hugo de Bello Campo*, and *Roger* his brother,	Canons Auguſtines —	0081	13	05	ob	0
Caldewel. —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt*. — P	The Lord *Latimer*, Alij *Iohn de Byddyſley*. —	Blacke Canons. —	0148	15	10	0	0
Chickſand. —	Saint *Mary*. —P	*Paine de Beauchamp*. —	White Canons. Nunnes	0230	03	04	ob	0
Eaton. —	*Corporis Chriſti* C.	— —	— —	0007	16	00	0	0
Dunſtable. —	Saint *Peter*. — P	King *Henrie* the firſt. —	Blacke Canons. —	0402	14	07	ob	0
Dunſtable. —	— — F	— —	Friers Preachers. —	0004	18	04	0	0
Fraternitas ibidem.	— —	— —	— —	0009	08	07	0	0
Elneſtowe *alias* Helenſtow, now Elſtow.	— — N	*Iuditha* wife to *Waltheof* E. of Huntingdon. —	Blacke Nunnes. —	0325	02	01	ob	q
Harwold *alias* Harewood.	Saint *Peter* — P	*Samſon* ſurnamed *Fortis*. —	Blacke Nunnes —	0047	03	02	0	0
Markeyate. —	Saint *Giles* — N	Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloceſter and Hertford. *Anno* 6. *E.* 1.	Nunnes. —					
Newenham. —	— P	*Roiſe* the wife of *Paine de Beauchampe*. —	Canons Auguſtines. —	0343	15	05	0	0
Northyle. —	— C	— —	— —	0061	05	08	ob	0
Sanctingfield *iuxta* Whitſand.	— — H	King *Henrie* the ſecond. —	— —					
Wardon. —	Saint *Marie*. —M	King *Henrie* the firſt, and *Walter Eſſex*. —	White Monkes. —	0442	11	11	0	0
Woburne. —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Hugo de Bolbick*, Alij *Robert de Vere* Earle of Oxford by licence of King *Richard* 1.	White Monks. —	0439	13	11	ob	0

BVCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Ailesburie.	— — F	*Edith* daughter of *Frewald.*	Friers Minors: *alibi* Grey Friers.	0003 02 05 0 0
Ankerwicke.	— — N	—	Nunnes.	0045 14 04 0 0
Asheridge.	Saint Augustine. C	*Edmund* Earle of Cornewall sonne to *Richard* King of the Romans.	*Bonorum virorum* Eremits.	0447 18 00 ob 0
Bordesley.	Saint *Marie.* —	*Maude* the Empresse.	Cistertians.	
Bradewell.	Saint *Mary.* — P	*Manefelmus.*	Black Monkes.	
Burnham.	— — M	—		0091 05 11 ob 0
Byttelsden.	Saint *Mary* — M	*Arnald de Bosco, A.D.*1127	Cistertiã white Monks.	0142 01 03 0
Eaton.	— — C	King *Henrie* 6.	*Præfectus: Socij* 8. & *Cãtores Scolares.* 60.	
Laueden.	Saint *Marie.* — M	*John de Bedon.*	White Canons.	0091 08 03 ob
Luffeld.	Saint *Mary.* — P	*Robert* Earle of Leicester.	White Canons.	
Medmenham. *alias* Mendham.	— — M	The Ancestors of the Earls of *Suffolk.*	—	0023 17 02 0
Merlowe *parua.*	— — M	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0037 06 11 0
Myssenden.	Saint *Mary.* — M	*D'Oiles siue Doily.*	Blacke Canons.	0285 15 09 0
Newport painel	Saint *Leonard* — H	*John Peynton* of Newport.	—	0006 06 08 0
Noteley.	Saint *Marie.* — M	*Walter Giffard* Earle of Buckingham. *A.*1112	Blacke Canons.	0495 18 05 ob
Paretrendune.	— — P	—	Blacke Canons.	
Rauenestone.	— — M	*Domini Regis Progenitor.*	—	0066 13 04 0
Sandewell.	— — M	The Ancestors of *Thomas Stanley* of Safford.	—	0038 08 04 0
Snelshall.	— — P	—	—	0024 00 00 0
Stoke-Pogeis.	— — H	*Edward* Baron Hastings of Loughborrow.	Poore people.	
Tekeford.	Saint *Marie.* — P	*Fulco Paganell,* Alij, *Domini Regis progenitor.*	Blacke Monkes.	0126 17 00 0
Wicombe, or high Wickham.	— — H	—	—	0007 15 03 ob
	S. *Margaret.* — P	—	—	0022 06 07 0

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Cambridge.	— — F	K. *Edward* the first, and Sir *Guy Mortimer.* *Thomas de Hertford* a great Benefactor.	White Friers.	— —
Cambridge	— — F	King *Edward* 1.	Friers Minors, *alibi,* Grey Friers.	— —
Cambridge.	— — F	—	Friers Augustines.	— —
Cambridge.	— — F	—	Blacke Friers.	— —
Cambridge.	Saint *Radegund* N	—	Black Nunnes.	— —
Cambridge.	— — P	—	Canons.	— —
The Colledges in *Cambridge.*				
Peterhouse.	— —	*Hugh Balsham* Bishop of Ely. *An. Dom.*1284.	—	— —
Clare-hall.	— —	*Rich. Badew* and *Elrz. Clara* Countesse of Vlster. *Anno Dom.* 1340.	—	— —
Pembroke-hall.	— —	*Maria de Sco. Paulo* Countesse of Pembroch. *A.*1347.	—	— —
Corpus Christi or *Bennet Colledge*	— —	*Societas fratrum Corporis Christi. A.D.*1346.	—	— —
Trinity-hall.	— —	*William Bateman* Bishop of Norwich.1353.	—	— —
Gonuil and *Caius Colledge.*	— —	*Edmund Gonenile* and *Iohn Caius. A.*1348.	—	— —
Kings-Colledge & *Chappel.*	— —	King *Henry* the sixth, *A.D.*1441.	—	— —
Queenes Colledge.	— —	Queene *Margaret* wife of *H.* 6. *A.D.*1448.	—	— —
Katherine-hall.	— —	*Robert Woodlarke. A.D.* 1459.	—	— —
Iesus-Colledge.	— —	*Iohn Alcocke* Bishop of Ely. *A. D.* 1497.	—	— —
Christs-Colledge *St. Iohns-Colledge*	— —	Lady *Margaret* Countesse of Richmond mother to K. *Henry* the seuenth. A. 1506.	—	— —
Magdalen-Colledge.	— —	*Thomas Awdley* Chancellor of *England.* *A.D.* 1542. *Christopher Wray* Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England.*	—	— —
Trinity Colledge.	— —	King *Henrie* the eight. *Anno Dom.* 1546. *Tho. Nevil* Deane of Canterbury, the Mr. therof hath most magnificently enlarged	—	— —
Emanuel-Colledge.	— —	Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight, a Councellor to Queene *Elizabeth.*	—	— —
Sydney-Sussex Colledge.	— —	Lady *Frances* Countesse of Sussex gaue fiue thousand pound to build it.	—	— —
Ely.	S. *Peter* and S. *Ethelred* *Eccles. Cath.* M	*Audry* wife to King *Egfrid,* placed Priests in it. *Ethelwold* Bishop of Winchester stored it with Monkes: King *Henry* 1. made it a Bishops See: King *Henry* 8. in steed of the Monkes placed a Dean, Prebends, and a Grammar Schoole, with maintenance and teaching for 24. Schollers.	Blacke Monks.	1301 08 02 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Ely.	S. *Iohn* & S. *Mary Magd.* H	*Thomas* Bishop of Ely.		0025 05 03 ob q
Angleſey.	P	*Richard de Clare.*		0149 18 06 ob
Barnewell.	S. *Andrew.* S. *Egidius.* P	Sir *Paine Peverell*, Standard-Bearer to *Robert Duke of Normandy*, in the Holy Warres against Infidels, in the time of *Henry* the first.	Blacke Canons.	0351 15 04 00 o
Chatters.	Saint *Mary* annexed by *H.1.* to *Ely.* N	*Alfwena* a deuout woman, and her brother *Ednothus* Abbot of *Ramſey.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0112 03 06 00 q
Denny.	Saint *Clare.* N	*Maria de Sancto Paulo*, wife of *Adomar* Earle of *Pembroke. Anno Domini*, 1341.	Nunnes.	0218 00 01 ob o
Saint Edmunds	P	King *Canute.*	White Canons.	0016 16 00 00 o
Fordham.	P	*Henry Den*, or *Dew.*	*De ordine Simplingham*	0046 03 08 00 o
Ikelington.	P	—	—	0080 01 10 ob o
Marmound.	P	—	Canons.	
Soffam Bulbecke.	N	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0046 10 08 00 o
Shengaye.	A *Comẽdon & Præceptoria* to S. *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem.*	*Sybil* daughter of *Roger Mountgomery*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and wife of *I. de Paines. A.D.1130.*	Knights Templers.	0175 04 06 00 o
Swaueſey.	— —	*Alan la Zouch* brother to the Vicount *Rohan* in the leſſer *Britaine.*	Blacke Canons.	
Thorney	Saint *Mary* and Saint *Botulph.* M	*Sexwulph* a deuout man for Eremites, *Aethelwold* B. of *Wincheſter* for Monks, and King *Edgar.*		0508 02 05 00 o

CARLIOL

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Apelby in Weſtmorland.	— F	Lord *Veſey*, Lord *Percy*, and Lord *Clifford*, A.D.1281.	White Friers.	
Armethwait in Cumberland.	— N	King *William* the Conquerour, *Anno Regni*, 2.	Nunnes.	0018 18 08 00 o
Carliol in Cumberland.	Saint *Mary.* P	*Domini Regis Progenitor.*	—	0482 08 01 00 q
Holme-Coltreyn in Cumberland	Saint *Mary* M	*David* King of *Scots*, and *Henry* Earle of *Huntington* his ſonne.	—	0535 03 07 ob.q.
Lanercoſt in Cumberland.	Saint *Mary Magd.* P	*Robert de Vaulx*, Lord of *Gilleſland.*	—	0079 19 00 00 o
Sharpe in Weſtmorland	— M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatricke*, ſonne of *Orms.*	—	0166 10 06 ob o

CHESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Cheſter.	Saint *Iohn*; *Eccl. Cath.*	King *Henry* the eight.	Secular Canons.	
Cheſter,	— F	*Thomas Stadham* Gentleman. A.D.1279.	White Friers.	
Cheſter.	— F	King *Iohn.*	Gray Friers.	
Cheſter.	— F	—	Blacke Friers.	
Cheſter.	Saint *Wereburg.* M	*Hugh* the firſt of the Norman bloud that was Earle of *Cheſter.*	Blacke Monkes.	1073 17 07 ob o
Cheſter.	The virgin *Mary* M	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	Blacke Canons.	0099 16 02 00 o
Cheſter.	*Beate Marie.* N	—	Nunnes.	
Cheſter.	Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, *alii* C H	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	—	0013 07 10 00 o
Birkehead.	S. *Iames.* M	*Fundator Comitis Derbie Anteceſſor.*	Blacke Canons.	0102 16 10 00 o
Bunbury, *alias* Boniface-bury	C	*Hugh Calueley* and the *Egertons.*	Prieſts.	
Combermere.	M	*William de Malbedeng. A.D.1134.*	White Monkes.	0258 06 06 00 o
Macleſfeild.	C	*Thomas Sanage* firſt Biſhoppe of *London*, and afterwards Archbiſhoppe of *Yorke.*	—	
Norton.	Saint *Mary* N	*William Fitz-Nigell* a Norman.	—	0158 11 08 00 o
Stanlaw.	—	*Iohn Lacy* Conſtable of *Cheſter. A.D.1173.*	Monkes.	
Valle Regalis.	M	King *Edward* the firſt.	—	0540 06 02 00 o

CORNVVALL.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Saint *Anthony.*	— M	—	Blacke Monks of the Angels.	
Bodmin.	Saint *Peter.* M	Firſt by K. *Adelſtan*, after *William Warwaſt* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, & confirmed by king *Iohn.*	Blacke Canons after Grey Friers.	0289 11 11 00 o
Bonury.	Saint *Petrorſi* M	King *Athelſtan.*	Blacke Canons.	

Cran-

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Crantocke.	— C	—	—	0089	15	08	00	0
Saint *German.*	— M	—	—	0243	08	00	00	0
Glaſſoney.	Saint *Thomas.* — C	*Walter Broneſcome* B. of *Oxford. A. D.* 1288.	—	0205	10	06	00	0
Helſton.	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.* — P	—	—	0014	07	02	ob	0
Launceſton.	Saint *Stephen.* — M	*Reginald* Earle of *Cornwall, A. D.* 1150.	Blacke Canons, *Aug.*	0392	11	2	00	q
Saint *Mary de val.*	— M	—	Blacke Monks of the Angels.					
Saint *Michael de Monte.*	— M	*William* Earle of *Cornwall* and *Morton.*	Blacke Monks of the Angels.					
Saint *Michael de magno monte*	— M	—	Black Monkes.					
Sulli Iſle.	Saint *Nicholas* — M	—	Blacke Monks.					
Saint *Syriace.*	— M	—	Blacke Monkes.					
Talearn.	Saint *Andrew.* M	—	Blacke Monks of the Angels.					
Trury.	— F	—	Blacke Friers.					
Tywardreth.	Saint *Andrew.* — P	—	—	0151	16	01	00	0

DARBY-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Darby.	*Omnium Sanctorum. Eccl. Collegiat.*	—	—	0038	14	00	0	0
Iuxta Darby.	*Beata Marie de Pratis.* M	—	—	0018	06	02	0	0
Darby.	Saint *Iames* — Cella	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	Blacke Canons.					
Darby.	Saint *Marie.* — P		Blacke Monkes.					
Darby.	*Beata Marie* — N	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	Nunnes.					
Darby.	— H	The Counteſſe of *Shrewsbury.* —	Eight poore men, foure women.					
Bello-Capite.	Saint *Thomas.* — M	*Robert* the ſon of *Ranulph L.* of *Alfreton,* a Canon there.	—	0157	10	02	00	0
Bredſall or Briſol Park	— M	*Fundator Anteceſſor Iohannis Diricke, alias Duthik Armigeri.*	—	0010	17	09	00	0
Brend in the Peake	— M	Sir *Robert Duin* Knight.	—					
Cheſterfeild.	Saint *Croſſe* Saint *Mary* C	—	—	0019	00	00	00	0
Dala.	*Beata Maria* or S. *Mary.* M	*William Fitz-Ralph Anteceſſor Geruaſij Kingſton.*	—	0144	12	00	0	
Derelege or Darleigh.	*Beata Marie.* — M	—	Blacke Canons.	0258	14	05	00	0
Fauerwell.	Saint *Marie.* — N	—	Blacke Nunnes.					
Greſly.	Saint *George.* — M	*William de Lyons* called *Fitz-Nigel* of *Greſley.*	—	0039	13	08	0	
Pollewerke.	Saint *Edith.* — N	—	Blacke Nunnes.					
Repingdon, *alias* Repton.	Saint *Marie.* — M	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor. Alij Aimer de Valence & Randulph E. of Cheſter*	Blacke Canons.	0167	18	02	0	
Yeuelay or Iuelay and Barrow.	— P	—	—	0107	03	08	00	
Yeuelay or Iuelay, and Barrow.	*Præceptoria.* —	—	—	0093	03	04	ob	0

DEVON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Valew. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Exceſter.	S. *Peter, Epiſcop.* —	King *Athelſtan.*	Secular Canons.					
Exceſter.	Saint *Iames.* M	—	Blacke Monks.					
Exceſter.	Saint *Nicholas.* P	—	Black Monks *Benedict.*	0154	12	00	00	0
Exceſter.	Saint *Iohn* — P	—	Grey Friers.	0102	12	09	0	
Exceſter.	S. *Nicholas.* — H	—	—	0147	21	00	0	
Barnſtaple.	Saint *Mary Magd.* P	*Iohel*, ſonne of *Ailred.*	Black Monks *Benedictines Cluniacenſ.*	0129	15	03	00	q
Berdleſton.	— P	—	Blacke Canons.					
Buckland.	Saint *Mary.* S. *Benedict.* M	*Amice* Counteſſe of *Deuonſhire. Iſabel de Fortibus,* & Lady of the Iſle a benefactor.	Ciſtertians.	0241	16	09	ob	q
Buckfaſter.	Saint *Marie.* — P	—	White Monkes. Ciſtertians.					
Canonleigh.	*Beate Marie.* — M	—	Nunnes.	02	2	15	03	0
Cliue.	S. *Mary Magd.* — M	*Almar* Earle of *Cornwall.*	Blacke Canons.					
Cornworthy.	— N	—	Nunnes.	0063	03	10		
Cowyke.	Saint *Andrew.* — P	*Thomas* Earle of *Deuonſhire.*	—					
Crediton.	S. *Crucis.* — C	—	—	0140	14	5		
Cuich.	Saint *Andrew.* — M	—	Blacke Monkes.					
Dunkiſwel.	— M	—	Ciſtertians.	0298	11	10	00	
Ford.	Saint *Mary.* — M	*Adelize* daughter to *Baldwine* of *Okehampton, A. D.* 1140.	White Monkes.	0381	10	6	ob	
Frethelſtoke.	Saint *Gregory.* — P	—	—	0127	03	04	00	q

Hart-

Places	Dedication		Founder and Time	Order	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Hartland.	S. *Nectan* the Martyr.	M	*Githa* Earle *Goodwins* wife. *Richard Pictauensis Archdiac:* and *Geffrey de Dynan Senior*, & *Oliver* his brother benefactors.	Blacke Canons.	0306	13	02	00	q
Saint Michael de Monte.	—	P	—	Blacke Monkes Malmſ.					
Molery.	Saint *Gregory*.	M	—	Black Monkes.					
Newham, *alias* Newenham.	—	M	*Reginald Mohun*, Earle of *Dunſter*, *Anno Domini*, 1246	—	0231	14	04	00	o
Othery.	Saint *Marie*.	C	*Iohn Grandiſon* B. of *Exceſter*, *tempore Ed.* 3.	Blacke Monks.	0303	02	09	0	o
Pilton.	Saint *Mary* the Virgin.	P	King *Adelſton*.	Blacke Monks Benedictines.	0056	12	08	00	o
Plimouth.	—	F	—	Grey Friers.					
Plimpton.	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*.	P	*Baldwyn de Redners*, Earle of *Deuonſhire*, & *Dominus de Inſula*, in *Henry* 3. time.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines.	0912	12	08	ob	q
Polſloo.	Saint *Katharine*.	N	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0170	02	03	00	q
Syon.	—	M	—	—					
Tauyſtocke.	Saint *Mary* Saint *Burion*	M	*Ordolph* the ſon of *Ordgare*, Earle of *Deuonſhire*, *Anno Dom.* 961.	Blacke Monkes Auguſtines.	0902	05	07	ob	q
Torre.	Saint *Sauiour*.	M	*William de Briewer*.	White Canons Auguſtines.	0396	00	11	00	o
Tottenes.	Saint *Mary* Aliens.	P	*Roger Newman*.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0124	10	02	ob	o
Twynham or Chriſt-Church Twynham.	—	M	*Iſabel de Fortibus* ſometime Counteſſe of *Albemarle* and *Deuonſhire*, and Lady of the Iſle founded it for *William de Fortibus* Earle of *Albemarle*, and *Richard de Redners* Earle of *Deuonſhire*. *A.D.* 1161	This is placed alſo in *Hapmnſhire*.					

DORSET-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Dorſet.	—	M	The Anceſtors of *Sir Iohn Chediok* Knight.	Franciſcane Friers.					
Shirburne.	Saint *Peter*.	M	A Biſhops See vnder *Adelmus* the firſt Biſhoppe thereof, *A. D.* 704. *Sunning*, another See tranſlated to it by *Hermannus* Biſhoppe, *tempore Ethelredi Regis*. After that by the ſaid *Hermannus* tranſlated to *Salisbury*, left for a retiring place to them, *tempore Gulielmi Conqueſtoris*, the Church where the Biſhops ſeat was, became a Monaſtery. *Robert Neuill* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a chiefe founder.	Black Monks *Benedictines*.	0682	14	07	ob	o
Abbotesbury.	Saint *Peter*.	M	*Orking* King of *Denmarke*.	Blacke Monkes.	0485	03	05	ob	q
Bindon.	Saint *Mary*.	M	—	White Monkes. Ciſtertians.	0229	02	01	ob	o
Brydport, *alias* Birtport.	—	P	—	—	0006	00	00	00	o
Brydport, *alias* Birtport.	Saint *Iohn Bap.*	H	—	—	0008	06	01	00	o
Cameſtrum.	S. *Mary Magd.*	N	—	White Nunnes.					
Cerne.	Saint *Peter* S. *Adelwold*.	M	*M. Camden* ſaith, *Auguſtin* the Engliſh Apoſtle. Others, *Agelwaldus* a rich mã. Som ſay, *Almarus* E of *Dorſet*, or rather of *Cornwal*	Blacke Monkes.	0623	13	02	ob	q
Cranborne.	—	M	*Aelward* a noble Gentleman. *A.D.* 930.	—					
S. *Iohn Baptiſt*.	—	H	—	—	0051	10	04	00	q
Kalendarum.	—	D	—	—	0010	18	08	0	
Beata Maria Magdalen.	—	D	—	—	0021	11	03	00	o
Saint Marke *alias* Le Gaunts.	—	H	—	—	0112	09	09	00	o
Melcombe.	—	—	—	Blacke Friers.					
Middleton *alias* Milton.	Saint *Mary*. S. *Sauiour*.	M	*Athelſtanus Rex*.	Blacke Monkes.	0720	04	01	0	
Shafton.	—	—	—	—	1329	01	03	0	o
Shaftesbury.	Saint *Edward* Martyr.	N	*Elfgiua* wife to *Edmund* King *Aelfrids* nephewes ſonne.	Blacke Nunnes *Benedictines*.					
Tarent.	—	A Cel.	*Richard Poor* Biſhoppe of *Sarisbury*.	Virgins Votaries.	0239	11	10	0	
Warham.	S. *Peter*. S *Adelwold*		—	Blacke Monkes					
Winburn Minſter	—	N	*Cuthburga* ſiſter to *Ina* King of the Weſt Saxons, and husband to the King of *Northumberland*. *A.D.* 713.	Nunnes.					

DVRHAM DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Durham.	S. *Cuthbert*.	P	Biſhop *Aldwin* the firſt builder. *William de Careleph* B. gathered againe the diſperſed Monkes. *Ralph* his Succeſſor finiſhed what he had begun. *N. Fernham* Biſhop *Thomas Melſcombe* Prior enlarged it. *A. D* 742. *William Skirlaw* Biſhop builded that part called *Galilee*.	Blacke Monks.	1615	14	10	ob	o

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Durham in Oxonia.	—— C	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitur.* —	—— ——	0115 04 04 0 0
Cheſter in the Street.	—— C	*Anthony Bec* Biſhop and Patriarke of *Ieruſalem.*	A Deane and 7. Prebends.	
Egleſton. —	—— M	*Conan* Earle of *Brittaine*, and *Richmond*, & after by *Ralph de Molton.*	—— ——	
Finchcale. —	—— Cella	*R.* brother vnto that rich Biſhop, *Hugh Pudſey.*	—— ——	0146 19 02 00
Gateſhead. —	Saint *Edmund.* H	—— ——	—— ——	0109 00 04 00 0
Gretham. —	—— H	*Robert* Biſhoppe of *Durham.* ——	—— ——	0097 06 03 ob 0
Hartlepoole. —	—— M	*Hieu*, a religious woman. ——	—— ——	
Iarrow. —	—— Cella	Abbot *Ceolfrid*, in the 16. yeer of K. *Ecfrid Anteceſſor Epiſcop. Dunelm.*	—— ——	0040 07 08 0 0
Keprey. —	Saint *Fgidius.* — H	—— ——	—— ——	0167 02 11 00 0
Lancheſter. —	—— C	*Anthony Bec* Biſhop of *Durham.* ——	Dean & Prebends. —	
Letham. —	—— Cella.	—— ——	—— —	0053 15 10 00 0
Monkes Weremouth.	Saint *Peters.* — M	*Benedictus Biſcop.* ——	—— —	
Monkes Weremouth.	Saint *Paul.* — M	*Benedictus Biſcop.* ——	—— ——	
Neſſeham. —	—— N	*Fundator Domini Dakers Anteceſſor.* ——	Nunnes. —	0026 09 09 0 0
Sherborne. —	—— H	*Hugh Pudſey.* B. and E. of *Northumberland.* —	—— —	0135 07 0 0 0
Stanedrop. —	—— C	*Fundator Domini Neuill Anteceſſor.* ——	—— —	0126 05 10 0 0
Stampford or Sampford.	—— Cella	—— ——	—— —	0036 17 0 0 0
Warmouth. —	—— Cella	—— ——	—— —	0026 0 0 0

ESSEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q.
Colcheſter, —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* — M	*Eudo Dapifer Henrici primi.* ——	Blacke Monkes. —	0008 01 08 0 0
Colcheſter. —	Saint *Botulph.* — P	—— ——	—— —	0113 12 08 0 0
Colcheſter. —	*Sanctæ Crucis.* — F	—— ——	*Fratres Sanctæ Crucis-Leproſi.* —	0007 07 08 0 0
Colcheſter. —	S. *Mary Magd.* H	*Eudo Dapifer.* ——		
Barking. —	Saint *Mary* & S. *Eadburg.* M	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes. —	1084 06 02 ob q
Barking. —	— H	The Anceſtors of *Sibel de Felton* Abbeſſe of *Barking.*	— —	
Bierdon. —	— P	—— ——	— —	0031 05 01 ob 0
Bileigh. —	— M	First by *Robert Moruile*, after by *Herney de Monte-Merenciano.*	— —	0196 06 05 0 0
Blakamore. —	Saint *Laurence* — M	*Iordan de Samford.* ——	— —	0085 04 07 0 0
Brendwood. —	S. *Thomas* the martir chappell.	*Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Bedford.* ——	— —	
Chelmſford. —	— *Domus*	—— ——	Friers Preachers. —	0009 06 05 0 0
Chich. —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Peter* Saint *Oſith* M	*Richard* B. of *London*, *Anno Dom.* 1120. —	Blacke Canons. —	0758 05 08 0 0
Coggeſhall. —	Saint *Marie.* — M	K. *Stephen*, Nephew to *William* the Conqueror	White Monkes. —	0298 08 0 0 0
Dunmowe. —	Saint *Marie.* — P	*Inga* a Noble Lady, *A. D.* 1111. ——	Blacke Canons. —	0173 02 04 0 0
Earles-colne. —	Saint *Marie.* — P	*Albericus de Vere.* ——	Blacke Monkes of *Abingdon.* Blacke Canons. —	0175 14 08 ob 0
Ginge-atteſtone. —	— — P	—— ——		
Halſtide ſiue Haſted.	— C	*Robert Bourchier.* ——	— —	0023 16 05 ob
Hatfeild Regis. —	—— P	*Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, *tempore Henrici tertij.*	Blacke Monkes. —	0157 03 02 ob 0
Heueninghã caſtel.	— P	*Iohn Haukewood Knight*, *Iohn Oliuer Eſquier*, and *Thomas Newenton*, *Eſquier.*	— —	0029 12 10 0 0
Horkiſlegh. —	— M	The Anceſtors of Sir *Roger Wentworth*, in the right of his Wife.	— —	0027 07 11 0 0
Ilford. —	— H	—— ——	— —	0016 13 04 0 0
Lyghes. —	— P	—— ——	— —	0141 14 08 0 0
Maldon.	— F	*Richard Grauеſend*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Richard Iſelham* Prieſt, *Anno Dom.* 1292.	Carmelites or Wlute Friers.	0026 00 08 0 0
Mercy This is alſo placed in *Hertfordſhire*, becauſe it is doubtfull in which of theſe 2 it is.	Saint *Helen.* P *Alisen.*	*Roger Fitz-Randulph.* ——	— —	
Newport. —	— H	—— ——	— —	0023 10 08 0 0
Saint Oſithe. —	— M	*Richard* B. of *London*, *A.D.* 1520. ——	Regular Canons. —	0758 05 08 0 0
Pipewell or Pritwell.	Saint *Mary.* — P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes. —	0194 14 03 ob 0
Plecy. —	— C	—— ——	— —	0139 03 10 0 0
Staneſgate. —	— P	The Predeceſſors of the Prior of *Lewis.* —	Blacke Monkes. —	0043 08 06 0 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Stratford Langthorne.	Saint *Mary*. – M	*Gulielmus Mountfitchet primus Fundator, & postea Richardus secundus Rex Angliæ, regni* 20.	— —	0573 15 06 ob q
Thoby. —	— P	*Michael de Capra* Knight: the ancestors of *Iohn Mounteny, Fitzherbert* and *Iermin*.	— —	0075 06 10 ob o
Tiptree. —	— M	The Ancestors of *Anthony Darcy*.	— —	0022 16 04 o o
Tiltie. —	Saint *Marie*. – M	*Maurice* the sonne of *Gilbert*,	White Monks Cistertians.	0177 09 04 o o
Tremhale, *alias* Trenchale.	— P	——	— —	0070 19 03 ob o
Walden parua. —	Saint *Iacob*. – M	*Galfridus de Magna-villa*.	Blacke Monkes. —	0406 15 11 o o
Waltham. —	*Sancta Crucis*. – M	King *Harold* the last; after by King *Henry* the second.	Blacke Canons. —	1079 12 01 o o

GLOVCESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l s. d. ob. q.
Glouceſter. —	Saint *Peter*. — M	King *Oſrick* of *Northumberland* firſt made it a Nunnerie: afterward *Aldred* Archb. of *Yorke*, and B. of *Worceſter*, *A.D.* 682.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	1556 04 05 ob o
Iuxta Glouceſter–	Saint *Oſwald*.— P	*Egelfleda* Daughter of King *Elfred*, firſt Foundreſſe, *Anno Domini*, 910.	Blacke Canons, *alij* Friers Preachers.	0090 10 02 ob o
Glouceſter. —	Saint *Barth*. H	— —	— —	0044 07 02 ob o
Glouceſter. —	Saint *Barth*. H	— —	— —	0025 11 02 00 o
Glouceſter. —	— F	Queene *Æleanor* wife to King *Edward* the firſt. Sir *Iohn Giffard*, and Sir *Thomas Barkley* Knights.	Carmelites or white Friers.	
Glouceſter. —	— —	King *Athelſtan*. —	Canons Auguſtines –	
Barkley. —	— N	— —	Nunnes. —	
Bromfeild. —	— P	— —	Canons. —	0078 19 04 00 o
Cirenceſter. —	S. *Iohn* & S. *Laurence*. H	The Abbot of *Cirenceſter*. —	— —	
Cirenceſter. —	Saint *Marie*. M	First the Saxons, afterward King *Henry* the firſt.	Blacke Canons. —	1051 07 01 ob o
Dierherſt *ſiue* Dereherſt.	— —	First by King *Etheldred*, after by *Edward Confeſſor*, after made a Cell to S. *Dennys* in *France*, by *Edward* king of *England*.	Blacke Monkes. —	
Flaxeley in the forreſt of Dean.	— M	*Roger* Earle of *Hereford* in King *Henry* the ſeconds time.	Ciſtertians. —	0112 03 01 o o
Hailes. —	— M	*Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and King of Romans, *A.D.* 1246.	— —	0357 07 07 ob o
Kingeſwood. —	Saint *Marie* M	*Barkleis* of *Dureſley*. —	White Monkes. —	0254 05 10 o o
Lanthonie neere Glouc.	Saint *Marie*. P	*Milo* Earle of *Hereford*, —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0748 19 11 ob o
Lanthonie *parua* in the Marches of *Wales*.	— P	— —	—— —	0112 00 05 o o
Minching-hamptō	— N	— —	Nunnes. —	
Niwetton. —	— —	— —	Blacke Monks —	
Quinington. —	— H	— —	—— —	0137 07 01 ob o
Stanley. —	Saint *Leonard*. M	*Mandeuil* Earle of *Eſſex*. *King Henry* the ſecond.	—— —	0126 0 08 o o
Stow. —	— H	*Almare* Earle of *Cornwall*. —	—— —	0025 14 08 o o
Teuxbury. —	Saint *Mary*. M	*Odo* & *Dodo*, men of great power in *Mercia* founded it at *Cranborne*, afterward remoued by *Robert Fitzhamon* to *Teuxbury*, *A.D.* 717. made firſt a Priory, after an Abbey, *A.D.* 1102.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	1598 01 03 o o
Weſtbury. —	— C	For *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*: *K. Edward* gaue them the Hoſpitall of S. *Laurence* by *Briſtow*.	Deane and Canons.—	0232 14 0 o o
Winchelcombe. –	Saint *Mary*. M	*Kenulph* the Mercian King. —	Blacke Monkes. —	0756 11 09 oo o

HAMP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Wincheſter. —	S. *Swithin*, S. *Peter*. M	*Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King, after by *Kenelwalch*, King of the Weſt Saxons, *Aelfred* and *Edgar circa annum*, 670.	Blacke Monkes. —	1507 17 02 oo q
Wincheſter. —	Saint *Mary* S. *Edburg*. N	*Aelfwida* the wife of King *Aelfred*, after by King *Edward* the firſt.	Blacke Nunnes. —	0179 07 02 • o
Wincheſter. —	— — F	*Peter* of *Wincheſter* Parſon of Saint *Helens* in *Wincheſter*, *A.D.* 1278.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Wincheſter. —	— — F	—— ——	Auſtine Friers. —	
Wincheſter. —	— — F	*K. Henry* the third, ——	Grey-Friers. —	
Wincheſter. —	— — F	*Peter* of *Rochis*. ——	Blacke Friers. —	

Iuxta

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Iuxta Wincheſter.	*Beata Maria.*—C	*William Wickham* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter.*	—— ——	0639 08 07 00
Iuxta Wincheſter.	—— H	*Henry Beauford* Cardinall *of Wincheſter* founded it, and gaue it lands to the value of 158.l.13.s.4.d. And S. *Iohn de Foderingbridge* an Hoſpital was giuē to it	Two Chaplens. 35 Poore Men. 3. Women.	
Iuxta Southampton, Letteley, *alias* Leto loco.	S. *Edward* and S. *Marie,* M	*Henry* the third, and *Peter de Rupibus.* ——	Auguſtine Eriers. ——	0160 02 09 ob 0
Iuxta Southampton.	*Sancti Dionis.* P	K. *Richard* the firſt, called *Corde-Lion, Anno Dom.* 1179.	Blacke Canons. —	0091 09 00 0
Southampton. —	*Beata Maria Magd.* H	Confirmed by Pope *Alexander, Anno Dom.* 1179.	—— —	0016 16 02 ob 0
Apple-durwell, *in the Iſle of Wight.*	— — P	*Nicholas Spenſer,* and *Margeris* his wife. —	—— ——	
Badcſley. —	*Præceptoria.* —	—— ——	—— —	0118 16 7 00
Bello-loco —	— — M.	King *Iohn.* ——	—— —	0428 06 08 00 0
Bromere. —	S. *Trinity.* S. *Mary.* S. *Michael.* P	*Baldwin* Earle of *Riuerr,* and *Deuonſhire.* —	Blacke Canons. —	0200 05 01 ob 0
Chritwynhams *ſiue* Chriſt-church of Twynham.	— — P	*Iſabel de Fortibus,* ſometime Counteſſe of *Albemarle* and *Deuonſhire,* and Lady of the Iſle founded it for *William de Fortibus* Earle of *Albemarle,* and *Richard de Redners* Earle of *Deuonſhire, A.D.* 1161.	*This is placed alſo in Deuonſhire.*	0544 06 00 00 0
Caresbroc *in the Iſle of Wight.*	S. *Mary Magd.* —P	—— ——	Blacke Monks. —	
Deretford *in the Iſle of Wight.*	*Sãcta Elizabetha.* P	King *Edward* the third. ——	—— ——	
Hamele. —	Saint *Andrew.*—P	—— ——	Grey Monks. —	
Hide. —	Saint *Peter.* Saint *Paul.* S. *Grimball.* M	First King *Alfride,* after performed by K. *Edward Senior,* and laſtly the Monks themſelues remoued from the old, *tempore Henrici primi.*	Blacke Monkes. —	0865 01 06 ob q.
Mottiſſount. —	*Sancta Trinitatis.* P	*Randulph Flammard* Biſhoppe of *Durham, Richard de Riparijs* Earle of *Deuonſhire,* and *William de Bruere, tempore Gulielmi Ruſi.*	Blacke Canons or Auguſtines of Berton.	0167 15 08 ob 0
Portſmouth. —	A Church and Hoſpitall.	*Peter de Rupibus.* ——	—— —	0033 19 05 ob 0
Quarrer *in the Iſle of Wight.*	S. *Mary Magd.*—M	*Baldwine* Earle of *Deuonſhire,* and *Richard* his ſonne. About the time of King *Stephen.*	White Monkes. —	0184 01 10 0 0
Redford or Redbridge.	— — M	—— ——	— ——	
Romſey. —	— — N	King *Edgar,* and Earle *Alwyn.* ——	Nunnes. —	0528 08 10 ob 0
Southwyke. —	Saint *Mary.* —P	*William Pontlarge, ſiue Pont-le-arch,* and *William Danys* Normans. Alſo *William de Ponteys* a Benefactor.	Regular Canons. —	0314 17 10 ob 0
Tychefeild. —	Saint *Marie* —M	*Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.* ——	—— —	0280 19 10 ob 0
Whorwell. —	*Sancta Crucis* Saint *Peter* N	Queene *Aelfrith.* ——	Blacke Nunnes. —	0403 12 10 0 0
Wyntney. —	— P	—— ——	—— ——	0059 01 00 00 0
——	*Sãcta Elizabetha* C	—— ——	—— ——	0112 17 04 ob 0
——	*Sancta Crucis.*—H	*Henry Blois* brother to King *Stephen.* —	—— ——	0084 04 02 0 0

HEREFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Hereford. —	S. *Mary* *Ethelbert* *Epã* *tus.*	*Milfrid* a petty King of the Country. *Reineim* Biſhop, *tempore Henrici primi.*	Secular Canons. —	
Hereford. —	S. *Guthlac.* —F	*Henry Penbrigge.* ——	Grey Friers. —	0121 03 03 ob q
Hereford. —	S. *Peter.* S. *Paul.* —P	*Iohn Penbrigge.* ——	Blacke Monkes. —	
Acornebury. —	S. *Katherine.* —N	—— ——	VVhite Nunnes. —	0075 07 05 ob 0
Barrone. —	—— —	—— ——	Blacke Monks —	
Clyfford. —	Saint *Marie.* —P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes. —	0065 11 11 ob 0
Dore. —	Saint *Mary.* —M	*Robert* Lord of *Ewias.* ——	White Monkes. —	0118 00 02 0 0
Flaneſford. —	—— M	*Richard Talbot.* ——	Regular Canons. —	0015 08 09 00 0
Kilpeke. —	—— P	—— ——	— —	
Ledbury. —	S *Katherine.* —H	*Iohn* Biſhop of *Hereford.* ——	— —	0022 05 00 00 0
Leomenſtre. —	Saint *Iacob.* — P	*Merewald* a King of the Mercians, and K. *Henry* the firſt.	Blacke Monks of *Roding.*	
Lymbroke. —	—— N	—— ——	VVhite Nunnes. —	0023 17 08 0
Wiggemore. —	*Sancto Iacobo.*— P	—— ——	Blacke Canons. —	
Wormeſty. —	—— P	—— ——	—— ——	0083 10 02
Hertford, *a Cel to S. Albans.*	— P	—— ——	Blacke Monkes. —	0086 14 8
Saint *Albans.* —	Saint *Alban* Martyr. M	*Offa* King of the Mercians, *Anno Dom.* 795.	Blacke Monkes. —	2510 06 01 ob q

Beluero

HERTFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Beluero, *a Cel to S. Albans.*	Saint *Mary.* S. *Iob. Baptist.*	P	—	Blacke Monkes. —	0135 05 10 00 0
Bosco, *neere Flamsteed.*	S. *Egidius.* —	N	—	Nunnes. —	0046 16 01 ob 0
Burton. —	Saint *Marie.* —	P	—	Monkes. —	
Binham, *in Com. Norff. A Cel to S. Albans.*	—	P	—	— —	0160 01 00 00 0
Chesthunte. —	—	N	*Henr. Rex Anglia, Dominus Hibernia, Dux Norm. Aquitan. & Comes Anged.* confirmed *Sheſtrehunt Moniales totam terram Dom. ten. cum pertin. ſuis qua Canonicis de Cathale, quos amouerifecimus.* At *Weſtm.* 11. *Aug.* 24 *Regni noſtri.*	Nunnes. —	0027 06 8
Chille. —	—	N	—	Blacke Nunnes. —	
Chiltree. —	—	N	—	Blacke Nunnes. —	
Hatfeild Peuerel, *in Com. Eſſex, A Cell to Saint Albans.*	Saint *Mary.* —	P	Daughter of *Ingelrick*, and wife to *Peuerel*, in K. *William* the Conquerors time.	Blacke Monkes of Saint *Albans.*	0083 19 07 0 0
Hychin. —	—	F	K. *Edward* the second; *Iohn Blomuil*, and *Adam Rouſe*, and *Iohn Cobham.*	Carmelites or White Friers.	0004 09 04
Langley Regis. —	—	F	*Robert*, ſonne of *Roger Helle* Baron. —	Preaching Friers. —	0150 14 08 0 0
Langley, *vide Leiceſterſhire.*	—	N	*Fundator Anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Bigot Militis, & eiuſdem vxoris Sororum.*	Nunnes. —	
Merſey. —	S. *Helen.*	P *Alien*	*Roger Fitz-Randulph.* —	— —	
Mirdiall. —	Saint *Mary.* —	P	—	Blacke Canons. —	
Monketon, *in Dioc. S. Dauids, A Cel to S. Albās*	—	P	—	— —	0113 02 06 ob q
New-bigging *infra villam de Huchyn.*	—	P	—	— —	0015 01 11 00 0
Royſton, *alias Crux Rohaysia.*	S. *Iohn Baptiſt. S. Thom.* Martyr.	P	*Euſtach de Marc* Knight, Lord of *Nucels*, and *Radulphus de Rancester*, and others renued it.	Canons. —	0106 03 01 00 0
Royſton. —	S. *Iohn. S. Iames* Apoſtles.	H	— —	— —	0005 06 10 00 0
Roweney. —	A Free Chappel or Hoſpitall.		— —	— —	0013 10 09 0 0
Sopewell. —	Saint *Mary.*	N	The Abbots of Saint *Albans.* —	Blacke Nunnes. —	0068 08 00 00 0
Thele. —	—	C	*William* Biſhop of *London.* —	A Maſter, 4 Chaplens.	
Tynmouth, *in com. Northb. a Cel to S. Albans.*	—	P	*Fundator Anteceſſor Ducis Norfolcia.* —	— —	0511 04 01 ob 0
Ware. —	—	P	The Progenitors of King *Richards* mother. —	— —	
Wymondley. —	—	P	*Richard Argenten.* —	Canons. —	0037 10 06 ob 0

HVNTINGDON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Huntingdon. —	Saint *Mary.*	P	*Euſtachius Louetot.* —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines.	0232 0 00 ob
Huntingdon. —	S. *Iohn Baptiſt* —	H	Founded by *Dauid* Earle of *Huntingdon*, Lord of *Connington, tempore H.* 2.	— —	0006 07 08 00 0
Hinchingbroke. —	—	N	*William* Conqueror, in place of *Elteſly* by him ſuppreſſed.	Nunnes. —	0019 09 02 00 0
S. Neot, *A Cell to Becco in Normandy.*	—	P	E. *Aelfric* firſt: *Roiſia de Claraſter. A. D.* 1113. —	Blacke Monkes. —	0256 01 03 ob 0
Ramſey. —	Saint *Mary* S. *Benedict.*	M	Earle *Aylwin. Anno Dom.* 969. —	Blacke Monkes *Benedictines.*	1983 15 03 00 q
Saltry. —	Saint *Mary.* —	M	*Simon* 2. Earle of *Huntingdon*: Kinges of *Scots*, and Lords of *Connington*, in the raigne of King *Stephen.*	White Monkes Ciſtertians.	0199 11 08 00 0
Stoneley. —	—	P	*Mandeuile* Earle of *Eſſex.* —	Blacke Canons Auguſtines.	0046 00 05 ob 0
S. Yuo, *A Cell to Ramſey.*	—	P	Earle *Adelmus* in the raigne of *Edmund Ironſide.*	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	

KENT.

Places	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Canterbury. *Chriſt-Church*	Saint *Trinity* —	P	Faithfull beleeuing Romans, after *Ethelred* King of *Kent.*	Blacke Monkes —	1489 04 09 00 0

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. L.	s.	d.	ob	q
Iuxta Canterbury.	Saint *Augustine.*	M	King *Ethelbert*, and after King *Edward* the second.	Blacke Monkes. —	1412	04	07	ob	q
Iuxta Canterbury.	S. *Gregory*, or S. *George.*	P	*Lowffran* Archbishop there. —	Blacke Canons. —	0166	04	05	ob	o
Iuxta Canterbury.	Saint *Sepulchers.*	N	— —	Black Nunnes. —	0038	19	07	ob	o
Canterbury. —	—	F	King *Henry* the third. —	Grey-Friers. —					
Canterbury. —	—	H	— —	Poore Priests. —	0010	13	08	ob	o
Iuxta Canterbury.	Saint *Laurence.*	H	— —	— —	0031	07	10	o	o
Canterbury *extra Muros.*	Saint *Iacob.*	H	— —	— —	0032	11	01	ob	q
Ailesford. —	—	F	*Richard* Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*, in the time of King *Henry* the third, *Anno Dom.* 1240.	Carmelites or white Friers.					
Ashford. —	—	C	Sir *R. Fogge* Knight. —	Priests. —					
Beigham. —	Saint *Marie.*	P	The Ancestors of *Thomas Saknile*, *Aly* Sir *Robert Thornham.*	White Canons. —	0152	19	04	ob	
Belsinton or Bilsington.	Saint *Mary.*	P	*John Maunsell Præpositus Beuerlacensis* for King *Henry* the third, and *Eleanor* his wife.	Blacke Canons. —	0081	01	06	o	o
Bradgare. —	—	C	*Robert de Bradgare*, *T. Ioselin Cleric.* and *Iohn* at *Vise.*	— —					
Bradesoke. —	S. *Radegundis*	M	*Hugh* the first Abbot —	White Canons. —	0142	08	09	o	o
Boxley. —	Saint *Marie*	M	*William de Ipres* a Fleming, Earle of *Kent*, *tempore Regis Stephani.*	White Monkes. —	0218	19	10	o	o
Cobham. —	—	C	*Iohn* Baron *Cobham.* —	— —	0128	01	09	ob	o
Combewell. —	S. *Mary Magd.*	M	— —	Blacke Canons. —	0080	17	5	o	q
Dartford. —	—	N	King *Edward* the third, *Anno Regni Anglie* 30. *Francie vero* 17.	Nunnes. —	0400	08	00	00	o
Daunton. —	—	N	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Douer. —	Saint *Marie*, Saint *Martin*	P	King *Henry* the first. —	Blacke Monkes. —	0232	01	05	ob	o
Douer, *Domus Dei.*	—	H	*Henricus tertius Rex Anglie.* —	Knights Templers. —	0159	18	06	ob	q
Eastbridge. —	—	H	King *Henry* the first gaue for *William* his Father, *quicquid Robertus Brus dederat Ecclesie de Estebureh*, & *fratribus ibidem Regularibus.*	— —	0023	18	09	ob	q
Elsfet. —	—	N	*Domneua.* —	Nunnes. —					
Feuersham. —	S. *Saviours.*	M	King *Stephen* and *Maud* his wife. —	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0286	12	06	ob	o
Folkestone. —	S. *Eanswide.*	N	*Eanswide* daughter to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: After *Roger Segraue* and *Iulian* his wife, and *Iohn Clinton* Baron.	Blacke Nunnes. —	0063	00	07	o	o
Greenwich. —	—	F	King *Henry* the seuenth. —	Obseruant Friers. —					
Greenwich. —	—	C	*William Lambard.* —	Queen *Elizabeths* poore people.					
Greenwich. —		F *Alien*	*K. Edward* the third, *Anno Regni* 55. *Iohn Norbury.*	Frier Minors. —					
Harballdowne. —	—	H	*Iohn Stratford*, or *Stafford*, Archbishop of *Canterbury.*	— —	0109	07	02	00	o
Heyham. —	—	N	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Horton. —	Saint *Iohn Euangelist.*	P	— —	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0111	16	07	ob	o
Langdon. —	S. *Thom. Martyr.*	M	— —	White Canons. —	0056	06	09	o	o
Leedes. —	Saint *Nicholas.*	P	*Robert Creuequeur.* —	Blacke Canons Augustines.	0362	07	07	o	o
Lesnes *vpon Thames.*	S. *Austin* or S. *Th. Martyr.*	P	*Richard de Lucie*, Chiefe Iustice of *England.* *Anno Dom.* 1179.	Blacke Canons. —	0186	09	00	o	o
Lewesham. —		P *Alien*	*Iohn Norburie.* —	Blacke Monkes. —					
Maidstone. —	*Omnium Sanctorum.*	C	*Boniface* of *Sauoy.* —	— —	0159	07	10	00	o
Malling. —	Saint *Marie.*	N	*Gundulph* Bishoppe of *Rochester.* —	Blacke Nunnes. —	0245	10	02	ob	o
Mottynden. —	—	M	— —	— —	0060	13	00	ob	o
Newenden. —	—	F	Built at the charges of Sir *Thomas Albiger* Knight, *A.D.* 1241.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Northgate. —	Saint *Iohns*	H	— —	— —	0091	16	08	ob	o
West Peccam. —	— *Præceptoria*		*Iohannes Culpepper*, *Iustic. de communi Banco*, *Anno* 10. *H.* 4.	— —	0063	06	08	o	o
Reculuer. —	—	M	*Bassa* an English Saxon. —	— —					
Rochester. —	Saint *Andrew.*	M	Bishop *Gundulph* a Norman, *A.D.* 1080. —	Blacke Canons. —	0486	11	05	o	o
Rochester. —	S *Bartholmew*,	H	King *Henry* the third confirmed it, and *Edward* the third discharged them of all Taxes, Tallages, &c.	*Leprosi.* —					
Rumney. —		P *Alien*	— —	— —					
Sandwich. —	—	F	*Henry Cowfeild* an Almane, *Anno Dom.* 1272.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Sandwich. —	Saint *Thomas.*	H	*Thomas Ralyng* Clerke, *William Swanne* Clerke, *Iohn Goddard* and *Richard Long.*	— —					
Strode or Strowde. —	—	H	*Robert Glanuile.* —	— —	0052	19	10	ob	o
Swingfeild. —	— *Præceptoria.*		— —	— —	0087	03	03	ob	o
Shepey. —	S. *Sexburg.*	N	*Sexburga* wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent* or *East-Angles*, *Anno Dom.* 710.	Nunnes. —	0129	07	10	ob	o

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Shepey.	Saint *Marie.*	*William de-la-Poole* Marquesse of *Suffolke*, by the name of *William de-la-Poole* Earle of *Suffolke.*		
Tunbridge.	S. *Mary Magd.* P	*Richard Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter.*	Blacke Canons.	0169 10 03 0 0
Wingham.	C	Founded by Archbiſhop *Pecham.*	Canons.	
Wye.	C	*Iohn Kempe* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie.*	Prieſts.	0093 02 0 ob 0
	Saint *Mary* S. *Swythin.*	Sir *Iohn Segraue.*		

LANCA SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Lancaſter.	Saint *Marie.* P	*Iohn* Earle of *Morton*, and confirmed by him afterward when hee was King of *England.*	Monkes.	
Lancaſter.	A Cell	*Roger* of *Poictiers.*	Monkes *Aliens.*	
Burſtough.	P		Canons.	0129 01 00 0 0
Calder.		*Fundator Anteceſſor Domini de Copeland.*		
Cartmele.	P	*William Marſhall* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke* for King *Henry* the ſecond, *Anno Dom.* 1188.		0113 19 07 00 0
Cokerſand.	M	*Ranulph de Meſchines.*	Monks Cluniacks.	0228 05 04 ob 0
Conyſhed.	P	*Fundator Anteceſſor Gulielmi Pennington.*		0124 02 01 0 0
Furnes.	M	*Stephen* Earle of *Bullen*, afterward King of *England.*	Monks Ciſtertians.	
Holland.	P	*Robert Holland* and *Maud* his wife. *Alij Anteceſſores Comitis Derbie.*		0061 03 04 0 0
Horneby.	Cella	*Fundator Anteceſſor Domini Mounteagle*		
Ieruaux.	M			
Mancheſter.	C	The *Grelleyes* Anceſtors to *Thomas Weſt* Lord *La Ware, tempore H.* 3.		
Penwortham.	M			0114 16 09 00 0
Whalley.	M	The Anceſtors of the *Lacyes* Earles of *Lincolne, Anno Dom.* 1296.	White Monkes.	0551 04 06 00 0

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Leiceſter.	Saint *Mary.* M	*Robert de Boſſu*, Earle of *Leiceſter.*	Blacke Canons or Friers Preachers.	1062 00 04 ob q
Iuxta Leiceſter Caſtle.	Saint *Mary.* C	*Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter.*		0023 12 11 0 0
Bredon, *A Cell to S Oſwald.*	M	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor. Alij Almar* Earle of *Cornwall.*	Blacke Canons.	0025 08 01 0 0
Bradley.	P			0020 15 07 00 0
Burton.		*Mombrayes* and by a common contribution ouer all *England.*	*Leproſi.*	0265 10 02 0 q
Canwell.	M.	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Lizle.*		0025 10 03 00 0
Croxton.	M	The Lord *Barkleyes* Anceſtors.	*Præmonſtratenſes.*	0458 19 11 ob q
Caſtledonington.	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.* H			0003 13 04 0 0
Cumbe.	Saint *Mary.* M		White Monkes.	
Cale.	P		Blacke Canons.	
Dalby-Rothley Heyther.	*Præceptoria.*			0231 07 10 00 0
Garradon.	M	*Fundator Anteceſſor nunc Comitiſſæ Oxford.*		0186 15 02 ob 0
Gracedew, *nere* Donington.	N	*Roiſia* wife of *Bertram de Verdon.*	Nunnes.	0101 08 02 ob 0
Gerewerdon.	Saint *Mary.* M		White Monkes.	
Hinkley.	P *Alien*			
Kirkby Bellers.	P	*Roger Belers*, and *Auſe* his wife.		0178 07 10 00 q
Launda.	M	*Richard Baſſet Dioc. Lincoln.*	Blacke Canons.	0510 16 05 ob q
Langley.		*Fundator Anteceſſor Uxoris Frane. Bigot Mil. & eiuſdem Uxoris Sororum.*	Nunnes.	0034 06 02 00 0
Litterworth.	Saint *Iohns.* H			0 26 09 5 0 0
Noui-Operis.	C			0595 7 04 0 0
Olneſton, or Oſelneſton.	M	*Robert Grimbald.*		0173 18 09 00 q
Staue.	N		Blacke Nunnes.	
Vlneſcroſt.	P	*Roger Quincy* Earle of *Winton.*		0101 03 10 ob 0
Werewerdon.	M		Blacke Canons.	
	Saint *Urſula.* H			0008 00 00 00 0

LINCOLNE SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob	q
Lincoln *Epatus.*	Saint *Marie.*	M	—	Secular Canons.					
Lincolne.	—	F	M. *Odo de Kilkenny*, a Scotiſh mam, *A.D.* 1269.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Lincolne.	Saint *Auguſt.*	F	—	Friers Eremites.					
Lincolne.	—	F	*Iohn Pickering* of *Stampwike.*	Friers Minors.					
Iuxta Lincolne.	S. *Katherine.*	P	*Robert de Caneto* Biſhop of *Lincolne.*	Gilbertines.	0270	01	03	00	o
Aluingham.	Saint *Mary.*	P	*Anthony de Bec* Biſhop of *Durham* and Patriarch of *Ieruſalem.*	White Canons and Nuns Gilbertines.	0141	15	00	00	o
Balwatus Aquilæ.	—	—	—	—	0124	02	00	00	o
Bello-vero, *ſiue* Beauuoir.	Saint *Marie.*	—	*Ralph de Todeney.*	Blacke Monkes of S. *Albans.*	0129	17	06	o	o
Berlinges.	—	M	*Radulphus de Haya.*	—	0307	16	06	00	o
Bolyngton.	Saint *Marie*	M	—	White Canons and Nuns Gilbertines.	0187	07	09	00	o
Boſton.	—	M	*S. Botolph* in the Saxons time.	—					
Boſton.	—	F	*Sir Orby, A.D.* 1300.	Carmelites or white Friers.					
Boſton *Iuxta Mare.*	Saint *Mary.*	P	*T. Morley* Knight, *Iohn Bacon* Eſquier, *Iohn Hagon, Thomas Hoke de Shynham*, and *Iohn Hyrd* of *Boſton.*	—					
Boſton.	*Beata Marie.*	C	—	—	0024	00	00	00	o
Boſton.	*Corporis Chriſti.*	C	—	—	0032	00	00	00	o
Boſton.	Saint *Peter.*	C	—	—	0010	13	04	o	
Bradney.	Saint *Oſwald.*	M	Confirmed by *William de Gaunt*, ſonne and heire of *Gilbert de Gaunt*, *Anno Dom.* 1115.	—	429	07	00	00	o
Brunne.	Blacke Canons.	—	—	—					
Bryggerd.	—	P	—	—	0101	11	00	ob	o
Cateley, or Catlin.	Saint *Marie.*	M	*Iohn Spaule* Eſquier.	White Canons & Nuns Gilbertines.	0038	13	08	o	o
Croyland or Crowland.	—	M	*Aethelbald* King of the Mercians, *Anno Dom.* 716. It was new built at the benenolence of the whole land, giuen vpon pardon for their ſinnes.	Blacke Monkes.	1217	05	11	00	o
Elſham.	—	P	*William Dyue.*	Blacke Canons.	0083	17	10	00	o
Eppworth *in the Iſle of Axholme.*	A Conuentual Houſe.		*Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* & Marſhall of *England.*	Carthuſians.	0290	14	07	ob	q
Foſſe.	—	N	—	Nunnes.	0008	05	04	00	o
Friſetun.	—	—	*Mauritius de Creon* Baron.	Blacke Monkes.					
Glamfordbridge *in Parochia de Wrawby.*	—	H	*William Tirwhit.*	—					
Goykewell.	—	N	—	Nunnes.	0019	18	06	00	o
Greenfeild.	Saint *Mary.*	N	*Dudon de Grouesby.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0079	15	01	o	o
Grimmysby.	Saint *Leonard*	N	*Robert Groſted* Biſhoppe of *Lincolne*, and *Thomas Heſterton* Knight.	Blacke Nunnes.	0012	03	07	o	
Grimmesby.	S. *Auguſtine.* & S. *Toloſſ.*		*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	Blacke Canons.					
Hagneby.	—	M	*Herbert* of *Orbea* or *Orreby.*	—	0098	08	04	00	o
Hauerholm.	Saint *Mary.*	M	*Alexander* Biſhoppe of *Lincolne.*	White Canons, & Nuns Gilbertines.	0088	05	05	00	o
Heuings.	—	N	—	—	0058	13	04	00	o
Hunſton or Humberſton.	Our Lady & S. *Peter.*	M	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	—	0042	11	03	00	o
Irford.	—	M	—	—	014	13	04	ob	o
Kirkſted.	Saint *Marie.*	M	*Hugh Britay.*	White Monkes.	0338	13	11	ob	q
Kyme.	—	M	*Philip de Valisby.*	—	0138	04	09	00	o
Letherſtoke.	—	—	*Iohn Gifford* Clerke.	—					
Leyborne.	Our Lady	M	*Robert Fitz-Gilbert.*	—	0057	13	05	o	q
Louthparke.	Saint *Mary.*	M	—	White Monkes.	0169	05	06	ob	o
Markeby.	—	P	—	—	0163	17	06	ob	o
Newebo.	—	M	—	—	0115	11	08	o	o
Newhouſe.	S. *Martiall.*	—	*Peter de Gaulia.*	White Canons, *the firſt houſe of the Order Premonſtratenſes in England.*					
Newnersby, or Nun-ormesby.	—	P	—	White Canons & Nuns Gilbertines	0098	00	00	00	o
Newſom.	—	M	—	—	0114	01	04	ob	o
Newſted *neere Stansford.*	—	M	—	Gilbertines.	0042	01	03	00	
Newſted *neere Axholme.*	—	P	—	—	0055	11	08	00	o
Noton, or *Nocton-Parke.*	S. *Mary Magd.*	M	*Robert D'Arcie.*	Blacke Canons.	0052	19	02	ob	o
Nun-Cotton.	Saint *Mary.*	P	—	White Canons and Nunnes.	0046	17	07	00	o
Oxeneyes.	—	—	—	Blacke Canons.					
Raueſton.	Saint *Auguſtin.*	C	—	—					

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Reuesby, or Reuyswy.	— M	*William Romare.*	Nunnes.	0349 04 10 00 0
Sempringham.	Saint *Gilbert.* M	Saint *Gilbert* beginner of the said Order.	White Canons & Nuns Gilbertines.	0359 12 07 00 0
Sixle.	Saint *Marie.* —	—	Whit Canons & Nuns.	
Spalding.	Saint *Mary,* and S. *Nicholas.* M	*Ivo Talbois comes Andegauensis,* and *William de Romara,* and *Lucy* Countesse of *Chester* and *Lincolne.*	*Andegauenses Monachi.*	0878 18 03 00 0
Iuxta Stanford	Saint *Michael.* M	—	Blacke Monkes.	0072 18 10 ob 0
Stanford.	Saint *Mary* & Saint *Nicholas*	—	Blacke Monkes.	0065 19 09 0 0
Stanford.	— F	King *Edward* the third.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Stanford.	— H	*William Browne* Citizen there.	—	
Stanford.	— H	The L. *Burghley* L. Treasurer of *England.*	—	
Staynsfeld.	— P	Confirmed by K. *John* for his Father *Henry* the second.	Blacke Nunnes.	0112 05 00 00 0
Stixwold or Stixwell.	Saint *Marie.* — M	*Lucie* first Countesse of *Perch.*	White Canons and Nunnes.	0163 01 02 0 ob
Swinshed in *Holland.*	Saint *Marie.* — M	Sir *Robert Grisley.*	White Monks.	0175 19 10 00 0
Syxhill.	— P	—	Gilbertines.	0170 08 09 0 0
Tattesshall.	— C	Sir *Ralph Cromwell* Knight.	—	0348 05 11 ob q
Temple-Bruer.	*Præceptoria.* —	—	—	0184 06 08 00 0
Thorneholme.	— P	—	—	0155 19 06 ob 0
Thornton.	— M	—	—	0730 17 02 ob 0
Torington.	Saint *Marie.* —	*William de Arundell.*	Blacke Canons.	
Torkesey.	— P	—	Blacke Canons.	0027 02 08 0 0
Tupholme.	Saint *Mary.* M	*Alain Nevill.*	White Canons.	0119 02 08 00 0
Valla Dei.	Saint *Mary.* M	*Gilbert Gaunt* Earle of *Lincolne.*	White Monkes Cistertians.	0177 15 07 ob q
Wello.	— M	—	—	0152 07 04 00 0
Willoughton.	*Præceptoria.* —	—	—	0174 11 01 ob 0
—	Saint *Peter.* & Saint *Paul* M	—	—	0197 17 05 00 q
—	*Omnium Sanctorum* H	—	—	0018 16 00 ob q

MIDDLESEX.

London within the Vals.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Eccles. Cath. —	Saint *Paul.* —	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent, Anno Dom.* 610. —	Secular Canons. —	
Iuxta Ludgate. — F	— —	K. *Edward* the first, and *Aelionora* his wife. *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury,* & the Citizens of *London, A. D.* 1276	Blacke Friers. —	0104 15 04 00 0
Iuxta Newgate. F	— —	Queene *Margaret* second wife to K. *Edward* the first, and *Iohn* of *Britain,* Earle of *Richmond,* with diuers other Citizens of *London, A.D.* 1225. & 1306.	Friers Minor. or Grey Friers.	0032 19 10 00 0
Iuxta Aldersgate. C	Saint *Martins.* —	*Ingelricus* and *Edward* his brother, *Anno Dom.* 1056.	Secular Clerks. —	
Guild-hall. —	— —	*Peter Stambarr, Adam Frances, Henry de* and *William Brampton* Chaplens, *A.D.* 1299.	A Chappell and 4. Chaplaines.	0012 18 09 00 0
In Cheap-side. — H	S. *Thom. of Acon.* —	*Thomas Fitz-the bald de Heily,* & *Agnes* his wife, sister to *Thomas Becket,* in the raigne of *Henry* the second.	— —	0277 03 04 00 0
In Candleweek street. C S. *Laurence Pountney.*	*Corpus Christi* —	*Iohn Poultney* Maior of *London, Anno* 20. *Edward.* 3.	— —	0079 17 11 00 0
Whittingdon. — C	— —	*Richard Whitingdon* a Citizen of *London, An.* 3. *H.* 6.	— —	0010 01 10 00 q
In Gay spur lane. *Elsing Spittle.* H	— —	*William Elsing* Citizen of *London. An. Dom.* 1329. *Anno* 3. *Ed.* 3.	Canons Regular, *Aliy* 100. blind men.	0239 13 11 ob 0
In Lothburie. —	— —	*Anno Dom.* 1257.	*Fratres de Sacra.* —	
In Broadstreet. — F	S. *Augustin.* —	*Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex, A. Dom.* 1253.	*Austine* Friers. —	0057 00 04 00 0
113. Needle street, *A Cel* to S. *Anthony of Vienna.* H	S. *Anthony.* —	King *Henry* the third.	— —	
In Bishopsgate streete. N	Saint *Helens.* —	*William Basing* Deane of *Paules,* in the second yeare of *Edward* the second.	Blacke Nunnes, —	0376 06 00 00 0
In Leaden-hall. — H	S. *Trinitatis.* —	*William Rouse, Iohn Risby,* and *Thomas Ashby* Priests. *A.D.* 1466.	60. Priests. —	
Iuxta Aldgate *Christs Church* P	The holy Trinity. —	Queene *Matilda* wife to K. *Henry* the first *Anno Dom.* 1108.	Blacke Canons or Canons Regular.	
In Hart street. —	— —	*Ralph Hosier,* & *William Sabernes. A.D.* 1298.	*Fratres Sanctæ Crucis.*	0051 13 01 00 0

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Barking Chappel.	—	Our Lady. —	*Iohn* Earle of *Worceſter*, made it a fraternity. King *Richard* the third made it a Colledge of Prieſtes, and reedified it.	— —	

London without the VVals, in the Suburbes.

Weſtminſter. —	M	Saint *Peter.* —	*Sebert* King of the Eaſt-Saxons, *Dunſtan* B. of *London*. *K Edward* Confeſſor.	Backe Monkes. —	3977 06 04 ob q
Weſtminſter.	C	Saint *Stephen.* —	King *Stephen*: after by King *Edward* the third.	Secular Canons. —	1085 10 05 00 0
Weſtminſter *in Tote-hill ſtreet.*	H	— —	The Lady *Anne Dacre.* —	— —	0100 00 00 00 0
Weſtminſter.	H	Saint *Iames.* —	The Citizens of *London.* —	— —	
Weſtminſter *neer Charing Croſſe, A Cell to our Lady of Rounciuall in Nauarre.*	H	Saint *Marie.* —	*Anno* 15. *Edward* 4. —	— —	
Weſtminſter, S. *Giles in the fields.*	H	— —	Queene *Matilde*, wife to King *H.* 1. *A.D.* 1117	— —	
Weſtminſter, *The Sauoy.*	H	Saint *Iohn Bap.* —	King *Henry* the ſeuenth. *A.D.* 1509. —	— —	0529 15 07 ob 0
In Fleetſtreet *New Temple.*		Our Lady. —	Founded by themſelues in the raigne of *Henry* the ſecond.	Knights Templers. —	
In Fleetſtreet.		— —	*Richard Grey* of *Codnor. A.D.* 1241. —	VVhite Friers. —	0063 11 04 0 0
In Smithfield.	M	S. *Bartholmew.* —	*Henricus Rex Anglia primus fundauit Eccleſiam.* After by *Rahere* firſt Prior of the ſame, *Anno Dom.* 1102.	Blacke Canons or Canons Regular.	0757 08 04 ob q
In Smithfield.	H	S. *Bartholmew.* —	*Rahere* a Prior, *A.D.* 1102. —	— —	0305 06 07 00 0
The Charterhouſe in Saint Iohns ſtreet.		— —	*Sir Walter Many* of *Cambrey* Knight, *A.D.* 1340. or 1371.	Carthuſians. —	0736 02 07 00 0
In Saint Iohns ſtreet.	P	Saint *Iohn of Ieruſalem.*	*Iorden Briſes* Baron, and *Muriel* his wife. *A.D.* 1100.	— —	2385 19 08 00 0
Clerken-well.	N	Saint *Mary.* —	*Iorden Briſet* Baron, the ſonne of *Ralph*, *Anno Domini* 1100. and *Muriel* his wife.	Black Nunnes. —	0282 16 05 00 0
Exta Crepleſgate, *Corpus Chriſti.*	H	Our Lady, Saint *Giles.*	*Matildis Regina, Henrici ſecundi Auia.* After by *Iohn Belanoer*, 35. *Edw.* 3.	— —	
In White Croſſe ſtreet.	H	Saint *Giles.* —	King *Henry* the fift. —	Of the French Order.	
Halywell.	N	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.* —	A Biſhoppe of *London.* —	Blacke Nunnes. —	0347 01 03 00 0
Extra Biſhops gate, *New-Hoſpitall.*	P	*Beata Maria*, —	*Walter Brunne* and *Roiſia* his wife, *A.D.* 1235.	Canons Regular. —	0557 14 10 ob
Extra Algate.	N	Saint *Clare*, —	*Blanch* Queene of *Nauarre*, and her huſband *Edmund* E. of *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, & *Darby*, brother to K. *E.* 1. 1292. 21. *E.* 1.	Nunnes Minors. —	0342 05 10 ob 0
In Eaſt Smithfield neere the Tower. *New Abbey.*	M	S. *Marie Gracis.*	King *Edward* the third, *Anno regni eius* 25. *A.D.* 1359.	White Monkes Ciſtertians.	0602 11 10 ob 0
Neer the Tower.	H	S *Katherine.* —	*Matilda* wife to King *Stephen*, and after by *Aelioner*, wife to King *Edward* the firſt.	A Cuſtos. 3. Chaplens. 3. Siſters. 18. poore women. 6. poore Clerks.	0315 14 02 0 0

Middleſex.

Iuxta Brainford.	F	*Eccleſia ſanctorum Angelorũ.*	*Iohn Sommerſet* Chancellor of the Exchequor, and the Kings Chaplaine.	— —	
Kylborne.	N	Saint *Mary.* —	— —	Nunnes. —	0086 07 6 0 0
Hownſlow. *Domus*		— —	— —	Captiues. —	0080 15 00 ob 0
Langley.	—	— —	The Earle of *Derby.* —	— —	
Okeburn. — P. *Alien*		— —	— —	— —	
Stanes. —	P	— —	*Ralph Stafford.* —	— —	
Stratford Bow.	M	*Sancti Leonards.* —	King *Henry* the ſecond. —	Nuns or white Monkes.	0121 16 00 00 0
Syon. —	M	— —	King *Henry* the fift, *Ann.* 2. of his raigne.	Nuns & Prieſts Auguſtines.	1944 11 08 0 q
Vxbridge.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	*Hugh Rowſe.* —	— —	

NOR-

NORFFOLKE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. L. s. d. ob q
Norwich produced frō the Abbey of Feschamp in Normandy.	Ecc. Cat.	Saint *Trinity*.	*Elbert de Losing*. Bishop *Herbert* of *Thetford*, *Anno Dom.* 1096. in the raign of King *William Rufus*.	Black Monks, *Benedictines*.	1061 14 03 ob o
Norwich.	F	—	*Philip Congate* Citizen & Maior of *Norwich*, A.D. 1268.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Norwich.	F	—	*John Hostynford*.	Grey Friers.	
Norwich.	F	—	—	Blacke Friers.	
Norwich.	F	—	*Remigie*, or the King.	Austine Friers.	
Norwich.	H	Saint *Egidius*.	—	—	0090 12 00 00 0
Linne.	F	—	Lord *Bardolf*, Lord *Scales*, and Sir *John Wighnall*, *Anno Dom.* 1269.	Carmelites or white Friers.	0001 15 08 00 0
Linne.	F	—	*Thomas Gedney*.	Blacke Friers.	
Linne.	F	—	*T. de Felisham*.	White Friers.	
Linne.	H	Saint *John*.	—	—	0007 06 11 0 0
Attilburgh.	C	*Sancta Crucis*.	*Robert Mortimer*.	—	0021 16 00 ob 0
Beeston.	P	—	—	—	0050 06 04 ob q
Blakburgh.	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0076 03 09 ob 0
Blakeney.	F	—	Lord *Rosse*, Sir *Robert Bacon*, and S. *John Bret* Knighes, *A.D.* 1321.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Bokenham, *alias* Bukkenham	P	Saint *Iacob*.	—	Blacke Canons.	0131 11 00 00 0
Bromhall in *Windsor Forrest*.	P	—	*Edward* the Blacke Prince.	—	
Bromholme.	P	S. *Sepulchers*.	*G. Glanuile*.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses	0144 19 00 ob q
Bromholme.	—	Saint *Andrew*.	*William Glanuile*.	Benedictines.	
Brunham.	—	—	Sir *Ralph Hempnall*, and Sir *William Calthrop*, *Anno Dom.* 1241.	Carmelites or white Friers.	0002 05 04 00 0
Budham.	—	Saint *Mary*.	—	Blacke Canons.	
Carow.	N	Saint *Mary*.	King *Stephen*.	Blacke Nunnes.	0084 12 01 ob q
Carbroke.	C	S. *John Ierusalem*.	—	—	0065 02 09 ob 0
Castell-acre.	M	Saint *Marie*.	—	Black Monks Clunic.	0324 17 05 ob q
Crobbehouse.	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0031 16 07 00 0
Flytham, *A Cel to Walsingham*.	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0062 10 06 ob 0
Hempton or Hompton.	P	Our Lady and Saint *Stephen*.	*Richard Ward* Chanon here.	—	0039 00 09 00 0
Heringby.	C	—	—	—	0023 06 05 00 0
Hilderlands.	H	—	—	—	0000 14 00 0 0
Horsseham.	P	Saint *Fidis*.	*Robert Fitz-Walter*.	Blacke Monkes *Benedictines*.	0193 02 03 ob 0
Hulme.	M	Saint *Benedict*.	King *Kanute* the Dane. After K. *Edward* Confessor.	Blacke Monkes.	0677 09 08 00 q
Hyckelyng.	P	—	—	—	0137 00 01 ob q
Kockesforth, or Cokesford.	M	—	Sir *William Cheyney* Knight.	Blacke Canons.	0153 07 01 00 0
Langley.	M	—	*Fundator Anteceſſor vxoris Franciſci Bigot Militis, & eiusdem vxoris Sororum.* Vide Hertf. & Leiceſt.	Nunnes.	0128 19 09 ob 0
Marmound.	N	—	—	White Nuns Gilbert.	0013 06 01 ob 0
Markham Barbara.	M	—	—	—	0042 04 07 ob q
Pentney and Wormegay.	M	S. *Mary Magd.*	*Reginald de Warenna*.	Blacke Canons.	0215 18 08 00 0
Rushworth.	C	—	Sir *Robert Wingfeild* Knight.	—	0085 15 00 ob
Shuldeham.	P	*Sanctæ Crucis* & S. *Marie*.	—	White Nunnes Gilbertines.	0171 06 08 00 0
Thetford.	F	*Sanctæ Trinitatis*.	Bishoppe *Arfast* of *Elmham*, in the raigne of King *Edward* Confessor, made it a Bishoppes See. After *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, made a Society of Preachers.	Friers Preachers.	
Thetford.	F	—	*John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*.	Augustine Friers.	
Thetford.	F	S. *Sepultur*.	The Earle of *Warren*.	Blacke Friers.	
Thetford.	P	S. *Mary*, & S. *John*.	*Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norffolke*.	Blacke Canons.	0049 18 01 00 0
Thetford.	N	Saint *Gregory*.	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0050 09 08 0 9
Thetford.	M	Saint *Andrew*.	*Hugh Bigod* Steward to King *Henry*.	Blacke Monkes Clunicenses.	0418 06 03 ob 0
Thetford.	C	*Beata Marie*.	—	—	0109 00 07 00 0
Thetford.	—	S. *Mary Magd.* & S. *John Bap.*	*John Warren* Earle of *Surrey*.	—	
Tomeston.	C	—	*Thomas de Shardelow*, and *John* his brother *A.* 23. *E.* 3.	6. Chaplens.	0052 15 07 ob
Wabburne.	P	—	—	—	0028 07 02 00 0
Walsingham.	M	Saint *Marie*	*Edmund* Earle of *March*, and *Elizabeth de Burgo*.	Blacke Canons Friers Minors.	0446 14 04 ob q
Wendling.	F	—	*William de Wendling* Priest.	Austine Friers.	0055 18 04 ob q
Westacre.	P	S. *Mary & al Saints*	—	Blacke Canons.	0308 19 11 ob q

West-

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Westdereham. M	— —	— —	VVhite Canons. —	0252 12 11 ob o
Weybridge or Wexbridge. P	Saint *Margaret.* —	*Robert Oliuer, Thomas Munday, Iohn Palmar* and *Iohn Barford.*	— —	0007 13 04 00 o
Witham. — P	VVinewald. —	— —	Black Canõs *de martial*	
Wymondham. —	Saint *Marie* —	*William D' Albiney*, Butler to King *Henry* the first.	Blacke Monks of *S. Albans.*	0072 05 04 00 o
Yarmouth. — F	— —	King *Edward* the first, *Anno Domini*, 1278	Carmelites or white Friers.	
Yarmouth. — F	— —	*Galfridus Pilgrim*, and *Thomas Fastolfe* —	Blacke Eriers. —	
Yarmouth. — F	— —	Sir *William Gerbrigge.* —	Grey Friers. —	
Iuxta Yarmouth in *Castretleg.* C	S. *Iohn Baptist.* —	First *Robert de Castre*, after by *Iohn Fastolfe* Esquier, father to Sir *Iohn Fastolfe.*	— —	
Yngham. P	Saint *Marie.* —	— —	Blacke Monkes of Saint *Albans.*	0074 02 07 ob o
— F	— —	— —	Friers Preachers. —	0000 18 00 o o
— f	— —	— —	Austine Friers. —	0001 04 06 00 o

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Northampton. M	Saint *Iacob.* —	— —	Blacke Canons. —	0213 17 02 ob o
Northampton. P	saint *Andrew.* —	*Simon de Sancto Licio*, first E. of *Northampton.*	Blacke Monkes. —	0334 13 07 00 o
Iuxta Northãpton. N	S. *Mary de pratis*, or *de la prey*	*Simon de Sancto Licio* second Earle of *Northampton.*	Nunnes. —	0119 09 07 00 q
Northampton. — F	— —	— —	Friers Minors or Grey Friers.	0006 17 04 0 o
Northampton. — F	— —	— —	Friers Preachers. —	0005 07 10 00 o
Northampton. — F	— —	*Simon Mountfort*, and Sir *T. Chitwood* Knights. *A. D.* 1271.	Carmelites or white Friers.	0010 10 00 00 o
Northampton. — N	Saint *Mary.* —	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —	
Northampton. — F	— —	*Iohn de Glanuile.* —	*Augustine* Friers. —	
Asheby. — P	— —	— —	— —	0127 19 00 00 o
Catesby. — N	S. *Tho.* & S. *Mary.* —	— —	Nuns of *Sempringham.*	0145 00 06 00 o
Chacum. — P	S. *Peter.* S. *Paul.* —	*William Knowles. Sir Hugh Awresey.* —	Blacke Canons. —	0093 06 03 ob o
Cotherstoke. — C	— —	*Iohn Gifford* Clerke, *A.* 22. *E.* 3. —	— —	
Dauintree. — P	Saint *Austin. Angl. Apost.*	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	Blacke Monkes Clunicenses.	0236 07 06 00 o
Fynneshed *the Church of Saint Marses of the Castel of Hyniell.* M	S. *Mary* the Virgin	*Richard Engaigne.* —	— —	0062 16 00 00 o
Foderinghay. C	— —	*Edmund de Langley* Duke of *Yorke.* King *H.* 4 and Queen *Ioan* his wife, *an.* 13. lastly, *H.* 5. and *Edward* Duke of *Yorke.*	— —	0419 11 10 ob o
Gare. — N	S. *Mary Magd.* —	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —	
Higham-Ferrars. C	— —	*Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury.* —	— —	0156 02 07 ob o
Brackley. C	— —	*The* L. *Zouches.* —	— —	
Irtelingburgh. C	— —	*Iohn Pool.* —	A Dean & 6. Clerks. —	0064 12 10 ob o
Iuxta Kingesthorp H	Saint *David.* —	— —	— —	0024 06 00 00 o
Peterborough. M	Saint *Peter.* —	*Wolpherus. Etheldredus.* fil. *Regis* *Resani Ethelwoldi.*	Blacke Monks. —	1972 07 00 ob q
Pipewell. — P	Saint *Mary.* —	*William Boteuillei*, & *Robert Boteuillei*, & *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester. A. H.* 2.	White Monkes Cistertians.	0347 08 00 ob o
Rothewell. — N	S. *Iohn Baptist.* —	— —	Nunnes. —	0010 10 04 00 o
Sainct-Dauy. P	Saint *Trinity*, & Saint *Mary.*	— —	Blacke Canons. —	
Sewesby or Sewardesley. N	S. *Mary Magd.* —	— —	Black Nunnes. —	0018 11 02 00 o
Stanford. — N	— —	— —	Nunnes. —	
Sulby. — M	Saint *Mary.* —	— —	Blacke Monkes. —	0305 08 05 ob o
Towceter. — C	— —	— —	— —	0019 06 08 00 o
Withorpe. — M	— —	— —	Blacke Monkes. —	
H	Saint *Leonard.* —	— —	— —	0010 00 00 00 o
H	Saint *Iohns.* —	— —	— —	0025 06 02 ob q
C	*Omnium sanctorum*	— —	— —	0001 19 04 00 o
P	S. *Michael.* —	— —	Blacke Monkes. —	

NOT-

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Nottingham.	F	—	Sir *Reginald Grey* of *Wilton*, and *I. Shirley*, *Anno Dom.* 1276.	White Friers.					
Nottingham.	F	—	King *Henry* the third.	Grey Friers.					
Nottingham.	H	—	*John Plomtree.*	—					
Bawtree.	H	—	—	—	0006	66	08	00	0
Bella valla.	P	—	*Iohn Cantelupe*, and *Nicholas de Cantelupe* Confirmed by *Edward* the third, *Anno* 19. *Anglia*, & 6. *Francia.*	Carthusians Cistertians.	0227	08	00	00	0
Bingham.	C	*Beate Marie.*	—	—	0040	11	06	00	0
Blythe.	P	Saint *Mary.*	*Roger Busly*, and *Fonlk de Lisieurt.*	Blacke Monkes.	0126	08	02	ob	0
Blythe.	H	—	—	—	0008	14	00	0	0
Brodham.	P	—	—	—	0016	05	02	00	0
Clyfton.	C	—	—	—	0020	02	06	00	0
Felley.	M	Our Lady.	*Fundator Antecessor Iohannis Chough Militis.* *Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury.*	Blacke Monkes.	0061	04	08	00	0
Lenton	P	*Sancta Trinitatis.*	*William Peverell* the base sonne of King *William* the Conquerour.	Black Monks, Cluniacenses.	0417	19	03	00	0
In Mariſco, *apud Capell. Sancti Thome Ebor.*	*Cella.*	—	—	—	0063	05	08	0	0
Matterſey.	—	—	*Fundator Anteceſſor Edwardi Thirland.*	—	0061	17	07	00	0
Newſteed, or *Nono-Loco in Shirwood.*		Our Lady.	King *Henry* the ſecond.	—	0219	18	08	ob	0
Rufford.	M	—	*Dominus Beaumount Anteceſſor Domini Norreys.*	White Monkes.	0254	06	08	00	0
Shelford.	P	—	*Ralph Hanſelin & H Norris Anteceſſor.*	—	0151	14	01	00	0
Southwell.	C	—	*Paulinus* the firſt Archbiſhop of *Yorke.*	—	0039	05	06	ob	0
Thurgarton.	P	Saint *Peter.*	Sir *Ralph D'eincourt*, and confirmed *per Regem.*	Blacke Canons.	0359	15	10	00	
Wallingwells.	N	—	The Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, Anceſter to the L. *Dacres.*	Nunnes.	00087	11	06	0	0
Welbeck.	M	Saint *Iames.*	*Fundator Anteceſſor Epiſcopi Elienſis. Tho. de Cukeney*, or *Cokeney.*	Blacke Canons.	0298	04	08	00	0
Workeſope.	M	Saint *Mary* of *Radford.*	*William Louetot*, and the Anceſtors of the Earle of *Shrewsbury.*	Blacke Canons.	0302	06	10	00	0

NORTHVMBERLAND.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Alba-Launda, or Blanche-land.	M	—	*Fundator Anteceſſ. Comitis Weſtmorlandie. Iohn de Torington* a Benefactor. K. *Iohn* confirmed it. *Anno* 16.	Ciſtertians.	0044	09	01	ob	0
Alnewicke or Holne.	F	—	*Iohn* Lord *Veſcy* (*Anteceſſor Comitis Northumbrie*) brought this Order firſt into *England.* A.D. 1240.	Carmelites or White Friers.	0194	07	00	00	0
Barwicke.	F	—	Sir *Iohn Grey*, *Anno Dom.* 1270.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Brekenbourne.	P	—	*William Bartram* the elder, father to *Roger Bartram*, *tempore Regis Iohannis.*	—	0077	00	00	00	0
Frameland, Ferne-Eland, or Flaneland.	*Cella.*	—	—	—	0012	17	08	00	0
Hexham.	P	—	*Fundator Anteceſſor Archiep. Eboracenſis.*	—	0138	01	09	00	0
Holiſcombe.	N	—	—	Nuns.	0015	10	08	0	0
Inſula-ſacra.	*Cella*	—	—	—	0060	05	00	00	0
Lambley.	N	—	The *Lucies.*	Nunnes.					
Newcaſtle.	F	—	—	Grey Friers.					
Newcaſtle.	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0037	04	02	00	0
Newcaſtle.	F	—	King *Edward* the firſt.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Newcaſtle.	H	S. *Mary Magd.*	—	—	0009	11	04	00	0
New-Monaſtery, *alias* NewMinſter.	M	—	*Fundator Anteceſſor Domini Dakyrs.*	—	0140	10	04	00	0
Ouingham *Cella de Hexam.*		—	—	—	0013	04	08	00	0
Tynmouth. *a Cell to Saint Albans in Hertfordſhire.*	N	—	*Fundator Anteceſſor Ducis Norfolcia.*	Nuns.	0511	04	01	ob	0

OXFORD-SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Oxford, *Eccleſia Cathedralis.*		—	King *Henry* the eight.	—	—
Oxford.	P	S. *Frideſwid.*	*Frideſwida filia Algari, Reſtaurator Ethelredus Rex, & Dom. Regis Progenitores.*	Nuns, afterwards Blacke Canons.	0224 04 08 9
Oxford.	F	—	*Richard Cary.*	*Fratres Sanctæ Crucis.*	
Oxford.	F	—	*Henricus Rex.*	Friers Minors, or Grey Friers.	
Oxford.	F	—	K. *Edward* the ſecond, *Anno* 11. *Edwardi* 2.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Oxford.	F	—	—	Blacke Friers.	—
Oxford.	F	—	King *Henry* the third.	Auguſtine Friers.	—
Oxford.	M	S. *Mary Oſney.*	*Rob.* the ſonne of *Niele*, brother of *Rob. D Oily* a Norman, *A.D.* 1129.	Blacke Canons.	0755 18 06 ob
Oxford.	M	*Locus Regalis*, alias *Rewley.*	*Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall.*	Monkes Ciſtertians.	0174 03 00 00 0
The Colledges in Oxford.					
Vniverſity Colledge.		—	Firſt King *Aelfred*, after *William* Archdeacon of *Durham.*		
Baliol Colledge.		—	*Iohn Baliol* Father of *Iohn Baliol* King of *Scots, tempore H.* 3.		
Merton Colledge.		—	*Walter Merton* B. of *Rocheſter. Anno D.* 1274.		
Exceter Colledge.		—	*Walter Stapledon* Biſhop of *Exceſter, tempore Edw.* 2.		
Harts Hall.		—	*Walter Stapledon* Biſhop of *Exceſter, tempore Edw.* 2.		
Kings, now *Oriall. Colledge.*		—	King *Edward* the ſecond.		
S. Maries Hall.		—	King *Edward* the ſecond.		
Queens Colledge.		—	Queene *Philip* wife K. *Edward* the third.		
S. Edmunds Hall		—	*Edmund* Archb. of *Canterbury, vt creditur.*		
Canterbury now *Chriſts Church Colledge.*		—	*Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury.* After Cardinall *Wolſey*, and K. *Henry* the eight.		
S. Mary, alias *New Colledge.*		—	*William Wiecam* Biſhoppe of *Winchester.*		
Glouceſter Colledge		—	*Benedictine Monkes.*		
Durham, now *Trinity Colledge.*		—	*Thomas de Hatfeild*, Biſhop of *Durham.* After in our time, Sir *Thomas Pope* knight		
Lincolne Colledge.		—	*Richard Fleming* Biſhop of *Lincolne.*		
S. Albans Hall.		—	—		
Broadgate Hall		—	—		
All-Soules Colledge.		—	*Henry Chichley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury tempore H.* 5.		
New Inne.		—	—		
Bernard now *S. Iohn Baptiſt Colledge.*		—	*Henry Chicheley*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury, tempore H.* 5. After in our time, Sir *Thomas White* L. Maior of *London.*		
Sancti Iohannis Hoſpitale, now *Mary Magdalen Colledge.*		—	*Fundator Henricus Rex*, Afterward *William Wainflet* B. of *Wincheſter.*		
Magdalen Hal.		—	*William Patten, alias Wainflet.*		
Braſen Noſe Colledge.		—	*William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincolne, tempore H.* 7. Doctor *Nowell* Dean of *Paules*, Benefactor.		
Corpus Chriſti Colledge.		—	*Richard Fox* B. of *VVincheſter*, *Hugh Oldam* B. of *Exceſter*, Benefactor.		
Ieſus Colledge.		—	*Hugh Price* Doctor of the Lawes.		
Wadham Colledge.		—	*Wadham*, an Eſquier, and his wife.		
Banbury.	H	Saint *Iohn.*	—	—	0015 01 10 ob 0
Banbury.	C	*Beata Maria.*	—	—	0048 06 00 00 0
Brackele.	P	Saint *Mary.*	—	Blacke Canons.	—
Bruern.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Nicholas Baſſet.*	White Monkes.	0124 10 10 00 0
Burceſter, *vulgo* Biſſeter.		Saint *Eadburgh.*	*Gilbert Baſſet*, and *Egelina Courtney* his wife, *tempore Henrici Secundi.*	—	0167 02 10 00 0
Burford.	P	—	—	—	0013 06 06 00 0
Chiping Norton *in Eccleſia.*		—	—	—	0007 14 00 00 0
Clattercote.	M	*Sancti Leonardi.*	—	—	0034 19 11 00 0
Coges.	P	—	—	Blacke Monkes.	—
Dorcheſter.	M	Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul.*	*Birinus* the Apoſtle of the Weſt-Saxons, and after by *Nicholas Huntercombe*, heire of *William Huntercombe.*	Blacke Canons.	0219 12 00 00 0
Ewelme, or New Elme.	H	—	*William de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolke.*	—	0020 0 0 0 0
Eynſham,	M	Saint *Marie.*	*Athelmar* a Nobleman, King *Aethelred* confirmed it. *A.D.* 1005.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0421 16 01 00 0
Godſtow by *Oxf.*	N	Saint *Mary.*	Dame *Ida* a rich Widow. Repaired by K. *Iohn.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0319 18 08 00 0

God-

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Goring.	N	Saint *Marie*	——	Blacke Nunnes.	0080 05 05 00 0
Lidmore, *alias* Littlemore.	N	—	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0033 06 08 00 0
Norton.	P	—	*Domini Regis Progenitor. Reginald* Earle of *Boloigne* gaue 108½ Acres to it. *Richard Sergeaux.*	Blacke Canons.	
Saucombe.	P	Saint *Marie.*	——	Blacke Canons.	
Stodeley.	N	Saint *Mary.*	*Peter Corbyzen*, and *William de Cantelop.*	—	0102 08 07 00 0
Tame.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Alexander* Bishoppe of *Lincolne*, the great builder of Castles.	White Monkes.	0256 13 07 ob 0
Wroxton.	P	Saint *Mary.*	*Master Michael Bylet*, for *Herney Bylet* his Father, and confirmed by K. *Iohn.*	Canons.	0078 14 03 0 0

RICHMOND-SHIRE.

Places		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Richmond.	M	Saint *Agath.*	*Roaldus* Constable of *Richmond*, and *Gracian* his wife. *Fundator Antecessor. Dom. Scroope. A.D.1152.*	—	0188 16 02 00 0
Richmond.	H	Saint *Nicholas.*	——	——	0010 00 00 00 0
Couerham, *alias Somerham*	M	—	First founded at *Swaynsie* by *Halwisia* daughter of *Ralph Glanuill*, wife to *Ralph* Lord of *Midleham*, but remoued after to *Couerham. A.D.1182.*	Chanons *Premonstratenses.*	0207 14 08 00 0
Cander.	M	——	——	——	0064 03 09 00 0
Ellerton.	N	Saint *Mary.*	*William Fitz-Pier.*	Nunnes.	0015 14 08 00 0
Furnesse.	M	Saint *Mary.*	First, *Stephen* Earle of *Bolleyn. Anno Dom.*1127. After *William de Mowbray* gaue lands to it, which lands hee had of *Richard Mornill*, and *Amie* his wife. King *Henry* the 1. confirmed it.	VVhite Monkes.	0966 07 10 00 0
Fountaines.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Thurstin* Archbishoppe of *Yorke. A D.* 1132.	White Monkes.	1173 00 07 ob 0
Gilling.	N	——	——	Nunnes.	
Ieruall.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Stephen* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmond.*	White Monkes Cistertians.	0455 10 05 00 0
Iuxta Kendall.	H	——	——	——	0006 04 03 00 0
Neere Knaresbrough.	F	Saint *Robert.*	*Richard* King of *Romains*, Earle of *Cornwall, A.D.*1218.	Friers.	0035 10 11 00 0
Maryke.	N	——	*Askes.*	Nunnes.	0064 16 09 00 0
Middleham, or *Barnards Castle.*		—	*Richard* Duke of *Yorke.*	——	
Nun-Munketon.	N	—	*Fundator Antecessor Gull. Gascoign Militis.*	Nunnes.	0085 14 08 00 0
Rybleston. *Commendary.*		—	——	—	0207 09 07 00 0
Rypon *Eccles. Collegiat.*		—	——	——	0035 03 08 00 0
Rypon.	H	S. *Mary Magd.*	——	——	0024 00 07 0 0
Rypon.	H	S. *Iohn Baptist.*	——	——	0010 14 04 00 0
Seton.	N	——	*Fundator Antecessor Henrici Kirkeby.*	Nunnes.	0013 17 04 00 0
Welles.	H	S. *Michael.*	*Ralph* Lord *Nevill. A.D.*1367.	——	0020 17 11 00 0

RVTLAND-SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Valew. l. s. d. ob. q
Occham, *vnder the custodie of a Prior of Saint Anne Carthusians by Couentree.*		Saint Iohn Euangelist. H	*William Dalby of Exton.*	2 Chaplens, 12 poore, each 30.s. yeerely.	
Brooke.		S. *Mary* the Virg. P	——		0043 13 04 00 0

SHROPSHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Shrewsbury.	M	Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul.* Saint *Melb.*	*Roger* Earle of *Mountgomery. Anno Dom.* 1083.	Blacke Monkes.	0615 04 03 ob 0
Shrewsbury, *Eccles. Collegiat.*		Saint *Chadds.*	——	—	0014 14 04 00 0
Shrewsbury, *Ecc. Colleg.*		Saint *Mary.*	——	——	0013 01 08 00 00

Shrewſ-

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Shrewsbury.	F	—	—	Carmelites or white Friers.	
Shrewsbury.	F	—	—	Blacke Friers.	
Shrewsbury.	F	—	*Geffrey* Lord of *Powis*.	Grey Friers.	
Abberbury, *ginen to Al-Soules in Oxford by the King.*	P Alien.	—	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.*	—	
Battlefield.	C	—	King *Henry* the fourth.	—	0054 01 01 00 0
Bildewas.	M	Saint *Marie.*	*Roger* Biſhop of *Cheſter.*	Black Monkes Ciſtertians.	0129 06 10 00 0
Brewood.	M	—	—	—	0031 01 04 00 0
Bridgenorth.	H F	—	*Iohn* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Coſen and Heire to *Ralph Strange* Originall Founder.	Grey Friers.	0004 00 00 00 0
Brumfeild.	—	—	—	Blacke Monkes.	
Chirbury.	P	—	—	—	087 07 04 00 0
Haliſowen.	M	—	King *Iohn*. *Peter de Rupibus* Biſhoppe of *Winchester.*	—	0337 15 06 ob 0
Haughmond.	M	Saint *Mary*, & S. *Iohn Euang.*	*William Fitz-Alane.*	Whlte Canons.	0294 12 90 00 0
Ludlow.	F	—	Sir *Laurence Ludlow* Knight, *An. Dom.* 1349.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Ludlow.	F	—	*Edmundus de Pontibus*, ſiue *Briggman* Benefactor.	Auguſtine Friers.	
Ludlow.	H	Saint *Iohn.*	—	—	0017 03 03 0 0
Lyleſhull.	M	—	*Beaumeis* Family.	Blacke Canons.	0327 10 00 00 0
Stone.	P	Saint *Michael.*	—	Blacke Monkes.	
Tonge.	C	Saint *Bartholmew.*	*Iſabel* wife of *Fulke de Penbridge Chenalier.*	—	0022 08 01 00 0
Wenlocke.	P	Saint *Milburg.*	Earle *Roger* of *Montgomerie. A. D.* 1081.	Blacke Monkes.	0434 00 01 00 0
Womebridge.	P	—	—	—	0072 15 08 00 0
Wygmore.	M	—	*Hugo de Mortuo-Mari, A.D.* 1172.	White Canons.	0302 12 03 ob 0

STAFFORD.SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Lichefeild *Eccleſ. Cath.*		—	*Oſwy* King of *Northumberland* made it a Biſhoppes See. Pope *Adrian* made it an Archbiſhops See.	Grey Friers, and lately Canons.	
Lichefeild.	P	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.*	*Roger* B. of *Conentree* and *Lichefeild.*	—	
Lichefeild.	H	Saint *Iohn.*	—	—	0008 15 00 00 0
Stafford.	P	Saint *Thomas* Martyr.	*Ralph* Earle of *Stafford*, and *Richard* Biſhop of *Cheſter.*	Blacke Canons & Auguſtines.	0141 13 02 00 0
Stafford.	C	Saint *Marie.*	—	Grey Friers.	0035 13 10 00 0
Brewood.	N	—	—	Blacke Nunnes,	0011 01 06 00 0
Briuerne.	P	Saint *Marie.*	—	Blacke Monkes.	
Briuerne.	N	Saint *Leonard.*	—	White Nunnes.	
Burton *vpon Trent.*	P	S. *Mary*, Saint *Modwen.*	*Vlfricke Sprot* Earle of *Mercia.*	Blacke Monkes.	0356 16 03 ob 0
Catune.	P	—	—	Blacke Nunnes.	
Chetwood.	P	—	*Iohn Chetwood Chidlet. T. Conell, William Gardiner* Parſon of *Somerton, Iohn Parſon* of *Godyngton.*	—	
Croxden.	P	—	Barons *Verdon.*	—	0103 06 07 00 0
Delacreſſe.	M	—	*Ranulph* the third of that name E. of *Cheſter.*	White Monks.	0243 03 06 00 0
Dudley. *A Cel to the Priorie of Wenlocke.*	P	—	*Iohn* the ſonne and heire of *Iohn* late Baron *de Dudley.*	Blacke Monkes.	
Faireweld.	N	Saint *Mary.*	—	Blacke Nunnes.	
Ferburge.	H	—	—	—	0050 00 00 00 0
Hulton.	M	—	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Audley.*	—	0076 14 10 ob 0
Lappele.	P	Saint *Remigij.*	—	Blacke Monkes.	
Meriuall..	—	—	—	—	0199 14 10 00 0
Penchriche.	C	—	—	—	
Renton.	P	—	The *Neels* Anceſtors of Sir *Simon Harecourt.*	—	0090 02 10 ob 0
Roceter.	M	—	—	—	0111 13 07 00 0
Stone.	P	Saint *Wolphade.*	*Ralph* Earle of *Stafford.*	Blacke Canons.	0119 14 11 00 0
Tameworth.	N	—	*Edith* King *Edgars* daughter.	Veiled virgins or Nũs.	
Tameworth, *Eccleſ. Colleg. Iuxta* Tameworth.	H	Saint *Iames.*	*Marmions* of *Normandy.*	—	0003 06 08 00 0
Trentham.	P	—	*Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter.*	Canons.	0106 03 10 00 0
Tricingham.	M	—	Saint *Werburg.*	—	
Tutbury.	P	Saint *Mary.*	*Henry de Ferrars* a Nobleman of *Normandy*, in the raigne of *William Conqueror.*	Blacke Monks.	0244 16 08 0 0
Woller-hampton	C	—	*Clement Luſon* Chaplen, and *William Waterfall.*	—	

SOMERSET-SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Bristow.	M	Saint *Augustine.* —	King *Henry* the second, and Lord *Robert* the sonne of *Harding*, the King of *Denmarkes* sonne. In our time King *Henry* the 8. made it a Cathedrall Church.	Blacke Canons *Victorines.*	0767 15 03 00 0
Bristow.	P	Saint *Iacob* or Saint *Iames.*	*Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, the baſe ſonne of K. *Henry* the first.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	
Bristow.	F	— —	King *Edward* the first. *A.D.* 1267. —	White Friers. —	
Bristow, *Eccl. Colleg.* now a Hoſpitall.		— —	The former by Sir *Henry Gaunt* knight. The other by *Thomas Carre* a wealthy Citizen.	Orphanes. —	
Bathe.	M	Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul.*	King *Edgar*, *Edwyn*, *Ethelred* and *Wolſtan.* Afterward *Iohn* Biſhop of *Welles* made it a Cathedrall Church, *tempore H.* 1.	Blacke Monkes. —	0695 06 01 ob 0
Bathe.	—	— —	*Reginaldus* Biſhop of *Bath.* —	— —	0022 16 09 ob 0
Welles.	M	S. *Iohn Bap.* or Saint *Andrew.*	King *Ina* built the Church and Colledge, King *Kinewolph* gaue it great poſſeſſions, *An.* 766. King *Edward ſenior* made it a Biſhops See. *Robert* and *Iocelinus* Biſhops, and *Ralph* of *Shrewsbury.*	Secular Canons. —	0041 03 06 ob q
Welles.	H	— —	*Nicholas Bubwith* Biſhop. —	24. Poore. —	
Glaſtenbery.	M	Saint *Marie.* —	*Ioſeph* of *Arimathea*, *Deni* Biſhoppe of S. *Danids.* Twelue Northerne men. King *Ina.* *Dunſtane* changed theſe Monkes into *Benedictines*: this Order continued 600. yeeres.	Blacke Monkes. —	3508 13 04 ob q
Athelme.	M	Saint *Peter*, S. *Athelwin.*	King *Alfred.* —	Blacke Monks. —	0209 03 00 00 q
Barlynch.	P	— —	Fety-places. —	— —	0098 14 08 ob 0
Bearwe.	N	S. *Mary.* S. *Edwin.* —	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —	
Bridgewater.	P	— —	— —	Grey Friers. —	0120 19 01 ob 0
Bridgewater.	H	Saint *Iohn.* —	*William Briewer iunior.* —	— —	
Buckland.	P	— —	*Amice* Counteſſe of *Deuonſhire.* —	— —	0223 07 04 ob 0
Bruton.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	The *Mohuns* there entombed. —	Benedictines. —	0480 17 02 00 0
Cadbury, or North-Cadbury.	C	Saint *Michael.* —	*Elizabeth Botreaux*, and her ſonne *William Botreaux.*	A Rector. 7 Chaplaines. 4 Clerks.	
Cliue.	M	— —	— —	VVhite Monkes. —	0155 09 05 00 q
Conington.	N	Saint *Marie.* —	*William de Romara*, Coſen to the Earle of *Lincolne.*	Blacke Nunnes. —	0039 15 08 00 0
Dunkeſwel.	P	— —	*William Briewer iunior.* —	— —	
Dunſter.	P	— —	*Iohn de Mohun de Dunſter.* —	— —	0037 04 08 00 0
Fareley.	P	S. *Mary Magd.* —	*Humfrey Bohun.* —	Blacke Monkes —	
Henton.	—	— —	*Ela* Counteſſe of *Salisbury.* —	Carthuſians. —	0262 12 00 00 0
Keynſham.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	*William* Earle of *Glouceſter.* —	Blacke Canons. —	0450 03 06 00 0
Montague.	M	Saint *Peter* & Saint *Paul.*	Earle *Moriton* brother by the mothers ſide to K. *W. Conqueror*, confirmed by *H.* 1.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes.	0524 11 08 ob 0
Moundroy.	C	— —	— —	— —	0011 18 08 00 0
Muchelney.	M	Saint *Peter.* —	King *Athelſtane.* —	Blacke Monkes. —	0498 16 03 00 q
Mynchinbarrow.	P	— —	— —	— —	0029 06 08 ob 0
Stoke vnder Hamden.	C	Saint *Andrew.* —	*Gornays.* —	Blacke Monkes. —	
Taunton.	N	Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul.*	*William Giffard* and *Henry de Blois* Biſhop of *Winchester.*	Blacke Nunnes. —	0438 09 10 00 0
Temple-Combe *Commendary.*		— —	— —	— —	0107 16 11 ob 0
Weſtbury.	C	— —	*William Canings* Maior of *Briſtow.* —	— —	
Worſpring.	P	— —	— —	— —	0110 18 04 ob q
Wytham.	—	Saint *Mary.* S. *Iohn Bapt.* *All-Saints.*	King *Henry* the third. —	Carthuſians. —	0227 01 08 00 0
—	H	Saint *Katherine.* —	— —	— —	0021 15 08 00 0
Yeueley, or Iuell.		— —	*Iohn Woborne* Petty Canon of *Paulet*, and *Richard Hewet.*	— —	

SVFFOLKE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Ipſwich.	P	Saint Trinity. —	*Norman* and *Iohn de Oxenford.* —	Blacke Canons. —	0088 06 09 0 0
Ipſwich.	M	Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul.*	Cardinall *Wolſey*, but before him *Thomas de Lacy* and *Alice* his wife.	Blacke Canons. —	0088 06 10 00 0
Ipſwich.	F	— —	*Henry de Manesby*, *Henry Redred*, and *Henry de Londham.*	Friers Preachers. —	
Ipſwich.	F	— —	The Lord *Bardeley*, Sir *Geffrey Hadley*, and Sir *Rob. Norton* knights. *A.D.* 1279.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Ipſwich.	F	— —	*Robert Tilbot.* —	Grey Friers. —	
Ipſwich.	F	— —	*Iohn Hares* gaue ground to build their houſe (larger.	Blacke Friers. —	

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob	q
Blyburgh.	P	—	King *Henry* the firſt. *Richard Belnois*, or *Beaunois* Biſhop of *London*.	Blacke Canons.	0048	08	09	00	
Briſete.	P	Saint *Leonard*.	—	Blacke Canons.					
Bungey	N	—	*Roger Glanuil* and *Gundreda* his Wife, *Alij*, the Anceſtors of *Tho. Brotherton*, Earle of *Norffolke*.	Nunnes.	0062	02	01	00	0
Burſhyerd or Bruſyed.	M	—	—	—	0056	02	01	0	
Butley.	P	Saint *Marie*	*Ralph de Glanuile*.	Blacke Canons.	0318	17	02	ob	q
Campſey.	N	*Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*.	—	—	0182	09	05	00	0
Clara or Stoke.	P	Saint *Iohn. Bapt.*	*Henry* Earle of *Eſſex*, and *Iſabel* his wife.	Blacke Monkes or *Auſtine Friers*.					
Cnobersburg, or Burgh-Caſtell.		—	*Furſey* a Scotiſh man. Alſo *Sigebertus* King of the East Angles.	—					
Denſton.	C	—	—	—	0022	08	09	00	q
Dodnaſh.	M	Saint *Mary*.	The Anceſtors of the Duke of *Norffolke*	—	0042	18	08	ob	0
Dunwich, *Sedes Epiſcopalis*.		—	*Fœlix* the Burgundian, that reduced the East-Angles againe vnto the chriſtian faith, *Anno Domini*, 630.	—					
S. Edmundsbury.	M	—	King *Canute*.	Blacke Monkes.	2336	16	00	00	0
Saint Edwards place, *ſiue* Edwards-ſtow.	M	—	*Peter* Biſhoppe of *Wincheſter*.	—					
Eye.	M	Saint *Peter*.	*Robert Malet* Lord of *Eye*.	Blacke Monkes.	0184	09	07	ob	q
Flyxton.	M	—	—	—	0023	04	01	ob	q
Heringflete.	M	Saint *Olaues*.	*Roger* the ſonne of *Osbert*.	Canons Regular.	0049	11	07	00	0
Hoxon.	M	—	—	—					
Leiſton.	N	Saint *Mary*.	1 *Ralph Glanuile*. 2 Sir *Robert Vfford*.	White Canons *Præmonſtratenſes*	0181	17	01	ob	0
Letheringham.	P	—	—	—	0026	18	05	00	0
Liteburch.	P	Saint *Mary*.	—	Blacke Canons.					
Mettingham.	C	*Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*.	Sir *Iohn de Norwich*, Lord of *Mettingham*.	—	0202	07	05	ob	0
Rafford.	M	Our Lady.	*Robert* Biſhop or Earle of *Lincolne*.	—					
Ratisford.	H	Saint *Iohn*.	—	—	0053	10	00	00	0
Redlingfeild.	M	Saint *Mary*.	*Manaſſes de Guies*.	Blacke Nunnes.	0081	02	05	ob	0
Rumbuthe.	P	Saint *Michael*.	—	Blacke Monkes.					
Snapes.	P	Saint *Marie*.	*William Martill*, *Alij Domini Regis Progenitor*.	Blacke Monkes *Roffienſes*.	0099	01	00	11	ob
Stocke.	C	—	—	—	0324	04	01	ob	0
Suthbery.	P	Saint *Bartholm.*	*Simon Sudbiry* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* and *Iohn Chartſey*.	Blacke Monks *Weſtm.* or Friers Preachers.	0122	18	03	0	0
Sybbeton	M	Saint *Mary*.	*William Cheiney*, or *de Caneto*.	Blacke Monkes Ciſtertians.	0250	15	07	ob	0
Walton.	P	*S. Fœlicis*.	—	Blacke Monkes *Rocheſter*.					
Wangsford.	P	Saint *Marie*.	*Anſered* of *France*.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes.	0030	09	05	00	0
Wingefeild.	C	—	—	—	0069	14	05	00	0
Woodbridge.	M	Saint *Mary*.	—	—	0050	03	05	ob	0
Wykes.	—	—	*Domini Regis Progenitor*.	—	0092	12	03	ob	0
—	M	Saint *Bennet*.	—	—					
Ykeſworth or Ixworth.	P	—	*Gilbert Blund*.	—	0280	09	05	00	0

SVRREY.

Places		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Barmondſey.	M	*S. Sauiours*.	*Alwyn Childe* Citizen of *London*, *Ann. D.* 1081. Monkes introduced., *A. D.* 1087.	Blacke Monks *Cluniacenſer*.	0548	02	05	ob	q
Chartſey.	M	Saint *Peter*.	*Frithwald* a Petty Regent of *Surry*, *Anno Dom.* 666.	—	0744	13	06	ob	q
Guilford.	F	*S. Crucis*.	—	Preaching Friers.					
Guilford.	F	—	—	Backe Friers.					
Horſham.	P	*S. Fidis*.	*Mary Saint Paul* founded it, *Alij Robert Fitz-walter* and his ſonnes.	—					
Lingfeild.	C	—	*Reginald Cobham* Knight, *William Croman*, *Iohn Arderne*, and *Iohn Bayhall*.	—	0075	00	00	00	0
Marton.	P	Saint *Mary*.	King *Henry* the firſt, *An. D.* 1117.	Blacke Canons.	1039	05	03	00	0
Newarke, *vel de Nouo Loco*.	P	Saint *Mary* and S. *Thom.* Martyr.	—	—	0258	11	11	ob	0

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Valew. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Reygate.	P	*Sanctæ Crucis.* —	*William Warren* first Earle of *Surrey*, and after *Iohn Mowbray*.	Augustines. —	0078	16	08	00	o
Shene.	P	—— —	King *Henry* the fifth. ——	Carthusian Monks. —	0962	11	06	00	o
Southwarke,	M	*Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis, de Ouerey.*	First by *Swethen* a noble Dame, after by a maiden called *Mary*, and after conuerted to a Colledge of Priests, by *William Pont-le-Arch.* Canons first introduced. 1016.	Blacke Canons. —	0656	10	00	ob	o
Southwarke.	H	*Saint Thomas.* —	*Richard* Prior of *Bermondsey, Anno Dom.* 1213.	—— ——	0266	17	11	00	o
Tanrigge.	M	—— ——	—— ——	—— —	0078	16	10	ob	q
Wauerley.	N	*S. Mary.* —	*William Gifford* Bishop of *Winchester.* —	White Monkes. ——	0174	08	03	ob	o

SVSSEX.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Chichester *Epãtus.*		Saint *Trinity.* —	*Radulphus Episcopus, primo suo ipsius sumptu, deinde munificentia Henrici primi, postea Seffridus secundus eius nominis Episcopus tempore Regis Richardi primi.*	Secular Canons. ——					
Chichester.	M	Saint *Peter.* ——	—— ——	Grey Friers. —					
Chichester.	F	—— —	—— ——	Blacke Friers. —					
Iuxta Chichester.	H	Saint *Iacob.* S. *Mary Mag.*	—— ——	*Leprosi.* —	0004	03	09	00	o
Infra Chichester.	H	Saint *Mary.* —	—— ——	*Paupers.* ——	0011	11	06	ob	o
Arundel.	H	Saint *Trinity.* —	*Thomas* Earle of *Arundel*, & *Beatrix* his wife.	*Elemosinarij.* ——	0042	03	08	00	o
Arundel.	P	Saint *Nicholas.* —	*Richard* Earle of *Arundel.* ——	Blacke Monkes. —	0168	00	07	ob	o
Acceseale.	—	Saint *Peter.* —	—— ——	Blacke Monks. —					
Battell.	M	*Saint Martin.* —	King *William* the Conqueror. *A.D.* 1066. —	Blacke Monkes. —	0987	00	11	ob	q
Bidlington.	H	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	— —	0001	00	00	00	o
Bosenham, or Bosham.	M	—— —	*Dicul* a Scotish Monke. ——	— —					
Boxgraue.	—	Saint *Mary.* —	*Iohn Saint Iohn. Alij, Robert de la Haye.*	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0145	10	02	ob	o
Durfford.	N	*S. Iohn Baptist.* —	— ——	White Canons *Premonstratenses.*	0108	13	09	00	o
Eastborne.	P	—— ——	—— ——	— ——	0047	03	00	00	o
Hastings.	P	Saint *Trinity.* —	Founded by *Iohn Pelham* Knight, when their lands were deuoured by inundation of the Sea.	Blacke Canons. —	0057	19	00	0	o
Lewis.	P	Saint *Pancras.* —	*William de Warren*, first Earle of *Surrey.*	Black Monks, Cluniacenses.	1091	09	06	00	q
Lullmenster.	N	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Michelham.	P	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	Blacke Canons Aug. —	0191	19	03	00	o
Occeham.	P	*S. Laurence.* —	— ——	White Canons. —					
Remsted.	N	*S. Mary Magd.* —	— ——	Blacke Nunnes. —					
Roberts Briggs.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	*Alueredus de Sancto Martino, tempore Henrici secundi.*	White Monkes Cistertians.	0232	09	08	00	o
Rupperar.	N	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	Blacke Nunnes. —	0039	13	07	00	o
Selsey.	M & *sedes Episcopal.*	—— —	King *Cedwall.* ——	— —					
Shulbred.	P	—— —	—— ——	— —	0079	15	06	00	o
Southmalling.	C	—— ——	— ——	— —	0045	12	05	ob	q
Stenings.	—	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	Secular Canons. —					
Shoreham.	F	—— —	King *Edward* the second and the Lord *Mowbray.*	Carmelites or white Friers.					
Tortyng.	P	*S. Mary Magd.* —	—— ——	Blacke Canons. —	0101	04	01	00	o
Winchelsea.	F	— ——	King *Edw.* 2. ——	Friers Preachers. —					
——	M	*Our Lady.* —	*William de Buckingham*, confirmed by K. *Edward* 3.	— —					

VVAR-

VVARVVICKESHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Warwicke.	P	Saint *Sepulchers.*	*Richard Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke.*	—	0049	13	06	00	o
Warwicke.	P	—	*Peter de Mountford.*	Blacke Canons.					
Warwicke.	F	—	—	Friers Preachers.	0004	18	c6	00	o
Warwicke. *Eccleſ. Colleg.*		—	—	—	0247	13	00	ob	
Warwicke.	H	Saint *Michael.*	—	—	0010	01	10	00	o
Warwicke.	H	*Sancta Baptiſta.*	—	—	0019	03	07	00	o
Warwicke.	—	Saint *George.*	*Robert de Deneby, William Ruſſell,* and *Hugh Cooke* for the ſtate of the King and *Anne* the Queene. *Michael de la Poole,* and all their Brethren, and Siſters, and for *Enne* Prince of *Wales.*	A Fraternity.					
Warwicke. *Hongingate, Chauntry.*		—	*Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke.*	—					
Warwicke.	H	Saint *Iohn.*	*Thomas Beauchampe.*	—					
Couentree.	P	Saint *Anne.*	Frier *Iohn* of *Northerbury* a Carthuſian Prior.	Carthuſians.	0251	05	09	o	o
Couentree.	P	Saint *Mary.*	King *Canute* and *Leofricke* Earle of Mercians, *A.D.* 1043.	Blacke Monkes.					
Couentree.	F	—	Sir *Iohn Poultney* Knight, *Anno Domini* 1332.	Carmelites or White Friers.	0007	13	04	00	o
Couentree.	H	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.*	—	—	0083	03	03	00	o
Alcetter, or Alneceſter.	P	S. *Iohn Baptiſt.*	—	Blacke Monkes.	0101	14	00	00	o
Aſteley.	C	—	*Thomas* Lord *Aſtley.*	Deane and Secular Canons.	0039	10	06	00	o
Atherſton.	F	—	—	Auguſtine Friers,	0001	10	01	00	o
Auecater *A Cell to Malnerne Priorie in Worceſterſhire.*	P	—	—	—	0034	08	00	00	o
Babelacke.	C	—	—	—	0045	6	008	00	o
Berdeſlege.	M	*Beata Maria.*	—	White Monkes.					
Cadbury.	—	—	The Anceſtors of Sir *Ralph Botelar* knight, Baron, and Lord of *Sudley,* Treaſurer of *England.*	—					
Combe.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Camuils* and *Mowbraies.*	White Monkes.	0343	00	05	00	o
Erneby, or Erdebury.	P	—	—	—	0122	08	06	00	o
Godſcliffe.	C	—	*Richard* Earle of *Warwicke.*	—					
Henwood.	N	Saint *Margaret*	*Cethelbarue de la Launde.*	Nunnes.	0021	02	00	ob	o
Kenelworth.	M	—	*Geffrey Clinton* Chamberlaine vnto King *Henry* the firſt.	Blacke Canons.	0643	14	09	ob	o
Kingeſwood.	N	—	—	Blacke Nunnes,					
Knolle.	C	—	*Elizabeth* wife to *Iohn* Lord *Clinton.*	—	0018	05	06	00	o
Maxſtocke.	P	—	—	—	0129	11	08	ob	o
Meriuall.	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Robert Ferrars. A.* 1. *H.* 2.	White Monkes.	0303	10	00	00	o
Nuneaton.	N	—	*Amice* wife to *Robert Boſſu* Earle of *Leiceſter.*	Nuns.	0290	15	00	ob	o
Polleſworth.	N	Saint *Edith.*	*Modwena* an Iriſh Virgin. Repaired by *R. Marmion* a Nobleman.	Blacke Nunnes.	0023	08	06	00	o
Pynley.	N	—	—	Nuns.	0027	14	07	00	o
Stoneley.	M	—	*K. Henry* the ſecond.	White Monkes.	0578	02	05	00	o
Stratford *ſuper Anon. Eccleſ. Colleg.*		—	*Iohn* of *Stratford* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*	—	0123	11	09	00	o
Studeley.	P	—	—	Blacke Canons.	0181	03	06	00	o
Thelford.	—	—	The *Lucies* Knights.	Poore folke and Pilgrimes.	0023	10	00	00	o
Wroxhall.	N	God, and Saint *Leonard*	*Hugh de Hatton.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0078	10	01	ob	o

VVESTMORLAND.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q
Sharpe.	M	—	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatricke,* ſonne of *Ormes.*	—	0166	10	06	ob	o

VVILT-

VVILT-SHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Salisbury. Epatus.		Saint *Peter.*	*Osmond* Bishoppe of *Salisbury, temp. W. Rufi, Anno Dom.* 1091.	Secular Canons.					
Salisbury.	C	Saint *Edith.*							
Salisbury.	F		King *Edward* the first, and *Robert Kilward* by Archbishop of *Canterbury.*	Blacke Friers.					
Salisbury.	F			Grey Friers,					
Iuxta Salisbury.	H	Saint *Michael.*	*Richard* B. of *Salisbury, A.D.* 1382.		0025	02	02	00	0
Ambresbury.	M		*Alfritha* King *Edgars* wife.	White Monkes.	0558	10	02	00	0
Ambresbury.	N		King *Etheldred.*	Holy Virgins.					
Austy.	H				0081	08	05	ob	0
Bradnestoke.	P	Saint *Marie.*	*Walter* the eldest sonne of *Walter de Evreux*, Earle of *Rosmar* in *Normandy.*	Blacke Monkes.	0270	10	08	00	0
Bromhore, or Bromere.	P	Saint *Mary* & S. *Michael.*	*Baudwin* Earle of *Rivers* and *Devonshire.*	Blacke Canons.					
Brioptune.	P	S. *Mary Magd.*		Blacke Canons.					
Calne.	H				0002	02	08	00	0
Crekelade.	H				0004	10	07	ob	0
Edoros.	P		King *Henry* the second, and after *Henry* the third.	Blacke Canons.	0133	00	07	ob	0
Edindon.	P	*All-Saints.*	*William de Edindon* Bishop of *Winchester.*	*Bonis hominibus.*	0521	12	05	ob	0
Eston.	P	Saint *Trinity.*			0055	14	04	00	0
Farleigh Monachorū	P	S. *Mary Magd.*	The Earle of *Hereford*, or *Hertford.*	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0217	00	04	ob	0
Fishhart.	F		*Mary* Countesse of *Norffolke.*	Friers Preachers.					
Heitesbury, Eccles-Collegiat.			*Robert* Lord *Hungerford* and *Margaret.*						
Henton.	N		Dame *Ela* Countesse of *Salisbury.*	Nunnes.					
Kynton.	P	Saint *Mary*, & S. *Michael.*		Nunnes.	0038	03	10	00	0
Lacocke.	M	Saint *Mary.*	Dame *Ela* Countesse of *Salisbury*, *An. D.* 1232		0203	12	03	ob	0
Malmesbury.	M	Saint *Adelme.*	*Madulph* an Irish Scot. *Adelme* his Scholler. King *Athelstan.*	Blacke Monks.	0803	17	07	00	0
Middleton.	P		King *Athelstan.*						
Marleburgh.	P	Saint *Margaret.*	*Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall.*	Canons.	0038	19	02	00	0
Marleburgh.	F		*John Goodwyn* & *William Remsbich, A.D.* 1316	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Iuxta Marleburgh.	H	S. *John Baptist.*			0006	18	04	00	0
Maiden-Bradley.	P		*Manasses Bisset.* Confirmed by King *John.*		0197	18	08	00	0
Maiden Bradeley.			One of the Inheritrices of *Manasses Bisset.*	*Leprosi.*					
Stanley.	M	Saint *Mary.*		White Monkes.	0222	19	04	00	0
Wilton.	N	Saint *Mary* and Saint *Edith.*	*Weolsthan* Earle of *Ellandanum* or *Wilton.* *Edith* wife of S. *Edward.*	Blacke Nunnes.	0652	11	05	00	q
Iuxta Wilton.	H	Sant *Egidius.*			0005	13	04	00	0
Westchurch.	P								

VVORCESTERSHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Worcester now Eccl. Cath.	M	Saint *Marie*, Saint *Wolstan*, Saint *Katherin*	*Sexwulph* Bishoppe of the Mercians, *Anno Domini* 680. *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester.* *Wolstan* Bishoppe there also *Anno Domini*, 1090. These continued, 500. yeers. K. *Henry* the eight, in stead of these placed in it a Dean & Prebends, & ordained to it a Grammer Schoole.	Blacke Monkes.	1386	12	10	ob	q
Worcester.	F			Grey Friers.					
Worcester.	F		*William Beauchampe.*	Blacke Friers.					
Worcester.	H	Saint *Wolstan.*			0063	18	10	00	0
Alcetur. *Cellula.*					0075	07	06	00	q
Bordelege.	P	Saint *Mary.*	K. *Henry* the second, and *Maud* the Empresse.	VVhite Monkes.					
Bredon.	M		*Offa* king of the Mercians.						
Brodesey.	M	Saint *Mary.*		White Monkes.	0392	08	06	00	0
Cokehill.	N			White Nunnes.	0034	15	11	00	0
Elnecester.	P			Blacke Canons.					
Euesham.	M	S. *Mary*, & S. *Ædburg.*	*Egwin* Bishoppe of *VVorcester*, first Abbot there with king *Kenred* the sonne of *Wolpher* king of the Mercians and K. *Offa*, *A.D.* 700.	Blacke Monkes	1268	09	09	00	0

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Valew. l. s. d. ob. q
Haleſowen.	M	— —	*Peter de Rupibus* Biſhop of *Wincheſter.* *Alij*, King *Iohn.*	— —	0282 13 04 00 o
Maluerne *maior.*	P	Saint *Marie* —	*Alwyn* a Monke, firſt augmented by *Edw.* the firſt, *A.D.*1085.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0375 00 06 ob q
Maluerne *minor.*	P	Saint *Egidius.* —	*Iocceline* and *Edred*, two brothers, both religious men there: augmented by *William Bloys* B. of *Worceſter*, *A.D.* 1171.	Blacke Monks. —	0102 10 09 00 o
Penwortham.	—	— — —	*Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	— —	0099 05 03 00 o
Perſhore.	M	Saint *Mary*, & S *Ædburg.*	*Egelward* Duke of *Dorſet* in King *Edgars* dayes: King *Oſwald.*	Blacke Monkes. —	0666 13 00 00 o
Weſtwood.	N	— —	— —	Blacke Nunnes. —	0078 08 00 00 o
Whiſton *Iuxta Worceſter.*	P	— —	— —	— —	0056 03 07 00 o
Wotton-Wauin.	P	— —	The Counteſſe of *Stafford.* —	— —	
—	H	Saint *Oſwald.* —	— —	— —	0013 14 04 00 o

YORKESHIRE.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l s. d. ob. q.
Yorke. *Eccleſia Cathedralis.*		Saint *Peter.* —	*Vlphus Toraldi filius: A Conſtantio Epiſcopali ſede ornatum. Domini Regis Progenitor.*	— —	
Yorke.	M	Saint *Trinity.* —	A houſe of Canons deſtroyed by the Conquerour: repayred for Monkes by *Ralph Paynell.*	Blacke Monkes. —	0196 17 02 00 o
Yorke *extra muros.*	M	*S. Maries.* —	*William Rufus*, and after *Alan* the third Earle of little *Britaine* in *Armorica*, and of *Richmond.*	Blacke Monkes. —	2085 01 05 ob q
Iuxta Yorke.	P	Saint *Andrew* the Apoſtle	— —	— —	0057 05 09 o o
Yorke.	F	— —	Lord *Veſcy*, and Lord *Percy*, *Anno Dom.* 1255.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Yorke.	F	— —	The Lord *Scroope.* —	Auguſtine Friers.	
Yorke.	H	Saint *Leonard.* —	King *William* the ſecond. —	A Maſter. 13. Brethren. 4. Secular Prieſts. 8. Siſters. 30. Choriſters. 2. Schoolemaſters. 206. Beadmen. 6. Seruitors.	0362 11 01 ob o
Apulton, or Nunapleton,	N	— —	*Anteceſſor Comitis Northumbria.* —	Nunnes —	0083 05 09 00 o
Arden.	N	— —	*Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	Nunnes. —	0013 07 04 00 o
Arthington.	N	— —	*Anteceſſor Hen. Arthington.* —	Nunnes. —	0019 00 00 00 o
Bamburgh, *a Cell to Saint Oſwald.*		— —	King *Henry* the firſt. —	— —	0124 15 07 00 o
Barton, or Burton.		Saint *Mary.* —	*Adam Swaynſon.* —	Blacke Monkes —	
Saint Bees *in Cumberland.*	*Cella.*	— —	*Domini Regis Progenitor.* —	— —	0149 19 06 00 o
Bella-launda, *vulgo*, Biland.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	*Acarius* firſt, & *Rob. Mowbray*, & *Gunnora* his mother, founded the Church at *Hode*, & after remoued it to *Bella-launda.* 1138.	White Monkes Ciſtertians.	0295 05 04 00 o
Beuerley *Præceptoria.*		Saint *Iohn Ieruſalem.*	— —	— —	0164 10 00 00 o
Beuerley, *Eccl. Colleg.*		Saint *Iohn.* —	*Iohn* Biſhop of *Yorke*, and reſtored by King *Athelſtan. A.D.*629.	1 Monkes. 2 Canons.	0109 08 08 ob o
Beuerley.	F	— —	Firſt, *William Lyketon*, & *Henry Wighthon*, and after reſtored by *Iohn Hothom* Knight, *Anno Dom.* 1287.	Friers Auguſtines. —	
Beuerley.	F	— —	*Iohn de Higthmede.* —	Friers Minors. —	
Bolton *in Crauen.*	F	Saint *Iuys.* —	Lord *Grey* of *Codnor.* —	Carmelites or White Friers.	0102 09 03 00 o
Bowthome.	H	— —	King *Athelſtan.* —	— —	0009 06 08 00 o
Bridlington.	M	Saint *Mary.* —	*Walter de Gaunt*, and *Iordan Paganel*, about the Conquerors time.	Canons Regular. —	0682 13 09 00 o
Daſedale.	N	— —	*Anteceſſor Radulphi Euers militis.* —	Nunnes. —	0021 19 04 00 o
Doncaſter.	F	— —	*Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and *I. Nighbroder*, *A.D.*1350.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Drax.	P	— —	Sir *William Painel* Anceſtor of *Marmaduke Conſtable.*	Canons. — —	0121 18 03 ob o
Ellerton.	N	Saint *Mary.* —	*William Fitz-Piers*, and the Anceſtors of *William Aſelby*, *William Thurresby* and *Ralph Spencer.*	Nunnes. —	0078 00 10 00 o
Eſſeholt.	N	— —	The Anceſtor of *Chriſtopher Ward.* —	Nunnes. —	0019 00 00 00 o
Fereby, or North-Fereby.	P	— —	The Anceſtors of the Earle of *Cumberland.* —	— —	0095 11 07 ob o

Places		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob	q
Fossegate.	H	—	—	—	0006	13	04	00	0
Gromount, or Grosmount.	P	—	*Petrus de Malo-lacu*, Ancestor of *Francis Bigot*, and *George Saluayne*.	—	0014	02	08	00	0
Gysborne.	M	—	*Robert de Brus A.D.*1119.	—	0712	06	06	00	0
Haltemprice.	M	—	*Thomas Holand* Earle of *Kent*. *Alij* The Ancestors of the Duke of *Richmond*.	—	0178	00	10	00	0
Hampall.	N	—	The Ancestor of *Gernais Clifton*.	Nunnes.	0085	06	11	00	0
Handale, or Grundale.	N	—	The Ancestor of the Earle of *Northumberland*.	Nuns.	0020	07	08	00	0
Helagh-Parke.	P	—	The ancestor of the Earle of *Northumberland*.	—	0086	05	09	00	0
Henyngburgh: *Eccles. Collegiat.*		—	—	—	0036	00	07	00	0
Hull.	F	—	First, *Edward* the first, and after Sir *Robert Oughtred*, and *Richard de la Poole*, *Ann.* 13. *Edw. primi.*	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Hull.	F	—	*Galfride de Huthom. A.D.*1330.	Augustine Friers,					
Hul *iuxta*.	M	Saint *Michael*.	*Williams de la Poole*, and *Katherine* his wife, *A.D.*1377.	Carthusian Monkes.	0231	17	03	00	0
Hull.	H	Saint Trinity.	—	—	0010	00	00	0	
Hyrst, *in the Isle of Axholme*.		—	*Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*.	—	0007	11	08	00	0
Keldon.	N	—	The Ancestors of the Earl of *Westmorland*.	Nunnes.	0029	06	01	00	0
Keling, or Nunkelynge.	N	—	The Kings Ancestors.	Nuns.	0050	17	02	00	0
Kyrkeham.	—	—	*Walter Espec*, *A.D.*1122.	Augustines.	0300	15	06	00	0
Kyrkleys.	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0020	07	08	00	0
Kirkstall.	M	Saint *Mary*.	*Henry Lacy* the first, *A.D.*1147.	White Monkes.	0512	13	04	00	0
Iuxta Lincolne.	Cella.	S. *Mary Magd.*	—	—	0026	01	03	00	0
Melsa, or Meaux.	M	Saint *Mary*.	*William le Grosse* Earle of *Albemarle*. *Alij* King *Henry* the first. *A.D.*1150.	White Monkes Cistertians.	0445	10	05	00	0
Merton, or Marton.	P	—	*Katherine de Browmere*.	—	0183	02	04	00	0
Mollesby, or Mowesby.	N	—	The Kings Ancesters. *Alij*, the Earle of *Salisbury*.	Nunnes.	0032	06	02	00	0
Montegrace.	M	—	*Thomas Holand* Duke of *Surrey*, Earle of *Kent*, and L. of *Wake*, and *Io. Tyngilby* Esquier. 1401.	—	0382	05	11	ob	0
Munckbretton, *alias* Burton.	M	S. *Mary Magd.*	*Adam Fitz-Owen*,	Monkes.	0323	08	02	00	0
Neder- Acaster, or Aulcaster.	C	Saint *Mary*. and S. *Iohn Bapt.*	*Robert* Earle of *Leicester*.	—	0027	13	04	00	
Newburgh.	P	—	*Robert Mowbray*, *A.D.*1127.	Canons Augustines.	0457	13	05	00	0
Newland. *Praceptoria.*		—	—	—	0129	14	11	ob	0
Newton.	H	—	—	—	0021	00	02	00	0
Northallerton.	F	—	King *Edward* the third, and *Thomas Hatfield* Bishop of *Durham*, *A.D.*1354.	Carmelites or White Friers.					
Northaluerton.	H	Saint *Iacob*.	—	—	0056	02	02	00	0
Nostell.	M	Saint *Oswald*.	First founded by *Robert Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*. Afterward *A.* Confessor to King *Henry* the first reedified it.	Canons.	0606	09	03	00	0
Nunuerholme.	N	—	The Ancestors of the Lord *Dacres*.	Nunnes.	0010	03	03	00	0
Old-Malton.	M	—	*Eustach Fitz-Iohn-Monoculi*, in the raign of king *Stephen*.	—	0257	07	00	00	0
Pontefract.	M	S. *Iohn Euangelist*	*Robert Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*,	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0472	16	10	ob	0
Pontefract.	C	Saint *Trinity*.	Sir *Robert Knolles* and *Constance* his wife.	For poore people.	0182	13	07	00	0
Iuxta Richmond.	Cella.	Saint *Martins*.	The kings Ancestors.	—	0047	16	00	00	0
Rippon.	M	—	*Wilfride* Bishoppe of *Yorke*.	—					
Riuans.	—	Saint *Mary*.	*Walter Especk*,	White Monkes.					
Rosedale.	P	—	The kings Progenitors.	—	0041	13	08	00	0
Rotherham.	C	—	*Thomas Rotheram* Archbishop of *Yorke*.	Schooles. Writing. Grammar. and Musicke.	0058	05	09	ob	q
Rupe, *alias* Roche.	M	*Our Lady*.	The Ancestors of the *Cliffords* Earles of *Cumberland*.	—	0271	19	04	0	0
Rythall, or Rydall.	M	—	—	—	0351	14	05	00	0
Salley.	—	Saint *Marie*.	*William* the sonne of *Henry de Percy*.	White Monkes.	0221	15	08	00	0
Scarbrough.	F	—	*King Edward* the second, *A.D.*1319.	White Friers.					
Scarbrough.	F	—	Sir *Adam Sage*.	Friers Preachers.					
Scarbrough.	F	—	*Henry Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*.	Blacke Friers.					
Selby.	M	Saint *Germans*.	King *William* the first, *A.D.*1078.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0819	02	06	00	
Sempringham.	M	S. *Gilbert* and S. *Mary Wottō*.	S. *Gilbert* the beginner of the Order, and *Agnes de Chester*.	Gilbertines.	0066	13	04	00	0
Smythywaite, or Senningthwaite.	N	—	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberl*.	Nunnes.	0062	05	00	00	0

Stoke-

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Stokekyrke. *Cella*		—	—	—	0008 00 00 00
Sutton. *Eccleſia Collegiata.*		—	—	—	0013 18 08 00 0
Swinhey.	N	—	The Anceſtors of Sir *Iohn Melton* knight.	Nunnes.	0134 06 09 ob 0
Thyrkehead or Thikenhead.	N	—	The Anceſtors of *Iohn Aske.*	Nunnes.	0023 12 02 00 0
Tickhill.	F	—	*Iohn Clarrel* Deane of *Paules.*	Friers Auguſtines.	
Warter.	P	Saint *Iacob.*	*Galfridus Trusbut* knight, and *William Roſſe de Hamela.* About king *Henry* the firſts time.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines.	0221 03 10 00 0
Watton.	M	—	*Euſtach* the ſonne of *Fitz-Iohn* with one eye, in the raigne of King *Stephen.*	White Canons and Nunnes.	0453 07 08 00 0
Whitby.	M	Saint *Peter* & Saint *Hilda.*	Saint *Hilda:* Enriched by *Edelfleda, King Oſwins* daughter, and himſelfe: deſtroyed by the *Danes*, it was reedefied by *William Percy*, about the comming in of the *Normans.*	Black Monks.	0505 09 01 00 0
Woderhall, *Cella Sanctæ Trinitatis.*		—	—	—	0128 05 03 ob 0
Woodkirke, *A Cell to S. Oſwald.*		—	Earle *VVarren.*	—	0047 00 04 00 0
Wycham.	M	—	The Kinges Anceſtors.	White Canons and Nunnes.	0025 17 06 00 0
Wylberfoſſe.	M	—	The Anceſtors of the Archbiſhop of *Yorke.*	Nunnes.	0028 08 08 0 0
Yedingham.	N	—	The Anceſtors of the Lord *Latimer.*	Nunnes.	0026 06 08 00 0
———	N	Saint *Clements.*	—	Nunnes.	0055 11 11 00 0
———	H	Saint *Nicholas.*	—	—	0029 01 04 00 0
———	M	*Sancta Sepultura.*	—	—	0011 18 04 00 0
Montis Sancti Iohannis. Commendarie.		—	—	—	0102 13 10 00 0
Chappell Sepulchers.		—	—	—	0138 19 02 ob 0

S. ASAPH DIOCES.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Valew. l. s. d. ob. q
Basingwerke in Flintshire.	M	—	—	—	0157 15 02 00 0
Conway, or Aber-conway in Carnarvonshire.	M	Saint *Marie*	*Kenelme* sonne of *Gervaise*, once Prince of North-Wales.	—	0179 10 10 00 0
Hawston	*Commendarie.*	—	—	—	0160 14 10 00 0
Lanlluge[n], or Wanligan, in *Montgomereshire.*	N	—	—	Nunnes.	0022 13 08 00 0
Strata-Marcella or Stratmarghill, in *Montgomereshire.*	M	—	*Owen* the sonne of *Gryffin*, and confirmed by his sonne *Wenunowen*, *Anno Dom.* 1102.	—	0073 07 06 00 0
Valla de Cruce in *Denbighshire.*	M	—	—	—	0214 03 05 00 0

BANGOR DIOCES.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l s. d. ob. q.
Bangor.	F	—	—	Blacke Friers.	
Bardesey in *Carnarvonshire.*	M	Saint *Mary.*	—	—	0058 06 02 0 ob
Beaumarys in *Anglesey.*	F	—	—	Grey Friers.	
Bethkylhert.	M	—	—	—	0069 03 08 00 0
Castr. Cubij, *Ecclesia Collegiat.*		—	—	—	0024 00 00 00 0
Holyhead in *Anglesey.*	C	—	—	—	
Kynner in *Merionethshire.*	M	Saint *Mary.*	*Lewellyne* the sonne of *Gervais.*	—	0058 15 04 00 0
Penmon.	P	—	—	—	0040 17 09 ob 0
Siriolis.	M	—	—	—	0047 15 03 00 0

S. DAVIDS DIOCES.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Aberguylly.	C	—	—	—	0042 00 00 00 0
Alba-launda, in *Carmardenshire.*	M	—	—	—	0153 17 02 00 0
Brechon.	P	S. Euangelist.	—	—	0134 11 04 00 0
Cardigan in *Cardigansh.*	P	—	—	—	0013 04 09 00 0
Carmarden, in *Carmardensh.*	F	—	—	Grey Friers,	0174 00 08 00 0
Combehyre.	M	—	—	—	0024 19 04 00 0
Iuxta S. Dauids in *Pembrokesh.*	C	Saint *Mary.*	*John* Duke of *Lancaster.*	—	0106 03 06 00 0½
Denbigh in *Denbighsh.*	F	—	*John Swinmore, Anno Domini*, 1339.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Saint Dogmaells in *Pembrokshire.*	M	—	*Martinus de Tuconibus* Lord of *Kemys*: after by *William Valence*, *tempore H.* 3.	—	0068 01 06 00 0
Hauerford-west in *Pembrokeshire.*	P	—	—	—	0135 06 01 00 0

Places		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob q
Kydwelly in *Carmardeſh.*	*Cella.*				0029 10 00 00 0
Llanleyre in *Carmardeſh.*	M				0057 05 04 00 0
Newport.	F			Auſtine Friers.	
Pulla.	P				0052 02 05 00 0
Slebach in *Bembrockſhire.*	*Præceptoria.*				0184 10 11 ob 0
Stratafloridа or Stratflower in *Cardiganſhire.*	M		*Griffith Rheſe* and *Meredith.*		0122 06 08 00 0
Swanſey	*Gardianatus*				0020 00 00 00 0
Talleia.	M	Saint *Mary.* and S. *Iohn Bapt.*	*Reſtus.*		0153 01 04 00 0
Tyronenſe.			*Robert Martin, tempore Hen.*		

LANDAFFE DIOCES.

Places.		Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q
Landaffe.	*Eccleſ. Cath.*	Saint *Telean.*	*German* and *Lupus* French Biſhops.		
Abergeuenny in *Monmouthſhire.*	P				0059 04 00 00 0
Brecknocke	*a Cell to Battell Abbey.* F	S. *Iohn Euang.*	*Barnard de Newmarch: Miles* and *Roger* Earles of *Hereford*, in the raigne of *H. 1.*	Blacke Friers.	
Cardiffe.	F			Grey Friers.	
Cardiffe.	F			Blacke Friers.	
Chepſtow, *in Monmouthſh.*	M				0032 04 00 00 0
Gods-grace *or Gratia Dei in Monmouthſhire.*	M	*Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.*			0019 04 04 00 0
Goldcliffe, in *Monmouthſh.*	P		*Chandos,*		
S. Kynmercy, *with a Chappell.*	P				0008 04 08 00 0
Lanterna *in Monmouthſh.*	M				0071 03 02 00 0
Malpas, *by Newport neer the Riuer of Vske.*	*Cella.*				0014 09 11 00 0
Monmouth in *Monmouthſh.*	P	S. *Katherine* & Saint *Florence.*		Blacke Mohkes.	0056 01 11 00 0
Morgan in *Glamorganſh.*	M		*William* Earle of *Glouceſter.*		0188 14 00 00 0
Neth in *Glamorganſh.*	M	*Beatæ Mariæ Virginis.*	*Richard Grannils.*		0150 04 09 00 0
Tinterna in *Monmouthſh.*	M		*Walterus filius Richards, Comitis de Ogi, frater Gilberti Comitis Pembrochiæ.*		0256 11 06 ob 0
Vske in *Monmouthſh.*	P				0069 09 08 ob 0

The

The Totall Number and Valeuv of theſe

and all the Promotions Spirituall certified at the Taxation in King *Henry the eight his time of the firſt Fruites and Tenthes*, are by the Record, as followeth.

Promotions.	Nũber particular	Number totall.	Value totall.
Archbiſhoprickes and Biſhoprickes.	21.		
Deaneries.	11.		
Archdeaconries.	60.		
Dignities and Prebends in Cathedrall Churches.	394.		l. s.
Benefices.	8803.	12474.l.	320180. 10.
Religious Houſes.	605.		
Hoſpitals.	110.		
Colleges.	96.		
Chauntries and free Chappels.	2374.		

Taken from the poſſeſſion of the Clergy by *Henry* the eight, and conuerted to temporall vſes out of the former ſumme, 161100.l. 9.s.7. d.q. Since in this precedent Table, wee haue laide to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waſte of ſo much of Gods reuenewe (howſoeuer abuſed) let him not holde it in curioſity, out of ſeaſon, ſince it may in charity fall well in ſequence by ſetting downe the Churches either erected, or reſtored by him, or by him (which is the now ſtate of our Clergy) continued to redeem his memory blemiſhed by the former error, from the vulgar aſperſion of ſacrilegious impietie.

This King after the diſſolution of the Religious houſes, erected theſe ſixe Biſhoprickes, to witte, *Weſtminſter*, *Cheſter*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, *Briſtoll*, and *Glouceſter*, whereof the fiue laſt are in *eſſe*, and at the ſame time he erected alſo theſe Cathedrall Churches here after mentioned, wherein he founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following. viz.

Canterbury.	12	Glouceſter.	6
Wincheſter.	12	Briſtoll,	6
Worceſter.	10	Carliol.	4
Cheſter.	6	Durham.	12
Peterborough.	6	Rocheſter.	6
Oxford.	6	Norwich.	6
Ely.	8		

The yearely value of which Cathedrall Churches ſo newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windſor*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Woluerhampton*, ouer and beſides the Petti-Cannons, and other inferiour Miniſters amounteth by eſtimation to 5942.l. 8.s. 2.d.

The Promotions Eccleſiaſticall, which for the moſt part, except a little pared, hee preſerued entire, are in a generall eſtimate by the Shires, wherein they ſtand in the enſuing Table expreſſed.

The preſent Number and Value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	Promotions.	*Value.* l. s. d. ob. q.
Barkeſhire.	139.	2053 06 00 ob o
Bedfordſhire.	116.	1506 05 05 00 o
Buckinghamſhire.	172.	2236 02 96 00 q
Cambridgeſhire.	151.	1902 18 07 ob o
The Town of *Callis*, and the Marches therof.	26.	0590 06 10 00 o
Cheſhire.	68.	1776 12 00 ob o
Cornwall.	161.	2706 16 02 00 o
Cumberland and Weſtmorland.	63.	1022 06 06 ob q
Darby.	106.	1017 11 10 ob o
Deuonſhire.	394.	7466 01 04 00 o
Dorſetſhire.	248.	3077 05 08 ob q
The Biſhopricke of *Durham* in the County of *Northumberland*.	118.	2332 07 05 ob o
Eſſex.	378.	5347 06 11 00 q
Yorkeſhire.	440.	4974 00 00 ob o
Gloſterſhire.	288.	3296 06 04 ob q

Hunting-

The present Number and Value of the Spirituall promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	Promotions.	Value. l.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
Huntingtonshire.	79.	1097	02	06	00	q
Hartfordshire.	120.	1837	16	00	ob	0
Herefordshire.	160	1364	19	02	ob	q
Kent.	335.	3974	13	00	ob	q
Lancashire.	30.	0789	10	01	00	0
Leicestershire.	199.	2564	14	08	00	0
Lincolneshire.	638.	6129	01	04	ob	0
The City of *London*.	96.	3365	00	10	ob	0
Middlesex.	58.	1074	19	06	ob	0
Norffolke.	668.	6505	15	10	ob	0
Northamptonshire.	271.	3884	08	11	ob	q
Nottinghamshire.	168.	1640	07	09	ob	0
Oxfordshire.	164.	1917	17	07	ob	0
Rutlandshire.	52	0548	00	10	00	0
The Archdeaconry of Richmond.	105.	1841	11	08	ob	q
Shropshire.	190.	1530	05	10	ob	0
Staffordshire.	134.	0884	03	11	00	0
Southamptonshire.	158	3749	06	07	ob	0
Sommersetshire.	385.	4910	13	07	00	q
Suffolke.	428.	4811	08	00	00	0
Surrey.	113.	1701	08	09	00	q
Sussex.	322.	3069	16	04	00	0
Warwickshire.	158.	1732	18	10	ob	q
Worcestershire.	153.	2035	14	00	ob	0
Wiltshire.	305.	3505	02	09	ob	q

Number totall of the Benefices in *England*, 8501.

Value totall of the Benefices in *England*, 16772.l.5.s.2.

The seuerall Dioces of Wales.	Promotions.	Value.
The Bishopricke of Saint *Assaph*.	312	1536 18 07 ob
The Bishopricke of *Bangor*.	104.	1225 05 08 00 0
The Bishopricke of Landaffe.	166.	1204 11 10 ob 0
The Bishopricke of Saint *Davids*.	323.	2531 12 09 00 0

Number totall of the Benefices in *Wales*. 905.

Value totall of the Benefices in *Wales*. 6498.l. 8.s.11.

Number total of al the Benefices both in *England* and *Wales*. 9407.

Value totall of all the Benefices both in *England* and *Wales*. 113270.l.14 s.1.d.

The value of these inferior Promotions in England which haue cure of *Soules, I haue suited into seuerall Proportions as they are rated in Record*, and distinguished the Vicaradges from Parsonages in the Table following.

Liuings vnder tenne pound.	4543	Personages.
		Vicarages.
Liuings of tenne pound, and vnder twentie Markes.	1445.	Personages. 905.
		Vicarages. 540
Liuings of twenty Markes, and vnder twenty pound.	1624.	Personages. 1134.
		Vicarages. 0490
Liuings of twenty pound, and vnder twenty sixe pound.	0524.	Personages. 0414.
		Vicarages. 0179.
Liuings of twenty sixe pound, and vnder thirty pound.	0306.	Personages. 0163.
		Vicarages. 0043
Liuings of thirty pound, and vnder forty pound.	0248.	Personages. 0188
		Vicarages. 0060
Liuings of forty pound and vpwards.	0144	Personages. 0115.
		Vicarages. 0029

To preuent any mistaking in the Reader, I haue thought it not vnfitte to conclude this Table with the discouerie of my meaning by certaine letters before vsed. viz.

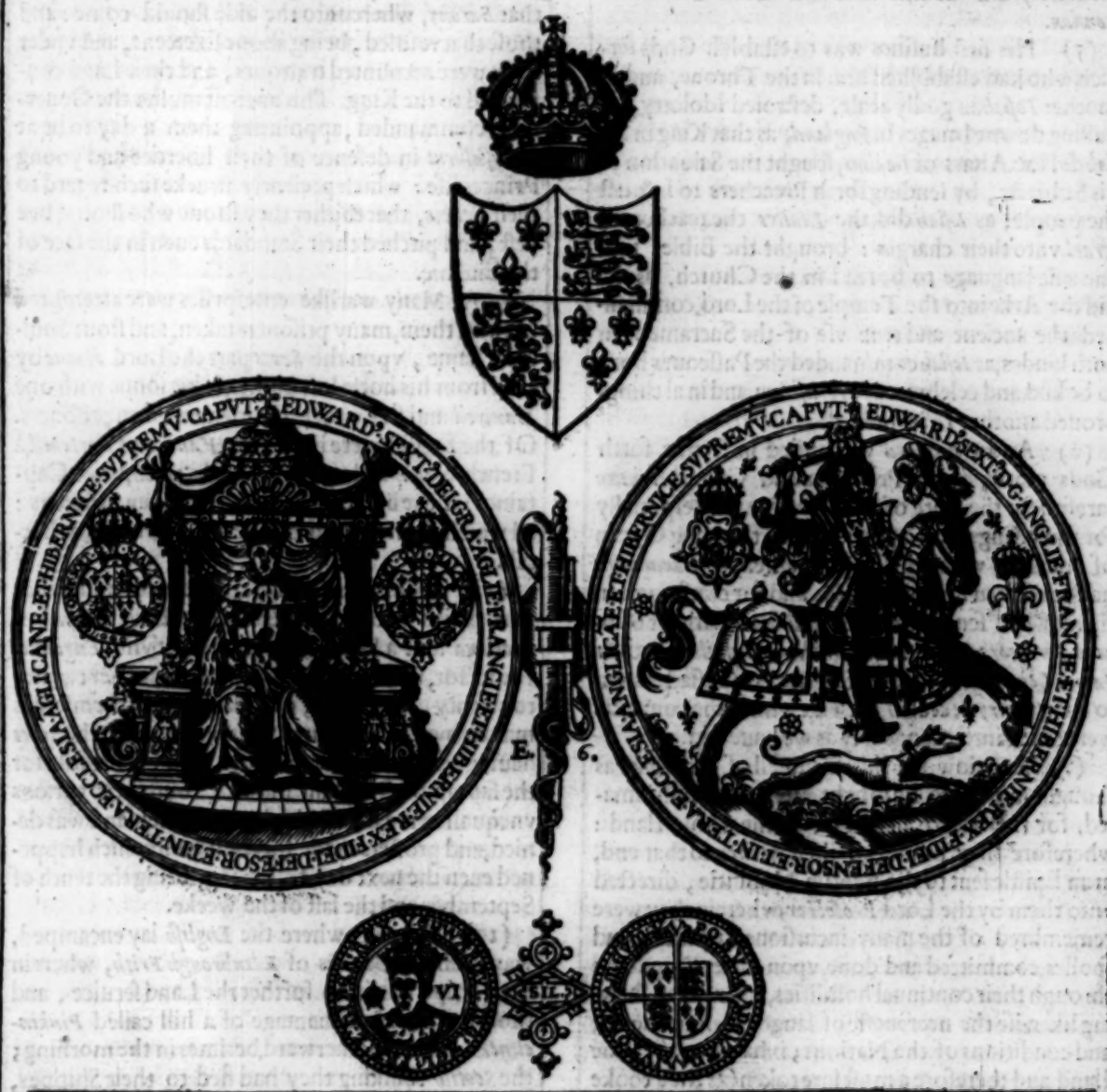
M.	Monastery.	F.	Frierie.	C.	Colledge
P.	Priorie.	N.	Nunnery	H.	Hospital.

EDVVARD

Edward VI.

EDVVARD THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS LIFE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 59



CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD the sixt of that Name, and onely sonne liuing vnto King *Henry* the eight, was borne at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court* in Middlesex, the twelfth of *October*, and yeere of saluation, 1537. and sixe dayes after being the eighteenth of the same moneth, hee was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*: his birth was ioyfull vnto the King and Commons; but the death of his mother, the vertuous Queen *Iane*, brought immediat sorow vnto both, whose womb was cut (as some haue affirmed) to the sauing of his, but losse of her owne life, vpon whose death these elegant verses were writ;

A.D. 1547.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.

Here lies the Phœnix Lady Iane,
whose death a Phœnix bare,
O griefe, two Phœnixs at one time,
together neuer were.

Alluding to the Creast of her father a Phœnix in flames within a Crowne.

(2) Nine yeeres and od monethes hee was vertuously trained vp in the life of his father, and at his death appointed the first of his heires, and for want of Issue (if it so chanced) *Mary*, and shee failing, *Elizabeth* to succeed in his throne. for as *Henry* with *Salomon* was blame-worthy for women, so left hee but one sonne and two daughters, as the other in Scripture is said to haue done: *Salomon* had *Rehoboam* a foole and vnfortunate, his daughters, but obscure, and both of them Subiects; but *Henry*

By his will dated the 30. of December, A.D. 1546.

Salomon and *Henry* compared in their sinnes and in their Issue.

was more happy in *Edward* his ſonne, who proued another young *Salomon* himſelfe, and his ſiſters both Soueraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

A.D. 1546.

(3) He beganne his raigne the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, in the yeere of *Chriſt Ieſus* 1546. and the laſt of that moneth was proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defendor of the Faith; and ſupreme Gouernour of theſe Churches, with other his rightfull Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentith of *February* following being Shroue-Sunday, was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* with all due Solemnities.

Iohn Stow.

The Duke of *Hertford* made Protector by Parliament.

(4) His Counſellors were appointed by his ſicke Father as we haue ſaid, and Protector ouer his Minoritie and Realmes (by conſent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward* Lord *Seymer* Earle of *Hereford* and Duke of *Sommerſet*, brother vnto Queene *Iane*, who thereupon gaue the young King the Order of Knight-hood, and the King immediately did the like vnto the Lord *Maior* of *London*.

2. *Chron.* 34.

(5) His firſt buſines was to eſtabliſh Gods ſeruice, who had eſtabliſhed him in the Throne, and as another *Ioſiah* in godly zeale, deſtroied Idolatry, by pulling downe Images in *England*, as that King in *Iudah* did the Altars of *Baalim*, ſought the Saluation of his Subiects, by ſending forth Preachers to inſtruct the people, as *Ioſiah* did the *Leuites* the teachers of *Iſrael* vnto their charges: brought the Bible in a knowne language to be read in the Church, as he did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord, commanded the ancient and true vſe of the Sacrament in both kindes, as *Ioſiah* commanded the Paſſeouer both to be kild and celebrated in *Ieruſalem*, and in al things proued another *Ioſiah* indeed.

Ioſiah and King *Edward* compared. 2. *Chron.* 35.

Statutes *Ed.* 6. An. 1.

(6) And as *Edward* was buſied in ſetting forth Gods glorie, ſo the Protector and Councell were carefull for the State of the Realme, and eſpecially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the yong Queen of *Scotland*, vnto which a Parliament at *Edenburgh* had conſented in Anno 1543. and for confirmation thereof had ſent into *England*, *William* Earle of *Glancarn*, *Sir George Dowglas*, *Sir William Hamilton*, and *Sir Iames Leirmound*, Scotiſh Knights, Ambaſſadors, vnto King *Henry* deceaſed, betwixt whom the contracts were ſealed interchangeably as we haue ſaid.

Iohn Leſle. B.R.

Rich. Grafton

The Engliſh deſire the marriage with *Scotland*.

(7) And now by the Counſell of *England* was thought moſt fit to be ſought after, and conſummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they publiſhed their deſires to that end, in an Epiſtle ſent to the Scotiſh Nobilitie, directed vnto them by the Lord *Protector*; wherein they were remembred of the many incurſions, roades, and ſpoiles, committed and done, vpon either Kingdome through their continual hoſtilities, and warres: ſhewing likewiſe the neereneſſe of language, lineaments, and conditions of the Nations; inhabiting the ſame Iland, and therefore a moſt ſure token (as they tooke it) to be deſcended from one and the ſame Originall; vrging Gods prouidence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of *Scotland*, leauing them only one daughter; and in *England*, onely one ſonne vnto King *Henry* among his many wiues. Their Princes themſelues for yeeres, qualities, and magnificence, fitly ordained to contract the vnion of Peace: alleaging that *England* ſought neither the preheminēce nor the cōqueſt of *Scotland*, but rather deſired an equality both in ſtate and gouernment; and to that end offred to take the name of *Britaines* indifferent to both, though diſhonorable to themſelues, in bereauing their Nation of the glorie atchieued, in many of their victories. Theſe notwithſtanding, the Scotiſh perſiſted to beſtow their young Queene another way.

An Epiſtle ſent vnto the Nobility of *Scotland*.

The ancient name *Britaine* indifferent to Engliſh and Scotiſh.

The Protector goeth into *Scotland*.

(8) Whereupon the Protector in perſon, vndertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Dacres*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*, many Knights, and a moſt warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Admirall of the Fleete was appointed to Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouſe* made his Vice-admirall: theſe meeting at *Berwiche* ſet forth into *Scotland*, declaring by ſound of Trumpet the cauſe of their comming, with proffers of peace to all ſuch of that Nation, as would aduance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Couenants already concluded vpon.

The Engliſh made Proclamation in Scotland.

Iohn Leſle.

The manner of the fire-croſſe.

Wil. Patten.

(9) The Gouernour of *Scotland* hearing newes of many Caſtles ſurrender and ſurpriſe, and feares daily encreaſing by augmented reports, commanded his Herauldes with all poſſible diligence, to paſſe through all the parts of the Realme, and the *fire Croſſe* to be borne whereſoeuer they came, a Cuſtome indeed anciently vſed in greateſt extremity, and onely then after this manner, two fire Brands ſet a Croſſe were carried vpon the point of a ſpeare, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, aſſigning the time and place, when and whither they were to reſort: yet there be that ſay, It was a painted red Croſſe ſet vp for certaine daies in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide ſhould come: and thoſe that refuſed, being aboue ſixeteene, and vnder ſixty were accounted traitours, and their Land confiſcated to the King. This ancient muſter the Gouernour commanded, appointing them a day to be at * *Muſſilburt* in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which preſently ſtrucke ſuch regard to their hearts, that thither they ſtroue who ſhould bee firſt, and pitched their Standards euen in the face of the Enemie.

* *Muſkiburgh.*

The hoſts meet at Muſkiburgh.

(10) Many warlike enterpriſes were attempted betwixt them, many priſoners taken, and ſtout Souldiers ſlaine, vpon the *Scots* part the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horſe loſt his life, & his ſonne with one *Maxwell* and ſixe other Gentlemen taken priſoners. Of the Engliſh were hurt *Henry Vane*, and *Barteuill*, a French-man: *Bulmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horſemen were taken priſoners: all which ſo happened before the day of great Battell.

Enterpriſes done before the great battell was fought.

(11) Whilſt theſe things proceeded, and either part plaied vpon the aduantage, Earle *Huntly* of *Scotland* ſent a Herauld and Trumpet vnto *Englands* Protector, with proffers of Combate, either twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in ſingle fight themſelues man to man, which ſurely was honorable, the *Scots* hauing aduantage for number, and Charitable for the ſauing of Chriſtian blood: but their perſons vnequall in regard of his place; that demand was denied, and proffers made for the battell: which happened euen the next day following, being the tenth of September and the laſt of the weeke.

Eare *Huntlyis* ſtout challenge.

(12) The place where the *Engliſh* lay encamped, was vpon the Bankes of *Edenbrough Frith*, wherein their Ships floted to further the Land ſeruice, and thoſe ſeeking the aduantage of a hill called *Pinkincleuche*, haſted thetherward betimes in the morning; the *Scotiſh* thinking they had fled to their Shippes, made the like haſt to impeach their March, their Armie they diuided into three Battels, the Vantgard whereof was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the reregard by the valiant Earle *Huntley*, and in the great Battell, was the Gouernour with the Earle of *Argile*, and many other of the *Scotiſh* Nobility.

Biſhop *Roſſ.*

The Scots miſtake the Engliſh deſignes.

(13) Theſe eager of ſpoile, and filled with hope, haſted furiouſly forward, without all feare or any good Order, and breath-leſſe, almoſt paſſed ouer the Riuer *Eſke*, preuenting thereby the expectation of the enemy, but being within danger of ſhot, the *Engliſh Fleete* from the Roade let freely fly among a wing of the Iriſh-Archers, ſlaying many, with ſuch terror to the reſt, as hardly could they be gotten for to goe forward, which indangered them more. The *Scotiſh Armie* thereupon remoued ſomewhat South-ward, ſeeking to get the higher ground with aduantage both of Sunne and winde, the deſire whereof cauſed them little to regard the helpe of horſe, but for haſte drew their great Ordinance thetherward only by maine ſtrength of men.

A wing of the Iriſh ſore galled from the Ile.

Rich. Grafton.

(14) The

(14) The English Captaines perceiuing what the Scotish intended, and that now no skirmish but a Battell must be vndergone fell to Consultation, being mounted in their sadles, where with such resolutions they departed asunder, that *Iohn* Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord Marshall of the field, desired the Protector to be good vnto his wife and Children, if on his part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to ioine battel, in the place called *Edmondstone-edge* neere vnto *Muskelburough*, where the Master of the English Ordinance had mounted two Canons neere vnto the top of the hill. The Scotish came forward, faster then an ordinary Marche, their pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

(15) At the first encounter Captain *Shelley* Lieutenant of the band of *Bulleners*: Captaine *Ratliffe* brother to the Lord *Fitzwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were slaine, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* General of the Horsemen, dangerously hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed such was the fury of the Scots first encounter, that the English horsemen were forced backe, and in retiring ranne through, and bare downe a part of their owne foote-men, to their great hurt: when their Kings Standard (borne by Sir *Andrew Flammoch*) was laid fast hold on by the Scotish, and had not that Knights strength beene the more, and his horse the better, himselfe had beene slaine, and the Standard lost, which notwithstanding was grasped so fast, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the staffe to the burrell.

(16) The Canons from the hill, plaied sore vpon the *Scotish*, and so did the Ordinance out of the English Fleete, whose terrible noise and smoake, filled the Armies with furious Cries, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protectors Horsemen, disordering their fellowes (as is said) gaue signes vnto the *Scots* of a present victory, who now vpon a forward Courage disranked themselues for hast, and fell vpon the disbanded English, who presently by their leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely pressed forward vpon the vantgard of the enemie, their aduantage the more, for that the *Scots* wanted shot to answere their violence; which caused them in hast confusedly to retire towards their great Battell; and those misdeeming the day had beene lost, turned their backes and fled; the chase was followed almost fiue miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with sundry men of note were slaine: *Bishop Leslie* recordeth nine by name, besides ten thousand of their souldiers that therein lost their liues, and prisoners taken, about a thousand persons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Huntly*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lord *Yester*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton* Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Master of *Sanpoole*, the Lord *Wimmes* and a brother of the Earle of *Cassils*: such was the successe of the English, and losse of the Scotish.

(17) *Lieth* they sacked and set on fire, tooke the Iland *Saint Colmes*, *Broughtierag*, *Rockesburgh*, *Humes* Castle, and others: so that many Gentlemen in *Tiuidall*, and the *Meres*, came to the Protector and entred into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Gouernour, and Queene *Dowager*, the young Queene was suddainely conueyed from *Striueling*, vnto the *Ile*, and Abbay of *Michmahome*, as to a place of more security, and shortly after into *France* to be married vnto the *Dolphine*, shee then being of age betwixt fiue and sixe: whereat the English so stormed, as they determined and threatned the Conquest of *Scotland*. But God who is the disposer of Kingdomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his vnsearchable decrees, saw it not time to vnite as yet, the whole *Iland* vnder one Crowne, to which end he suffered the *French* to assist the *Scots*, and *England* to be burthened with her owne ciuill broyles.

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parliament at *London* assembled, all Colledges, Free-Chappels, and Chanteries, were giuen to the King, wherein was repealed the Statute formerly made, and commonly called the *fiue articles*, which had beene the cause of many Martyrs deathes, in the daies of King *Henry* his Father, as also other enacted by King *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the fift, for the suppression of Scriptures in English, and other points held, in their daies accounted hereticall, at which time also iniunctions went forth to cleanse the Church of all Images, and Commissioners sent with authority to pull them downe, who first began at the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*, and thence proceeded casting downe those Idols, in all the Churches throughout *England* and *Wales*. Whereof great stirres presently happened and in *Cornwall* the first.

(19) For the Kings Commission being put in practise, and these gay golden Images cast downe, broken and burnt, their Priests accounted the Act sacrilegious, and one of them as *Baals* for zeale, sought to make his sacrifice with blood, but sparing his owne, sheathed his knife in the heart of Master *Body* a Commissioner, imploied about the same busines: which fact was so fauoured among the rurall Commons of *Cornwall*, and *Deuonshire* (who euer gaue voice for the papall continuance) that in a rebellious manner they combined together against the King.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humfrey Arundell*, Gouernour of the Mount, with sixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Priests backeward in so bad a worke, whereof *Robert Bocham*, and seauen others were the forwardest men; accompanied with no lesse then ten thousand tall Souldiers, who all sought to vndoe those points of religion, which the King by law and act of Parliament had ordained to be obserued: Whereupon they besieged the City of *Excester*, and with many sharpe assaults sought the possession thereof, twise firing the Gates, and leauing nothing vndone that either wit or warre would afford to obtaine: for they brought the Citizens to such distresse that they forced them to mould vp branne for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for otherwise could they not bring it to incorporate together: their daintiest flesh was their owne horses, and those slaine were distributed aswell to the poore as rich; for which their loyalty and most faithfull seruice King *Edward* did both highly esteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, inlarging the liberties, augmenting the reuenewes and giuing vnto the Citizens the manor of *Exciland*, as the signet of his loue for their seruice to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loialty for euer. Meane while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, vnto whom all things was common that came vnto hand.

(21) The Rebels thus pestering those parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would haue ioined to their aide, but therein deceiued, they lastly fell to Consultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the best pollicy to article with the King, which how to be set downe, bred likewise much trouble and disturbance with their confused cries: for these rude and vnexperienced Counsellors made their owne conceiued opinions the fundamentall matters for redresse, some would haue this, and other some that; but none would be gainesaid of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in this Court of assembly, as his body an aide to support the Action, so that long it was ere they could light on their owne discontents, and longer ere they could agree what they would haue reformed, onely still constant in variable vnconstancy, for some would haue no Iustices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes must be Pastures, and Inclosures must downe, the Priests euer pulling the Bell rope toring the Masse into *England*, and to cowll *Cardinall Poole* from *Rome*; and with much

The act of the fiue articles repealed.

Images suppressed.

Body murthered by a Priest for pulling downe Images.

Iohn Fox in Acts and Monuments

Commotion in *Cornwall*.

Excester in great distresse by the rebels.

King *Edwards* gift vnto *Excester*.

The confusions among the rebels.

The Clergie for the Pope.

much adoe, laſtly to little purpoſe theſe Articles were agreed vpon, and ſent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus.

Articles of the Rebels. Sacrament of Baptiſme.

(22) *Foraſmuch as man, except he be borne of Water and the holy Ghoſt, cannot enter into the kingdome of God, and foraſmuch as the gates of Heauen bee not open without this bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all times of need aſwell in the weeke daies, as on the holy daies.*

Confirmation.

Item, wee will haue our children confirmed of the Biſhops whenſoeuer we ſhall within the Dioceſſe reſort vnto them.

Conſecration of the Lords body. *Holinſhed.*

Item foraſmuch as we conſtantly beleeue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of Conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the Body and Blood of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt God and Man, and that no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very ſame Body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, and was giuen vpon the Croſſe for our Redemption: therefore we will haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath beene in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſts, foraſmuch as many rudely preſuming vnworthily to receiue the ſame put no difference betweene the Lords body and other kind of meate; ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after: ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except hee receiue it, with many other abuſed termes.

Reſeruation of the Lords Body conſecrated.

Item we will haue in our Churches reſeruation.

Holy Bread and Holy water.

Item wee will haue holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Chriſts precious Body and Blood.

Prieſts not to be married.

Item we will that our Prieſts ſhall ſing and ſay with an audible voice, Gods ſeruice in the Quier of the Pariſh Churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe play.

Item for aſmuch as Prieſts be men dedicated to God, for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed Sacrament, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they ſhall liue chaſt without marriage, as Saint Paul did, being the elect and choſen veſſell of God: ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſts, beyee followers of mee.

The ſixe Articles.

Item we will that the ſixe Articles which our Soueraigne Lord King Henry *the eight ſet forth in his later daies, ſhall bee vſed, and ſo taken as they were at that time.*

Item we pray God ſaue King Edward, *for we be his both body and goods.*

The Kings anſwere and generall pardon.

(23) To theſe their Demands the King ſent this anſwere, therein pittying their ignorance, and blaming their folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would deſiſt whiles it was time. Firſt he reproued them, for their preſumptions, thus contumeliouſly to riſe againſt their dread Soueraigne, to the diſturbance of his loyall Subiects peace; whoſe ſimplicity they had notoriouſly abuſed, in vſing his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no leſſe likewiſe in the grounds of their demands. As in their firſt Article for Baptiſme, where it was well knowne the ſame was admitted as neceſſity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common praier, publiſhed by authority of Parliament, and as themſelues knew in preſent practiſe. But touching the Sacrament in their ſecond Article, how impudently they did belie the true receiuers thereof, was manifeſt, who make ſo much difference in that holy adminiſtration, that they accoune no profit in Common bread, beſides the nouriſhment of their naturall Bodies: but this bleſſed bread to be the food of their ſoules vnto eternall life. And as you are ſeduced in theſe (ſaith the admonition) ſo in confirmation alſo they carrie your ſimplicities captiue, for the truth teacheth no otherwiſe then themſelues beleeue, namely, that a Child baptized, and dying before confirmation is nethelesſe in ſtate of *Grace*, elſe are themſelues cauſers of their childrens damnation: ſo the ſeruice of *God* brought from an vnknowne tongue, cannot ſurely offend any reaſonable man, which is onely to make him vnderſtand that, which before he knew not, and to giue his conſent to thoſe prayers, whereof he hath moſt need, and giueth the neereſt touch to his owne feeling conſcience, for God requireth the heart onely which with an vnderſtanding ſeruice, we muſt ſacrifice vnto him. But moſt of all (ſaith this good King) we maruell at your demand, for the ſixe Articles reſtored, to haue them in power as formerly hath beene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercileſſe for vs; who would haue our Raigne written with milke, and not with blood, and becauſe they were bloody, we took them away, with the ſame authority, by which they were made; leaſt retaining them, our ſword ſhould be too often drawne, and rigour extended vpon our true and well-deſeruing ſubiects. We for our parts ſeeke no longer to liue, then to be a father vnto our people, and as *God* hath made vs your rightfull King, ſo hath he commanded you vnto obedience: by whoſe great Maieſtie we ſweare, you ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſword, which how mighty it is, no ſubiect knoweth: how puiſſant it is no priuate man can iudge, and how mortall no Engliſh heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, leaſt the blood ſpilt by your meanes cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heauen.

Anſwere to the ſixe articles.

King Edwards lawes written in milke and not in blood.

Spoken like a King.

(24) All this notwithſtanding, the Rebels perſiſted in their traiterous attempts: againſt whoſe ſeditions *Sir Iohn Ruſſell* Lord *Priuy Seale*, was appointed Generall of the Kings Army; vnto whoſe aſſiſtance was ioined the *Lord Grey of Wilton*, vnder whom ſerued a band of *Italians* intended againſt *Scotland*, theſe lay at *Briſtow* attending the comming of the *Lord Generall*: who now was marched Weſtward to *Honiton*, where daily looking for more ſupply, thoſe which he had, began to ſhrinke away, whereby the Rebels were emboldned to make towards him, and came as far as *Fenington-bridge* within three Miles of *Honiton*, and in a faire Meadow there ſpread their Colours. The *Lord Ruſſell* though weake in compariſon of them, holding it more honour to aſſaile then to be aſſaulted, made forward euen vnto the Bridge: at whoſe ſight the Enemies prepared themſelues to fight, and with a ſtrong guard maintained the Bridge, beſides which there was paſſage ouer the Riuer, that held his courſe betwixt the two Armies.

Forces ſent againſt the rebels.

Iohn Hooker in deſcription of *Exceſter*.

The rebels make toward the Lord generall.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gaue, and manfull was the reſiſtance that the Rebell made, yet laſtly the way was wonne, and followed vnto the battell of the diſloyals: where preſently beganne a moſt cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the loſſe of their blood, but the falſe hearts failing, and the true ſubiects courage increaſing, the Corniſh immediately gaue backe and fled, whereat the Kings ſouldiers out of Order fell to the ſpoile, minding nothing leſſe then that which preſently enſued, for the Corniſhmen perceiuing their diſordered carriage, ſuddainely returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord *Ruſſell* likewiſe ordered a new his Army: theſe furiouſly ioining, a ſharpe and cruell encounter enſued, with the loſſe of much blood, and the liues of three hundred Rebels, who laſtly tooke to their heeles and left the field: the chaſe a while followed, and the ſouldiers ſcattered, a fearefull crie ſuddainely aroſe, that all the Commons were vp, which cauſed the Lord Generall to returne vnto *Honiton*: whether ſhortly came the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, hauing in pay *Spiniola* an Italian Captaine with three hundred ſhott.

The valiant attempt of the Lord *Ruſſell*.

The rebels put to flight.

The rebels returne and renew the fight.

And againe put to flight.

(26) The Lord *Ruſſels* forces augmented, his greateſt care was to releeue the City *Exceſter*, whither vpon the third of *Auguſt* he haſted from *Honiton* being a thouſand ſtrong; and paſſing ouer the Downes toward *Woodbury*, lodged his Campe that night neere to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels hauing intelligence, raiſed themſelues from Saint

Mary

Mary Clift, and made amaine vnto the Downes, thinking to ſurpriſe the Lord Generall before hee was ready; but hee as vigilant as they were forward, encountred them againe in battell, and againe gaue them the ouerthrow with the loſſe of the moſt of their liues, the reſt eſcaping by flight, got vnto the Towne of Saint *Mary Clift*.

(27) The newes whereof bruted, and the Papal ſide bruiſed by theſe three ouerthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes reſorted to their aide, and to make all ſure on their ſide (by the preſence and helpe of their conſecrated God) they brought into the field the Crucifixe vnder a Canopy, which in ſtead of an Altar was ſet in a carte, accompanied with Croſſes, and Candleſtickes, Banners, Holy-Bread, and holy-water, both to driue away Diuels, and to dull their enemies ſwords; which notwithſtanding they did not, neither could they deliuer themſelues in the day of deſtruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armies met vpon Clift heath, a moſt cruell and bloudy battell was fought, wherein was ſlaine the whole rout of the Rebels, & all theſe trinkets caſt in the durt.

(28) The chiefe Captaines were taken and ſent vnto *London*, who were *Humfrey Arundell*, *Winſland*, *Holmes* and *Burie*, who there paid the law with the loſſe of their liues. Many others were executed without iudgement, onely by Marſhall Law, as was *Boier* Maior of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, vnto whom Sir *Anthony Kingſton*, Prouoſt Marſhall ſent worde he would viſite him at dinner, but before he was ſet downe, commanded the Maior to cauſe a paire of Gallowes to be ſet vp; & the Table taken away, he willed the ſaid Maior to acompany him to the place, & there preſently commanded *Boier* his Hoſt to the halter, and ſaw him hanged before he departed.

(29) At the ſame time, and neere the ſame place dwelled a Miller, who had beene a buſie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the maſter, if any enquired after him; whereupon the ſaid Sir *Anthony* came to the mill, and calling for the maſter, the man in his name preſented himſelfe, who ſtrait commanded him vnto the Gallowes, the ſeruant then ſeeing the danger of death, confeſſed hee was not the maſter, but the man: well, ſaid the Knight, thou canſt neuer doe thy maſter better ſeruice then to hang for him, and thereupon truſſed him vppe in the next tree.

(30) As theſe things were in acting in the Weſt, ſo other Commotions aroſe in other partes of the Land, though broched vnder another pretence, namely the laying open of incloſures, which the king by Proclamation had commanded to be done, but many offenders bearing themſelues out with greatneſſe, ſlackened the execution, and the poorer preſuming vpon the Kings pleaſure, began to execute his commiſſion themſelues, and thoſe in many places at once, as in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Sommerſet*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton* and *Lincolne ſhires* they did.

(31) But moſt dangerous was that in *Norfolke*, whoſe Inhabitants following the examples of the reſt, held out much longer, and in more violent maner. Their firſt attempt was at *Atilborough* againſt one *Greene* that had taken away part of their commons, next at *Wimonham*, where by the inſtigation of *Iohn Flowerdew* they caſt downe the fences of Incloſures, belonging to *Robert Ket* a Tanner in the ſame Towne; who to bee euen with *Flowerdew* brought them to *Hetherſet*, and ſet them on worke to pull downe both hedge and ditch of his paſture grounds incloſed: to which worke hee gaue ſuch deſperate incouragements, that theſe vnrulies preſently choſe him for their ringleader, who with them paſſed to *Bowthrope*, laying all leuel where they came.

(32) Their number encreaſing, and doings outragious, Sir *Edmund Windam* Knight, at that time high Shiriffe of the Shire, made proclamation among them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, he pronounced them Traitors, but had not his Horſe beene the ſwifter, he had beene either taken or ſlain, thereupon their terror began to be fearefull, & themſelues to be furniſhed with weapons, Armour, and Artillery, daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, beſides ſtore of victuals to maintaine their Campe.

Sir *Edmund Windam* in danger.

(33) But now conſidering what dangers were open, if diſperſedly ſcattered they ſhould attend their bad worke, they held it beſt policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themſelues together with further ſtrength; whereupon with full reſolution, *Monſhold* was thought fitteſt neere vnto *Mount Surrey*, a place built by theſe Earles of that County, and vpon S. *Leonards* hill which hangeth ouer *Norwich*, they vnkennelled themſelues; beſides theſe of *Monſhold*, a leſſer rabble of them lay at *Riſing-chaſe* neere *Linne*, which were rowſed thence by the Gentlemen of thoſe parts: who firſt from *Watton*, then from *Thetford*, and next from *Brandon*, were forced to their litter at *Monſhold*.

Monſhold the place of the randeuow.

(34) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane euen to their welwillers, for it is a knowne truth, that Sir *Roger Woodhouſe* in kinde courteſie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompenced with the loſſe of all his Horſes, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, caſt into a ditch, whom laſtly with others was impriſoned by them in the houſe of *Mount Surrey*, and yet would they ſeeme verie Religious, hauing one *Coniers* for their Chaplen, who deuoutly ſaid ſeruice vnto them both morning and euening.

The inhumanities of the Commotioners.

(35) To theſe, the lewdly diſpoſed of *Suffolke* aſſembled, as alſo the ſcum and dregs out of *Norwich*, adding ſtill fewell to their own ſmoaky flames by firing of Beacons, ringing of Bels, and what not, to ſet all in an vproare: ſome true and faithfull ſubiects they violently led away, and made them of their counſell, namely *Thomas Cod*, Maior of *Norwich*, *Robert Watſon* Preacher, and *Thomas Alderiche* Gentlemã, Sergeant & *Catlyn*, Sergeant *Gandy*, whom they kept fettered, and compelled them to be attendant vpon *Kette*; who now tooke vpon him to bee the Kings Deputy, and to giue out warrants in his Maieſties name, by vertue of which many of Worſhip and credit were fetched from their dwellings, brought before him, and violently caſt into priſon: their Rabble encreaſed to the number of ſixeteene thouſand men.

Supplies of the commotioners.

Many good ſubiects forced to attend vpon the Rebels.

(36) And that the ſhew of iuſtice and piety was only the marke whereat theſe lawleſſe leuelled, they ordained a tribunall ſeat in an olde tree, whoſe Canopie was the Cope of Heauen: In this ſate the Tanner as Chauncellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanied with his Counſellors, aſſiſted by two choſen men out of euery hundred among them, hither aſſembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commiſſion to fetch out of Ships both Ordinance, powder and ſhotte, and out of Gentlemens houſes all abileaments of warre: and heere ſuch Raskals as had exceeded their commiſsion had iudgement of impriſonment, ſo that this tree was termed, the Oake of Reformation, whence likewiſe ſometimes Sermons were deliuered to the people, and once by the Reuerent Doctor *Parker*, which had almoſt coſt him his life.

The tree of Reformation.

(37) To theſe the Kings generall Pardon was publikely pronounced by an Herald at Arms, but ſo farre off from embracing, as the Rebels from the height of the hill, ſhot at the Citie, which doing little harme, they remoued their Ordinance to the lower ground, and thence beganne to batter the walles, and without great reſiſtance entred the town, where they became Maſters of al the munitions, and empriſoned the Maior, and many other Citizens.

The Kings pardon contemned.

Norwich wonne by the Rebels.

(38) Theſe times thus troubleſome, the King

Aide sent vnto Norwich.

Lord Marquesse enters Norwich.

The L. Sheffeild slaine.

The L. Marquesse forced out of Norwich.

The Lord Dudley made generall against the Rebels of Norfolke.

The Earle entreth the City Norwich, and executeth 60. rebels by Marshall law.

Alexander Neuil.

The great Ordinance wonne by the Rebels.

sought to quiet, and to that end sent the L. *William Parr*, Marques of *Northampton*, with fifteen hundred horsemen vnto *Norwich*, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffeild*, and *Wentworth*, besides many Knights; who at his first comming thither, summoned the City to yeeld; the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yeelded vp their Cities sword vnto him; declaring themselues true Subiects to the King, though some of the baser sort had fauoured *Kets* doing, and with them immediately the Lord Marquesse entred the City, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom hee manfully resisted, and slew three hundred of their riotous rout.

(39) The next day following these bloud-hounds vnkennelled by troupes, and entring the City by the Hospitall, beganne a most cruell fight, wherein the Lord *Sheffeild* by the fal of his horse into a ditch was butcherly slaine by a Butcher, as he sought to recouer himselfe, and the rebels now fleshed with this their fortunate chance, followed the chase with such slaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marquesse to forsake the City, and therein tooke Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* prisoner, whom they straitly kept in durance till their last ouerthrow. *Norwich* they ransackt and set on fire, whose ashes as yet fill vppe their ruines, and more had been made, had not God quenched these flames by showres from Heauen.

(40) The Lord Marquesse returned, and the Rebels holding *Norwich*, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance; and therefore those forces that were gathered to inuade others, were now thought the fittest to secure our selues, ouer whom was appointed the Lord *Iohn Dudley*, the warlike Earle of *Warwicke*: hee comming to *Cambridge* prepared for the enemy, whither resorted the foresaide Lord Marquesse, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powes*, and *Gray*, his sonnes *Ambrose* and *Robert*, with many of the *Norfolke* men, and the twenty three of *August* shewed himselfe vpon the plaine before *Norwich*, whence to saue the effusion of bloud, hee sent *Norrey* and a Trumpet to summon the City, and to offer a generall pardon; which being againe refused, hee caused his Ordinance to bee planted against S. *Steuens* gate, and his Pioners to breake open the brasen gate, whereat many made entry, and diuers were slaine.

(41) S. *Steuens* gate forced open by Canon shot, the Earle of *Warwicke* entred the City, and with small resistance came into the Market place, where threescore Rebels were incontinently executed by Marshall law. But the Earles carriages passing thorough the City, were surprised and taken by the enemy, wherein was great store of powder and shot, which with triumph they conuaied to their Campe, and tooke it a signe of further successe, their want consisting most in those prouisions, whereupon they manned the streets of that City, and slew very many of the Kings friends; but the showers of arrowes and shot from the kinges Subiects so rained amongst them, that they were forced backe to take shelter in *Monsbold* their hole of refuge.

(42) The Earle of *Warwicke* thus mastring the City, shut all the Gates, them onely excepted that gaue way toward *Monsbold*, and those hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiuing what he went about, suddainely made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confused cries, fell with such violence vpon their attendants, that they gaue backe and fled, leauing their Ordinance to the will of the Rebels, who presently disposed them amongst their owne, so that the Earle stopped likewise those passages, and imploied all his endeuour to defend the City, which notwithstanding he could not, the Rebels making incursions ouer the riuer from their well stored Campe: and setting the streetes in many places on fire, whose attempts so continued and prospered to euill, as some despairing of any good, counselled the Earle to bee gone. But so farre was he from such staine of honour, that drawing forth his owne sword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kisse confirmed the resolution of his bold courage, a Custome indeed vsed in greatest danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, sought to stop the passage from all conuoy of victuall; which the Rebels perceiuing, set fire on their Cabbins, and with ensignes displayed, entrenched themselues at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called *Dussin-dale*, partly vpon vaine Prophecies pronounced among them by certaine wizards, who gaue forth that *Hob*, *Dic*, and *Hic*, (meaning the Rusticks) with their Clubs should fill vp the valley of *Dussin-Dale* with the bodies of the dead.

The noble resolution of the Earle of Warwick.

The vaine prophesie of the Rebels.

(43) The next day being the seauen and twentieth of *August*, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, hauing newly receiued a supply of foureteene hundred Lances. But before that *Mars* should trie his strength by sword, he sent vnto them a Generall pardon for all things that were past, which when they had againe vtterly reiected, he ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewise, set themselues in order, where in the fore-ranke all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Prisoners, were placed and coupled in Irons for starting away, so that their dangers were doubled, and themselues exposed to death aswell by their friends, as by their enemies.

The L. Generall offred the rebels a generall pardon.

(44) But before the charge could be giuen, one *Miles* a most skilfull Gunner amongst them made shot at the Kings Standard, and strucke the Bearer thereof in the thigh, and his horse through the shoulder, which so moued the Earle that he caused a whole volly of Artillery to be discharged against them, when Captaine *Drury* with his owne band and the *Almanes*, thrust sore vpon them, and opened their Battell, whereby most of the Captiue-Gentlemen escaped away, vpon which brunt the Earles light horsemen came so valiantly on, that the Rebels gaue backe and fled: and with the formost *Robert Ket* their Captaine, vppon a swift horse galloped away, the Chase continued three miles and more, with the slaughter of three thousand and fiue hundred rebels.

The Kings Standard strucken.

The Rebels discomfited and many slaine.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the most part fled: those notwithstanding that kept about the Ordinance, determined to die like men, and inclosing themselues among the Carts and Carriages, had the aduantage of a Trench and certaine stakes stucke against the horsemen, whereby they stoode more resolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their case, and loath to loose so many braue men, sent *Norrey* King at Armes vnto them, with proffer of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwise they well saw, there was no way but death: Their answere was, that they were free borne English men, who disdained all ignominious death, wherunto they said, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as they were informed) to strangle them, so that if they must needes die, they chose the manly deathes of Souldiers, not trusting the sugred promises for surprize, and then to be trussed vp like dogs.

The compassion of the L. Generall.

(46) Their answere returned, and compassion still working in the Lord Generals breast, euen when hee had set his whole Army against them both of horse and foote; and the signe of battell ready to haue beene giuen, he sent to them once more, to know if they would belieue and embrace their pardon, if hee came in person to declare it to them himselfe; wherunto they answered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth most thankefully receiue it: thereupon hee repayred vnto them, and causing againe their pardon to be read, confirmed the same with such effectuall words, as they all cast away their weapons, and with one voice cried, *God saue King Edward.*

The noble act and loue of the L. Generall.

The Rebels yeeld and receiue the kings pardon.

(47) The

(47) The day following, *Ket* the Captaine of this sedition, crept into a Barne of one M. *Richer* of *Swanington*, was by two of his seruants apprehended, & with 20. horsemen conueied to *Norwich*, where 9. of the chiefest Rebels had iudgement of death; and were all of them hanged vpon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. *Ket* with his brother *William* were broght vnto *London*, and theuce backe againe into *Norfolke*, where *William Ket* the younger was hanged vpon the high Steeple of *Windmondham*, and *Robert Ket* the Arch-Rebell in chaines vpon the Castell of *Norwich*, whose Citizens annually solemnized the day of their deliuery with no lesse ioy, then the Iewes did when they had escaped the sword of wicked *Haman*.

(48) These hazards set in the South, West, and East, the North likewise among them would come in for a cast, as forward and able to vndergoe rebellion, and their zeale as hote as any others, the occasion conceiued, was, the Papall Religion abolished by Law, whose tottering toppe they meant to make steady by maine strength of Armes, notwithstanding the very foundations were so shrewdly vndermined. The place where this canker beganne was *Seimer* in the North-riding in *Yorkshire* spreading it selfe further into the East-riding also, & the first broachers of this giddy heady wine, were persons no better then *William Ombler* a Yeoman, *Thomas Dale* a Parrish Clerke, and one *Steeuenson* the Post, imployed to blanch forth these businesses betwixt them.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to restore the Church her right, and to disburden the land of all grieuances imposed, this string euer sounding, that the Pope was the Man, that King *Edward* was an Intruder, if not a meere heretike, that the Church had the power of both the swords, which now vpon a blind prophesie they presupposed should bee drawne against the King & his Nobles, whose times (as they beleeued) should bee no more, but that the land should bee ruled by foure gouernours, when the Commons should meete in a Parliament assembled from the foure winds, which they interpreted from the foure Coasts of *England*, whereof themselues now made the last.

(50) First therefore to raise men, and to bring al into confusion, they fired their Beacons, whence the sparkes of sedition were carried amaine; for the rudest alwayes vnwilling to labour, and the fittest fewell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one hauing a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them disliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded: Among these, the most seditious had euer a voice which drew consent to forward the Action, and especially to beare downe the rich, whereof they made their first assay vpon *white* a Gentleman, *Savage* a Marchant, *Clopton* and *Berry*, whom they cruelly murthered, and dispoiling them of their apparrell left their naked bodies on the *Would* before *Seimer*, thence passing forward from Towne to Town, tooke many away that were vnwilling to goe, and all to fulfill their perfidious prophesie.

(51) Their number now increased vnto three thousand, the Country beganne to grow in great feare, especially the Gentlemen, and the richer sort, seeing their liues and substance thus thirsted for and sought after; but presently downe came the kings pardon with proffers of life, which so willingly was embraced, that *Ombler* & *Dale* were quite forsaken, & almost left alone, who with *Wright*, *Peacocke*, *Weatherell*, and *Buttry* were worthily executed at *Yorke* vpon the one and twenty of September following.

(52) As the Commons by these tumultuous rebellions greatly disquieted the peace of the land, so the chiefest Lords did disturb the Court of the yong King, where the greatest Counsellors through emulation and disdaine, banded each against others, without respect of themselues, or regard of their Soueraigne; whereof the Kings vncles, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the first, and with the first paid their offences with their liues: they both were the brethren of Queene *Iane* the Kings mother deceased, the elder Lord *Edward* Duke of *Sommerset* was Protector of his Person, Realms and Dominions. And *Thomas* Lord *Seamer* Baron of *Sudley* the younger, high Admirall of *England*, both worthy persons, had they known their own worths: for so long stood they in safety of life and true honor as the bounds of brotherhood and nature stood vnuiolated betwixt them, but that once broken, their liues lay open to dishonour and death.

(53) The younger brother Lord *Thomas* had married Queene *Katherine Parre*, the last of the many wiues of King *Henry* the eight; who vndoubtedly bore himselfe no meaner by that match, neither she the state or name of a Dowager Queene: though of herselfe a woman complete with singular humility. And the Dutchesse of *Sommerset* matched with the greatest Peere in the Land, held her State equall to her husbands degree: and for place and precedency, as report hath diuulged, the lamentable tragedie of these two great Brethren beganne; which now in acting brought vpon the Stage at once their owne destructions, the lands rebellions, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatall and vnrecouerable sickenesse, whereof lastly followed his death.

(54) So subtle is the old Serpent, and so ready euer to sow tares among wheate, that hee disturbed religions proceedings with al these calamities almost at one time; first, setting matters of discord betwixt them, by scandalizing tongues, then iealousies of suspitions spiced with enuie; and lastly hatred vnto death. Insomuch that the Protector suffered his brother to bee accused and condemned in Parliament of high Treason (whether true or false God onely knoweth) and vnder his owne hand writing, committed his head to the axe: wherby one of the 3 twisted cords of *Englands* strength was cut asunder by that fatall and vnhappy stroake, and his owne now made loose in the Cable, proued too weake by farre to hold fast the Anchor, whereby the shippe-wracke of his owne life was shortly made.

(55) The Lord Admirals inditement was, that hee had purposed to destroy the young King, and to translate the Crowne vnto himselfe, as standeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kinges Raigne, for which the twenty of March he suffered death vpon the Tower-hill; which as many supposed that it was the Dutches of *Sommersets* doings; so the wiser sort feared, lit would bee the ruine of her husband the Duke, the experiment whereof had often beene approued, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in these two brethren.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons without either order, or law, rose vp in their Insurrections as hath been said: And the Lords returned from their suppressions, beganne forthwith to enuy and article against the Protector, which they published by Proclamation against him, wherein hee was accused, 1. of euill gouernment: 2. the losse of the kings Peers in *France*: 3. to bee ambitious in his buildings, 4. regardlesse of the Counsellors: 5. a sower of sedition amongst the Nobles: 6. dangerous to the King: 7. a scandalizer of the Councell, 8. and lastly, that hee was no lesse then a Traitor. Against whom they desired the aid of the Londoners to take from him the King; to all which seuenteene Counsellers subscribe their names.

(57) These Statists in consultation dayly at *London*, and the Protector residing still with the King, intercourse of letters were interchangeably both sent and receiued, whereof two, from either part one, and euen at one instant were sent vnto the Lord Maior and

Emulations among the priuy Councellors.

The Protector and his brother the Admirall at odds.

Strife betwixt women caused the deathes of their husbands.

The hurt of dissentions.

M. Fox in Acts & Mon.

Lord *Thomas Seimer* attainted and beheaded.

K. Edward.
L. Protector.
H. Admirall.
Eccles. 4.12.

The L. Admirals inditement.

22 Statu. Record.

Articles against the L. Protector.

Letters from both parties writ vnto the Londoners.

and Citizens of *London*, requiring their aide in these their opposite quarrels, and surely in their assembly the talk of the Lords by the Recorder was so wel tolde, as had not a graue *Citizen stept vp betimes, the common Councell had granted aid against their King, whose wisdome and loyalty, in regarde my selfe a Citizen, would haue it recorded to his euerlasting memory, and an example and motiue for our obedient loue and duety toward our Soueraignes, I will insert as I find them vttered and spoken.

*George Stradlin.

George Stradlins his Oration.

"(57) In this case (said hee) good it is to thinke "on things past, to auoide the danger of thinges to "come; for I remember a story written by *Fabian* "in his Chronicles of the warres betwixt the King "and his Barons, who euen then as our Lords doe "now, demanded aid of the Maior and Commons "of *London*, against their Soueraingne King *Henry* "the third, and that in a cause rightfull, and good "for the Common-weale, which was the execution "of certain wholesome lawes, somwhat derogating "from his princely prerogatiue, which hee would "not permit. The aide was granted, and quarrell "came vnto battell, wherein the Lords preuailed, "and tooke the King and his sonne prisoners. But "they againe restored to liberty, among other con-"ditions this was one, that the King should not "onely grant his free pardon to the Lords, but also "vnto the Citizens of *London*; which was done, yea "and the same confirmed by Parliament. But what "followed? was it forgotten? no surely, nor ne-"uer forgiuen during the Kings life: for the liber-"ties of the City were taken away, strangers appoin-"ted to bee our heads and Gouernours, the Citi-"zens giuen away both body and goods, and from "one persecution to another, were most miserably "afflicted: such it is to enter the wrath of a Prince, "which (as *Salomon* saith) is death: Wherfore, for-"asmuch as this aide is required of the Kings Maie-"sty, whose voice (being our high Shepheard) wee "ought to obey, rather then to hearken to the "Lords, whom neuertheless I wish not to bee vt-"terly cast off, my counsell is, that they with vs, "and wee with them, become humble Petitioners "vnto his Highnesse, that it would please him to "heare such complaints against the Lord Protector, "as may be iustly alleadged and proued, and I doubt "not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither "shall the King, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to "seeke for further aide, neither we to offend any of "them both.

(58) These words well weighed, and the Councel dissolued, fiue hundred Londoners were prepared in a readinesse: for Sir *Philip Hobby* being sent from the Lords to the King, so deliuered their minds, that the Lord Protector was commanded out of presence, and the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell resorted to *Windsor*, where they so wrought with the King, as his vncle was deliuered into their hands, whom the same night they imprisoned in *Beauchamps* Tower in the same Castel, and the next day strongly attended, brought him to *London*, whence the streetes were guarded onely by housholders, the Aldermen taking the charge of the busines, and so to the great griefe and wondering of the people hee was conueyed to the Tower, and there left.

Iohn Stow

The L. Protector committed to the Tower.

(59) Whither shortly after the Lords themselues repaired, and charged the Protector with these 20. Articles as followeth.

M. Fox in Acts & Mon.

Articles drawne against the Lord Protector.

1 That at his entry into that waighty office, hee was expresly prohibited to doe any thing in State without the assent of the last Kings Executors.

2 That hee had contrariwise vpon his owne authority both subuerted lawes, and staied iustice, as well by letters, as commandement.

3 That he had deliuered diuers persons arrested, and committed to prison for felonie, manslaughter, murther and treason, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

4 That hee had made Captains and Lieutenants ouer waighty affaires vnder his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraine Ambassadors about most weighty State affaires.

6 That hee had checked diuers of the Kings Priuy Councell, speaking for the good of the State, yea and threatned to displace them if they consented not to his mind.

7 That hee had against law erected a Court of Requests in his owne house, whither were enforced diuers of the Kings Subiects to answere for their Free-holds.

8 That he had for money disposed Offices in the Kinges gifte, money, leases, and Wardes, and giuen presentations of Benefices, and Bishoprickes, yea and medled with sale of the Kinges lands, which by office hee could not, without consent of the maior voice of the Councell.

9 That hee had commanded multiplication by Alcumistric to the abuse of the Kings coine.

10 That against the King and Councels will, hee had set forth a Proclamation against inclosures, which had caused daungerous insurrections in the land, wherein diuers of the Kings liege Subiects haue beene spoiled, and many a worthy man therein slaine.

11 That to the same end hee had giuen commission with Articles annexed concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giuing the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

12 That hee had suffered Rebels and traitours to assemble, and lie in Campe and Armour, against the King, his Nobles, & Gentlemen, without any speedy suppressing of them.

13 That by his gifts in money, with promises of Fees, rewards and seruices, he had encouraged many of the said rebels.

14 That in fauour of them contrary to law he had caused a Proclamation to bee made, that none of the said Rebels, or Traitors should be sued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the said Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of these rebellions, and had said that the couetousnesse of the Gentry gaue the occasion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to die, then to perish for lacke of liuing.

16 That hee had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loath to reform themselues for the reformation of Inclosures, and therefore the people had good cause to reforme the thinges themselues.

17 That vpon the report of the defaultes and lackes of *Bulloigne* nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of *Newhauen* and *Blacknesse* standing in want of men and victuall, whereof hee was informed, were suffered notwithstanding still to want, to the great encouragement of the French, and dishonour of the English.

19 That he had vntruly published, that the Lords at *London* minded to destroy the King, which hee instantly desired hee would neuer forget, and to that end instigated many young Lords, whereby sedition and discord was made among the Nobles.

20 Lastly, that whereas the Lords assembled at *London*, onely to consult vpon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his misgouernment of the King and Realme, hee contrariwise sent letters of credence to many places and persons, that the said Lords were no lesse then high Traitors to the King, and great disturbers of the whole realme.

All these accusations notwithstanding (the young King so labouring it) he was released from the Tower the sixt of February following vnto his free liberty, though not vnto his former authority, and so remained

The Protector released from the Tower.

remained vntouched for the ſpace of two yeeres and two dayes.

(61) Whileſt theſe his and other troubles were commencing in *England*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* left Lieutenant of the North, remained in *Scotland*, where many feates of warre were vndergone, and many Forts fortified, and ſome taken, ſuch were *Lowden*, *Hadington*, and *Yeſter*, at whoſe aſſault certaine opprobrious ſpeeches in moſt contemptuous manner were vttered by a *Scotiſh* man againſt King *Edward* of *England*, whereat the Lord *Grey* was ſo offended, as vpon compoſition for the deliuerie of the Caſtell, all were let goe with life, onely that perſon excepted, and his name knowne to bee *Newton*, was appointed to die for the ſame; but hee denying the words, impoſed them vpon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous inough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accuſation, and challenged *Newton* the combat, which hee accepted, and in performance ſlew *Hamilton*, though more at diſaduantage then for lacke either of courage or ſtrength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the gowne that the Lord *Grey* ware at the preſent, though many maligned and accuſed him ſtill to bee the vtterer of thoſe baſe words.

(62) The Engliſh keeping foot ſtill in *Scotland*, burnt *Dawketh* and *Muskelburgh*, and fortified *Hadington* both with munition and men, ſpoyling the Country, ſaith Biſhoppe *Leſly*, all about *Edenburgh*, *Lowthian* and *Mers*: repairing of Forts, and placing of Garriſons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conuaied into *France*, and the *Scots* aided with the aſſiſtance of the *French*, ſo quit themſelues, that they voided their land of the *Engliſh*, and recouered of them all they had loſt. In which times of variable ſucceſſe, the King but a child, the Nobles at variances, and the combuſtuous Commons obedient to neither, the French ſought to recouer the holds that the *Engliſh* had in their Country, and firſt by ſtealth meant to ſurpriſe the fortreſſe of *Bulloignberg*, vnto which enterpriſe ſeuen thouſand were choſen, vnder the conduct of *Monſieur Chatillon*.

(63) Theſe ſecretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprize, approached within a quarter of a mile vnto *Bullingberg* fort, amongſt whom was an *Engliſh* Souldier diſcharged out of their pay, for that he had taken a *French* woman to wife. This *Carter* for ſo was his name got entertainement vnder *Chatillon*, and now vnderſtanding whereabout they went, haſtily made from his Company, and gaue the Alarum to his Countrimen within the Fort; where Sir *Nicholas Arnalt* Captaine of the peece, cauſed him to bee drawne vp betwixt two pikes to the height of the wall, vnto whom hee declared the attempt in hand, & among them ſtood ſo valiantly in defence of the fort, that hee gaue many a wound, and receiued ſome himſelf: by him and this meanes the Peece was quit from ſurpriſall, and the ſlaughter of the *French* ſo great that fifteene Wagons went laden away with dead Corps.

(64) This loſſe ſuſtained, and the *Engliſh* maſters in thoſe parts of their Maine, the *French* ſought to trie fortune for their Iſles in the Seas, namely *Garneſey* and *Ierſey*, poſſeſt and ſubiect to King *Edwards* Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marſhalliſts many; which notwithſtanding with ſuch loſſe were beaten backe from their bankes, as a thouſand men at Armes were ſlaine in the attempt, & the ſucceſſe ſo vnfortunate, as the *French* for feare of further diſcouragement forbad the report, and made an inhibition, not to mention the expedition of that iourney.

(65) Neuertheleſſe the *French* King ceaſed not his deſired purpoſes, till hee had got by ſurrender *Hambletowne*, *Blackneſſe*, *Bulloignberg*, and the town of *Bulloigne* it ſelfe, though bought at a deare rate, and deliuered with great griefe to the *Engliſh*; vnto ſuch a lamentable ſtate, and diſhonourable compoſition was the good King *Edward* brought, by the bandings of his great Counſellors, and inſurrections of his vnruly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall diſeaſe followed, namely the ſweating ſickneſſe, that raged extreamely through the land, wherein died the two ſonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both of them Dukes of *Suffolke*, beſides an infinite number of men in their beſt ſtrengths; which followed onely *Engliſhmen* in forraine Countrey, no other people infected therewith, wherby they were both feared and ſhunned in all places where they came.

(66) And to fill vp the dolours of theſe dolefull times, the good Duke of *Sommerſet* was againe apprehended, euen when the leaſt ſuſpition was of any vndirect workings: for vpon his firſt releaſement, to linke a firme loue betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke*, his moſt malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Liſle* his eldeſt ſonne & heire, and the Lady the Earles eldeſt daughter, which was ſolemnized with great ioy at *Sheene*, in preſence of the young King; this amity was outwardly carried with all faire ſhewes for a time, though inward hatred lay ſecretly hid, as by the ſequell incontinentlie appeared: for after a ſolemne creation of many Eſtates, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his ſtyle raiſed to bee Duke of *Northumberland*, vnto whoſe rayes at that time moſt of the Courtiers caſt their eyes: the ſparkes of emulation began preſently to breake forth; where the ſimplicity of the one gaue aduantage to the other, to compaſſe that which long had beene ſought.

(67) The Duke of *Sommerſet* not well aduiſed, and yeelding too much vnto Sycophant flatteries, was put in feare of ſome ſodaine attempt intended againſt him, and therefore counſelled to weare vnder his garment a coate of defence, which hee accordingly did, and being ſo armed came vnto the Councell Table, ſuppoſing no man had known of any ſuch thing; but his boſome being opened and the Armour perceiued, hee was forthwith apprehended, as intending the death of ſome Counſellor, and by *Northumberland* ſo vehemently taxed (who in Counſell was euer the principall man) that hee was forthwith attached, and ſent to the Tower, vpon the ſixteenth of *October* with the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Sir Michael Stanhop*, *Sir Thomas Arundel*, *Sir Ralph Vane*, and *Sir Miles Partridge*, and the next day the Dutcheſſe his wife was likewiſe committed; all of them for ſuſpition of treaſon and fellonie; and he ſtanding ſo indited vpon the *ſecond of *December* following, was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Billes, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

(68) His inditement was for treaſon and fellony, and the ſame vrged vnto extremity, with many amplifications, and bitter inuectiues, eſpecially that hee had ſought and pretended the deathes of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Marqueſſe, and *Pembroke*: where after many mild anſweres to theſe matters obiected, he put himſelfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treaſon, but found the inditement of fellonie: when preſently the Axe was commaunded away, whereat the ſhout of the people ſhewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little miſtruſting that the ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him, or that the kings vncle ſhould die as a fellon; neither did the Statute intend any ſuch thing as ſome are of opinion, but rather was purpoſely made for the ſuppreſſion of rebellions, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, wherein ſuch as ſhould ſeeke or procure the death of any Counſellor ſhould be guilty as in caſe of fellonie. But ſuch was the pleaſure of the all ordering power, that he which knew no theft ſhould die for that ſinne; ſo that neither himſelfe, nor his wiſeſt Counſellors demaunded the benefite of his Clergy which would haue ſaued his life if it had beene required.

(69) His

Iohn Caius.

A. D. 1550.

The ſweating ſickenes.

A fained reconcilement.

Iohn Stow.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* priuily armed.

Rich. Graſton.

The Duke of *Sommerſet* ſent to the Tower.

Stow.

A. D. 1551.

*Stow ſaith the firſt.

The Duke of *Sommerſets* inditement.

*Of *Winheſter* *William Herbert.*

The Duke condemned of fellonie.

Rich. Graf. Iohn Stow. Holinſh.

(69) His ſentence thus pronounced, hee was againe ſent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a very ſad Chriſtmas, yea and that in the Court, inclined to little mirth, the King lamenting the condemnation of his vncle, had not ſome witty diſportes broke off his paſſions, which how, and by whome they proceeded, let others report, and vs continue the Tragedie of this Duke; who vpon the two & twenty of February following being Friday was brought to the Scaffold vpon Tower-hil, by eight in the morning, where turning himſelfe towardes the Eaſt, he ſpake to the people, as followeth.

The Duke of *Somerſets* ſpeech at his death.

(70) *Dearely beloued friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer death, albeit I neuer offended againſt the King, neither in word nor deed, and haue alwayes been as faithfull and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath been: but forſomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doe acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others to be ſubiect thereunto: wherefore to teſtifie mine obedience which I owe to the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my ſelfe with moſt hearty thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might through ſodaine death haue taken away my life, that I neither ſhould haue acknowledged him nor my ſelfe.*

A great feare without any cauſe.

(71) Theſe words vttered, beſides others exhortatory, that the people would continue conſtant in the Goſpell, ſodainly was heard a great noyſe, whereby the aſſembly was ſtrucke into great feare, ſome thinking that a ſtorme or tempeſt deſcended from aboue, ſome ſuppoſed that the barrels of Gunpowder in the Armorie had taken fire, & were all blowne vp into the Aire, others thought that they heard a noiſe of horſes prepared to battell, ſome againe affirmed confidently that it did thunder, and others thought verily it was an earth-quake, and that the ground moued: vnto ſuch confuſion and terrour were they preſently brought, which (ſaith *Stow*) was none other, but that certaine men from the *Hamlets* warned with weapon to guard the Tower-hill, came thither ſomewhat after the hower appointed, whoſe formoſt ſeeing the Priſoner on the Scaffold, beganne to runne forward themſelues, and call to their fellowes to come away: which word *away* ſounding as an Eccho in the peoples eares, they thought that reſcue had come to the Duke to take him away: and ſeeing the Bil-men to make forward ſo faſt, beganne themſelues to ſhrinke backe from the hill, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one, and by this accident and confuſed cries, this feare among them fell and beganne: This ſtirre ſcarce ended, another enſued by the running of the people towards the Scaffold, who ſeeing Sir *Anthony Browne* riding thitherward, ſuppoſed a pardon had come from the King, ſo that a ſodaine ſhout aroſe, *a pardon, a pardon, God ſaue the King*; by which it onely appeared in what loue hee was had, and how much his life was deſired of the *Commons*.

Iob. Stow in Annales.

The Duke entirely beloued of the Commons.

The Dukes ſecond ſpeech vpon the Scaffold.

(72) The Duke whoſe mind being altogether prepared for death, was little moued either to hope or feare, and thereupon addreſſed his ſecond ſpeech to the people, and with no deiected countenance ſpake againe and ſaid: *Beloued freends there is no ſuch matter intended as you vainely hope and belieue: It ſeemeth thus good to the Almighty, vnto whoſe ordinance it is meet that wee all bee obedient, wherefore I pray you bee quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let vs ſo ioyne in prayer vnto the Lord for the preſeruation of our Noble King, vnto whoſe Maieſty I wiſh continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance of proſperous ſucceſſe. Moreouer, I wiſh to his Counſellers the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule all things vprightly with Iuſtice, vnto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the which is alſo very neceſſarie for you vnder paine of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation of the Kings Maieſty.* And thereupon asking euery man forgiueneſſe, freely forgaue euery man againſt him, and deſiring the people to bee quiet, leſt the fleſh ſhould be troubled, though his ſpirit was willing, hee meekely laide downe his head to the Axe, and receiued at one ſtroke his reſt by death.

Duke of Somerſ. ſoone miſſ. and ſore lam. etab.

(73) Howſoeuer this Dukes cauſe was ballanced by law, and him taken away that ſtood betwixt ſome and their Sunne; yet was his death heauily diſgeſted by the people, that ſpake very bitterly againſt the Duke of *Northumberland*; but moſt eſpecially the young King ſore mourned, and ſoone miſſed the life of his Protector thus vnexpectedly taken away, who now depriued of both his vncles, howſoeuer the times were paſſed with paſtimes, playes and ſhewes, to driue away dumpes, yet euer the remembrances of them ſate ſo neere vnto his heart, that laſtly he fell ſicke of a Cough, which grieuouſly increaſing ended with a conſumption of the lungs.

King *Edward* falleth ſicke.

Rich. Graſton.

(74) His ſickneſſe continuing with great doubt of his life, vpon purpoſe ſaith *Grafton to alter the ſucceſsion of the Crowne*, three marriages were in one day ſolemnized, whereof the firſt was betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth ſonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Iane*, eldeſt daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*: the ſecond was betwixt the Lord *Herbert*, ſonne and heire to *William* Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Lady *Katherine* the yonger daughter of the ſaid Duke of *Suffolke*, and the third was betweene *Henry* L. *Haſtings*, ſonne and heire of *Frances* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Katherine* the youngeſt daughter of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *which tending* (ſaith he) *to the diſheriſon of the rightfull heires, they proued nothing proſperous, for two of them were preſently made fruſtrate, the one by death, and the other by diuorce.*

Three marriag. entended to peruert the ſucceſſion.

(75) The policy eſtabliſhed, and languiſhing ſickneſſe of the King gaue way vnto ſuch, as ſought the euerſion of the State, & alienation of the Crown: In whoſe eye no head was ſeene fitter for that faire Diademe, then was *Guilfords* Bride, *Iane* the elder daughter of *Suffolke*, whoſe mother Lady *Francis* then liuing, was the daughter of *Mary* the *French* Queen, the younger ſiſter to King *Henry* the eight, vnto whom King *Edward* ouer-wrought in his weakenes, ordained his Crowne by Will, at the ſuggeſtions of ſuch Politiques, as meant to diſherite the two lawfull Princes, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to impugne the Statute, in caſe prouided for the ſucceſſion of K. *Henry* the eight his children: vnto which Will (O griefe to heare) ſubſcribed all the Kings Councell, moſt of the Nobility, the reuerend Biſhops, and all the Iudges of the land, one onely excepted, euen Sir *Iames Hales* knight, a Iuſtice of the common Pleas, vpright in iudgement, & a fauourer of the Goſpell, he, I ſay, neuer would write or conſent to the diſheriting of the Lady *Mary*.

Lady *Iane* made ſucceſſor by K. *Edward*.

Vide Stat. in An. 35. de 7. M. Fox. in hiſt. Mon.

Sir *James Hales* refuſed to ſubſcribe to K. *Edwards* Will.

(76) The King thus accompliſhing what his Statiſts had wrought, lay languiſhing in his faintnes: the end wherefore could not be expected but onely by death, and now being worne almoſt to nothing (his laſt breath drawing to the limits of Nature) he lift vp his eyes with a prepared heart, and prayed as followeth.

K. *Edwards* prayer.

Lord God deliuer mee out of this miſerable and wretched life, and take me among thy Choſen: howbeit not my will but thy will be done; Lord I commit my ſpirite to thee: O Lord thou knoweſt how happy it were for mee to be with thee: yet for thy choſen ſake, if it bee thy will ſend, me life and health that I may truly ſerue thee: O my Lord bleſſe thy people and ſaue thine inheritance: O Lord God ſaue thy choſen people of England: O my Lord God defend this Realme from Papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may praiſe thy holy name for thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſts ſake.

So turning his face, and ſeeing ſome by him ſaide, *I thought you had not beene ſo nigh*: yes, ſaid Doctor *Owen*, *wee heard you ſpeake to your ſelfe*; then ſaid the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faint, Lord haue mercy vpon me, and receiue my ſpirit*: and in ſo ſaying, gaue vp the Ghoſt, to the great loſſe of *England*, in whom they had conceiued moſt hopes.

(77) His vertues were rare and many, exceeding moſt

moſt Princes, and vices ſo few, that none can be taxed with leſſe; very learned (according to his yeeres) he was in the Latine and Greek tongues, the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, yea (and ſaith *Hieronymus Cardanus*) *he was adorned with the skill of Logicke, naturall Philoſophie, and Muſicke, and for Aſtronomy* (ſaith he) *my ſelfe had experience, whom he learnedly opposed of the cauſe and courſe of Comets: for Humanity, he is the very Image of Morality, and in princely graue Maieſty beſt beſeeming a King: briefly, hee may well ſeeme to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I ſpeake thus Rhetorically to amplifie things, or to make them more then truth is, for the truth is more then I do vtter*: and in this hee was moſt admirable, that hee could tell and recite all the Ports, Hauens, and Creekes, not within his owne Realme onely, but alſo in *Scotland*, and likewiſe in *France*, what comming in there was, how the tide ſerued in euery of them, what burden of Shippe, and what winde beſt ſerued the comming in into them.

His learning.

His Memory.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Iuſtices, and Magiſtrates, he tooke ſpeciall name of their Hoſpitality, and religious conuerſations, and that which is beſt accepted of a Prince, hee was very liberall, louing, mercifull, meeke and gentle towards his people, and ſo farre from bloud, as hee euer fauoured and ſpared as much as might bee the life of man, yea euen of Rebels, as wee haue ſeene; neither was hee willing to put Heretickes to death, as in a certaine diſſertation had once with M. *Cheeke* it appeared: inſomuch that when *Ioan Butcher* ſhould be burned for her hereſie, all the Counſell could not moue him to ſet his hand to the warrant of her execution, vntill D. *Cranmer* his Godfather, Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* laboured to induce him, vnto whom hee ſaid, what my Lord? will you haue me to ſend her quicke to hell, and taking the pen vſed this ſpeech: *I will lay all the charge hereof vpon Cranmer before God.* Then how his hand had beene gotten for his vncles death is to bee admired.

His Care.

His Mercy.

(79) But his conſtancy vnto Chriſts Goſpell, with the abandoning of all ſuperſtition, was very admirable, one example among many wee will not let to declare. Lady *Mary* his ſiſter through the ſuit of *Charles* the Emperour, made great meanes to haue Maſſe ſaid in her houſe, and that to bee done without all preiudice of law: the greatneſſe of her Perſon being the immediate ſucceſſor, and the might of the Emperour in amitie with *England*, moued the Councell to giue their conſent to the ſuit; to forward which *Cranmer* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury* accompanied with *Ridley* Biſhoppe of *London* were imployed from them to the King, who hearing their meſſage, gaue the replication ſo grounded vppon Scripture, as they gaue ouer to vrge more that way: but like Politicians alleadged the danger in breach of amity with the Emperour, to which the King anſwered, hee would rather aduenture the hazard of his own life then to grant that which was not agreeable to the truth. The Biſhops yet vrged him with the bonds of nature, and ſubmiſſiuely ſaid, they would haue no nay: the King ſeeing himſelfe ſo importunated, burſt into weeping, and ſobbingly deſired them to be content, whereat the teares ſo abundantly burſt from their eyes, as they departed his preſence not able to ſpeake. And for a further teſtimony of this yong Kings zeale, reade if you pleaſe a letter ſent vnto his ſiſter the Princeſſe Lady *Mary*, out of the originall.

K. *Edwards* zeale to Chriſts Goſpell.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloued ſiſter we greet you well, and let you know that it grieueth vs much to perceiue no amendment in you of that, which wee for good cauſe, your ſoules health, our conſcience, and common tranquility of our Realme haue ſo long deſired; aſſuring you, that our ſufferance hath more demonſtration of naturall loue then contentation of our conſcience, and foreſight of our ſafety. Wherefore, although you giue vs occaſion aſmuch almoſt as in you is, to diminiſh our naturall loue; yet bee wee loath to feele it decay, and meane not to bee ſo careleſſe of you as wee bee prouoked. And therfore meaning your weale, and therewith ioyning a care not to be found guilty in our own conſcience to God, hauing cauſe to require forgiuenеſſe that wee haue ſo long for reſpect of loue towards you omitted our bounde duety, we do ſend at this preſent our right truſty, & right welbeloued Counſellor the L. Rich, our Chancellor of England, our truſty and right well beloued Counſellor Sir* Anthony Wingfield *Knight, Comptroler of our Houſhold, and Sir* Will. Peter *Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries in meſſage to you touching the order of your houſe, willing you to giue the firme credite in thoſe things they ſhal ſay to you from vs, & do there in our name. Teouen vnder our Signet at the Caſtle of Windſor, the of in the fift yeare of our Raigne*, 1556.

K. *Edwards* letter to Lady *Mary*.

(81) The fruites of which Religion this godly King ſhewed by his workes of compaſſion towardes the poore, & that eſpecially vpon the foundation of Chriſts Hoſpitall, the late ſuppreſſed place of the Grey Friers in *London*, and that vpon occaſion as followeth. It chanced the reuerend Biſhop Doctor *Ridley* to preach before his Maieſty at *Weſtminſter*, wherin hee Chriſtianlike exhorted the rich to be merciful vnto the poore, and to that end amplified the words of the Text againſt the mercileſſe rich, and the negligence of ſuch as were in great place. The Sermon ended, and the King ſet to dinner, hee ſent to the *Biſhop*, commanding him not to depart the Court, before he knew his further pleaſure, and thereupon cauſing two Chaires to be ſet in the Gallery, all others auoided, hee compelled the Biſhoppe to ſit downe by his ſide, and in no wiſe would admitte him to bee vncouered.

D. *Ridleies* ſermon before King *Edward*.

(82) Where entring conference, he firſt gaue him heartie thankes for his Sermon, repeating vnto him the chiefe points thereof, and cõming to his exhortation for the poore, he then told him that he thought himſelfe firſt touched in the ſpeech; for ſaide he, *my Lord you ſpeake to them in authority, whereof vnder God I am the chiefe, and muſt firſt make anſwere to him if I be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant me: Gods commandement I know moſt expreſly inioineth vs to haue compaſſion of his poore members, for whom we muſt make account; and truly my Lord I am moſt willing to trauell that way, not doubting but that your long approued learning and wiſdome, whoſe zeale is ſuch as wiſheth them helpe; but that alſo you had conference with others what is beſt herein to be done, which I am alſo deſirous to know, and therefore I pray ſay freely your mind.*

The conference betwixt the King and Biſhoppe *Ridley*.

(83) The mouer vnto theſe pious conſiderations little looking for ſuch queſtions of the Prince, ſate a while ſilent, ouerioyed at his words, and laſtly vnprepared of any preſent inſtructions, told the King that the Citizens of *London* were beſt able to direct the plot, whoſe great Charity, and well ordered gouernement, beſides their dayly charges, being ouerburdened with poore, had ſufficient experience, and if it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to direct his letters vnto them himſelfe, he would be very ready to further this godly reſolution ſo far as his meanes might any wiſe extend: whereupon the King preſently commanded his letters to be writ, and would not ſuffer the Biſhoppe to depart before himſelfe had thereto ſet his hand and ſignet, deſiring him to deliuer the ſame to the Lord Maior, and with him to conferre about this buſineſſe, which hee wiſhed might be accompliſhed with all expedition.

K. *Edwards* great care for the poor

(84) The Biſhoppe as ready as the King was deſirous, poſted apace to the Lord Maior of *London*, where deliuering the letter, offered his aſſiſtance to forward the worke, and they together with ſome Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreede vpon three degrees of the poore, and them diuided againe into nine.

King *Edwards* letter deliuered to the L. Maior.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and preſented to the King, he thereupon deſired to be accounted the chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forthwith gaue vnto the City S. *Bartholmewes* Hoſpitall by *Smithfield*, and the Grey-Friers Church neere adioyning, with

The Kings great liberality for the poore in *London*.

The Kings great liberality for the poore in *London*.

with all the reuenewes belonging thereto; his princely house of *Bridewell*, anciently the Mansion of many English Kings, wherein also their Courts of Iustice had beene kept, & sumptuously new built by King *Henry* the eight for the receit of the Emperour, he gaue to the L. Maior and Citizens to be a house of correction for lewde and dissolute liuers, and to set on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, whose maintenance with the new reedified Hospitall of S. *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gaue seuen hundred Markes by yeere out of the rents of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn Baptist* or *Sauoy*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus distinguished, were by his godly furtherance thus prouided for.

THE
- *Poor by impotency*, { Fatherles Children, Aged, Blind, Lame, Diseased persons, } *Christs hospital*, *S. Thom. Hospitall*
- *Poor by casualty*, { Wounded Souldiers, Decayed housholders, Visited & sick persõs, } *S. Thom. Hospitall*, *Christs hospital*
- *Poor thrifftlesse*, { Riotous spenders, Vagabond loiterers, Idle Strumpets. } *Bridewell*.

Regi. 7. Iune 6.

(86) The Kinges charitable giftes confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to take in *Mortmaine* of lands to a yeerely value without further licence, a place being left in the Patent to containe the summe, King *Edward* presently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled vppe the space with these words, *foure thousand Markes by yeere*: which done, hee burst forth and said; *Lord God I yeelde thee most heartie thankes, that thou hast giuen me life thus long to finish this worke to the glory of thy name.*

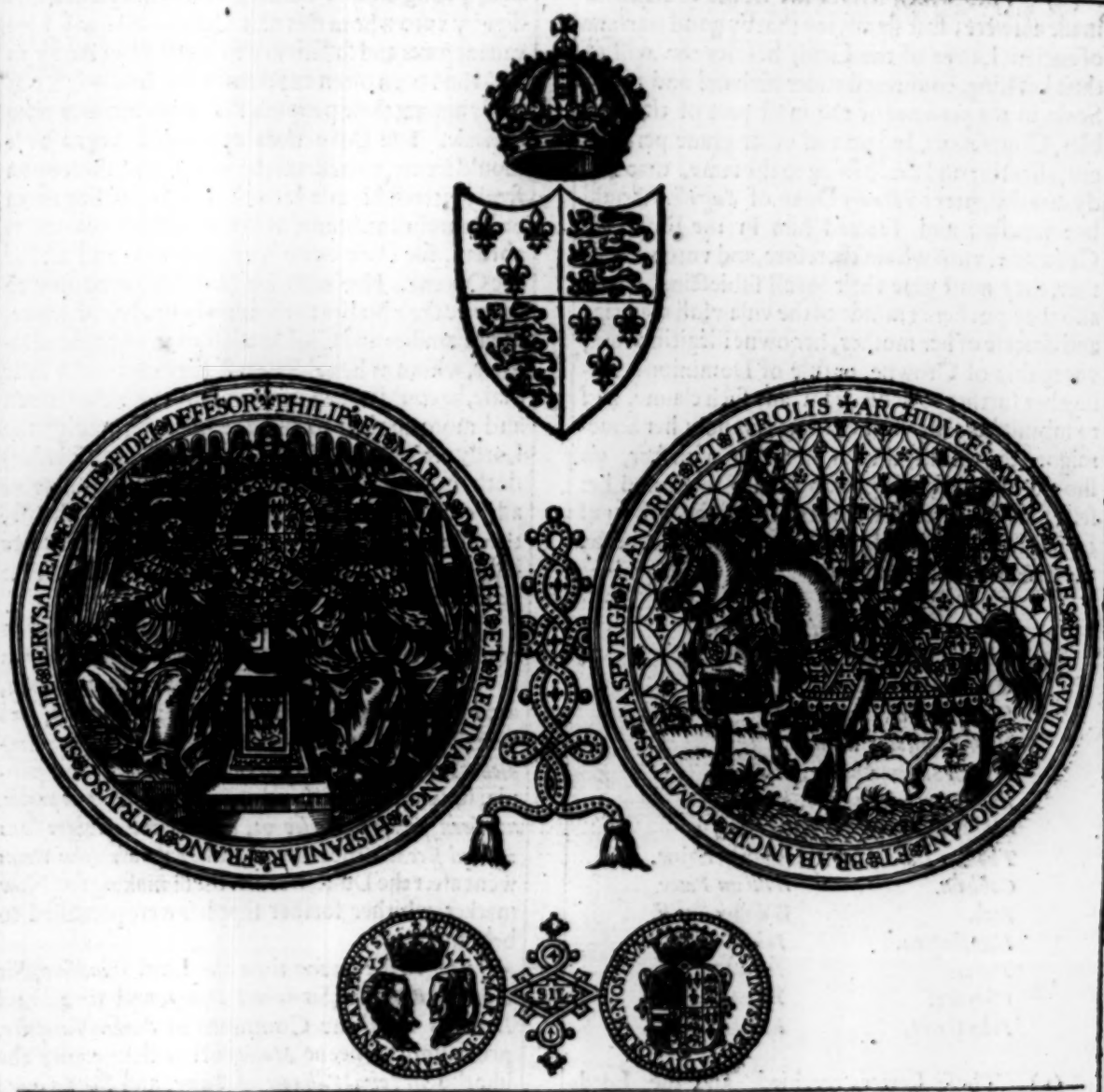
(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, so likewise to take as it were an account of himselfe, hee kept a iournall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, euen from the first day of his raigne vnto his death: whose many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and zeale little short to the best Kings of *Iudah*; so was hee soone mist of all his loyall Subiects, when the bosome of Gods Saints were opened to the persecutors swords.

(89) He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thursday the sixt day of Iuly, the yeare of Christ Iesus, one thousand fiue hundred fifty three, and the seuenteenth of his age, when hee had raigned sixe yeeres fiue months, and nine daies, and was buried vpon the ninth of August following, in the Chappell of S. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, neere vnto his Grandfather King *Henrie* the seuenth.

MARY

Q. Marie. Monarch 60

MARIE QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER RAIGNE, MARIAGE, ACTS, AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XXIII.

KING *EDWARDS* life ended by his lingring diſeaſe, and the Stateſmē intending to eſtabliſh his will; for the ſpace of two daies his death was kept ſecret, and much conſultation among the Nobility had of the buſineſſe; all of them affecting the election of *Iane*, leſt *Mary* ſhould vndoe what *Edward* had done; to ſupport which purpoſe, many projects were caſt, and many opinions giuen how to proceed, yet all iointlie light in this point, *that London was the hand which muſt reach Iane the Crowne*: whoſe Citizens aſſiſtance if they might bee got, the greateſt difficulty (as they held it) was halfe vndergone. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to marre them for *Mary*, the Councell ſent for the L. Maior of *London*, ſixe Aldermen, and twelue Commoners Marchants.

Conſultation for the diſpoſing of the Crowne.

London the ſureſt key in time of trouble.

(2) Theſe comming to the Court, were ſecretlie certified of King *Edward* his death, where his Will declared, and Letters Patents ſhewed for the diſinheriting of his two ſiſters, and the raiſing of *Suffolkes* daughter vnto the Crowne; whoſe religion was ſo zealous, and vertues ſo many (as in truth no Princeſſe was poſſeſſed with more) were ſo well ſet forth by theſe graue Counſellors, that the Lord Maior and Citizens tooke their oathes for Lady *Iane*, vnto whoſe obedience they promiſed to ſecure the City.

The Lord Maior and Citizens ſworne to Lady *Iane*.

(3) Lady *Marie* at *Houſdon* hearing theſe news, preſentlie remoued to her Mannor of *Kenningall* in *Norfolke*: from whence ſhee wrote her letters vnto the Lords of the Councell, wherein ſhee maruelleth that her brothers death ſhould ſo long be kept from her:

Lady Marie writeth to the Lords

her: that shee being the Princesse next in blood, ordained by act of Parliament, and King *Henries* Testament to succeede, her right enrowled in the Records, by the authority of her Father and brother, their owne knowledge and prescription to her most rightfull Titles, yet now in consultation to vndoe these prouisions both against God and natural allegeance; shee could not but maruell, and rather would construe for some politicke consideration, and take them in the best part, then to possesse the least thought of any disloialty in them; and therefore willed them vpon the receite of her letters to proclaime her Queene, and gouernour of the Realme, in the Citie of *London*, and in other publike places, as in such cause appertaineth, with all due obseruances, as they tendred her displeasure and their owne safeties: this letter was signed at the Mannor of *Keningall* vnder her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

The Lords answer to Lady *Maries* Letter.

(4) Vnto which letters the Lords foorthwith made answere; first signifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, besides the will of their last King, confirmed vnder his hand and broad Seale, in the presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Iudges and other graue personages, assenting and subscribing to the same, that Lady *Iane* daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* should bee inuested and succeed him in the Emperiall Crowne: vnto whom therefore, and vnto none other, they must giue their loyall subiection, where also they put her in minde of the vnlawfull marriage and diuorse of her mother, her owne illegitimation, vncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions, willing her further to desist from any such claime, and to submit her selfe vnto Queene *Iane* now her Soueraigne, so would they hold amity with her, els should shee proone greeuous vnto them and her selfe, which letters were sent from the Tower of London the ninth of Iuly 1553. and subscribed by the hands of such as follow.

Thomas Canterbury Archbishop.
Thomas Elie, Chauncellour.
William Winchester, Marquesse.
Iohn Bedford, Earle.
Henrie Suffolke Duke.
Francis Shrewesbury, Earle.
Iohn Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembrooke, Earle.
Thomas Darcie Lord Chamberlaine.

Cobham.	*William Peter.*
Rich.	*William Cecill.*
Huntington.	*Iohn Clerke*
Darcie.	*Iohn Mason.*
Cheyney.	*Edward North.*
Iohn Gates.	*Robert Bowes.*

Mary remoued to *Fremingham* Castle.

M. *Fox* Act.

(5) These Letters receiued, and the Lords mindes therein made knowne, shee forthwith remoued to *Fremingham* Castle, standing more safe from inuasion or easie accesse, vnto whom the *Suffolke* men were the first that resorted, offering their seruice vnto her rightfull cause, with condition they might still imbrace the Gospell in the same manner as King *Edward* had established it, to which she condiscended, though afterwards wearing the Diademe, and petitioned vnto for promise, shee both punished the Writer and answered their expectations, *that they should one day well know, they being but members should not direct her their Head.*

The *Suffolke* men the first that came to aide *Mary*.

Iane Proclaimed Queene.

A.D. 1553. Iuly 10.

(6) The Lords at *London* to set their enterprise vpon foot, by proclamation made knowne in most parts of the City, the death of King *Edward*, and that by Will, hee had bequeathed his Crowne and Dominions, to the vertuous great Princesse, Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Henrie* Duke of *Suffolke* (as wee haue said) and so was shee proclaimed by the name of Queene *Iane*, though many of the Commons wished it had beene Queene *Mary*; and for some words spoken to that purpose, one *Gilbert Pot* a seruant Vintner, vpon the Pillory lost both his eares. Vnto the aide of Lady *Marie* came the Earles of *Sussex*, *Bath* and *Oxford* the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sir *Henrie Iernyngham*, Sir *William Walgrane*, with diuers others of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*; yea and the *Citizens* of *Norwich* themselues, hauing certaine knowledge of King *Edwards* death, foorthwith proclaimed *Marie* for Queene, and presently sent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meant by time to ouermatch her in power, and thereupon agreed that *Henrie* Duke of *Suffolke* their new Queenes Father should with an Army repaire into *Norfolke*, which thing was so greeuous vnto Lody *Iane* his daughter, that with flouds of teares shee obtained his stay.

Grafton.

Many Noble men come to aide *Mary*.

Mary Proclaimed Queene first in Norwich, Iulie 12.

(7) None then was held fitter to vndergoe this great businesse, then was the Duke of *Northumberland*, young *Gilfords* Father, (who besides his sonnes dignity vnto whom this new Queene was wife) his valiant parts and sufficiency to marshall an Army in Field had been often experienced in *Scotland*, & but lately among these people with whom hee was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, began as it should seeme, to mistrust the worst, and thereupon freely vttered his minde to the Lords; willing them to be carefull at home, as hee would bee venturous abroad, for their cause was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (hee said) went now to venture their bodies to the bloody strokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the dispose of others, whom as he told them if they meant not faire plaie, he could not auoide as wel as any: thus much and more spoken to the like purpose, one of the Lords replied, and said: Your Grace (as I iudge) doth cast this doubt ouer farre, for which of vs all, can wash our hands cleane of this businesse, therefore it behoueth vs to bee resolute, as much as it doth you, and among them *Arundel* wished that he might goe with him.

The Duke of *Northumberland* assigned Lord Lieutenant for Queene *Iane*.

The feare of the Duke of *Northumberland*.

(8) All things in a readinesse, and his commission confirmed vnder the broad Seale of *England*; vpon the 14. of Iuly the Duke with sixe hundred men, accompanied with the Lord *Grey*, and others, set foorth of *London*, and tooke his way through *Shordich* where beholding the countenances of the people, he spake to the Lord *Grey* and said. *The people, my Lord, preasse still to see vs, but not one of them bids vs God speede*: the same day likewise *Sir Iohn Gates* went after the Duke, both of them making for New market, whither further supplies were promised to bee sent.

Holinsh.

Many presse, but none pray for successe.

(9) In the meane time the Lord *Windsore*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drury*, and *Sir Edward Hastings* raised the Commons of *Buckinghamshire*, proclaiming Queene *Marie* euer as they went, the like did Sir *Iohn Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlaine* in *Oxfordshire*, and so did Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*: these with many more made forward toward *Norfolke*, vnto whom many more ioined in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to passe, sixe tall Ships well manned that were appointed before *Yarmouth* to haue taken Lady *Marie* if shee had fled; were by foule weather driuen into the Hauen, where master *Iermingham* was raising for her, and taking a Boate to halle them, the Sea-souldiers demanded what he would haue, his answer was their Captaines, whereunto the Souldiers consented, threatning to throw them into the Sea, if they refused to serue Queene *Marie*: the Shippes thus gotten and their number augmented, their terror grew fearefull to the Lords in the Tower: whose Tenants began then likewise to draw backe, and deny them their aide: so that certaine of them would faine haue beene gone, if by any meanes they could haue escaped the Tower, which the Lord Treasurer assaied, but was brought backe againe about midnight.

The Lord *Windsor* Proclaimed Queene *Mary*.

Six Ships taken to serue Queene *Marie*.

The Lords in the Tower in great feare.

Iohn Stow.

(10) The

Fox Act. & Mon.

(10) The Duke of *Northumberland* in as great feare as any, tooke still his stations according to his Commission, sending still to the Lords for their promised supplies, betwixt whom were such posting of letters, such speeding to and fro, such outward faire promises, such inward priuie practises, such talking of the Souldiers, and such heart-burning of the people, as it was a world to see: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters daily resorting vnto Queene *Marie*, made the turmoile much the more.

Great feares among the people.

To leaue therefore nothing vnassaied that might support their newe made Queene *Iane*, the Councell commanded Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, to maintaine her cause in his Sermon made at *Pauls Crosse*, which hee did vpon Sunday the sixteenth of Iuly, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightfull Successor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in *Burie*; and in *London* proclaimed Lady *Mary* Queene.

The Bishop of *London* defendeth *Ianes* Title in his Sermon.

Queene *Mary* Proclaimed in *London*.

Iulie 19.

(11) This sudden alteration brought many sudden feares into the Dukes breast, whose onlie way, as he well saw, was to follow the streame, and now returning to *Cambridge* his Souldiers began to turne in affection, most of them forsaking his company, a few onely excepted, whose perils were deepely engaged with his, where to shew his forwardnesse for the aduancement of *Marie*, wanting both Trumpet and Herauld at hand, himselfe accompanied with the Maior, and the Marquesse of *Northampton*, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done in token of ioy, hee threw vp his owne Cap. And thus the right reuerted to whom it belonged, wee will now addresse our stile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherein the Kingdomes story may seeme to be writ rather with blood then with inke, and the nursing mother, (as Queenes by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the naturall affection due to her Subiects which in some sort may bee compared to the children of her wombe.

The Duke of *Northumberlands* Souldiers forsake him.

(12) Yet were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in case of Lady *Iane*; excepting the Duke of *Northumberland*, the onely doer, and Sir *Iohn Gates*, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes against her, with some few others that worthily suffered for that offence. The Duke (as is said) laying downe weapon, and himselfe proclaiming *Queene Mary*, was neuertheless arrested with *Francis* Earle of *Huntington* in the Kings College at *Cambrige* by a Seargeant at Armes, but letters being then sent from the Counsell, that euery man should be dismissed without further trouble, the Duke among them was also released.

The Duke himselfe Proclaimeth Queene *Mary*.

Isa. 49. 23.

The milde beginnings of Queene *Marie*.

Reinsted.

(13) The next morning *Henrie Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from the Queene, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell vpon his knees, desiring him for Gods loue to considier his case, that had done nothing without warrant of him, and the Councell; my Lord, said *Arundell*, I am sent hither from the Queene to arrest you, and I, said the Duke, obey your arrest, yet I beseech your Lordship to vse mercy towards him whose Acts haue beene no more then was enioyned by commission, that sooner should you haue sought for, said the Earle, and thereupon committed him to guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

The Duke of *Northumberland* arrested.

(14) The Duke then with his three sonnes *Iohn*, *Ambrose* and *Henrie*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *Iohn* and *Henrie*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sandes* were conueied towards *London*, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Iane* his wife, from the high Title of Soueraignety were made subiect to deiected Prisoners miseries.

Lieftan. The Duke and others conueied the Tower.

(15) Queene *Marie* from *Fremingham* repaired towards *London*, being all the way saluted without any mislikes, sauing that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower were released *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, who had laine there from the last of King *Henry* the eight, *Edward* Lord *Courtney* whom shee forthwith aduanced Earle of *Deuonshire*, *Cuthert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Stephen Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, by her then made Lord Chancellor of *England*, From the Marshal-sea was freed *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and now againe restored by the deposing of Doctor *Ridley*, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; so likewise Doctor *Scorie* gaue place vnto *Daye*, in the Bishoprike of *Chichester*, *Miles Couerdale* vnto *Wesie*, in the Bishopricke of *Exceter*, and *Iohn Hooper* vnto *Heath*, in the Bishopricke of *Worcester*; who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbishop *Cranmer*, into the Tower; so roughly she began with the reformed Clergy, (how milde soeuer her other proceedings were) in whose disgrace, Doctor *Bourne* Chaplaine to *Bonner*, made a Sermon at *Pauls Crosse* which so offended his Hearers, that a Dagger was throwne at him, to his great danger, and such threats muttered by the people, as had not Master *Bradford* stepped vp in his roome, and perswaded the people vnto quietnesse, surely it had cost the Preacher his life: which caused the Crosse the next Sabath to bee gaurded by the Queenes Guard, whilst the Preacher spake there to the people.

Prisoners released the Tower.

Fox Acts and Monuments.

Bishops remoued and others in their Sees placed.

A Dagget throwne at D. *Bourne*. August. 13.

Pauls Crosse guarded in the time of the Sermon.

(16) This moued Queene *Marie* to put forth a Proclamation against those Preachers, and printed bookes; which any wise pointed towards the disgrace of the Papall See, the teinture whereof had stuck in her own breast euer since her infancie; and so much was shee deuoted to that of *Rome*, as being often mooued by King *Edward*, her brother, to imbrace the Gospel according to Lawes in his time established, with promise of her aduancement, by matching her in Marriage with *Don Lewis* the brother of *Portingall*, her answer was, shee had rather to forgoe all earthly preferments, and to loose all her Lands, and other Liuings, then to change her receiued opinion of her sure setled Religion.

Reported in a Letter of conference with her had by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peters*.

(17) Her entrance thus standing, and State nothing safe (as shee thought) whilest the Duke of *Northumberland* (a Protestant) and other his Complices (for the most part in durance) were aliue, their arraignement were hastened, and deaths not long after lingred, which they suffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, where the Duke hauing promise of life, if he would recant his profession, Dastard-like with *Peter*, forsooke his master, and exhorted the people to the Romish profession: which his death Sermon afterwards by authority, came foorth in Print. With him suffered Sir *Iohn Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* much more constant as appeared by their speech.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded, August 22.

Sir *Iohn Gates* beheaded.

(18) The way (saith Master *Foxe*) thus made by blood, Queene *Marie* passed through *London* vnto *Westminster* to receiue the Crowne, which was solemnly set on her Head by *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, for that both the Archbishops were prisoners in the Tower: when a pardon was also published for many offences, which notwithstanding were so followed by them in Commission, as some were fined, some lost their Fees, some cast into Prison, and some depriued of all their estates.

M Fox Acts and Monuments.

A. D. 1554. Queene *Mary* crowned.

Tho. Cranmer Cant.

Rob. Holgate Tork

Holinshed.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of those times, were the Lady *Iane* and the Lord *Gilford Dudley* her Husband, both innocent persons in that which their Fathers had done: Shee doubtlesse was a Lady of admirable gifts both in learning, religion, and humane knowledge, as by her conference with *Feckenam*, letters to an Apostata, exhortation to her Sister, and praiers by her made in most feeling manner, doe euidently appeare, and that shee was constrained to consent to the things done is manifest by a letter sent to her father a little before her death; wherein, after a holy and dutifull exhortation vnto patience, shee vseth this Speech. *My deare Father (if I may without offence reioice in mine owne miss-haps)*

The vertues of Lady *Iane*.

Laurence Humfrey.

Lady *Iane* in her Letter sent to her Father.

my

me seemes in this I may account my selfe blessed, that washing my hands with the innocencie of my fact, my guiltlesse blood may crie before the Lord, mercie, mercie, to the innocent. And yet though I must acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually assailed, in taking vpon me, I seemed to consent, and therein offended the Queene and her Lawes: yet doe I assuredlie trust that this mine offence towards God is much the lesse, in that being in so roiall estate as I was, mine inforced honour neuer agreed with mine innocent heart.

Lady *Iane* and Lord *Guilford* condemned.

(20) Yet must the Law for so great an offence take place, for triall whereof this late titled Queene, and now miserable Lady, was brought into *Guildhall* in *London*, where shee with the Lord *Guilford*, Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, were arraigned and condemned. But *Cranmer* (as *Fox* saith) was acquit of Treason, and stood onely in the case of Doctrine, which then was accounted Heresie, and so againe were returned to the Tower, for whom great lamentations were made, especially for the good Lady *Iane*, whose state the Queene herselfe so pitied, as that shee had the liberty of the Tower to walke in the Queenes Garden, and on the Hill; and surely had not her Father after his first offence fallen into another, shee had beene (as was thought) pardoned of life.

Fox Act. and Monuments.

Iohn Stow.

The Duke of *Suffolke* setteth himselfe against Queene *Maries* marriage.

(21) His second offence was, that whereas Queene *Mary* had a purpose to marry with the Spaniard, and to that ende embraced the Suite of *Philip*, the sonne of *Charles* the Emperour, many aswell Nobles as others disliked the Match, fearing not only the change of Religion, wherunto many of them stood very wel affected, but euen of the Lands seruitude vnto strangers, as was likely to happen, both in the Husband and Issue. To preuent which this *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* but lately pardoned of life, secretly departed vnto *Leicester* and *Warwickeshires*, making Proclamations for the abandoning of Strangers, and instigated the People to withstand the Queenes marriage agreed vpon with *Philip*.

Hollinsh.

(22) These stirres thus abroach, the Earle of *Huntington* was sent into those parts, who taking *Couentree* (which Citie *Suffolke* thought himselfe sure of) forelaid the Countrey in such wise, as the Duke for his best refuge committed himselfe to the trust and secret keeping of a seruant of his, called *Vnderwood*, remaining in *Asheley Parke*, who against the trust reposed treacherously betraied him, and his brother *Iohn* Lord *Grey*, vnto the Earle; whence presently by him they were conuaied Prisoners vnto the Tower of *London*, their other brother Lord *Thomas* escaping in the dead of the night, was presently apprehended in the borders of *Wales*, and from thence was brought Prisoner to *London*.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Henry Duke of *Suffolke* and his brethren apprehended.

(23) This (I say) seemed to hasten the death of those innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly brought into danger, for the Statists of those times, knowing their Queene could haue no quiet whilest these great oppolits were reared against her, held it best pollicy to take them away, whereupon the twelfth of February and first day of the weeke, Lord *Guilford Dudley* was had to the Scaffold vpon Tower Hill, and there with praiers and great pennancie ended his life: whose body all bloody laid in a Cart together with the Head wrapped in a cloth was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, euen in the sight of this sorowfull Lady, a spectacle more deadly then was the Ax of her death. And now her own part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tragedy was raised vpon the greene, within the Tower, wherein being mounted with a cheerefull countenance, and a patient minde, these words with great constancy she spake at that present.

The Lord *Guilford* beheaded. *Rich. Gref.*

Lady *Iane* beheaded.

The speech of Lady *Iane* at her death.

(24) Good people, I am come to die, and by "Law I am condemned to the same, my offence a-"gainst the Queenes Highnesse was onely in con-"sent to the deuise of others, which now is deemed "Treason: yet it was neuer of my seeking, but by "counsell of those who should seeme to haue fur-"ther vnderstanding of things then I, which knew "little of the Law, and much lesse of Titles to the "Crowne. But touching the procurement and de-"sire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe wash "my hands in innocency thereof before God, and "the face of you all this day: *And therewith shee wrung her hands wherein she had a Booke.* I pray you "all good Christian people (said shee) to beare "mee witnesse that I die a true Christian woman, "and that I looke to be saued by none other meanes "but onely by the mercy of God, in the blood of "his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and I confesse that "when I did know the word of God, I neglected the "same, and loued my selfe and the world, and there-"fore this plague and punishment is iustly and wor-"thily happened vpon me for my sinnes, and yet I "thanke God of his goodnesse, that hee hath giuen "me a time and respite to repent. And now good "people while I am aliue, I pray you assist me with "your praiers.

(25) Then kneeled shee downe, and said in English the fifty one Psalme: and againe standing vp, gaue her booke to Master *Bridges*, then Lieutenant of the Tower: then vntying her Gowne, the executioner offered to helpe, whom shee desired to forbeare, and so turning to her two Gentlewomen was disrobed of that, and her other Attires. This done, the Headsman kneeled downe and askt her forgiuenesse, vnto whom shee said, the Lord forgiue thee, and I doe; and I pray thee dispatch mee quickely, and kneeling againe, said will you take it off before I lye downe? hee answered, no Madam. Then she tied a Hand-kercher ouer her eies, and feeling for the blocke said, where is it, where is it? lastly laying her Necke vpon the same stretched foorth her body and said, Lord Iesus into thy hands I commend my spirit; which was scarsely vttered before shee receiued the fatall stroake of the Axe: and thus ended the life of this chaste, innocent, and most vertuous Lady: whose case through the seuerity of the Law adiudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of al, but most especially greeuous vnto him that gaue the sentence of the same, euen Iudge *Morgan*, who thereupon presently fell madde, and in his rauings continually cryed, take away the Ladie *Iane* from me, and in that horror shortly ended his life. I will not auouch that shee was with childe at the day of her death, though it was so reported, but rather iudge a more Christian-like proceeding against so great a person, though the time (as we well know) proued very bloody.

Master *Fox* in Acts and Mon. pag. 2132.

Henry Duke of *Suffolke* and L. *Thomas Grey* beheaded.

(26) Eleuen daies after her death, her Father *Henry Duke of Suffolke*, was executed vpon the Tower hill, euen the twenty three of *February* where hee most Christianly made profession of his Faith, and with great repentance of his fact receiued the stroke of death; and the three and twenty of Aprill following, his brother the Lord *Thomas Grey* suffered death in the same place.

(27) That the intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spaine*, was the cause of their last insurrection wee haue said; to perswade which, how eloquently soeuer had beene deliuered by *Stephen Gardiner*, *Lord Chancellour*, vnto the Nobility in the Chamber of Presence, setting forth the honour, the riches, and augmentation of Titles to the Crowne, and Kingdome of *England*: yet was it distastiue to most of their Stomackes, in so much that combinations were made against the processe, and many in many places vp in Armes: whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, was the first, and that vpon this occasion.

Queene *Mary's* marriage distastiue to many of the Nobles.

Sir *Thomas Wyats* stirre.

(28) Among many dislikers of the Queenes marriage it chanced, one, for some other offence, to be committed to the Fleet by the Councell, who being an inward acquaintance of *Wyates*, was supposed by him to haue reuealed the conspiracy; wherupon he put himselfe in action, before the enterprise was altogether ripe, and accompanied with *Thomas Isleie*, and others, at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, published a

An. D. 155[illegible] Ianuary [illegible]

Pro-

Proclamation against the Queenes marriage, alleadging the thraldome whereunto the Land would become subiect, by that Spanish match, and from *Maidstone* accompanied with Sir *George Harper* hasted to *Rochester*, where they forthwith brake downe the Bridge.

(29) In the meane-while Sir *Henry Isleie*, *Anthonie* and *William Knevet*, brethren, in East, and West *Kent*, perswaded the people (who were willing ynough) to take part with *Wyat*, for at *Milton*, *Christopher Roper*, in making Proclamation for the Queen, assisted by Master *Tuck* and *Darrell*, both Iustices of Peace, were all three taken and conueyed vnto *Rochester*, and there retained Prisoners by *Sir Thomas Wyat*, whereupon Sir *Robert Southwell* high Sheriffe of *Kent*, with the Lord *Aburgauenny* and others, vpon the market day at *Malling* in a penned Oration exhorted the hearers from such seditious enterprizes. On the other side *Sir Henrie Isleie* at *Tunbridge*, proclaimed the said Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traitors to God and the Crowne. Thus was *Kent* diuided, and preparations made to maintaine the faction, according as the Gentlemen stood diuersly affected.

(30) The Lord of *Aburgauenny* with the Sherif, and others, hearing that Sir *Henry Isleie*, and the two *Knevets*, conductors of fiue hundred Welshmen, meant their March vnto *Rochester*, to ioine with *Wyat* against the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was then come to *Gravesend* with fiue hundred *Londoners* in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that designe earely the next morning, they marched with many Kentish yeomen vnto *Barrow-greene*, a place that lay directly in their passage to *Rochester*, where ordering their men staied the approach of the Enemy: who seeing themselues thus forelaid, turned secretly aside into another by-way, and gotten vnto *Wrotham-hill* supposing they had beene quit of all danger, displaied their Ensignes.

(31) The Queenes friends thus defeated, were in a maruellous rage, & hasting forward ouertooke *Sir Henry*, & the two *Knevets* before they could ascend the height of the Hill, where presently began a most hot skirmish, many wounds giuen, & many Prisoners taken, till lastly the seditious were scattered, and fled; *Sir Henry Isleie* into *Hampshire*, and others into other parts, a few escaping to ioyne with their Consorts.

(32) The beginning thus vnfortunate, made many to misdoubt of the end, among whom *Sir George Harper* got from *Wyat*, and submitted himselfe to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who with *Sir Henry Iernigham* Captaine of the guard, *Sir Edward Bray*, *Sir Iohn Fog* and others, vpon Monday the twenty seauen of *Ianuary*, came vnto *Strood* neere *Rochester*, and there being busied in planting of his Ordinance, was certainely told that the Londoners meant to betray him: whereat sore astonied and turning about, he saw Captaine *Bret*, and the band of white Coates at his backe, crying, '*we are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen*': which suddaine conspiracy caused the Duke and the Captaine of the Guard, to shift for themselues, and left their vnfaithfull followers, to the disposse of their owne affections vnto *Wyat*; among whom *Sir George Harper* lately receiued of the Duke, lightly turned againe vnto *Wyat*. This Duke (saith *Grafton*) being an aged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, vpon this distasture impressed such dolour of mind, that for verie griefe thereof he liued not long after.

(33) *Wyat*, and his associates greatly incouraged by this new supply, with eight brasse Peeces taken of the *Queenes*, besides other of their owne, marched the next morning vnto *Cowling* Castle, where the *Lord Cobham* then lay, and bending these Ordinance against the Gate, brake it open with their shot, and made entrance for their men. The Lord *Cobham* right valiantly resisted their doings, and bestowed freely such small munition as he had, against their breasts, euen with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were slaine, and *Wyat* after some talke had with the said Lord departed vnto *Gravesend*, where hee with his men were lodged that night.

(34) The next day hee came vnto *Dartford*, whither resorted *Sir Edward Hastings* Master of the Horse, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis* Knights, both of them being priuie Counsellors to the *Queene*. Their comming signified. *Sir Thomas Wyat* with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meet them, *Wyat* somewhat marching before the rest with a partizan in his hand, at whose approach *Sir Edward Hastings* alighted, and spake vnto him as followeth:

Two priuie Counsellors sent vnto *Wyat*.

Sir Edward Hastings message to *Wyat*. *Hollinsh.*

" (35) The *Queenes* Maiesty requireth to vnder-
" stand the true cause, wherefore you haue gathe-
" red in Armes her liege people against her, which is
" the part of a Traitor, and yet in your Proclamati-
" ons you call your selfe a true Subiect, both which
" cannot stand together. I am no Traitour (quoth *Wyat*) and the cause why I haue assembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being ouerrunne by Strangers, which must needes follow, if the marriage take place. Why said the Counsellors, there is no stranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to suspect, therefore if that thing onely be the quarrell, will you that dislike the marriage, come to communication touching the cause, and the *Queene* is content you shall be heard. To that I yeeld said Sir *Thomas Wyat*; but for my further surety, I will rather bee trusted then trust, and thereupon demanded (as some haue written saith *Hollinshed*) *the Custody of the Tower and her Grace within it, as also the displacing of some Counsellors about her, and to place other in their Roomes*: To
" which the Master of the Horse replied: *Wyat*, be-
" fore thou shalt haue thy traiterous demand gran-
" ted, thou shalt die and twenty thousand with thee,
and so these Agents departed to the Court, and *Wyat* forthwith came vnto *Deepeford* by *Greenewich*.

Sir Thomas Wyats answere.

February 1.

(36) At whose approach so neere *London*, such feares were possessed, that besides those in the Court (who instigated the *Queene* to remoue into the Tower) the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and most of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at *Westminster* Hall pleaded their causes in Harnesse, at which time it was no need to bid the *Spanish Ambassadors* be gone, who no more standing to woo for their master, made away by water as fast as they could: and yet some comfort was conceiued by the certaine newes of the discomfiture of the *Carews* and *Gibs*, that were making head in the *West* wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in *London* vpon *Candlemas* Eue: vpon the day of that feast *Queene Mary* to make the City sure on her side, came vnto the *Guild-Hall*, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewise were assembled the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Liueries: the Queen being placed and all men attending her pleasure, with verie good grace, and words well vttered, shee spake in effect as heere insueth.

Great feares among the people.

The seditious in *Cornwall* discomfited.

" (28) In my owne person I am come vnto you
" to tell you that, which your selues already doe see
" and know, I meane the traiterous and seditious
" number of the Kentish Rebels, that are assembled
" against vs and you. Their pretence (as they say)
" is to resist a marriage betweene vs: and the Prince
" of *Spaine*, of all their plots, pretended quarrels, and
" euill contriued Articles, you haue beene made
" priuie. Since which time, our Councell haue resor-
" ted to the Rebels, demanding the cause of their
" continued enterprize, by whose answeres the mar-
" riage is found to bee the least of their quarrell: or
" rather a cloake to couer their pretensed purposes
" against our Religion; for, swaruing from their for-
" mer Articles, they now manifestly bewray the in-
" ward Treason of their hearts, most arrogantly de-

Queene Maries Oration.

M. Foxe.

"manding the poſſeſſion of our perſon, the keeping
"of our Tower, and not onely the placing and diſ-
"placing of our Counſellors: but alſo to vſe them
"and vs at their pleaſures: what I am louing Sub-
"iects, you right well know, your Queene, to whom
"at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the
"Realme, and to the Lawes of the ſame (the ſpou-
"ſall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer
"hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhallbe left off) ye pro-
"miſed your alleageance, and obedience vnto mee.
"And that I am the right, and true inheritor to the
"Engliſh Crowne, I not onely take all Chriſten-
"dome to witnes, but alſo your Acts of parliaments
"confirming the ſame. My Father (as you all know)
"poſſeſſed the regall eſtate by right of inheritance,
"which now by the ſame right is deſcended vnto
"mee: to him you alwaies ſhewed your ſelues both
"faithfull and louing Subiects, as to your liege
"Lord and King, and therefore I doubt not but
"you will ſhew your ſelues ſo to me his daughter;
"which if you doe, then may you not ſuffer any
"rebell to vſurpe the Gouernment of our Perſon,
"or interpoſe our eſtate, eſpecially ſo preſumptu-
"ous a traitor as this *wyat* hath ſhewed himſelfe
"to be: who moſt certainely, as he hath abuſed our
"ignorant Subiects, to be adherents to his traiterous
"quarrell; ſo doth he intend by the colour of the
"ſame, to ſubdue the lawes to his will, and to giue
"ſcope to the raſcall and forlorne perſons, to make
"generall hauocke and ſpoile of your goods. And
"this I ſay further vnto you in the word of a
"Prince, I cannot tell how naturally a mother lo-
"ueth her children, for I was neuer the mother of a-
"ny; but certainely if a Prince and Gouernour may
"as naturally loue the Subiects, as the mother doth
"her child, then aſſure your ſelues that I being
"your Soueraigne, Lady, and Queene, doe as ear-
"neſtly and tenderly loue and fauour you. And I
"thus louing you, cannot but think, that you as har-
"tily & faithfully loue me again: & ſo this loue boũd
"together in the knot of concord, wee ſhall be able
"I doubt not, to giue theſe rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy
"ouerthrow. Now as concerning my intended
"marriage, you ſhall vnderſtand that I entred not
"into the treaty thereof, without the aduice of our
"priuy Councel, yea and by aſſent of thoſe, to whom
"my father committed his truſt, who haue ſo conſi-
"dered the great commodities that may thereof en-
"ſue, as they not onely haue thought it very hono-
"rable, but alſo expedient, both for the Wealth of
"our Realme, and alſo of our louing Subiects. But
"as touching my ſelfe (I aſſure you) I am not ſo de-
"ſirous of wedding, neither am ſo preciſely wedded
"to my will, that either for mine owne pleaſure I wil
"chooſe where I luſt, or els ſo amorous, as needs I
"muſt haue one: for I thanke God (to whome be
"the praiſe) I haue hitherto liued a Virgine, and
"doubt not but with Gods grace to bee able to
"liue ſo ſtill. But if (as my Progenitors haue done
"before,) it might pleaſe God that I might leaue
"ſome fruit of my body to be your Gouernour, I
"truſt you would not onely reioyce thereat, but alſo
"I know it would be to your great comfort: and cer-
"tainly if I either did know or thinke, that this mar-
"riage ſhould either turne to the danger or loſſe of
"any of you my louing Subiects, or to the detriment
"of any part of the roial Eſtate of this Engliſh Realm,
"I would neuer conſent thereunto, neither would I
"euer marry whilſt I liued. And in the word of a
"Queene, I promiſe and aſſure you, that if it ſhall
"not probablie appeare before the Nobility and
"Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that
"this marriage ſhalbe for the ſingular benefit and
"commoditie of the whole Realme, that then I will
"abſtaine not onely from this marriage, but alſo
"from any other. Wherefore good Subiects plucke
"vp your hearts, and like true men ſtand faſt with
"your lawfull Prince againſt theſe Rebels, both ours
"and yours, and feare them not, for (I aſſure you) I
"doe not: and will leaue with you my Lord *Howard*,
"and my Lord *Treaſurer* to bee Aſſiſtant with my
"Lord Maior for the ſafegard of the City from
"ſpoile & ſackage, which is the only ſcope of this re-
"bellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well pleaſed, *Queene Marie* with good content returned to the Court, where conferring with her Councell, ſhee ordained the *Lord William Herbert Earle of Pembrooke* generall of the Field, and gaue forth by Proclamation, that whoſoeuer could bring *Wyat* either quicke or dead, ſhould be rewarded with an hundreth pound Lands by yeere, to him and his poſterity for euer.

The Earle of Pembrooke made Lord Generall. R. Graſton.

(38) *Wyat* in *Depford*, and knowing what was done, with foureteene Enſignes, and foure thouſand ſtrong, vpon Saturday the third of February marched towards *London*, at whoſe approach, the white Tower hauing him in dãger ſhot off her Ordinance, but did miſſe their marke, ſome leuelling too farre ouer, and ſome as much too ſhort. His entrance into *Southwarke* was peaceable and without all reſiſtance, though many Country men were therein beſtowed to withſtand his comming, who contrary to truſt, ioyned with the *Kentiſh*, and then to winne the hearts of the people, he preſently made Proclamation that no Souldier ſhould take away anie thing without due payment, and the parties conſent: notwithſtanding *Wincheſter* houſe ſoone felt the contrarie, whoſe goods were ranſacked, the Bookes in the Librarie cut and defaced, and not a lock left vpon the doores: ſuch ſpoiles inſurrections euer ayme at, how faire ſoeuer they foyle the glaſſe to the ſight.

Stow hath but fiue Enſignes & two thouſand ſouldiers.

Wyat commeth into *Southwarke*.

(39) The Suburbs thus his; he aſſured himſelfe the City likewiſe ſhortly would be, but comming to the Bridge, he found the Gates faſt ſhut, neither any in haſt to open them for him, therefore making a trench at the Bridge-foote, planted two peeces of Ordinance againſt the Gate: At Saint *Georges* Church he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into *Barmondſey* ſtreete, and the fift towards the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* houſe.

The rebels ſpoile *Wincheſter* houſe.

Wyat fortifieth *Southwarke*. *Iohn Stow.*

(40) Within the City the Lord Maior, and Lord *William Howard*, cauſed the draw bridge to bee cut downe, and making fortifications for their defence, placed great Ordinance againſt the entrance. *Wyat* ſtill thirſting to know the Cities intent, got with ſome few followers through the Porters lodge vnto the draw bridge, where being vnſeene himſelfe, ſaw the paſſage too difficult to haue friendly acceſſe, and thereupon ſaid to his conſorts, this place is too hot for vs. Beſides the Tower began to be topped with Ordinance, ſeauen Culuerings and Demie Cannons, leuelled againſt the Bridgefoote, the Steples of *Saint Olaues*, and *Saint Mary Oueries*, all the *White Tower* laden with her peeces, three fauconets ouer the water-Gate, and a double Culuering vpon Diuelling Tower: and all theſe were turned and fearfully charged vpon the Borough of *Southwarke*, which ſeene, the Inhabitants with great lamentations came vnto *Wyat*, and complained, that for his cauſe they were like to be vtterly vndone; who ſtrucken with pittie and remorſe of ſo many, preſently remoued his Armie towards *Kingſton* vpon *Thames*, where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Ladders and Planks he ſoone repaired it, and ſo paſſing the riuer the ſame night, came to *Braineford* before hee was deſcried by the Queenes-*Scoutes*, the newes whereof ſore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes were to haue ſurprized the Citie vpon the ſuddaine, and therefore made ſuch haſt as he did, but being hindred by a Peece of great Ordinance that was diſmounted from the carriage, came not vnto Knights bridge before it was day.

London foũd againſt *Wyat*.

Stow.

The Tower fortified againſt *Wyat*.

Febr. 6. being Shrouetuſday.

Wyat paſſeth Thames at Kingſton.

Richard Graſton.

(41) In the ſame morning the Earle of *Pembroke Lord Generall* had taken Saint *Iames* Fields, whither *Wyat* and his in good order marched, but ſeeing the way forelaid both with foote and horſemen, turned downe

Februarij. The Queenes armie in Saint *Iames* field.

downe the old lane directly towards *Saint Iames*, whence Captaine *Vaughan* with two Enſignes tooke towards *Weſtminſter*, and *Wyat* along the cauſey leading to *Charing-Croſſe*, the Lord Generals Horſemen, hitherto ſtood houering aloofe, vntill the enemy was paſſed, all but the taile, vpon which they violentlie ſet, and ſeuered from the reſt, the maine neuer looking backe to releeue their diſtreſſe.

Iohn Stow.

(42) From the higher ground, and along the high way the great Ordinance plaied, and *Wyats* againe anſwered the like, though with ſmall hurt to either, onely one from the Hill ſlew three of *Wyats* men in a rancke, and ſtracke through the Brickewall into the Parke. *Wyat* paſſing forward by the battell of footmen without any impeachement, came to *Charing-Croſſe*, where the Lord Chamberlaine and Sir *Iohn Gage*, ſtood ready to reſiſt him: but Kentiſh Souldiers ruſhing violently into the ſtreets, forced them into the gates of *White-hall* which preſentlie were ſhut, and a report in the Court that the Lord Generall was reuolted to *Wyat*, all ſo diſtracted that none durſt truſt others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treaſon, Treaſon. Meane while *Wyat* with ſuch ſmall company as hee had, haſted through *Fleetſtreet*, and came vnto *Ludgate*, where hee knocked to haue entrance, and well hoped of further aſſiſtance, but was farre deceiued, the gate being guarded againſt him, with a number of true Citizens and bands of the Queenes friends.

Wyat commeth to Ludgate.

(43) But thoſe ſtraglers that had taken into *Weſtminſter*, whereof *Kneuet* was Captaine, ſeeking to recouer their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their ſtand, which being ſhutte againſt them ſhot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded againſt them, they foorthwith departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Croſſe*, by Sir *Henry Iernyngham*, Captaine of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Maſter of the Ordinance, and Sir *Philip Paris* Knights, ſent thither by order of the Lord Generall, with a band of Archers, and certaine Field peeces to ſecure the Court, their Artillery diſcharged, they preſently ioine fight with the Rebels at puſhe of the Pike, who a while ſtucke to it manfully; in which conflict was the triall of the day: but as their quarrell was traiterous, ſo their hearts were ſoone quelled, each one ſauing himſelfe by flight, wherein about twenty of thoſe bemired Souldiers were ſlaine, and no other crie heard, but downe with the Daggletailes.

The conflict at Charing-Croſſe.

(44) *Wiat* returned from *Ludgate*, ſate downe vpon a ſtall againſt the common Inne called *Belſauage*, where he beganne (as it ſhould ſeeme) to expoſtulate what his heady raſhneſſe had done, and the vaine hopes hee had conceiued of the Citizens abetments, who ſeldome tooke part againſt the Crowne: he then deſpairing of further ſucceſſe, retired backe towards the Court, and was not ſtaied vntill hee came to Temple-Barre, where certaine Horſemen comming from the field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began ſome bickering, till laſtly *Clarentius* King at Armes came to him and ſaid; Maſter *Wyat* you ſee the day is gone againſt you; and in reſiſting you can doe no good, but hazard the death of your Souldiers, and your ſelfe, to the great perill of your ſoule. My counſell is, that you were beſt to yeelde, and perchance you may finde the Queene mercifull, if you ſtay from further bloodſhed.

Wiat returneth from Ludgate.

(45) *Wyat* heereat ſomewhat aſtonied, ſeeing now his whole deſignes defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent ſtill to fight) anſwered the Herauld, Well then, If I muſt needes yeeld, I will yeeld to a Gentleman: to whom Sir *Maurice Barkley* came preſently and bad him mount his Horſe behinde, in like manner another tooke vp Sir *Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Kneuet*, and ſo carried them vnto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Mantels*, and *Alexander Bret*, were committed to the Tower, Sir *Thomas Wyat* wearing a ſhirt of Male vnder a veluet Caſſocke, and the wind-lace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleuen Gentlemen more of name and account, were likewiſe committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty perſons were hanged for *Wyats* conſpiracie, and foure hundred more led through the Citie with halters about their neckes to *Weſtminſter*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the Queene, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallerie aboue.

Wyat yeeldeth himſelfe.

Febr. 8.

400 perſons pardoned by the Queene.

(46) But the Capitall offender Sir *Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Weſtminſter* vpon caſe of high Treaſon, confeſſed the inditement and had iudgement of death accordingly, which he ſuffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill the eleuenth of April following; his words to the people were theſe, "Good peo-"ple I am come hither preſently to die, being there-"to lawfully and worthily condemned, for I haue "ſore offended againſt God and the Queenes Maie-"ſty; I truſt God hath forgiuen mee, and will take "mercy vpon me; I beſeech the Queenes maieſty "alſo of forgiueneſſe (ſhee hath forgiuen you quoth "Doctor *Weſton*) let euerie man beware how hee ta-"keth any thing in hand againſt the higher powers, "vnleſſe God be proſperable to his purpoſe, it will "neuer take good effect or ſucceſſe, whereof you "may now learne by me, and I pray God I may be "the laſt example in this place. But where it is ſaid "and noiſed abroad, that I ſhould accuſe the Lady "*Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, it is not ſo, good "people: For I aſſure you, neither they, nor any o-"ther now yonder in hold was priuie to my riſing "before I began, as I haue declared no leſſe to the "Queenes Councell, and that is moſt true. Then ſaid Doctor *Weſton*, marke heere my maſters, he ſaith that, that which he hath ſhewed to the Councell in writing of them, is moſt true. Whereupon *Wyat* put off his Gowne, his dublet, and waſtcoate, and knitting a kercheife ouer his eies with moſt feruent praiers, receiued the ſtroke of the Axe.

Holinſhed. March 15.

Sir Tho. Wyat beheaded.

Wyats words at his death.

(47) *Alexander Bret*, and twenty two Kentiſh perſons beſides, were executed in diuers parts of that County: others were likewiſe arraigned for the ſame Conſpiracy, as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *Iames Croft*, the one quit by his Inqueſt, the other pardoned of life by the Queene. Many others were ſuſpected as aiders vnto *Wyat*, and his enterpriſe, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth*, ſiſter to the Queene, were not the leaſt, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innocency, and truth, thus we find related.

Sir Nich. Throckmorton and Sir Iames Croft arraigned.

Lady Elizabeths troubles.

(48) Theſe Virgine Princes were not ſo neerely linked in blood and nature, as they were ſeparated aſunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cauſe for which theſe commotions were raiſed, Queene *Mary* much ſuſpected her ſiſter to bee a principall moouer therein. The ielouſie whereof, *Gardiner* of *Wincheſter* did further inflame, by blowing Coniectures into her eare: ſo that needes the Princeſſe muſt be ſent for, then lying ſicke at her Mannour of *Aſbridge*, euen the next day after that *Wyat* roſe. The meſſengers were, Sir *Iohn Williams*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, and Sir *Tohmas Cornwalles*, all three Priuie Counſellors, with a troope of Horſemen in number two hundred and fifty.

Lady Elizabeth ſore ſicke is ſent for.

M. Fox Acts and Monuments. 1238.

(49) Theſe comming to *Aſbridge* at tenne in the night, ſuddenly aſcended into her Priuie Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the Queene, had preſent acceſſe into her Bed-Chamber; where the ſaid Lady lay very ſore ſicke: their firſt ſalutations were, that they were ſorry to ſee her in that eſtate, and I am not glad ſaid ſhe, to ſee you here at this time of the night; Madame, quoth they, our Meſſage requires haſte, and the Queenes pleaſure is, that you ſhall bee at *London* the ſeuenth of this moneth

The conference of the 3. Counſellors with Lady Elizabeth.

neth. No Creature gladder to come to her Maiesty then I (said Lady *Elizabeth*) being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to attend her Grace, as your selues heere see. Indeed (said they) for that we see, wee are heartily sorry, but our commission is, that we bring you to London either quicke or dead, whereat she being greatly amazed, sorrowfully said, she wel hoped their commissiō was nothing so strait, but they calling for two Doctors of Phisicke demanded whether shee might be remoued with life, and that being resolued, bad her prepare against the next morning, and so left this innocent Princesse very sore perplexed the rest of the night.

Lady *Elizabeth* as a prisoner conueied to the Court.

(50) The next morning approched, and shee in no better plight, notwithstāding was led forth more like a Prisoner then a Prince, which the people in euery place as she passed, did much lament, and strongly guarded, was so conueied vnto the Court, where for fourteene daies space, shee comfortlesse continued without sight of friend, the Queene or any Lords, those onely excepted that attended the dores, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *Iohn Gage*.

Princes *Elizabeth* examined of treason.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, and nine more of the Councell, came into her presence, and there charged her both with *Wyats* Conspiracy, and the stirres lately made in the West parts by Sir *Peter Carew* and others, which shee most constantly denyed: but in conclusion they told her it was the *Queenes* pleasure, that shee should forthwith goe to the Tower, the name of which dolefull prison strucke deepe to her heart. I trust (said shee) her Maiesty will be farre more gracious then to commit to that place a true and most innocent woman, that neuer had offended her in thought, worde nor deed. And thereupon instantly desired those Lords to bee a meane for her vnto the Queene: which some of them promised, and much pittied her case. But about an howre after, came foure of these Lords againe, namely, *Winchester*, the *Treasurer*, the *Steward* and *Sussex*: with a charge to discharge her of all attendants, sauing onely her Gentleman Vsher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, the Guard was set to warde in the next roomes; two Lords with bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northerne white Coates in the Garden, thus all was made sure, and she kept from starting.

The honourable parts of the Earle of *Sussex*.

(52) The next day came vnto her two Lords of the Councell with commandement from the Queen to haue her to the Tower, they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the tide would tarry for no body: this heauy newes encreased this distressed Ladies pensiuenesse, who in most humble wise became Petitioner vnto their Lordships, that shee might stay vntill the next tide, which as she wel hoped, would proue more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commission then the other, flatly told her that neither tide nor time should bee delaied. Whereupon her Grace desired shee might write to the Queene: he againe answered, that hee durst not suffer it, neither in his iudgement was it conuenient: but the other more milder (which was the Earle of *Sussex*) kneeling down told her that her Grace should haue liberty to write her mind: swearing as hee was a true man, himselfe would deliuer it into the Queenes hand, and bring her the answere, whatsoeuer came of it: which honourable permission was then most thankefully taken, and afterward most highly esteemed in her Princely fauours towards that honourable man; but in writing this letter or petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and serued not to shoot the bridge with a Barge; therefore it was priuily determined to take the aduantage of the next, which with better aduisement was againe deferred, for that it fell about midnight, whence rose a feare that she might bee forceably taken from them before shee came to the Tower: and so with great prouidence was that danger preuented.

Lady *Elizabeth* carried prisoner vnto the Tower.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, serued well for their purpose, when as vnder pretext of deuotion, the Citizens of *London* were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whilest her Barge might be passed by without sight or any suspect. And to that purpose the foresaid two Noble men about nine of the Clocke repaired vnto her, shewing that the time was now come, that her Grace must goe to the Tower; to which shee answered, the Lords will be done, I am contented: seeing it is the Queenes mind: and comming into the Garden to take Barge, shee cast her eyes towards euery Window, hoping to see some that would pitty her case, but that also failing, she sighed and said, *I maruell what the Nobility meane to suffer me a Prince to be led into Captiuity, the Lord knowes whither, for my selfe doe not.*

The seuere and hard dealings against the Princes *Elizabeth*.

(54) Great haste was made to the barge, and asmuch to get by *London* vnseene: but the tyde yong and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was so great, as the Bargemen themselues feared to passe thereunder, and motioned a stay till the streame were more leuell, which in no wise wold bee heard: whereupon they passed the Arch with such danger, as the sterne of the boate strucke against the ground; and come to the staires, could not take land without stepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recouered Princesse was forced to doe, in which passage she vttered these words: *I speake before thee O God, hauing none other friend but thee onely; here landeth as true a subiect, being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires*; to which the seuerall Lords answered, if it were so, it was the better for her. Shee come into the gate, a great number of Seruants and Warders of the Tower stood to guard her, through whome as shee passed, the poore men kneeling downe with one voice, desired God to preserue her Grace, whereof some were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinarie the next day.

The constant patience of Lady *Elizabeth*.

(55) Then passing somewhat further both faint and vncomfortable, shee rested her selfe vpon a cold stone, to whom M. *Bridges* the Lieutenant then being said: Madam, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomely; to whome shee replyed, better sitte here then in a worse place, for God knoweth, and not I, whither you will bring me: at which her sorrowfull and deiected answere, her Gentleman Vsher, a seruant most loyall and louing to his Mistresse, among many others brake forth into flouds of teares, the witnesses commonly of al inward griefe, which the Princes perceiuing, reproued, demanding what hee meant so to discourage her, seeing shee tooke him to bee her Comforter, & especially knowing her truth to be such, as that no man should haue any cause to weepe for her.

The Earle of Sussex most first for Lady *Elizabeth*.

(56) Shee safelie bestowed, and the dores made fast with lockes and bolts, was there comfortlesse left in the dolefull prison, where calling for her booke and her few seruants about her, shee fell vnto prayers, desiring God to prosper her worke, that she might build vpon the rocke Christ: whereby these blustring tempests thus sodainely risen might not preuaile against her foundation. Meanewhile the Lords were as circumspect, how shee might be kept sure; many among them propounded, that it was most needfull shee should bee close prisoner, and a strong guard set to watch her dore; against which the Lord *Sussex* replyed and said: *My Lords let vs take heede wee goe not beyond our Commission, shee was our Kings Daughter, and if wee know the Prince next in blood, therefore let vs so deale with her now, that if it so happen, we may answere our doings vnto her another day.*

Lady *Elizabeth* commanded to haue Masse in her lodgings.

(57) Two dayes spent thus in the Tower, and Gods diuine seruice celebrated in *English*, it was commanded to haue Masse in her lodgings; and to that end two of her yeomen were appointed to answere the Priest, which was as vnwillingly done, as the

the deuotion was small. Then were the fauourites examined, yea and * some of them with torture, & all to finde a fitte knife to cut her innocent throate, that so *Winchester* might wash his white Rochet in her purple blood; who being Lord Chancellor and Ruler of the reſt, came into the Tower to examine her himſelfe, with ſome others of the Queens Councell: Shee then brought before them, was demanded of the talke ſhee had with Sir *Iames Croft* (a priſoner in the Tower, and then brought to her preſence) concerning her remouing from *Aſbridge* vnto *Dunnington* Caſtell: My Lords (ſaid ſhee) mee thinks you doe mee wrong to examine euery mean Priſoner againſt me, if they haue done euill let them anſwere for it, I pray you ioyne mee not with ſuch offenders; as touching my remoue to *Dunnington*, mine officers, and you Sir *Iames Croft* can tell; but what is this to the purpoſe, might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houſes at all times? whereunto the Lord of *Arundell* kneeling downe, anſwered that her Grace ſaid truth, and that himſelfe was ſorry to ſee her troubled about ſuch vaine matters: well my Lords (ſaid ſhee) you ſift mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, vnto whom I pray to forgiue you all.

(58) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was ſhee ſtill retained in that cloſe and ſorrowfull priſon, and for want of freſh aire, her health beganne to bee empaired, whereupon the Lord *Shandoys* one of her Keepers, obtained that ſhee might walke into the Queenes lodgings, the windowes being ſhut onely in preſence of himſelfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen ſent her for the ſame purpoſe; which fauour was further increaſed by libertie to walke into the Garden, the other priſoners commanded not ſo much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

(59) During which time there vſually repaired vnto her a little boy, about foure yeeres of age (a mans ſonne of the Tower) in whoſe pretty pratling ſhee tooke great pleaſure; his vſe was to bring her flowers, and to receiue at her hands ſuch thinges as commonly pleaſe Children: which laſtly brought a great ſuſpition into the Lord Chamberlaines working head, that by this Child letters were brought betwixt the Prince *Elizabeth*, and the L. *Courtney*, whereupon the boy was threatned, and his father commanded not to ſuffer him any more to reſort to her Grace: which notwithſtanding, the next day hee did, but the dore being ſhut, and hee peeping through a hole, cried vnto her, Miſtreſſe I can bring you no more flowers now.

(60) It was reported (ſaith *Fox*) if the relation be true, that a Writte ſubſcribed vnder certaine Councellors hands, was directed for the preſent death of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which hee doth wholy impute vnto *Winchesters* working: This ſodaine charge giuen for her preſent execution, ſore grieued M. *Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tower, who forthwith repaired vnto the Queene, to know her further pleaſure therein: but ſhee being altogether ignorant of any ſuch warrant, blamed the doers and gaue a contrary command, whereby was preſerued the life of her ſiſter: which howſoeuer (to the diſtaſture of her enemies) it was prolonged, yet her State of liues ſecurity ſeemed little better, and her feares preſently conceiued, were nothing the leſſe: for the Conſtable diſcharged, Sir *Henry Benifield* a more ſeuere Iaylor was placed in his roome, who with an hundred Souldiers in blew coates entred vpon his charge: at ſight whereof the fearefull Princes demanded, whether the Scaffold whereon Lady *Iane* ſuffered was ſtill ſtanding: or whether Sir *Henry* (a man to her altogether vnknowne) made any conſcience of murther, if hers was committed vnto his charge.

(61) The nineteenth of May her Grace was remoued from the Tower towards *Woodſtocke*, Sir *Henry Benifield* being her conductor, vnto whome Sir *John Williams* Lord *Tame* was ioined in Commiſſion. The firſt night ſhee was brought vnto *Richmond*, where all her owne ſeruants were remoued from her preſence, and the raſcall Souldiers ſet to attend her perſon; by which ſeuere beginnings ſhe much doubted that her dayes were nere ſpent, and in that place her life muſt take end: whereupon calling together her ſeruants deſired them to pray for her, for this night (ſaid ſhee) I thinke I muſt die; which lamentable wordes drew fountaines of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman Vſher went downe vnto the Lord *Tame* in the Court, deſiring him vnfainedly to ſhew, whether his Lady and Miſtreſſe that night were in danger of death, whereby himſelfe and fellowes might take ſuch part as God would appoint. Mary God forbid quoth the Lord *Tame*, that any ſuch wickednesſe ſhould bee intended, which rather then it ſhould bee wrought, I and my men will die at her foot.

(62) With no greater comfort proceeded ſhe towards *Woodſtocke*: Sir *Henry* her Iaylor (as ſhe termed him) euer carrying ſo hard an hand in his Commiſſion; for the people that with teares preſſed to meet her in the paſſage, and with prayers ſaluted her in moſt louing manner, he both threatned, & draue backe, calling them Traitors and Rebels againſt the Queene and her Lawes, and whereas in certaine villages bels were rung as ſhee paſſed for ioy as they conceiued it of her deliuerance, Sir *Henry Benifielde* tooke the matter ſo diſtaſtfull, that hee commanded the bels to ſurceaſe, and ſet the ringers thereof in the ſtockes; ſo that not without cauſe this louing Lady ſent this word vnto her poore ſeruants, and well wiſhing friends, *Tanquam ouis*, as a ſheepe to the ſlaughter, ſo am I lead: And ſurely had not the L. *Tame* bin more comfortable in his place vnto this diſtreſſed Princeſſe, her ſpirite of hopes had been ſpent before the conduction of her perſon had beene accompliſhed.

(63) Neither in *Woodſtocke* was her liberty much enlarged, nor feares any leſſe, ſhee being incloſed in none of the beſt lodgings, garded with Soldiers both day and night, and although ſhee had leaue into ſome Gardens, yet were fiue or ſixe lockes betwixt her walke and her lodgings, and all made faſt after her entrance. It was alſo ſuſpected that the Keeper of *Woodſtocke* a notorious Ruffian was inſtigated to kill this innocent Princes, as alſo that one *Baſſet* a Darling of Biſhoppe *Gardiners* came to *Bladenbridge* a mile from *Woodſtocke*, accompanied with twentie men in priuy Coates, earneſtly deſiring to ſpeake with Lady *Elizabeth*, pretending ſecret and importunate buſineſſe: but Sir *Henry* her Keeper gone to the Court had giuen ſtrait charge to his brother, that none ſhould haue acceſſe vnto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell or Queene her ſelfe. Whereby that deſigne was happily loſt. What his errand was I will not determine, but others haue conceiued it was for no good.

(64) Another accident alſo hapned, whether of purpoſe, or otherwiſe I cannot ſay, but ſurely it was to the danger of her life: for on the ſodain her lodgings were on fire, which beganne to kindle betwixt the boardes and ſeeling vnder the Chamber where ſhee lay, and was vehemently miſtruſted to be purpoſely done. Theſe and the like feares daily happning, drew the diſtreſſed Princes into many paſſions, wherof one is reported, that ſhee ſitting ſolitary at her Priſon-window, chanced to ſee a Maide of *Woodſtocke* in the Parke milking of Kine, and as ſhee ſate, merily to ſing ouer her Pale, which ſtrucke this ſad penſiue Priſoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides fortunes farre aboue her owne, and heartily wiſhed that her ſelfe were a Milke-maid, into ſuch diſtreſſe was her princely birth brought, in which comfortleſſe thraldome, wee will a while leaue her, & return to ſpeak of matters in the Court.

Lady *Elizabeth* is remoued to *Woodſtocke*.

The great feares of Lady *Elizabeth*

The ioy that the people conceiued of Lady *Elizabethes* deliuerance.

Ladie *Elizabeth* priſoner in *Woodſtocke*.

Lady *Elizabeth* in danger to be murthered.

Elizabeths lodgings on fire.

A poore liberty preferred aboue a princely captiuity.

A.D.1553.

(65) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot her ſelfe, and ſet at the helme of all Soueraign power, ſteered the ſterne of her zealous affections, according to her owne liking; when preſently vpon her Coronation beganne a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, & a Conuocation in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*, where ſhee commanded a free diſputation for Religion, without any danger of offence. The Queſtions to bee controuerſed, were concerning a Catechiſme ſet forth in King *Edwards* dayes, and the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of his Supper. For Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation ſtood Diſputers Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Watſon*, Doctor *Chedſey*, Maiſter *Harpſfield*; and Maſter *Morgan*, D. *Weſton* Dean of *Weſtminſter* apointed for Prolocutor: For Chriſts ſpirituall preſence were M. *Haddon*, M. *Elmar*, M. *Cheyney*, M. *Philpot*, and Maſter *Perne*, theſe meeting 6 ſeueral daies diſputed only vpon the laſt queſtion: but with ſuch diſagreement, as laſtly Q. *Mary* commanded *Boner* to diſſolue the aſſembly, without any Subſcriptions to the aſſertions premiſed.

Octob.18.

A diſputation for Religion.

Decemb.13.

(66) And not long after *Thomas Cranmer* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* Biſhoppe of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* ſometimes Biſhoppe of *Worceſter*, were ſent from the Tower of *London* vnto *Oxford*, to diſpute vpon the ſaide Argument againſt Doctor *Treſham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor, *Ogletherpe* Doctor *Pie*, Maſter *Harpſfeild*, and Maſter *Feckenam*, all *Oxford* men, vnto whom from *Cambridge* were ioyned Doctor *Yonge*, Doctor *Glinne*, Doctor *Seton*, Doctor *Watſon*, Doctor *Sedgewicke*, and Doctor *Atkinſon*, Doctor *Weſton* again being Prolocutor: the diſputation beganne vpon the ſixteenth of *Aprill*, and ended the twentieth of the ſame moneth, with the ſentence of thoſe three Biſhoppes deaths, which through fire gaue teſtimony of their faithes, a yeere and ſixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Oxford*: whoſe diſputations, letters, and laſt endes, are largely ſet down by M. *Iohn Fox* in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, vnto whom I refer the deſirous Reader, leſt by enlarging of thē, the courſe of our temporall Story ſhould bee ouermuch interrupted with matters Eccleſiaſticall of thoſe ſorrowfull times.

Cranmer, Ridley and *Latimer* ſent vnto *Oxford*.

A.D. 1554.

They are burned.

(67) Queene *Mary* intending her marriage with *Spaine*, great feares were conceiued that many calamities would follow, aſwell to the Church, reformed from abuſes, as for the politicke proceedings of the Kingdomes affaires; which as ſome tooke was prognoſticated euen from heauen it ſelfe, by a Raine-bow reuerſed, the bow turned downward, & the two ends ſtanding vpward, as alſo by two Suns ſhining at one time, and a good diſtance aſunder in the Skies, both which ſights appeared in *London* the fifteenth of February.

Fox Act. & Mon. p.1637.

(68) In which City a Parliament to that purpoſe was aſſembled, wherein by Statute the marriage was confirmed, though with no leſſe liking of thoſe times obſeruers, then was the marriage deſired which is fained of the Sunne: to hinder whoſe purpoſe, the world is ſaid to haue made ſuite vnto *Iupiter*, leſt hauing more Sunnes then one, the whole frame of the Globe ſhould bee ſet on fire. Theſe diſtaſtiue ſtomackes *Queene Mary* well perceiued, therefore to giue them content, ſhee wrote her letters into the Weſt, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord Preſident, the Biſhoppes of *Oxford* and *Salisbury*, to intimate the benefite thereof to the whole land, as much as might bee; neither was *London* forgotten, whoſe Lord Maior and Commons were ſent for to the Court, and there by the Lord Chancellor tolde how by this match all the Realm would bee enriched, but eſpecially *London* by their trade and trafficke with *Spaine*.

An Act in the 1. of Queen *Mary*, *cap.*2.

In her letters ſent them ſigned with her hand.

(69) Vnto *Spaine* were ſent the Earle of *Bedford*, and the L. *Fitzwaters* to conduct K. *Philip* into *England*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight ſhippes ſecuring the ſeas the ſpace of three moneths before: all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readines tooke Barke at *Corone* in *Galizia*, and with a Nauie of an hundred and fifty ſaile directed his courſe for his Queene.

King *Philip* arriueth in *England*.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of Iuly, hee arriued at *Southampton*, and was the firſt man of that Fleet that ſet foot on the ſhore, which no ſooner don, but he drew his Sword, and ſo bare it naked in his hand as hee went. The Earle of *Arundell* L. Steward of the Queenes houſe, preſented to his Highneſſe the *George* and *Garter*; and the Maior of *Southampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was ſent the Lord Chancellor from the Queene, and hee againe ſent of his Nobles vnto her, who was on the way vnto *Wincheſter*, to welcome him herſelfe: towards which City vpon Munday following, hee ſet forth, being accompanied with the Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Darby*, *Worceſter*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, and *Surrey*, the Lordes *Clinton*, *Cobham*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Matreuers*, *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Fitzwaren*, and *North*: beſides many Knights and gallant Gentlemen. His Spaniſh train were the Dukes of *Alua*, and *Medina celi*, the Admirall of *Caſtilla*, the Marqueſſes of *Bergues*, *Piſcara*, *Saria*, *Valli*, *Aguillar*, the Earles of *Egmund*, *Horne*, *Feria*, *Chinchon*, *Oliuares*, *Saldana*, *Modica*, *Euente-ſalida*, *Landriano*, *Caſtellar*, the Biſhoppe of *Cuenca*, and others: ſo that more honourable attendants had ſeldome beene ſeene.

The honourable traines of the two Princes.

(71) And ſurely the Couenants were as honourable for *England* that were agreede vpon betwixt them, which were branched into tenne Propoſitions.

Holinſh. p.1161.

1 Firſt was, that *Philip* ſhould bee ſtiled King of *England* during the Matrimony, and ſhould aſſiſt his Queene in gouernement, but not diſpoſe of any Lands, Offices, Benefices, or Reuenewes in the Realme.

2 That *Mary* by vertue of this marriage, ſhould bee admitted Queene of the Realmes and Dominions of *Spaine* already poſſeſſed, as of all others, that were appropriated vnto the ſame, during the Matrimony.

3 That for Dowry ſhee ſhould receiue yeerely threeſcore thouſand pound Flemiſh, if in caſe ſhe ouerliued King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Iſſue proceeding of this marriage either male or female in the right of their mothers inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or other Dominions depending, ſhould ſucceed in them according to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of the ſame.

5 That if it chanced *Charles* Duke of *Auſtrich*, the Infant of *Spaine* to die without Iſſue, then the eldeſt ſonne of this Matrimony ſhould ſucceed in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patrimoniall lands, belonging vnto *Charles* the Emperour, father to the Prince of *Spaine*, aſwell in *Burgoign* as in the low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Luxenburgh*, *Gelderland*, *Zutphane*, *Freeſeland*, in the Countries of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure*, and the land beyond the Iles.

6 That the Dominions of the low Country, and of Burgundy ſhould be excluded from the Patrimoniall deſcent of the ſaid Lord *Charles*, notwithſtanding his iſſue remained, and ſhould bee enioyed by the eldeſt borne of this marriage without further claime to any other Dominions belonging vnto *Spaine*: and the reſt of the Children thereof proceeding to haue conuenient portions and Dowry aſsigned them aſwell out of thoſe Countries, as out of *England* and the others adioined.

7 That if no iſſue male were borne of this marriage then the Eldeſt female ſhould poſſeſſe thoſe Dominions, prouided that ſhe ſhold marry a nobleman, either of the *Low Countrey* or of the Realm of *England*, otherwiſe the right of the Succeſsion ſhould remaine in the Lord *Charles*, yet not ſo cut off, but that

that she with the other daughters begot in this marriage should be endowed of their fathers Lands and possessions, aswell in *Spaine* as in the *Low Countries*.

8 That for want of Issue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this Marriage in that case the Eldest daughter of K. *Philip* and Q. *Marie* should succeed both, in the Territories of the Low Countries, as also in the Realmes of *England*, *Spaine*, and the rest, after the nature, lawes and customes of the same.

9 That who so succeeded, either he or shee, yet should the severall Dominions be governed by the Natives borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priuiledges, rites and accustomed manner formerly vsed.

10 That a sincere fraternity, vnitie and peace; should be confirmed for euer betwixt these Nations, so as they should mutually aide each other in all things according to the strength, forme and effect treated of at *Westminster*, and subscribed vnto at *Vtericke*.

(72) As these were agreed vpon for the General, so other particulars were articuled with the King himselfe, which were as followeth.

1 That he should not bestow the administration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any stranger or person not borne vnto the English subiection.

2 That his Court should be replenished with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natiues of the Land.

3 That hee should make no inuasion of state against the Lawes and Customes of the Realme, neither violate the Priuiledges thereto belonging.

4 That hee should not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her speciall desire, nor none of her Children without consent of her Nobilitie.

5 That if shee should die issuelesse hee should Challenge no right in the Kingdome, but should suffer the succession to come to her next.

6 That he should not carry or suffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Iewels, or other things of especiall estimation, but should faithfully keepe them for the profit of the English Crowne.

7 That hee should not suffer any ships, gunnes, Ordinance and other munition of warre to be conueied out of the Realme, but should see all the Forts and Frontiers of the Land kept, and the same sufficiently stored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* should bee intangled with the warres of his father, and the French King, neither that himselfe should giue any cause for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

(73) Things thus ordered, with consent of all parties, the marriage with great state was solemnized at *Winchester*, vpon Wednesday being the 25. of Iuly and Saint *Iames* day, where the Emperours Embassadors presently pronounced, that in consideration of this marriage, their master had giuen vnto his sonne *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ierusalem*, where vpon their Titles by *Garter* King at Armes, was solemnely proclaimed with these stiles as followeth.

Philip and Marie by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Cicil, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Millan, Burgundie and Brabant, Counties of Hapsburge, Flanders and Tyroll,

(74) And according to the stiles, so was the Maiesty of their proceedings, hauing two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church; with other Emperiall Ensignes of their great Magnificence; which nothing was lessened in their passage through *London*; where English eies beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts, some reioicing as *Israel*, that *Ieroboams* golden calues should be againe erected, and some sorrowing as *Iudah*, that the Brasen Serpent was not broken, all of them assured, that this *Salomons* sufferance and his wiues zeale, would build againe the Altars that had beene cast downe. 1. King. 11.

(75) The experience whereof *Queene Marie* her selfe had giuen, euen before shee was crowned, in causing the Latine Seruice againe to bee said, in displacing the reformed Bishops, and in publishing a most straight prohibition against preaching, and printed English Bookes: to all which some time-seruing Church-men gaue their consents, scandalizing not onelie the liues of the ministers, but also the Scriptures translation, and the iust proceedings of King *Edwards* time; against all which, Master *Bourne* in a publicke Sermon made at *Paules-Crosse* (in the presence of the Lord Maior and *Bonner* his Master) so liberally inueighed, as that one of his Auditors with more distaste then discretion, and more zeale then Religon, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no lesse feare. *August.* 13. Ann. 1553. A dagger thrown at the Preacher.

(76) And againe the like offence was conceiued against Doctor *Pendleton*, who in the next yeere after, and in the same place had a gunne desperatly discharged against him: vnto such hatred their Doctrine did driue them, and vnto such sinne the ouer-feruent affectioned lay many times exposed: And no lesse was that Diabolicall deuise of certaine giddie reformers, who had taught a Maide so to speake in a wall, as her hearers beleeued it was the voice of an Angell, being none other, but most seditious speeches, against the Queens proceedings, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Masse, and Confession. In mockage whereof also a Cat was hanged on a gallowes neere vnto the Crosse in Cheape, her head shorn and wearing a vestore fashioned like vnto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with around paper betwixt, like vnto the papisticall consecrated bread; and in that maner the eight of *April* was shewed by the Preacher at *Pauls-Crosse* both to the offece and content of the Spectators; and to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in vse, vpon Easter day the same yeere, and in the same Cheape, as the Priest of Saint *Pancrasse* came to celebrate the resurrection, and after the accustomed manner put his hand into the Sepulchre for the Crucifix (therein purposely bestowed) when he vsed the words of the Euangelist very deuoutly: *Surrexit non est hic*, He is risen and not heere: found it so indeed, for that his God was gotten away and could neuer after be found. *June* 10. Ann. 1554. A gun discharged against the Preacher. The Spirit in the walle. A Cat hanged in Cheape. *March.* 25.

(77) These things (saith *Fox*) caused both the Queene, and bishops, to conceiue an euill opinion of the *Londoners*; as too much sauouring of King *Edwards* reformation, for which cause *Bonner* commanded all Scriptures printings vpon their Churches walles, to bee blotted out; and many other iniunctions to be inquired after. But from these vain trifles let vs returne to more serious matters in the ensuing Historie. Acts and Mony.

(78) Queene *Marie* erecting the Masse, and leaning the title of Supremacy to the Pope, sent for her kinsman Cardinall *Poole* to bee her director in those great businesses, who had beene a long time in forraigne parts, and euer a fauourite vnto the See of Rome, whose life vntill this time, we wil briefly run ouer, so many dependances of story relying vpon him.

(79) Hee was the sonne of *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the second childe, and onely daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, second brother vnto King *Edward* the fourth: whose youth was spent in litterature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and state increased by King *Henrie* his kinsman, in bestowing vpon him the Deanry of *Exceter*. Then trauelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padua* studied seuen yeeres, in which The life and story of Cardinall *Poole*.

which time the King hauing abolished the Pope, hee was sent for into *England*, but refusing to returne, was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deanery giuen to another: which his losse was presently repaid by his holy Father, in making him Cardinal, & imploying him in many Ambassages, both to the Emperor & French King, with whom he euer dealt against K. *Henry*, and solicited others by letters to forsake his friendship and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which lastly his own mother lost her Head.

Poole made Cardinall.

(78) Then was he made Legate of *Viterbion*, where he determined to haue led a more quiet life: but *Pope Paul* the third summoning the obtruded Councell of *Trent*, appointed *Poole* with two others to be his Vicegerents: Though indeed this Cardinall was none of the forwardest in the matter of iustification, vnto whose opinion therein he drew one *Morrell* a learned *Spaniard*, who of purpose was sent to dispute the Popes Doctrine in that Councell.

Poole elected Pope. *Goodwin liues of Bishops.*

(79) But this *Holy father* leauing his Chaire empty by death, a faction fell among the Electors, some for the *French*, and some for the Emperour, which last light vpon *Poole*, & choose him for Pope. He altogether Imperiall, desired a more orderly election supposing himselfe so gratious in the eyes of most that the same would be continued to his greater praise.

(80) But the French faction working vpon the aduantage, put the rest in minde of the Emperials sacking of *Rome*, the imprisonment and iests that were made of the Pope, the absence of many Cardinals Electors, whose voices they knew not, yea and *Cardinall Caraffa*, alleadged particular exception against *Poole* the elected, charging him (as *Pasquill* likewise did) with incontinency of body, as also of Heresie, for arguing vpon a iustifying faith in the Councell of *Trent*, for frequenting the company with *Anthonie Flaminius* a knowne Protestant, and since he was Legate, that he neuer had punished that doctrine with death.

Poole accused by Cardinall *Caraffa*.

(81) But these accusations, were rather to shrub off his faire top, that *Caraffa* himselfe might more eminently be seene, who thought if *Poole* failed, to be their faireſt marke; wherein his politicke expectation was farre ouerseene. For the *English Cardinall* so cleered himselfe, that the French *Caraffa* receiued disgrace, and all their voices went for *Poole* euen the same night, which he againe seemed to dislike of, saying, that his election should not be a worke of darkenes, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed vpon the next day; such assurance had his hopes conceiued, that hee thought destinie had beene inforced to set the Papall Crowne vpon his Head.

Poole againe chosen Pope.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to strike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and choose the Cardinall of *de Monte* for Pope, who named himselfe *Iulius* the third, and he to congratulate *Poole* for his Backwardnes, enforced *Caraffa* to aske him forgiuenes before they departed the *Conclaue*: *Poole* thus disappointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himselfe vnto *Verona*, where in a Monastery of *S. Bennets* (which order he had assumed and was the *Patron*) he made his Residence, as desirous to leade a more contemplatiue life.

(83) But scarcely was he setled before he heard of King *Edwards* death, and a message sent from *Queene Marie* (who had beene brought vp vnder the Counteſse his Mother) for his returne into *England*. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his person, his learning and religion, and himselfe relied much vpon the old familiarity betwixt them, as also of his birth being of the blood roiall; for which causes he sore longed homeward, not doubting but if things stood as he thought, to get a dispensation, to lay off the Hat, and to put on a Crowne.

Cardinall *Poole* sent for by Queene *Mary*.

(84) But the Emperour mistrusting what this Prelate intended, found deuices to hold him beyond Seas, vntill the match was concluded betweene *Queene Mary* and his Sonne. And hitherto *Cardinall Poole* applauded by the Pope, beganne now to enter into his frowne, for being in *England*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: his old accuser, the foresaid *Caraffa*, had in the meane while obtained the Papacy vnder the name of *Paul* the fourth: when as presently he sent Frier *Peto*, whom he consecrated *Bishop of Sarum*, and discharged *Poole* of his legatiue power, which doings the Queene tooke so ill, that shee forbad *Peto* to enter the land, vntill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope and Cardinall *Poole* her kinsman. Which man as hath beene saide, for soliciting Potent Princes against King *Henry*, in the quarrell of *Rome*, had runne in great displeasure with the English, whereby some Acts of Parliament were made against him: all which were now repealed, and Lord *Reinold Poole* receiued as an Angell of God, vnto whom that honorable house presented a Petition, to bee receiued againe into the bosome of *Rome*.

A.D. 1553.

(85) The suit easily granted, and absolution giuen, all things proceeded at the deuotion of the *Romanists*. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches: *Holy-water*, *Pax*, and *Censures*, imploied at the Celebration of their Masses and Mattens: Oyle, Creame, and Spittle, vsed in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme. Altars furnished with Pictures, Costly Couerings, & the Crucifix thereon solemnly placed: vnto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to Captiuate the senses of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale *Queene Marie* her selfe gaue a full testimoniall, in restoring againe all Ecclesiasticall liuings assumed to the Crowne, saying, *that shee set more by the saluation of her owne soule, then shee did by tenne Kingdomes.* A worthy speech verily, and good example of a Prince, but slowly followed of many meane subiects, who in this case doe rather mussell the mouth of the *Oxe*, that treadeth out their Corne, then suffer such as serue at the Altar, to liue by the Altar.

The rites of *Rome* restored in *England*.

Hollinshed, p. 1127. b.

(86) And surely so well inclined was *Mary* of her selfe, that had not the zeale of her religion, and the authority of Churchmen ouer-swaied her owne disposition, the flames of their consuming fires had not mounted so high. But woe to the procurer of those sixe Articles, (for which many had died) enacted by King *Henry* the eight, whose rigour in some sort himselfe had both qualified and repealed, which were againe put in practize, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods; which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutuall society, and naturall affection, as can be committed; & that of life so tyrannically followed, as the Law it selfe may seeme with *Draco's* to be writ in blood, for within the compasse of lesse then foure yeeres continuance, there died no lesse, for the testimoniall of their conscience in this case, then two hundred seauenty and seauen persons without regard of degree, sexe or age.

Queene *Mary* commendable in her owne disposition.

Stat. H. 8. An. 31. cap. 5.

(87) In the heate of whose flames were consumed fiue Bishops, one and twenty Diuines, eight Gentlemen, eighty foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen seruants and labourers, twenty sixe wiues, twenty widowes, nine Virgins, two boyes, and two Infants, one of them whipped to death by B. *Bonner*, & the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as shee burned, was by the Sergeants throwne againe into the fire: Which barbarous cruelty, howsoeuer the Author of *Englands* three Conuersions, would excuse, as worthy of death; depraying the sufferers, of learning, religion, ciuill manners, and honesty of life; yet the more charitable of his owne ranke, and profession, doe pittie the spilling of so much Christian blood: the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to beleeue *Christs*

The bloody lawes of Queene *Mary*.

John Hooper B. of Glo. Ro. Farrer B. of S. Da. Nicholas Ridley, B. of L. Hugh Latimer of Wor. Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

Three conuersions.

spiritual

spirituall body, to be spiritually receiued in the blessed Sacrament of his supper.

Doctor Story de Quæst. tinling. p. 1180.

(86) The rigour therefore that fell from his mouth, who wished many more had so suffered, when the sword was so drawne, is farre from the precept and sufferance of Christ, that would haue euen tares grow vnpluckt, till his harueſt were in, and yet if those be his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word sufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe, and Apostle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Aduersaries testimonies, whose Prolocutor in a Conuocation assembled, publikely confessed that these deiected Ministers had the word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the sword; which how they then made it drunke with the blood of Gods Saincts, let him that hath the two edged sword in his mouth, at the great day of triall declare, to whose iudgement and mercie I leaue them.

Mark. 13. 29.

Iohn 10. 3.

2. Tim 3. 17.

Rich. Grafton. Hollinshed. Iob. Fox. Mart.

(87) Sixty foure more were persecuted for their profession and faith, whereof seauen were whipped, sixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghils, many lay in captiuitie condemned, but were released, and saued by the happy entrance of peaceable *Elizabeth*; and many fled the Land in those daies of distresse, amongst whom most memorable is that of *Katherine Dutchesse* of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Bartie* Esquire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

The story of Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke.

(88) This Lady *Katherine* was the only daughter, and sole heire of Lord *William* Baron of *Willoughby*, and of *Eresby*; and the last wife of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke* lately deceased, in whose time how shee affected the Papall Profession, in massing, and maskings, was made knowne by cloathing a dogge in a Rochet, and calling him *Gardiner*, and againe, in the daies of King *Edward*, *Gardiner* saluting her from his prison windowe in the Tower, shee told him it was well with the Lambes now the wolfe was shut vp. These stucke sore vpon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to bee Lord Chancellour of *England*, and she in disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master *Barty* a man too inferiour for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master *Bartie* her husband, charging him to be indebted foure thousand pound to the Queene, which was owing her by his Ladies late husband the Duke of *Suffolke*, vnto whom shee was Executrix, but this was onely the trayne of a false fire, and the Dutchesse religion, the marke he aymed at, for whom Master *Bartie* so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perswader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to trauell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutchesse by the Emperour.

The Dutchesse no fauourer of the Popish religion.

The Dutchesse of Suffolke fleeth the Land.

(89) *Bartie* being gone, and Lady *Katherine* secretly to follow, vpon the first of *Ianuarie* with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe apparrelled like a Merchants wife, from *Lyon Key* in *London* departed, the morning very misty, and her heart fraught with feare; for no sooner was shee gone, than newes thereof came to the Court, and search made after her, as farre as to *Leigh*, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being shrowded by a Marchant vnder the name of his daughter, shee escaped to Sea; but twice her shippe with contrary windes was driuen to the same shoare, to her great danger and no little griefe: yet lastly, shee arriued in *Brabant* where shee met with her husband: whence (being clad like a froe) they came into *Cleueland*, and at *Santon* seated themselues, til further prouision could be made.

(90) But the Townsmen suspecting they were not the Persons they went for, and the Bishoppe of *Arras* hearing that they were Protestants, purposed with the Magistrate to impeach their liberties, which *Bartie* hearing of, with his Froe and daughter, attended onely with two seruants suddenly made away vnto *Wesell*, a Towne priuiledged with the Stilliard in *London*. In trauell they were ouertaken by night, the weather was rainie, and the thaw vpon a great frost, made the way more deepe, in which distresse his two seruants he sent to seeke some reliefe, whilest himselfe (the surer on foot) bare the childe; and the Dutchesse to ease him carried his Rapier and Cloke.

(91) Thus passing thorow mire, dirt, and darke night, about seuen of the Clocke, all wet and wearie, they got vnto *Wesell*, where, he being suspected to be a Launce-knight, and shee his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainement, the language they had not, the childe cried pittifullie, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreme, and the raine powred downe as the clowdes had beene broken. In this distresse the Church-porch was thought vpon to shrowde them from raine, and to that ende Master *Barty* sent his two seruants to buye Coales and straw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, he met with two boyes that vnderstood Latine, of whom hee demanded for the Ministers house, who presently brought him to the place, where he supped. His name was *Pernesell* and had beene in *England*, where, of the Dutches he had receiued kind courtesie, and now at *Wesell* imploied his Ministery among certaine *Wallons*, who hearing that the Dutches was fled out of *England*, and that at *Santon* shee liued nothing safe, had procured for their abode in *Wesell*, without making knowne who these English were saue onely vnto the chiefe Magistrate.

The great distresse of the Dutchesse.

(92) Master *Barty* desiring to speake with the Minister, he presently came downe, who seeing the Dutches so disguised in apparel, and bemired in durt, could not speake vnto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts no doubt, Master *Barty* changed apparell with the good man, the Dutchesse with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the house: and thus were they comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

(93) Heere they seated not long, but that a suddaine watchword was sent them from Sir *Iohn Mason*, Queene *Maries* Ambassador in *Netherland*, that the Lord *Paget* had fained an arrant to the Spaw, and that the Duke of *Brunswicke* with tenne Ancients, would passe by *Wesell* for the seruice of *Austricke*, against the French King, by whom the Dutchesse and her husband should be intercepted and deliuered vnto the Lord *Paget*.

The Dutchesse sought after to be impeached.

(94) From hence therfore in haste they remoued to the Town *Wincheim* in high *Germany*, which was seated in the *Palsgraues* Dominions, where by his Protection they continued till their maintenance beganne to scant, and they also almost fainting vnder so heauy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very instant (God so mouing the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of *Vilua*, and the King of *Pole* hearing of their distresse, sent them a safe conduct, vnder the Palatines seale with assurance of maintenance, if they would come vnto those parts.

God doth helpe when man doth faile.

(95) From *Wincheim* therefore they forthwith departed, and in Wagon tooke towards *Franckford*, but by the *Langraues* Captaine were intercepted and set vpon in the high way, so that Master *Barty* was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captains Horse was slaine vnder him, and the cry maintained that he was slaine himselfe, whereupon *Barty* by the counsell of the Dutchesse, and swiftnesse of his horse fled amaine, but was so eagerly followed vpon opinion of murther, that hee hardly escaped with life, yet lastly they got into *Poland*, where they were honorably entertained vntill the death of Queen *Mary*, whose life in the meane while let vs returne to relate.

(96) The November next following her mariage, the Queene was reported to haue beene conceiued with child, for ioy whereof *Te Deum* was cõmanded solemnly to be sung, and Processions, and Praiers, made for her safe deliuerance. The Queene spoke

A.D. 1554. Queene *Mary* bruted to be with Childe.

her Chamber, the Court was full of Midwiues, and Gentlewomen attendants, Rockers were prouided, the Cradle prepared, and all made so certain, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Insomuch that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Marie*, this their young Master comming into the world, should find himselfe prouided for; where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should be Protector of her Issue, and Gouernour of the Realmes, vntill their Prince or Princesse should come to able yeeres.

So called by Sir *Rich. Southwell* a Knight of the house An. 1 & 2. *Philip. & Mariæ.*

(97) Howbeit as it should seeme this Spanish King had little confidence in the English, for, at his first entrance, hee had the hall dore of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, vnlesse his busines was first made known: the Lords hauing leaue to depart *London*, had strait commandement to send all their harnesse and Artillerie to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the maligners of this marriage: yea and somewhat doubtfull hee was also of those, who in shew bare him a faire face; the rather for that *a Noble man in consultation, had giuen his counsell to cut off Lady *Elizabethes* head, assuring himselfe, that those so bad minded to their naturall Princesse, could not bee better vnto him a stranger: who contrariwise vpon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him loue of all true *English* hearts: for from that day he neuer left to solicite his Queen for the deliuery of that innocent Princesse her sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstocke*, though no proofes could bee brought for any offence.

Act. & Mon. p. 1643. b.

The feares of K. *Philip.*

*Lord *Paget.*

K. *Philip* a great friend vnto Lady *Elizabeth.*

(98) At last his suit was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought vnto *Hampton Court*, hauing not seene the Queene for two yeeres before, here shee was lockt vp, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till some foureteene dayes after, shee was sent for into the Queenes Chamber about tenne of the Clocke in the night: which she no sooner had entred, but falling vpon her knees, shee praied God to preserue her Soueraigne Maiesty; protesting her loyalty and truth to her person, whatsoeuer had beene spoken or instigated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queene somewhat sharpely said, then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutely vpon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out; If not (quoth the Princesse) I request neither fauour nor pardon at your Maiesties hand: well, then said the Queen, you stand so stifly vpon your own loyaltie, belike you suppose to haue been wrongfully punished: I must not say so to your Maiesty said Lady *Elizabeth*: but you will then so report to others it seemeth, said Queene *Mary*: no, and it please your Maiesty saide the Lady, I haue borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I most humbly beseech your Graces good opinion of me, and to thinke mee your true Subiect, which from the beginning hetherto I haue euer beene, and wil be for euer so long as my life lasteth. The Queene replying in Spanish, said, God knoweth, and so they departed; K. *Philip* as is thought standing behind the *Arras* heard what was said.

Lady *Elizabeth* brought in presence of the Queene.

The conference of the Queene and Lady *Elizabeth.*

(99) Some seuen dayes after, her *Grace* was discharged of *Benefeild* her Taylor, and had leaue of liberty, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope* a Priuie Counsellor, and *M. Gage* the Queenes Gentleman Vsher, were still her Attendants all *Queene Maries* time: her Gentlewoman Mistresse *Asbley* was sent to the Fleete, and three other waiting maides vnto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, these stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* euery day more affectionatelie respected.

Lady *Elizabeth* discharged of imprisonment.

(100) About this time, *William Constable, alias Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the North, bruted himselfe to bee King *Edward* the sixt, but was seconded by none of any esteeme, and therefore the lesse dangerous or likely to bee beleeued. Notwithstanding all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeit; and hee lastly taken at *Eltham* in *Kent*, from whence to *Hampton* Court hee was presently conuaied, where his answeres were so simple, that hee was esteemed as a frantiche, and sent to the Marshall-See for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeite king (whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his fault) was brought vnto *Westminster*, and from thence whippped vnto *Smithfield*, whence hee was banished into the North, and without further punishment was so released: But this *Fetherston* the next yeere (as a dogge returning to his vomit) gaue it forth that K. *Edward* was aliue, whereupon he was again apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyborne*.

A page to Sir *Peter Mewtas.*

William Fetherston a counterfeit king Edward.

Fetherston executed.

Mar. 10.

(101) Now the expected time of *Queene Maries* deliuerance being fully approached, a rumor ranne in *London* and elsewhere; that a Prince was borne; for ioy whereof the Bels were rung, the Bonefires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerpe* also the like triumphes were made by the English Marchantes, the Mariners shooting off their Ordinance; for which an hundred Pistolets were sent them from the Lady Regent: but these flying reports proued but wind, which turned the *Vane* shortly into another point; for the truth bursting forth, told for a certaine, that the Queene had neuer beene conceiued, neither indeed was euer like to bee: which raised as many doubts, as had beene tales of her deliuerance: some affirming that shee was with Child, but miscarried, some, that shee was deceiued by a Tympany: and some that this rumor was spread for a policy: but what the truth was saith *Grafton*, I referre vnto others that know more.

Reports of the Queenes deliuerance.

The Parson of S. *Anne* within *Aldersgate*, *Holinsh.* Great triumphes for Q. *Maries* supposed deliuerance.

Rich. Grafton.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, vpon the fourth of *September* went ouer the Seas to visite his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeere and six moneths, to the great griefe of *Queene Mary* his wife, whom as some thought he little affected, and this his long stay made the suspition no lesse. But now returning to *Douer*, hee was by his Queene met on the way, and brought through *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realme, as in triumph against a Coronation.

A.D. 1555.

King *Philip* absent from the Queene a yeer and six monthe. A.D. 1557. March 18.

(103) In whose absence many Conspiracies had beene intended, but their foggy smoakes were vtterly extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queenes Exchequer at *Westminster*, meant with the money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Peckham, Iohn Daniel, Richard Vdall, Iohn Throckmorton, Iohn Dethicke, William Stanton, William Rossey, Iohn Beadell* and *White*, the reuealer of the same intendments. These all excepting *White*, were at sundy times executed, and Sir *Anthony Kingston* apprehended for the same, died on the way vnto *London*.

(104) The like stirres were attempted by one *Cleber* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, who in the Parrish Church of *Yarle*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood vp and read a penned, but traiterous proclamation against the Queene, perswading the people to take Armes, and to free the land of wrongs done by strangers.

Conspiracies in *Norfolke.*

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the iust punishments for their deserts, had fled the land into parts beyond the Seas; from whence attempting still to broach their Rebellions, they sent certaine bookes and letters written and printed, full of most slanderous vntruthes: and now following King *Philip* into *England*, assisted by some *English* and strangers, tooke by stealth the Castell of *Skarborough* in *Yorkeshire*, where hee published a most shamefull proclamati-

Thomas Stafford stirreth rebellion.

mation against the Queene, traiterously affirming that shee was neither rightfull, nor worthy of raign, and that the King had giuen vnto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest holds of the land. But by the prowesse of *Thomas Pearsey* (presently created Earle of *Northumberland*) hee was surprised, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head. All these stirres quieted, new troubles were rather sought for then ministred, and more losse followed to *Englands* dishonour, then glory had beene gained by this Spanish great Match.

Thomas Stafford beheaded.

(106) For the Emperour ouer-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of turmoiling wars, or rather touched with remorse of conscience for the infinite miseries brought by him vpon *Florence*, *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Tuscane*, *Elbo*, and *Calabria*, being perswaded that these mournfull iarres of Christian Princes had giuen to the Turke aduantage vpon diuers parts of *Europe*, hee called his sonne King *Philip* of *England* vnto *Bruxels* (as is said) where, by authenticke letters bearing date the fiue and twentieth of *October*, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him, commanding all his estates and subiects to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions and most wise exhortations, gaue him charge chiefly to hold amity with the French, lest otherwise the warres of those Puissant Nations might oppresse al Christendome.

Grimston in the French History. pag. 568.

Charles the Emperour resigneth all his Dominions to his sonne K. *Philip*.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to peace, and *Queene Mary* his wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, & to support the Religion which shee had raised, by restoring the Clergie their wonted possessions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens hands, from whose hard-hold, hardly could any thing bee wrested; but those in her owne, shee freely resigned by Parliament, with this most Christian resolution, and princely saying: that shee set more by the saluation of her owne Soule, then shee did by the reuenewes of ten Kingdomes, and so committed the restauration and dispose thereof vnto the Pope and Cardinall *Poole* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and empouerishing of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his fathers aduise, made peace with *France* to continue for fiue yeeres, which no sooner was made, then was again broken, but most of all to the losse of the English: for the Kings did not loue, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred bred daily new discontents: one principall was ministred by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy vnto the *Spaniard*, whom Duke *Alua* had mued vp within the walles of *Rome*. His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the French King, vnto whome hee sent a triumphant hatte, with a stately Sword, and thereupon had succour by the *Guyse*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the French decreasing for want of pay, and the Spaniard still raising their Trophees of victory, the Pope thought it sureft to hold with the strongest, & so made frustrate his amity with the French.

le Pope besieged, sendeth to France for helpe.

John Sleidon.

(109) *Queene Mary* of *England*, now the Pope was for *Spaine*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to shew her great loue and obedience to both, rather sought an occasion against King *Henry*, then any ministred by him for the breach of peace. Her pretences were many, as that the French King had instigated one *Dudley* and *Ashton*, vnto a new conspiracy, which they consulted vpon in his Ambassadors house in *London*, and being reuealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annuall pension. The like she alleadged against King *Henry* for succouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious complices, for suffering his Pyrats to molest her Seas, & for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland* and *wyats* rebellions, who as was alleadged, were supported by him.

John Stow Annals

June 7.

(110) These things premised, a defiance was sent into *France*, and was pronounced vnto *Henry* at *Rhemes* by *Clarenceaux* King at Armes. The French King loth to heare of these warres made his answere and preparations accordingly: and *Queene Mary* contrary to promise, entangling her subiectes with the quarrels of the Spaniards, with sound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres against *France*. To prosecute which, King *Philip* her husband passed ouer to *Calis*, and thence into *Flanders*, where hee made prouision to enter the field: after whom the Queene sent a thousand horsemen, foure thousand footmen, and two thousand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembroke* was appointed Captaine Generall, vnder whom in seuerall places serued Vicount **Montacute*, the L. *Grey* of *Wilton*, the Earle of * *Rutland*, the Earle of* *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of* *Leicester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Howard*, *De la Ware*, *Windsor*, *Bray*, *Shandoys*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approued valiancy.

A defiance sent into *France*.

Iuly 6.

An Army sent into *France*.

*Lieutenant, *Lord Marshall

* Coronel of foot.
* M. of the Ordinance.

(111) These passing the Seas, ioined with King *Philip*, whilest the Dukes of *Sauoy* and *Brunswicke*, the Earles of *Egmond*, *Horne*, and *Mansfeild*, had inuaded the French confines, and planted a strong siege before Saint *Quintins*; to whose rescue Monsieur *Mountmorancy* Constable of *France* came with nine hundred men at Armes, as many light horsemen, seauen hundred *Reisters*, twenty two Ensignes of Lancequenets, and sixteen Ensigns of the French: and thus furnished, he meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the assay so miscarried, that himselfe was both hurt & taken prisoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knightes of the Order, and not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his *English* came to the siege, by whose manly prowesse Saint *Quintins* was taken, for ioy whereof great triumphes were made in *England*, which long lasted not, through the losse of *Callis*.

S. *Quintins* taken by the English. August, 20.

(112) For this great victory made the English both negligent and careless, so that the Towne of *Callis*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were vnrespectiuelie regarded, and besides the neglect of supply to those peeces, the Souldiers thinking al out of danger, stood gazing at the shadow till the substance was lost: for the French being netled, that S. *Quintins* was *Philips*, let slippe no occasion wherin was aduantage: and the Duke of *Guize* imploying the Constables place, determined to put in proofe an enterprize for *Callis*, which long and many times had beene purposed vpon.

The English negligent after Saint *Quintins* was woone.

(113) This danger fore-seene, intelligence thereof was sent into *England*, but no supply heard of, first the Master of the Ordinance posted to the Councell, and secondly followed the Captaine of the Castell himselfe, but either by wilfull negligence or lacke of credite with the Queene and Councell, those businesses in *France* were slenderly regarded, vntill the supply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guize* with a maruellous celerity approached the English Frontier, vnder a colour to victuall *Boloigne* and *Ard*, and vpon a little sorry platte of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence diuiding his Army into two partes, sent the one vnto *Ricebancke*, whilest the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wanne within the space of twelue howres, the Captaine and Souldiers secretly departing to *Callis*. The like successe had the French against *Ricebanke*, being abandoned by the English Souldiers, and left to the *Guize* and his dispose.

Iohn Hirfeild.

Sir *Raph Chamberlaine.*

The English Forts lost to the *Guize*. January 1,

(114) Then were Canons mounted against *Callis* it selfe, and with continuall battery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the Water-gate, but yet vnassaultable, the English within so maintained the defence: this then a traine of false fire (for the French neuer meant their accesse that way) whilest all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fifteene double Canons against the Castell, which once perceiued, the *Callizians* knowing their resistance to weake, stored

Newnambridge lost.

Callis besieged by the Duke of *Guize*.

red Barrels of Gun powder within the *Keepe*, meaning to blow vp the *French* if they there entred, but that deuise failed; hauing waded through the ditch their clothes dropping wet, disabled the traine of powder to take fire, so that the *French* gotte the Castle with the death of Sir *Anthony Ager* Marshall of the Towne, his sonne and heire and fourescore *English* besides.

Callis surrendered to the *French*.

(117) The Lord *Wentworth* then Deputie of the Towne seeing all in like danger if meanes were delayed, sent vnto the Castle to haue a Parlee for composition, which the French foorthwith accepted, and sent out two Gentlemen for pledges whilest *Iohn Herfield* Master of the Ordinance, and *Edward Hall* Constable of the Castle, concluded vpon these dishonourable Articles, as followeth:

Vnhonourable Articles.

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and munition should bee yeelded freely to the *French*.

2 That the liues of all the inhabitants should bee saued, and haue their safe conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputy with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, should remaine prisoners and be put to their ransome.

The hard vsage of the *English*.

(116) Things thus ordered, the English were commanded into the Churches of our Lady, and Saint *Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and vntill the next day in the afternoone, without either meate or drinke, in which time the Duke of *Guize* commanded by Proclamation that all Iewels, Plate and Money to the value of a groate should bee laid vpon the Altar, and that vpon paine of death, a sorrowfull offertory towards the English, and a great enrichment vnto the *French*. Then was the Towne voided of fiue hundred ordinary Souldiers (a small Garrison indeed to man such a place) of Townsmen, women and children, foure thousand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth* Deputy, Sir *Ralphe Chamberlaine* Captaine of *Ricebancke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimston*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fifty were sent prisoners into *France* vntill ransome were paid: And thus the Town & Forts that were won by the victorious K. *Edward* the third, & that by no lesse then eleuen moneths seige, hauing now beene possessed by the *English* the space of two hundred and eleuen yeeres, was in the compas of eight daies besieged, surprized and wonne in the depth of Winter to the worlds wonder, and great suspition of treachery, which happened the seuenteenth day of Ianuary, and in the same moneth were surrendred the strong forts of *Guizes*, and *Hames*, whereby all the English footing was lost in the Continent of *France*.

Edward the eleuenth from *William* the Conquerour, wanne it: and *Mary* the eleuenth from *Edward*, lost it.

(117) This winning of *Callis* & the other strong holds as they were ioyous to the *French*, and with *Te Deum* & Bonefires celebrated with no lesse solemnity, then was that for the recouery of the County *Oye*, & the fort won from the English in *An.* 1347. so was it greeuous vnto the English Nobility, and most of al vnto *Queene Marie* her selfe. Insomuch as shee ceased not to trauell with the King and Councel how to couer the dishonour of her Raigne, by this losse of *Callis*; and albeit some assaies were made against *Breest*, and Mounsieur *Thermes* the new Captaine of *Callis* taken prisoner by County *Egmont* General for King *Philip* in the Low Countries, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recouered for any composition, which stroke so deepe a melancholy into *Queene Maries* minde, as shee letted not to say, that *the losse of Callis was written in her heart, and might therein bee read when her body should bee opened.* In which passions she continued the rest of her Raigne, which neuer had beene very prosperous, nor greatly pleasurable vnto her selfe, after shee had abolished the Gospell, restored the Popes Supremacy, and maried a stranger, who was vnto her a stranger indeede.

Queene *Maries* sayings for the losse of *Callis*.

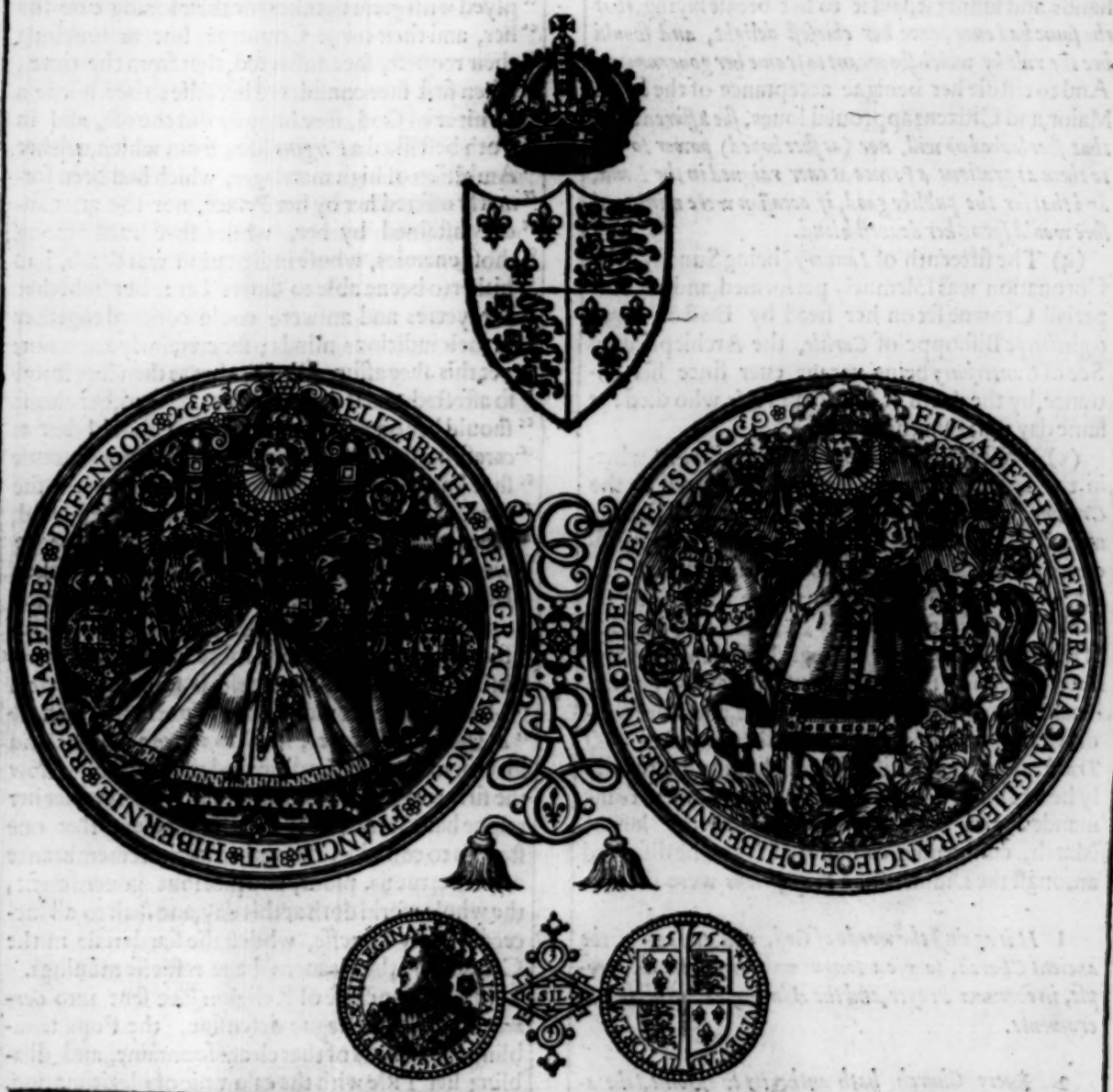
(118) Of al since the Conquest her Raigne was the shortest, only excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloudy then was his, and more blood spilt in that short time of her Raigne, then had beene shed for case of Christianity, in any Kings time since *Lucius* the first establisher of the Gospell in this Realme. Her conceptions failing, extreame dearths raging, hurt done by thunders from heauen, and by fire in the royall Nauie, forraigne losses, *Callis* surrendered, and King *Philips* keeping from Court, daily augmented *Queene Maries* melancholy, which lastlie increasing to a burning feauer made an end of her life, at her Mannor of S. *Iames* neere *Westminster*, the 7. of Nouem. and yeere of Christs incarnation 1558. whē she had raigned fiue yeers foure moneths, & eleuen daies, and liued forty two yeeres nine moneths and sixe daies, whose body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minster of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, without any monument or other remembrance.

Queene *Maries* Raigne most bloody.

Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH CROVVNE SINCE HINGIST THE FIRST SAXON, AND THE LAST BEFORE THE VNION OF THE VVHOLE ILAND. HER GLORIOVS RAIGNE, LIFE AND ACTS, VVITH THE TREASONS AND INVASIONS ATTEMPTED AGAINST HER PERSON AND STATE.

Monarch 61



CHAPTER XXIIII.

D.1558

THE Cloud thus set, that threatned more stormes, and a quiet calme happening when the rage was at highest, that wished Sunne then ascended our *Horizon*, whose rayes (as had beene hoped) presently dispelled all foggy Mists from *Englands* faire Skie; which was, the most milde Princesse Lady *Elizabeth*, another *Debora*, and *nursing mother* of Gods Saints, who being then at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, was there first saluted *Queene*, and the same day, with great ioy and full consent of both the Houses of *Parliament* (at that time assembled) was solemnly proclaimed Queene of *England*, with all other stiles rightly belonging to that Imperiall Title:

(2) Shee entred her Government vpon Thursday the seauenteenth of *November*, the same day that her sister *Queene Mary* died, the yeer of Christs assuming our flesh, 1558. and of her own age, twenty foure yeeres, two moneths and ten dayes. From *Hatfeild* * shee remoued vnto *Charterhouse* in *London*; * from whence shee was royally attended vnto the

Q. Elizabeths age.

* Novemb. 19.
* Novemb. 28.

Tower, and all complements prepared for her *Coronation*. In which time *Proclamations* came forth, forbidding any man to preach but by appointment, or to alter any *Ceremonies*, but according to the rites in her owne *Chappell*, as also that the *Letanie*, the *Epistles* and *Gospels* should bee read in all Churches in the *English tongue*.

The first proclamation touching Religion.

(3) All things in a readines vpon the fourteenth of *Ianuary*, with great triumphes and sumptuous shewes, shee passed through *London* towards *Westminster* to receiue the Imperiall Crown; but before shee entred her *Chariot* in the *Tower*, acknowledging that the seat was Gods into which shee was to enter, and she his *Vicegerent* to weild the *English* Scepter; in that royall assembly with eyes and hands eleuated to heauen vpon her knees, shee praied for his assistance, as *Salomon* did for wisdome when hee tooke the like charge; with a thankefull remembrance vnto God for his continued preseruation, who had brought her through great dangers vnto that present dignity. In which triumphall State as shee passed through the streetes of *London*, when the *Booke of God* was presented vnto her at the *little Conduit in Cheape*, shee receiued the same with both her hands, and kissing it, laid it to her breast saying, *that the same had euer beene her chiefest delight, and should bee the rule by which she meant to frame her gouernment*. And to testifie her benigne acceptance of the Lord Maior, and Citizens approued loues, *she assured them that shee lacked no will, nor (as shee hoped) power to bee to them as gratious a Prince as euer raigned in the Land, and that for the publike good, if occasion were ministred shee would spend her deerest bloud*.

Her passage through *London*.

Queene *Elizabeths* zealous deuotion.

The Bible presented to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The religious care of Queene *Elizabeth*.

(4) The fifteenth of *Ianuary* (being Sunday) the Coronation was solemnely performed, and the Imperiall Crowne set on her head by Doctor *Owen Oglethorpe* Bishoppe of *Carlile*, the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury* being vacant euer since her entrance, by the death of Cardinall *Poole*, who died the same day that Queene *Mary* did.

Her Coronation

Cardinall *Poole* and Q. *Mary* died both in one day.

(5) Presently there followed a *Parliament*, wherin the Title of *Supremacy* was againe restored to the *Crowne*, with the *first fruits*, and *Tenths* of all Ecclesiasticall liuings, and the *Booke of Common Prayer* ratified for an vniforme celebration of Gods diuine seruice in the *English* Churches; as also those *Acts* repealed, that were enacted by *Queen Marie*, in fauor of the *Romish Religion*. Things thus established, and liberty giuen to the Gospell, many that had fled the Realm in case of conscience, returned, and were prouided for according to their worthes, and that *Gods Truth* might be established, (which thing her princely heart chiefly sought after) a conference was commanded and begunne at *westminster* the last of March, concerning certain Articles to be discussed amongst the Diuines. The *Propositions* were three.

Stat. prim. Eliz. cap. 1. The Regall Supremacy. *Chap. 2.*

Queene *Maries* Acts repealed.

Conference at *westminster* touching Religiō

1 *It is against the worde of God, and custome of the ancient Church, to vse a tongue vnknowne to the people, in common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments.*

2 *Euery Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiasticall rites, so the same be to edification.*

3 *It cannot bee proued by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered vp a sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead.*

The Propositiōs to bee discussed. *Joh. Stow p. 1084*

The Disputants on both parts.

The Impugners of these Assertions were,
- *The Bishop of Winchester,*
- *The Bishoppe of Lichfield,*
- *The Bishop of Chester.*
- *The Bishoppe of Carlile,*
- *The Bishoppe of Lincolne,*
- *D. Cole.*
- *D. Harpsfeild.*
- *D. Langdall,*
- *D. Chedsey.*

The Defendors of those Assertions were,
- *D. Scorie,*
- *D. Coxe,*
- *D. Sands,*
- *M. Whitehead,*
- *M. Grindall,*
- *M. Horne,*
- *M. Gest.*
- *M. Elmer,*
- *M. Iewell.*

These being solemnly set with many Honourable Counsellors among them, before the *Conference* could well beginne, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the *Bishops* (as *Stow* hath alleadged) who, first pleaded a mistaking of their directions, and in the next sitting, vtterly refused either to write their owne, or to reade the others reasons, whereby all was vndone that was intended, and whereof a part was * imprinted as is yet to bee seene.

The Conference ended almost as soone as begun.

* By *Rich Iugge* and *John Cawood*

(6) During the time of this *Parliament* a Petition was made vnto her Maiesty for the hope of roiall Issue, to moue her vnto marriage; vnto which eloquent Oration deliuered by the *Speaker*, shee re- "plyed with great thankes for their louing care for "her, and their owne Country: but as touching "their requeſt, shee answered, that from the time, "when first shee considered her selfe to bee borne a "seruitor of God, shee happily did choose, and in "truth best liked a *Virgins* life, from which, neither "Ambition of high marriages, which had been for- "merly offered her by her Prince, nor the grieuan- "ces sustained by her, whiles shee liued among "those enemies, whose indignation was death, had "hitherto beene able to diuert her: but whether "her yeeres and answere could concord together "in their iudicious minds; she certainely knew not; "yet this shee assured them, that as then shee stood "so affected, and if that affection changed, her choise "should bee onely of such a one, as should bee as "carefull, shee would not say, as her selfe, (because "shee knew her selfe best) but as any of them for the "Realmes good, and yet withall shee considered, "that although her selfe, for their welfare (if neede "were) would not shunne death, yet might her "Issue, (as often hapneth to the best parents) grow "out of kind, and proue vngracious. And there- "fore to leaue behind her a more lasting and grate- "full remembrance, shee held it sufficient, that a "Marble-stone should declare to posterities, *that she "a Queene had raigned, liued, and dyed a Virgin*: and so with many thankes dismissed the assembly. How the first was accomplished, wee that liued vnder her raigne haue seene; but how insufficient that one stone is to containe, & continuate the remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious gouernment, the whole world doth at this day, and shall to all succeeding ages witnesse, whilest the Earth rests in the Center, and the Heauens haue restlesse mouings.

Q. *Elizabeths* sayings in the Parliament.

(7) For the cause of Religion shee sent into *Germany* touching a league defensiue, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fountaine, and disabling her Title with the calumnie of illegitimation. In the meane while a peace being on foot betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, Queene *Elizabeth* also interposed for *England*, wherein the restoring of *Callis* was a maine point, whereupon her Highnesse stood, which was thus.

Her first actions with forraine Princes.

Ex Manuscript. Henr. Killigrew.

(8) For the Earle of *Arundell*, the Bishoppe of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury* remaining Commissioners in *France* at the death of Queen *Mary*, vpon composition for the regaining of *Callis*, & other peeces lost in the cause of K. *Philip*: her Maiesty sent them instructions to continue their demands, and certain sure grounds wheron they might worke. The first was that the quarrell of war was not *Englands*, but *Philips* of *Spaine*; in whose fauour Queene *Mary* his wife against the will of her Councell, sent him aid of her Subiects. And if in case the *French*

She claimeth restitution of *Callis* from the French.

Ex MS. The instructions of Q. *Elizabeth* sent to the Commissioners.

Proofes that Callis was Englands.

French should challenge *Callis* as inhereditaty vnto the Crowne of *France*, to that they should answere, that there were many Signiories and places in *France*, wherunto the *English* might make their iust claime, and some in possession since *Callis* was English, which Towne was not onely Lawfully granted, and assured from the *French* themselues vnto the Crowne of *England*, but was also allowed by Articles of all treatises of peace, for the space of two hundred yeeres and more, this euermore specially prouided, *that Callis should remaine in the quiet possession of the English.*

Great summes of Mony owed by France.

And the better to impresse the deliuery of *Callis*, in the mould of the *French*, they were to demand certaine arrerages, wherein their King and Realme had fallen for great summes of monies and debts accruing to the *English* Crowne: aswell by the acknowledgement of the mother of King *Francis* then being Regent of *France*, and iudgement thereupon giuen; as also by the treaty of *More*, *de Dato*, 1525. The treaty of perpetuall peace, *de Dato*, 1527. and the late treaty betweene King *Henry* the eight, and King *Francis*, for the deliuery of *Bullein*, *de dato*, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there was two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the copies of which treatises and confession, the said Commissioners haue with them. Also another debt of an hundred thousand crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King *Francis* hand. And where also there is one perpetuall pension of fiftie thousand crownes due, as appeareth by the treatie of perpetuall peace, and one other pension of Salt, as appeareth by the same treatie. All which notwithstanding, rather then the *French* should retaine *Callis*, her maiesty was contented to remit the whole debt and arrerages: but without that in no wise shee held it conuenient to conclude peace with *France*, and that obtained, shee remitted the other Articles to the discretion of the Commissioners. But the *English Queene* was no more desirous to haue *Callis*, then the *French* King vnwilling to let it goe. Whereupon lastly it was thus concluded, That *Callis* should remaine *French*, the tearme of eight yeeres, and those expired, should returne to the *English* vpon forfeiture of fiue hundred thousand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the originall, is thus translated.

(9) *It is couenanted, agreed, and concluded, that the said most noble Lady Queene of England, shall suffer and permit the foresaid most Christian King of France, his heires and successors, to hold, possesse, and peaceably enioy, from the day of the date of this present treaty, vntill the terme of eight yeeres following, the Towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices belonging to the same, and also the port or hauen of the said Towne, with the Tower of Ruysbank, and also the Towers, Lordships, villages, and places of Newnainbridge, Merke, Oye, Hams, Sandgate, the Tower and Towne of Guisnes, and all the rest of that County taken in this last warre, and all other Townes, Castles, Villages, Lands, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Riuers, Hauens, Defences, Forts and Shores, and generally all places whatsoeuer scituate vnto them by the sea, which the said most Christian King hath gotten in this last warre, and taken by force of Armes, in the raigne of the most noble Lady Mary, late Queene of England. And the said most Christian King, hath promised, and doth promise aswell in his owne name, as in the name of the King Daulphin his sonne, his heires, and successors, for which Daulphin, the said most Christian King hath made himselfe, and doth make himselfe answerable, promising that hee will take care of, and effect that the said King Daulphin shall approue this treaty, and ratifie it, within two moneths after the date of this treaty, which said terme of eight yeeres being complete and ended, the said most Christian King his heires and successors shall presently without delay, relinquish, deliuer, and restore, or cause to be deliuered, and restored to the said most noble Prince* Elizabeth, *Queene of England, her heires, and successors, or to those that should bee thereunto deputed by her, or her heires and successors, the said towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices aforesaid, and all other and singular places aforesaid, and also the Towers, Castles, and fortresses whatsoeuer in the aforesaid parts, and also the places now of late builded, fortified, or reedified during the said terme of eight yeeres; and the said most Christian King his heirs and successors shall leaue the possession of all the said places, and depart from it, and wholly forsake the same. So that the most noble Lady Queene* Elizabeth, *her heires and successors may peaceably enioy, and quietly hold the possession of them, with al the rights, priuiledges, preeminences, superiorities, recognitions, and all other authorities in the like manner, state, condition and nature, in which the Kings of England haue held them, and possessed them before the beginning of this last warre. Prouided notwithstanding, and expresly couenanted, that the said most Christian King, his heires and successors shall not be bound to restore or deliuer the Townes and Fortresses, and places aforesaid, otherwise then in the same state, manner, and condition, in which now at this present they are, and hereafter shall be strengthened and fortified by them, during the said terme, yet so notwithstanding as neither in the time of such restitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of set purpose, whereby the former state of the strengthes, and fortifications which now it is in, or which hereafter added, by them, bee in any wise minished, broken, or ouerthrowne, but that all things without fraude, bee restored intire and vnimpaired, in maner aforesaid.*

Also it is couenanted and agreed, that during the terme of the said eight yeeres, it shall neither bee lawfull for the said Christian King, nor for the said most fortunate King and Queene of Scots, nor for the said most happy Queene of England to innouate, attempt, or enterprise by warre any thing against each other, or for any one of them against the other, or against the Kingdomes, proper dominions, and Subiects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the preiudice of this present treatise, &c. And likewise if any thing shall bee so innouated and attempted by the said most Christian King, and most happy King and Queen of Scots, or the subiects of them, by the authority, commandement, and approbation of them, or any of them. Then the said most Christian King, and King Daulphin, their heires and successors, by such kinde of innouation attempted, vpon the deed done, shall bee bound and obliged to leaue and depart from the possession and occupation of the said Towne of Callis, and of all other places aforesaid on this side the sea, taken of late from the English, by the said most Christian King. And all those things they shall deliuer and restore without any delay to the said most worthy Queene of England, *in the same maner and forme, in which at the said terme of eight yeeres, they were promised and couenanted to be restored; which restitution if it shall not be so made, the said Merchants and pledges shall be bound to pay the said penalty of fiue hundred thousand Crowns to the said most worthy Queen of* England, *and the couenant notwithstanding of restoring the said Towne shall neuertheless remaine in force. Moreouer if any of the Subiects of any of the Princes aforesaid, of their owne authority, shall endeauour or attempt any thing against the subiects of either of the said Princes in preiudice of this Treatise, he shall be punished as an infringer of the peace, according to the quality of the fact.*

These couenants notwithstanding they were sealed and sworne vnto, yet were neuer performed at the yeeres of expiration, though Marchants were bound, and hostages assigned to remaine in *England* till the money were paid.

(9) So suspiciously had this Towne of *Callis* beene recouered from the *English*, that the Lord *Wentworth* (the Deputie) was indited in *Queene Maries* daies, and now arraigned at *Westminster*; the Marquesse of *Northampton* being his Iudge, and Lord Chiefe Steward of *England* for that day; but that Nobleman so nobly defended himselfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and wan a most honourable opinion for his many and faithfull seruices.

(10) Her Highnesse hauing thus cleered the

English

English aire from all Papall infection, and eſtabliſhed Peace, the greateſt benefit for the Subiect; on the fourteenth of May, being *Whitſunday*, *Diuine Seruice* began to be celebrated in the *Engliſh tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might bee heard in a perfect ſound; and the praiers of the Congregation vttered with an vnderſtanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, ſhould not be infected themſelues, the *Oath of Supremacy*, with other Articles, was offered vnto them, the refuſers whereof were forthwith depriued, and others ſurrogated that were more loially affected. In place of *Poole* deceaſed, Doctor *Parker* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Yorke*, Doctor *Younge* in ſteade of *Heth*, who refuſed the Oath; and ſo of ſome others: then went foorth *Commiſſioners* to ſuppreſſe thoſe Monaſteries reſtored by *Queene Marie*, and to caſt out thoſe Images ſet vp in Churches, whoſe ſight hauing heated the blinde zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themſelues in the ſtreets conſumed in the fire, at whoſe flames might be ſaid, as in *Iſaiah* touching peeces of like ſtuffe, had beene ſaid: *I am warme, I haue beene at the fire.*

Diuine ſeruice celebrated in the Engliſh tongue.

1. Cor. 14.

The oath of Supremacy offred, and by ſome refuſed.

Superſtitious Images caſt out of Churches.

Iſaiah 44. 16.

(11) After the reducing of this purer worſhip into Gods Church, the next care the *Good Queene* tooke, was to enrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynes into fine and pure Sterling, and debaſing of Copper monies: cauſing likewiſe great ſtore of Munition, Armour and Powder to be brought into the Land, and laid vp in a readines as occaſion ſhould ſerue, that nothing might be wanting either for the wealth or ſafety of the ſubiect.

Purer Coine brought in.

Martiall prouiſions.

But theſe her bleſſed beginnings in *England* were little as it ſeemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whoſe hope* (ſaith *Leſlie*) *by certaine acts of Parliament made by Queene Marie againſt her ſiſter the Lady* Elizabeth *to debarre her from the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, was to eſtabliſh Queene Marie of Scotland, who had lately married Prince Dolphine his ſonne, laying her title from Margaret the eldeſt daughter of King Henrie the ſeuenth, linked in Marriage with Iames the fourth King of that name, ſhee being the daughter of King Iames the fifth his ſonne. And therefore as the neereſt in blood, and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, he cauſed by Proclamation in Paris her Stile to bee publiſhed vnder the name of Mary Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and cauſed the Armes of England to bee ioined with Scotland and France, which the Dolphine and ſhee did impale, both in their Seales, Plate, Tapiſtrie, and other adornements; which cauſed great troubles* (ſaith hee) *betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.*

The *French* King maligneth Queene *Elizabeths* quiet. *Iohn Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

Queene *Marie* of *Scotland* her deſcent.

Her claime to the Engliſh Crowne.

The Title and Armes of *England* giuen to her by the *French.*

The firſt ſeedes of heart-burning betwixt thoſe two great Queenes of *England* and *Scotland.*

(13) In *Scotland* Religion (as *England* had embraced it) beganne to be practiſed; Preachers ſpake boldly, and bookes were daily brought thither, which nothing at all commended the Pope, and by them (ſaith the Biſhop) *the people were moued to a ſedition*, which to preuent, the * *Queene Regent* cauſed an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Barons, vnto whom the Miniſters preſented theſe Articles.

The Progreſſe of Religion in *Scotland.* Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

* *Mary* daughter to the Duke of *Guiſe.*

1 *That their diuine praier and publicke adminiſtration of the Sacraments ſhould be in the Engliſh tongue.*

2 *That Biſhoprickes and other Eccleſiaſticall benefices ſhould be beſtowed vpon qualified men.*

3 *That ſuch perſons enioying the profits, ſhould performe their duties and preach the word to the people.*

4 *That none ſhould be admitted in time to come, into the Miniſtry, vnleſſe his life and learning were anſwerable to that excellent calling.*

Articles propoſided to *Scotiſh* Biſhops and Peeres.

(14) To the two firſt, the Biſhops alleaging the cuſtomes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wiſe conſent, leauing euery man at liberty *priuately* to pray in what language he beſt liked; and the election of their Biſhops to the preſcription of the *Canon Law*, and to the appointment of their *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could be preſcribed then that of their *Common Law*, which impoſeth vpon them, aſmuch as was required; and thereupon they began to put the ſame in execution, commanding all that had charge of ſoules to fit themſelues to their functions, otherwiſe to looke for no fauour from depriuation, after the terme of ſixe moneths. Which was (ſaith the ſame Author) *the principall cauſe, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and beneficed men, did aſſiſt the enterprize, and practiſed deuiſes for the ouerthrow of the Catholike Religion.*

The *Scotiſh* Biſhops anſwers.

Many Scotiſh Abbots, Priors, &c. aduance true Religion.

(15) True it is, that at the preaching of *Iohn Knoxe*, and other Miniſters affecting reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuſe, were caſt downe and burnt, but alſo the Charterhouſe of the Friers at *Perth* deſtroied, which was the faireſt Abbey in the Realme of *Scotland*; then followed the ouerthrow of the Monaſteries of Saint *Andrewes*, of *Stone*, of *Striueling*, and of *Linlithgow*; which ouerheady proceedings cauſed ſuch ſtirres in the Land, that the *Lords of the Combination* encamped at *Cowper*, to abide battle againſt the *French* (who came into *Scotland* to impeach their purpoſes) had not the trauels of ſome Noblemen preuailed on either part.

Stirres in *Scotland* raiſed by ſome heady proceedings.

The *French* ſend forces into *Scotland.*

(16) The *French* King, thus ouer-buſie about *Scotlands* ſtate, was ouercarleſſe of his own, when (at ſolēnizing the marriages of his daughter and ſiſter) hee would needs be a *Challenger* at Tilt, ſeconded by the Duke of *Guize* & *Ferrara*, which triumphant ioy, was ſodenly clowded with a ſad Cataſtrophe. For to runne his laſt (and indeed his laſt) courſe in fauour of his *Queene*, he ſent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*, with a command to haue him enter the Tilt; but hee excuſing himſelfe from running againſt his Maieſtie, alleaged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one ſtaffe, and that now (as he feared) ſhe would put him to a ſecond ſhame; but the King, deſtiny ſo enforcing, and his date fully runne, ſent him a ſecond command, which *Montgomery* very vnwillingly obeyed, and breaking his Lance vpon the Kings Cuiraſſe, a ſplinter thereof, his Beauer being ſomewhat open, ſtroke him ſo deepe in the eie, that thereupon ſhortly hee ended his life.

Iſabel his daughter married vnto *Phillip* 2. King of Spaine, *Margaret* his ſiſter married vnto *Emanuel Phillibert* Duke of *Sauoy*, Iune 30. 1559. *Iohn Serres.*

King *Henrie* of *France* killed in Tilting.

(17) After whoſe death, *Francis* his ſonne, and ſecond of that name, at the age of ſixteene yeeres ſucceeded him in the Crowne of *France*; hauing by the marriage of *Queene Mary*, the Title of *Scotland* annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raiſed there, in caſe of Religion, ſent *Mounſieur de la Broche* to ſtrengthen the Field, and the Biſhop of *Ameans* to aſſiſt the *Queene Regent*, with his farre reaching and inſeeing counſell. Surely the preparation to withſtand them was great, and the combinators many that ſtood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, foureteene *Earles*, and eleuen *Lords*, beſides other of name and account; but knowing their Aduerſaries forces, and ſeeing thoſe ſtrangers to poſſeſſe diuers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppreſſing of the Kingdome vnder forraigne ſubiectiō, they were enforced to become Petitioners vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the *French*, who ſought the ſubuerſion of the Realmes ſtate.

Francis the ſecond King of *France.*

He ſends forces to *Scotland.*

The *Scotiſh* Nobles craue Queene *Elizabeths* aſſiſtance. *Holinſhed.*

(18) The Magnanimous Queene, nothing fearing the threats of that potent Nation, nor liking ſuch neighbours as formerly profeſſed to rob her of her right, and now vnder pretence of ſuppreſsing the *Scots*, were not vnlikely to attempt an inuaſion vpon her Realme; (for ſo the *Almanes* hired by the *French* were told they ſhould doe) gaue them aſsiſtance vpon Articles aſſured; whereof one was, that they ſhould hold faithfull concurrence with *England* during the life of the *French* King, and one yeere after. For the performance whereof, fiue young Gentlemen were ſent into *England*; and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barwicke* diſpatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for Generall into *Scotland*, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, ſixe thouſand foot, and one thouſand two hundred and fifty horſemen; theſe comming to *Salt-Preſton* were

Queene *Elizabeth* aſſiſteth the *Scotiſh* Lords.

Iohn Leſley.

The Lord *Grey* Generall of the *Engliſh.*

were ioyfully receiued of the Scotish Lords, who there in Councell decreed what was to be done.

The Queene Regent desires conference.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Lesterike*, where a Trumpet from the Queene Regent met them with a safe conduct for Sir *Iames Croft*, and for Sir *George Howard*, with sixe other Gentlemen to accompany them vnto her presence in the Castell of *Edenborough*; vnto which the *Generall* and the Scotish Lords agreed, with an abstinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane while) vnder the command of *Monsieur Deisell* issued foorth of *Leith*, and in good array took the field, which when the Lord *Gray* perceiued, he sent an Harold vnto them, willing them to depart till the English were returned, according to the order betwixt their *Regent* and him; but they returned him answer, they were on their Mistresses ground, which they meant to make good, and therupon discharged a whole volley of shot vpon the English Army.

The French disturbe the intended parley.

(20) The Allarum thus giuen when least it was expected, a cruell skirmish beganne, wherein died of the French about seauenscore persons, the rest were enforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the English both hurt and slaine. Whereupon they intrenched the *Crag*, and planted their *Ordinance* against *Leith*, vpon whose Steeples the French had mounted their great Canons, whence their Bullets flew amaine; and ere long a bold attempt was vndertaken by them, who with fiftie horsemen and fiue hundred Harquebusiers issued out of *Leith*, and assailed the English new trenches with such valour, as they entred, & a while possessed the same; where they tooke *Maurice Barkeley* prisoner, wonne his ensigne, cloyed the touch-holes of three great peeces, and slew no small numbers of their resisters.

The French and English encounter.

The French assayle the English

(21) The English by this time had armed themselues (for this assault was vnexpectedly giuen) and Captaine *Vaughan* with his, brauely entred the Trench, who being seconded by Captaine *Sommerset*, *Reade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recouered the same with some slaughter of men, the Ordinance from *Leith* discharging vpon them to the great annoyance of their honourable seruice; and now being Masters of what was late lost, they cleared the great Ordinance which the French had stopped, and cast a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beate downe the Steeples of Saint *Anthony* and Saint *Nicholas* in *Leith*, and dismounted the Peeces that therein lay leuelled against them.

The English regayne their Trenches.

(22) In the full course of which dissentions, the Queene mother, *Regent of Scotland* (a Lady of excellent endowmentes of minde) consumed with thoughts, displeasures and Melancholy, departed this life in *Edenbrough* Castell: the Lords waxing stronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremity of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whome their strength did consist) not able to assist them. Who being brought daily into feares through new tumults arising, and increased in his owne Country of *Amboise*, was forced (saith *Leslie*) to yeeld vp all the Dominions, both of *France*, and of *Scotland*, vnto Pope *Pius* the fourth, to bee at his command and defence; but his Holinesse fearing his owne tottering estate, like a wise man, that meant to warpe no more then he could well weane, suffered king *Francis* to seek for other redresse, which hee did from her, that was more willing and better able to giue him content.

Iul. Aemyl. The Queene Regent dieth.

The French King yeelds ouer his Dominions to the Popes protection. *Lesly* li. 10. p. 568.

Holinsh. Hist. p. 373.

The Pope vnable to assist the French king.

(23) For sending his Ambassadors vnto Queen *Elizabeth*, whose noble spirit himselfe had first prouoked, desired her peace to bee had with *Scotland*, & that Commissioners might be appointed to meet with his in that Realme; alleadging that it was vnfitting to a Soueraigne to sue to his Subiects, as hee was ouer them by his marriage with their onelie Queene. Her princely mind euer forward to assist the afflicted, and now desirous to saue Christian bloud, dispatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecill* her Principall *Secretary*, with Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her sacred Councell, eminent for his singular prudence, and formerly imployed vpon like affaires in *France*.

The French King yeelds ouer his Dominions to the Popes protection. *Lesly* li. 10. p. 568.

The French king seeketh for peace with Q. *Elizabeth*

Commissioners of *England* and *France* meete in *Scotland*.

(24) These falling in conference concluded finallie vpon certaine Articles, whereof those that concerned *England* were these: That neither the King of *France* nor his Queene of *Scotland*, should thenceforth vse the Armes or titles of *England* or *Ireland*, and that all letters sealed with those Armes should bee called in within sixe monethes space: that both the *English* and *French* should depart *Scotland*, some few excepted, employed vpon occasions; and that a generall pardon should bee enacted by Parliament concerning all such as had beene in these stirres. Which Parliament was assembled at *Edenbrough* in August following. These things accomplished, an Ambassage of thankes was solemnly addressed vnto Queen *Elizabeth* by the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and the young Laird of *Lethington*, with proffer that the Earle of *Arran*, the greatest Lord in account among them, should be at her dispose for marriage, which (as they well hoped) wold be to her selfe.

Articles of accord

An Ambassage of thankes to Q. *Elizabeth*.

(25) With the like conceiued hope the yeere before, *Iohn* Duke of *Finland*, second sonne to *Gustabus* King of *Sweden*, was sent to her by his father, to treate a marriage for his elder brother *Ericus*, who was most honourably entertained, but dismissed without all hope of his suite. Notwithstanding, *Gustabus* being dead, *Ericus* now raigning King of *Sweden*, hauing imprisoned his brother *Iohn*, solicited her Maiesty the second time, but to his dishonour as it fell out, for his suite reiected in the English Court, hee attempted to match with the youngest daughter of *Philip Lantgraue* of *Hassia*, who hearing that hee had twice receiued deniall in *England*, denied him also with some disgrace, giuing his daughter vnto *Adolfe* Duke of *Holst*, vncle vnto *Fredericke* King of *Denmarke*, at that time enemy to *Ericus*.

Ericus sonne to the King of *Sweden* seekes marriage with Queene *Elizabeth*. *Iohannes Leuinclauii. Comment. de bello Moscouitum.*

(26) The Peace scarsely was concluded betwixt *England* and *France*, when *Francis* the young King was taken away by death, and another pupill King crowned, euen *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the Queene mother, and molested with the ciuill dissentions betwixt those Princes of *Guize* and *Conde*. For whose reconciliation Queene *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord President of *Wales*; vnto which her endeauours, howsoeuer the French gaue countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants shippes, imprisoned the men, and seized their goods, no other cause alleaged but that they were Hugonets.

An. D. 1560
An Reg. 2
Francis the yong French King dieth.
Charles the 9. succeeded his brother.

Q. *Elizabeth* laboureth to settle peace in *France*.

The *French* seize on English Marchants.

(27) These misdemeanors, *Englands* great Queen tooke not well; yet did shee not so much blame, as pitty the young and ouerruled King, brought to such a straight, that hee was neither able to defend the authority of his owne lawes, nor to vphold the leagues made with other Princes. But most especially the cause of Religion (the onely pretended motiue of all these disturbances) together with the solicitations of the French themselues (as from *Roan*, *Deip* and *Newhauen*) moued her Maiesty first to set forth her greeuances publikely in print, and next to send aide vnto Monsieur *Vidame* Captaine of *Newhauen*, against such as sought to subuert both religion and the Estate.

The French greeuances towards the English.

The English support Religion in *France*.

(28) These landing in *Normandy* were with great ioy receiued into the Townes of *Newhauen*, *Roan*, and *Deip*, which were willingly surrendred into the English Queenes possession (the onely Cloud-pillar that stood betwixt Gods chosen Israel, & the bloud-seeking Amalekites in this wilderneese of *Sin*,) with this reseruation by the Queene her selfe inserted, *no way to preiudice the Kings Soueraigne authority, nor the estate of the Realme*; so vpright was she, notwithstanding their late vniust intruding vpon her right and

An. D. 1562 in Septemb.

Ioh. de Serres.

title; and her owne iuſt and ancient title to thoſe forraine parts, and eſpecially to *Normandy*.

Ambroſe Dudley Earle of *Warwick* Generall of the Engliſh.

(29) The Generall of theſe Engliſh ſo ſent, was the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley* Earle of *Warwicke*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arriued at *Newhauen* the nine and twentieth of *October*, where his Commiſſion was proclaimed, and oath taken, vnto whom ſtrengths of Scotiſh men were ſent him from *Diepe*, whereof Monſieur *Montgomery* was preſently made Gouernour, hauing loſt *Roan* vnto the King of *Nauarre*; though the vnfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the City.

The King of *Nauarre* ſlaine at *Roan*.

(30) To withſtand the Engliſh thus ſetled in *Normandy*, the Conte *Reingraue* was ſent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwicke*, that he was come to bee his neighbour; but proued indeed ſo couetous an encrocher, as laſtly he diſpoſſeſſed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the Engliſh, and the place ſtored with prizals of wines; yet wanting freſh victuall, but eſpecially freſh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious peſtilence that ſlew many more thē did either famine or ſword; ſo that the *Engliſh* hauing poſſeſt the Towne for eleuen monethes ſpace, now were conſtrained to ſurrender it vpon compoſition; bringing thence many ſicke ſouldiers that dangerouſly infected *England* with a long continuing plague.

Newhauen ſurrendred.

The plague brought into *England* from *Newhauen*.

(31) Times motion in *England* now moued only with the benefite of peace, and no act memorable to commit vnto hiſtory; let vs ſupply this Interim with looking a little into the ſtate of Religion in *France*; as wee haue ſeene, and ſomewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Goſpell ſpreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugners tooke occaſions to raiſe many ſtirres, and all in ſhew to race out new hereſies as they accuſed & called the reformed doctrine. For which cauſe the French Townes burning in the flames of ſeditions, the Proteſtants bloud was thought fitteſt to quench them, & the rapines committed vpon chaſt wiues and virgines, was pretended to bee canceld by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the bloud: which were *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Nauarre*, a fauourer of the Goſpell, and *Margaret* of *Valois* the third daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond, and ſiſter vnto King *Charles* now raigning, a Princeſſe much deuoted to the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe muſt bee the Birds to bring others to the Nette, and one of them laid for, to bee caught in the ſame ſnare.

The State of Religion in *France*.

The Spouſals of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and *Margaret de Valois* ſolemnized with bloud.

(32) This match was plotted by the Marſhall of *Coſſe*, and the *Maſter of Requeſts*, with the deuiſe no doubt of ſome in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Nauarre*, vnder the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare vnto her; and the *Chaſtillon* Admirall (a moſt zealous Proteſtant) vnder an intent of imployment for the defence of the Low Countries, againſt the King of *Spaine*. This match indeed ſeemed to confirme a publike concorde, only the Popes diſpenſation muſt bee had by reaſon of pretended conſanguinity of the parties, the one being petty Nephew, the other grand-child of *Francis* the firſt King of *France*. And the Queen of *Nauarre* made ſome ſcruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place and Church; but ciuill reaſon ouerſwaying all difficulties, the Theater muſt be *Paris*, as the Capitall City, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

The plotters and pretences of the marriage.

The ſcruples of the Queene of *Nauarre*.

(33) *Chaſtillon* the Admirall was formoſt at Court, where the Papales gaue him place, and to take from him all iealouſie or miſtruſt, the King countenanced him ſo much, that hee repayed his loſſes ſuſtained in the warre, grants him the reuenewes of his brother the Cardinall *Chaſtillon*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, treates with him familiarly, giues him a place in his Priuy Councell, and euer honours him with the plauſible name of *Father*; inſomuch as the people beganne to murmur that King *Charles* not onely fauoured the *Huguenots*, but was now become a *Huguenot* himſelfe. And the Admiral for his part thinking all vpright, to that end moueth the King to treat a peace with the Queen of *England* to the preiudice of the *Spaniards*: with theſe motiues among others; that *Elizabeth* was vnmarried, and *Henry* Duke of *Anion* had no wife, the dignity of ſo high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by the Queene; he hauing in his yong yeeres purchaſed great honour and reputation.

The faire ſhew made to *Chaſtillon* to beguile him and the Proteſtants.

Iob. Serres.

A match wiſhed betwixt *Queene Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anion*.

(34) The charge of this meſſage was committed to Marſhall *Mountmorency*, both to haue his abſence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, & to ſtay her Maieſty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing againſt *France*, in fauour of the Proteſtants. The foord thus ſounded by the well meaning Admirall, ſeemed the more ſafely paſſable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Nauarre*; the firſt of them granting the *Peace* ſo deſired, and the other without all iealouſie repaired to the French Court; where eighteene dayes after her arriuall, of a quotidian feuer ſhee died, though others ſaide not without ſuſpition of poyſon by the perfume of a paire of Gloues preſented vnto her.

An Ambaſſage for peace with Q. *Elizabeth*.

The Queene of *Nauarre* dieth.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was ſolemnized vpon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of *our Lady* in *Paris*; and foure dayes ſpent in plaies, feaſts, dancing and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions vnto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings preſence with all complements of amity, as hee paſſed from the *Louure*, and in reading a *Petition*, was with a Harguebuſſe leuelled out of a window, ſhot into the left arme, and dangerouſly hurt. At which traiterous attempt the King and *Queene-mother* ſeemed to bee greatly perplexed, viſiting him with all expedition, and for his further ſafety commanded all his fauourers (the *Proteſtants*) to bee lodged, neere about him. But the night now approached, *Coſſeines* brake into his Baſe-Court, and three of his Company entring his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarouſly murthered him, whoſe goared body at *Guizes* command, they caſt out of the Window, *Guize* himſelf wiping the bloud from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and preſented to the *Queene-mother*, and ſhee balming it, ſent it to her *Holy Father* for an aſſurance of the death of his moſt capitall enemy.

The marriage of *Bourbon* and Lady *Margaret* ſolemniſed.

The Admirall wounded with ſhot.

The Admirall barbarouſly murthered.

A grateful preſent ſent to the Pope by the Queen mother.

(36) The Pallace Clocke ſtrikes (the Watch-word vnto the Alarum) when the other armed troupes flie to the Admirals lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carcaſe through the ſtreets, and laſtly hang it vp by the feet at *Montfaucon*. And with the like helliſh fury the bloudy faction oppreſſed the *Proteſtants*, both in the City & Suburbes, ſparing neither ſexe, condition, nor age through whoſe ſtreetes nothing was heard but gaſtly horrour, armes, horſes and death, with the pittiful ſhrikings of the Innocents, crying (but alaſſe in vain) for mercy. On the other ſide, the ſhoutes of the murtherers preuailed, ſaying, that this one day ſhold end the quarrell, which neither penne, paper, decrees of Iuſtice, nor open warre for twelue yeeres together could euer doe. Lamentable was the ſpectacle of thoſe ſacred and maſſacred carkaſes ſtrowed in the ſtreetes, the pauements, market-places and riuers dyed with their bloud, and that Saboth made direfull, and to the Papiſts infamous, with the bloudy pollution of ten thouſand Innocents, in the ſtain whereof we will leaue them, and returne our ſtile againe for *England*.

The Maſſacre of the French Proteſtants.

(37) As theſe ciuill ſeditions were on foot in other parts, ſo *Ireland* too too rebellious, ſought vnder the ſhelter of *Shan O Neale*, to ſhrowde themſelues from the obedience of Queene *Elizabethes* gouern-

Iriſh Rebellion vnder *Shan* (that is,) *Iohn O-Neale*

ment,

ment; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inheritary right of the Prouince of *Vlster*, as the *O-Neales* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the troublesome times of *Robert Brus*, when his brother *Edward* named himselfe King of *Ireland*, *Donenald O-Neale*, rowsed out of his lurking holes, in his missiue letters vnto the Pope, stileth himselfe *King of Vlster, and in right of inheritance the vndoubted heire of all Ireland.* But his glorious shew being clowded before it was seene, his posterity puld in their hornes like snailes, vntill the firebrandes of Ciuill dissentions betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, gaue light to their footing, whilest the *English* left *Vlster* vnto their custody, and followed in *England* the faction which they best fauoured.

Scot. Chron. fol. 324. 26.

Domesticke factions strengthē forraigne rebellions.

(38) At which time, *Henrie O-Neale*, began to be great by marrying the daughter of *Thomas Earle of Kildare*; as afterward also his sonne * *Con-More O-Neale*, married the daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his mothers brother) both of those *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From the bed of these *Cosen-germanes*, issued *Con O-Neale*, surnamed *Bacco*, because he *halted*; who was so right *Irish*, that hee cursed all his posterity, in case they either learned the English language, sowed wheate, or built them houses, least the first should breed conuersation, the second Commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speede as the Crowe that buildeth her nest to bee beaten out by the Hawke.

The raising of O-Neales Family.

* That is, *The great Con.*

Con O-Neale a great Irish.

(29) But King *Henry* the eight, with whom was no dallying, setting his tallant fast on *Kildare*, in whose rebellions *O-Neale* had engaged himselfe deepe, so ouer-dares this enuying Irish bird, that hee flies into *England*, sues to the Eagle, renounceth the name of *O-Neale*, and puts his whole estate into the Kings hand. Whose humble submission so satisfied this crowned bird, that his life was deliuered out of his claw, and letters Pattents granted vnder the Great Seale of *England*, to hold his reuenewes in Fee of the King, together with the Title of *Earle of Tir-Oen*, to him and to *Mathew* his false reputed son, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the said *Mathew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

King Henrie the eight crushed O-Neale.

The Title of Tir-Oen first granted. Cambden in Hibernia, de O-Neals.

(40) *Shan O-Neale* (with whom wee began) the eldest legitimate vnto this *Con-Bacco*, seeing himselfe disherited, and a bastard preferred before him, suddenly set his heart against his father, as also against *Mathew* his high honoured and halfe-reputed brother, whom he neuer left till hee had murthered, and pursued his father with such irreconcileable hatred, as he stript him out of house and all, and neuer left, till for want and griefe, the olde man pined away.

Shan O-Neales cause of rebellion.

(41) *Shan* then chosen proclai med, and inaugured *O-Neale*, by an old shooe cast ouer his head, seized vpon his fathers inheritance, and with all diligence sought after the sonnes of *Mathew*, to secure himselfe of that which he had got. *Brian* the eldest he caused to be slaine by *Mac Donnel Totan*, one of the *Oneals* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by meanes of the English escaped his hands. Thus seated in *Vlster* he beganne to tyrannize ouer the great men of that prouince, accounting them his Subiects, as in his answeres vnto the *English* Iusticiar, expostulating with him vpon that point, he laid his Title.

(42) That hee was the vndoubted sonne and heire of *Con-Oneale*, borne of his lawfull wife; and that *Mathew* his supposed brother, was the sonne of a Blacke-smith borne in *Dundalke*, and vnto the age of fifteene yeeres had beene so reputed and taken; that then hee was obtruded vpon *Con*, by the said Smiths wife, whom hee had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to interuert the inheritance and honour of the *O-Neale* another way. That his surrender vnto King *Henrie* of *England*, was of no validity, considering that *Con* had no longer therein then his owne life, neither could that lawfully bee done without the consent of the Nobles of *Vlster*, by whom he had beene elected *O-Neale*. That himselfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true heire, being the first begotten sonne of his father, lawfully borne in Wedlocke, chosen, declared and proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the generall consent of the Peeres and People of *Vlster*, and that according to the ancient law *Tanistry*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a boy, and an vncle before a nephew, whose Grandfather suruiued the father, and lastly, that hee had done nothing, but what he had sufficient authority to doe, and which his ancestors had not vsed before him to doe.

Shan O Neales cause of rebellion.

Shan O Neale a great Irish.

Thē Title of Tir-Oen first granted. Cambden in Hibernia, de O-Neals.

The Law Tanistry in Ireland what it is.

(43) His title thus pleaded and passed without opposition, he presently fell into other outrages; for *O-Raylie* he ouerthrew in the Field, tooke *Cailoigh O-Donel* Lord of *Tir-Conel* captiue, cast him and his children in prison, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat bastards vpon her, seizing vpon lands and goods at his pleasure, and bare himselfe as absolute King of *Vlster*.

Shan O Neales outrages.

(44) These his doings *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex* (the Lord Deputie) sought to redresse, whose preparations so strangely terrified him, that by the counsell of *Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, hee came into *England*, and cast himselfe prostrate at *Queene Elizabeths* feet, and vpon his submissiue behauiour and promised allegeance, with her gracious fauour returned home; where for a while in his diet and apparell, he conformed himselfe to all kind of ciuility, yea and did some office of seruice in driuing the *Scots* out of *Vlster*, slaying their leader *Mac-Conel*, and in protecting the poorer sort from the violence and oppressions of the Nobles. In which his doings he drew vpon himselfe their hatreds and complaints; and he whose nature could disgest neither, fell furious for reuenge vpon *Mac-Guir*, Lord of *Fermanagh*, fired *Armach* the *Metropolitane* City, laid siege vnto *Dundalke*, and harried the Countrey on euery side.

Thomas Earle of Sussex daunts O-Neale.

O-Neales submission to the Queene.

O Neale doth some good Offices.

O-Neale againe falleth off.

(45) Against whom Sir *Henrie Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in person himselfe into the Field: and *Edward Randolph*, a renouned Coronell, with seuen Ensignes of Foot, and a Cornet of Horsemen, encamped at *Derry* by *Logh Foil*, that so hee might charge the backe of the Rebell; which *O-Neale* well perceiuing, hasted with his forces to remooue: where *Randolph* in a pitcht field entred battell, and there manfully fighting with honour, lost his life, but gaue the *O-Neale* so great an ouerthrow, as neuer after he was able to make Head against his Soueraign, and in many other Skirmishes was so foiled, as he euidently saw his owne dreadfull downefall. Wherefore he minded once more to sue for the *Queenes* mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble himselfe to the Lord Deputy, for his fauour and mediation vnto her Maiesty.

A.D. 1565. Sir *Henrie Sydney* L. Deputy of *Ireland*.

O Neales power broken.

He thinkes of submission.

(46) But making *Neale Mackeuer* (his Secretary) secret to these his designes, was by him counselled to try fortunes fauour yet another way; the occasion well fitting, and the persons of great hope (if hee could fasten amity with them) which were the wilde *Scots*, who held their standing Summer-Campe in *Claneboy*, vnder the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander* * *Oge*, and *Mac Gillaspie*, whose father and brother this *Shan O-Neale* had lately slaine, in an ouerthrow giuen to the *Scots*. For the surer gaining of whose fauour, he sent before hand *Surley-boy*, *Alexanders* brother, whom he had taken and reteined prisoner a long time, and soone after, himself with the wife of *O-Donel* (whom adulterously hee kept) repairing vnto them was kindly welcomed and intertained in a Tent; where after their Cups, they fell to a brawle about *Iames Mac-Conell*, (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had slaine, as also about the honesty of his sister, whom he had married and cast off, for the loue hee bare vnto *O-Donels* wife. Whereupon after a signal giuen, in heate of reuenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O-Neale* to death, a few of his followers escaping their swords by flight; by whose death *Vlster* recouered their wished peace, after

O Neale diuerted from submission by his Secretary.

* That is, *Alexander the yonger.*

Shan O Neale slaine.

after a greeuous diſtaſture of oppreſsion and warres, in which let vs a while leaue them, and returne to the affaires of *England*.

A.D. 1567.

Callis demanded of the *French* King. April 28. 1567.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Callis* ſo ſore thirſted after, and ſo thirſtingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* preſently ſent vnto *Charles* the *French* King, to demand the deliuery according to couenants. He ſet in eſtate, accompanied with the Queene mother and others, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors had audience, and the Title controuerſed among them as followeth. The *Queenes* Letters read and attendance giuen what would more be ſaid: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for he was the man) demanded in her Maieſtes name, the Towne of *Callis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Caſtle and Towne of *Guize*, and generally all ſuch Caſtles, Townes, and places as had beene taken by his Father *Henry*, the late French King in his laſt warres, from *Marie* late Queene of *England*, her Maieſties ſiſter: which in a Treatie of peace made at *Caſteau* in *Cãbreſis* the yeere of Chriſt, 1559. was agreed vpon, that his Soueraign, *Queen Elizabeth* ſhould permit the ſaid French King and his ſucceſſors to poſſeſſe, and peaceably to enioy the ſaid Townes, Caſtles, and places, the ſpace of 8. yeeres, and thoſe expired the ſaid K. *Henry* couenanted for himſelfe and Succeſſors to deliuer the ſame intirely vnto the *Engliſh*, which being compleat and ended the ſecond of that preſent moneth *April*, himſelfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Maieſties Ambaſſadors vpon the third day of the ſame month demanded in her name the poſſeſſion thereof accordingly, but could not attaine or get ſpeech, either with Lieutenant or Gouernour. Whereupon they were inforced to make repaire to his maieſty, whom hee doubted not but would accompliſh the performance, and likewiſe keepe perpetuall amity with his Soueraigne Lady and Miſtreſſe.

The Towns Gouernours would not be ſpoken with.

King *Charles* ſpeech to the Ambaſſadors.

(48) King *Charles* but young, and altogether gouerned by the Queene-mother, hauing well learned his leſſon, made preſent anſwer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himſelfe*, neither ſhould any deliuer it to any other, *and that the Treaty*, named by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *did wholly giue it him*. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replied, That neither her Maieſty nor Counſell did ſo take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being ſo plaine and manifeſt. *Why, Maſter Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I maruell the Queene your Miſtreſſe would now ſend for ſuch a purpoſe, and eſpecially you, who knoweth none better, how all things haue paſſed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in thoſe places diuers waies. As firſt, by inuading the Kings Subiects in Scotland, then moſt manifeſtly at New-hauen, where the King, my ſonne, was faine with an whole Army to recouer it; and in the ſaid Treaty was an Article as hath beene diſputed; that if the Queene of England ſhould inuade any part of my ſonnes Dominions, ſhe ſhould foorthwith loſe her right in Callis.*

Obiections againſt the Q. of *England*.

Anſwers to the *French* obiections.

(49) Madame, ſaid Sir *Thomas*: King *Henrie* and his ſucceſſors were bound to loſe *Callis*, if they inuaded *England*, and yet did King *Francis* brother to the King heere, doe it by the way of *Scotland*, as is moſt manifeſt, after the ſaid Treaty at *Caſteau*, not onely in aſſuming the *Armes* and *Title of England and Ireland*, but contrary to the Article of Peace, which concluded that both *Engliſh* and *French* ſhould depart *Scotland*: which incontinently her Maieſty performed, in reuoking thence her *Lieutenant*, *Captaines*, and *Souldiers*: whereas contrariwiſe *Monſieur D'oiſell* their Chieftaine abode therein ſtill, and the *French* power daily augmented vnder the conduct of *Monſieur de Martigues*, and *de-la-Broſſe*, and alſo by an other great *Commander*, whoſe Nauie was diſperſed by tempeſt, and whoſe ſtrength his ſhipwracke did teſtifie, in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Norway* and *Denmarke*, by the loſſe of Armour, Men and Munition: to let paſſe * *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to inuade *England*; and *Lantzknights* likewiſe hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lunenburge* to aſsiſt the *French* in that enterpriſe, when theſe *Almanes* according to their nature loth to take Seas, and deſirous to know whither their ſeruice intended, were told, they ſhould no further then *Scotland*, and to the Land adioyning, which was plentifull of gold, ſiluer, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Almane* Souldier had made ſpoile for the ſpace of an hundred yeeres before, and to ſome of them in plain termes it was told, that they ſhould into *England*; which was likewiſe ſignified vnto her Maieſty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her highneſſe to take good heede vnto her ſelfe; as alſo by letters intercepted, that declared their intents; whereof ſhee did not onely admoniſh *Mounſieur de Seure* then Ambaſſador *in England* for *France*; but alſo by her Ambaſſador to the *French King*, praying him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts ſo preiudiciall to her Highneſſe, and ſo directly againſt the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter the ſaid *de Seure* made a Proteſtation in print, the anſwer whereunto is likewiſe printed in *Engliſh*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Latine*, wherein may appeare the Hiſtory of that time. And ſince her Maieſty hath had a more manifeſt proofe by men which are yet aliue. For when the moſt part of the *French* power was arriued in *Scotland*, the *Queene Mother*, *Monſieur de Oiſell*, and *Monſieur de Martigues* called the *Scotiſh* Lords with their Forces vnto *Aimouth* beſides *Barwicke*; where they declared that their minde was to inuade *England*; and to giue to the *King* and *Queene* the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crowne; of which they now had the *Titles* and *Armories*. But the Lords of *Scotland* vpon conſultation, made anſwer, That they had often attempted to inuade *England*, but they neuer got any good thereby; further affirming, it was againſt the peace newly concluded and ſworne: ſo neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at *Edenborough*, wherein the numbers of *French* Souldiers were to be leſſened; the Stile and *Armes* of *England* left downe, and the treaty of *Caſteau* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were *Commiſsioners*, authorized by the *French* King vnder his *Great Seale*: which treaty when it was ſigned with all the *Commiſsioners* hands, the *Queene* my *Soueraigne* for the loue of peace being contented to ſeale and ſwear; the ſaid *King Francis* did refuſe thē both, ſith which refuſall her *Maeſty* doth, and hath alwaies taken that the right of *Callis* both propriety and poſſeſsion was deuolued vnto her by reaſon of the attempt, and hath demanded it diuers times, yet was content to ſtay the time of compoſition; which now being clearely expired, it muſt needs bee hers, and cannot iuſtly be denied.

The *French* charged with hard dealings.

The *French* King refuſed to ſwear to the peace.

(50) *Why* (ſaid the Queene) *all this while you haue ſaid nothing againſt the King my ſonne, why he ſhould forfait it; hee hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes ſo great a matter with you? you beare the Armes and ſtile of ours, and ſo do many, beare others Armes alſo.* No Madam ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, the bearing of the *Armes* is not ſo great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the *King* your ſonne did not forfeit it, yet the right being once loſt from *France*, and accrewed to the *Queene of England*, how ſhould it goe from her again? *All this while* (ſaid the Queene Mother) *you ſpeake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his wiues right, and there you muſt aske your amends, and not here, you heare what my ſonne ſaith, and euery man ſeeth the right is his, your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I maruell my good ſiſter will ſtand in it, or ſend to demand it.* This is the anſwere ſaid Sir *Thomas* which I ſhal carry to the *Queene* my *Soueraigne*. That? *Nay, ſaid the King, I will talke with my Councell, and then ſhall you haue a reſolute anſwere.* Then were the Engliſh Ambaſſadors deſired to abſent themſelues a while, and within an howre after wereſent for againe.

Queene-mother.

Sir *Thomas Smith*.

Queene mother.

Sir *Thomas*.

King *Charles*.

(51) The

* An Addition taken out of a former treatiſe written by Sir *Thomas Smith*.

The cause for Callis debated before the French King and his Counsell.

(51) The King set in Councell with the *Queen Mother*, the Dukes of *Anion*, *Alanson*, *Monpencier*, *Aumale*, and *Neuers*, the *Cardinals of Bourbon and Chastillon*, the *Bishops of Orleance and Lymoges*, *Monsieur de Valence and others*, the *Ambassadors* of *England* were placed in the middest: vnto whom the *Queene spake and said*, *Monsieur L' Ambassador I pray you say your minde before the King and his Councell here assembled*: which Sir *Thomas Smith* presently did in the same forme as hee had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded vpon the lapse of the time, by which without all controuersie after eight yeeres *Callis* was due to the *Queene* of *England*, and that by right, both the propriety, and the possession thereof was inuested vnto her long ago, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and consent of *Francis* the second to inuade *England*, seeing the King did not ratifie the treatie made at *Edenborough*.

Callis forfeited by Couenant.

(52) *Monsieur de Valence said the Queene Mother, I pray you answere that*, whereupon he standing vp *saide, my selfe was sent to that treaty of peace, and am glad to heare Monsieur L' Ambassador confesse that the bearing of the English Armories was but a small matter, & yet was that the chiefest thing imputed by their side, as for the men of warre, they were not aboue fiue thousand at the most, sent indeed because of a rebellion (for so must I tearme it in plaine tearmes) then risen there. But the English men were aboue fifteen thousand that came against them at Petty-Lith. There was sent thither also the Bishoppe of Amiens with the Popes Bulles, to reduce them againe to the Religion Romane. And as touching these matters I spake with your Queene as I came throgh England, and offered her as much at the first as was done in that Treaty, if shee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scotish Lords, which were Rebels. But shee said shee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was signed with my hand and others: there should haue come into France certain Scotish Lords to haue agreede and sworne to certain Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was sore sicke, and could not attend them, who shortly after died, and so the Treaty was not ratified. And he being dead the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queenes doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all vnto him.*

Monsieur de Valence.

The Romane religion a chiefe cause of these stirres.

(53) To whom Sir *Thomas* replied and said, I am not ignorant that the Article saith, *Armis innouare, attentare aut moliri*, and doe not take *Armis* to signifie *Armories*. But the *Armes* that I meant to weigh the most, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, and the good *Captaines* whom I named *D'Oisel*, *Brosse*, *Martigues*, and *others*, their *Ensignes* and *Companies*, marry the *Armories* and *Titles* did disclose the intent and meaning. And if there had beene none other but them which the Bishop brought, and none other munition but the *Popes Bulles*; Queene *Elizabeth* should not haue needed to haue armed so many *Shippes*, not sent so many *Souldiers* to haue let their enterprise, nor would euer haue complained of it: but it was farre otherwise as I haue declared. As for the league you speake of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the euent did shew what Rebels they were. But this I thinke they were as weary to haue so many of you there, as wee were weary to haue you so neere vs. And therein I thinke the Queenes Maiesty and they did agree. And to excuse the refuse of the ratification, by the not comming in of the Scotish Lords, hath small reason to beare it: for the Treaty made betwixt the *French King* then, and the *Queene of England* might haue been ratified notwithstanding, whatsoeuer was betwixt him and the *Scotish* Lords his Subiects: for our fact and peace did not stand vpon their doings; which *Treaty* because it was not ratified, I say, the *Queene my Soueraignes title* to the possession of *Callis*, by reason of that attempt standeth whole and entire vnto her.

Sir Tho. Smith.

The Scotish Lords scandalized.

But sir said he (speaking to the *King*) to say the truth I haue no commission, nor any commandement or authority to dispute or answere in these matters, but onely to demand *Callis* and the other *fortresses*, and *places* according to the *Treaty*, which is so plain, that to mine opinion there needs bee no controuersie. And if there bee any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But because you and the *Queene* haue charged mee that I know so much of the matter, as I cannot deny somewhat I doe, as hauing beene at the doing of a great deale & the dispute; Somwhat I must, and may say for my selfe, lest it should bee thought that there were nothing to bee said. Marry as I said, as *Commissioner* from the *Queene* my *Soueraigne*, I haue nothing to say, but the demands onely, the matter being plain and in right iudgement, without controuersie; and also that I see no person here but such as be parties, and no competent person to bee iudge of the controuersie. *Whereunto the Constable replyed and saide, Who should bee iudge of that which is the Kings but himselfe? it is his, and none could take or giue it to any other but himselfe: with that the Queene mother asked Monsieur Chancelier, why hee did not speake.*

No Commission to argue the title but to demand *Callis*.

The Constable.

Queen Mother.

(54) Who after some pause beganne a long and well composed oration, the sum wherof was this; *That the present Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the English, which was not much aboue two hundred yeeres, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had beene the inheritance of France none can deny, as being vpon the Continent thereof, and not vpon any English ground. King Edward* (quoth he) *wee grant wan it, and your father noble King rewanne it to his Crown. But the English wil say they haue possessed and enioyed it many yeeres: Why so they did Aquitaine, Gascoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions besides, which they claimed by our Elioner, the repudiate of the King of France, who was inheritrix vnto it: indeed some titles they had, yet so as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole which is Gallia appertaineth to you sir our King: and so doth Callis which is of no great antiquity that I can read of: for Countie Boloigne was the first that did inclose it, being afore but a Burgard, as the most part of the Townes of France then were. At the battell of Cressy, dolorous to vs, King Edward of England after nine monethes siege by composition had it surrendred, the poor inhabitants pardoned of life at the great suit of his good Queene, else had they died euery mothers sonne, and so with white wands in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was so mercifull, that hee commanded of euery thing vacant, they should bee the first prouided for. And I thinke when your Father King Henry tooke it, the English were likewise so serued. These claime two hundred yeers possession, the others before them, aboue fiue hundred yeeres: thus God doth to punish, or to essay his seruants. And although the English claimed Gascoigne, and Guyen, by succession of Elioner, although Normandy by one William; and Poutieur by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of Philip de Bel. Yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recouered it. But some will say, by the peace at Bretigny, they haue right; I say no; for euery man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and some, that so long a possession makes a prescription; I say no, for Prescription is among priuate men, but among Princes prescription cannot stand, and yet theirs was not much aboue two hundred, ours aboue eight hundred yeeres. But to you Monsieur L' Ambassador, I will say, that at the peace of Troes in Champaign, were your selfe and Monsieur Throgmorton, both of you most able in such affairs, and nothing therein done I doubt not without the Queen and Councels consent: no one word was spoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cause of the warre, so that all standeth clear for al which was then talked vpon, and it a plain confession, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I say is* translatiuus *in the peace of Castleau in Cambresis, and is no more but such as forgetfulnesse, or*

What *Callis* had been.

The French Kings compassion vpon the expulsed of *Calis*.

Among Princes Prescription auaileth not.

K. Ed. 3. the first that won *Calis*.

A prety deuise to colour right.

because all small things cannot bee mentioned in conference. But Callis was the chiefe point, which being omitted, I say by meaning it was acquited. But now to your reasons Monsieur L' Ambassador, the Article for the losse of Callis at that treaty was forced in by you the English, who of all nations bee the most wary and circumspect in making their peaces. Whereupon the Queene of England layeth to vs a suspition, a iealousie, a conjecture, a gesse, that a King of France would haue invaded England. But euery suspition must not make a breake: for so whensoeuer any Prince should arme his men vpon iust occasion, his neighbours might say it was against him: And so doe you English lay gesses against the late King Francis the second. But the Queene of England with open face invaded the Kings Realme, with a goodly pretence to keepe the townes to the Kings vse, yet when al was reduced into their due obedience, she wold keep the town of Newhauen as a pledge for Callis, by which deed shee hath lost all her right in Callis, God indeed hath made a naturall separation betwixt you and vs, a sure wal of defence, Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos. *So that naturally you ought to haue nothing but peace and amity with ours. But doe not thinke Monsieur L' Ambassador that I say this as fearing what you can doe: for there was neuer any King of France since Charlemans so great as the King is now, had so many men of warre, so ready, and so good Souldiers: and yet his Highnesse doth desire the amity of the Queene of England, and the loue of that nation: of which there is the more hope, if all these pretences and demaunds were cancelled, and Callis forgotten, which hath beene the continuall pickequarrell betwixt these two Realmes. You neuer read Monsieur Smith, that the French euer invaded England, I speake it not to your dispraise which are English, but to your praise; yet this I thinke, had there not beene so easie a discent, so conuenient a place, and so ready, for you to make warre here, yee would not (as I suppose) haue come hither so often, and troubled our Country, nor the amity betwixt you and vs; And I dare boldly affirm and gage any thing, that the Queene of England shall gaine more by continuall peace with vs, then shee shall doe by Callis, & therefore your Queene must leaue off these demands and quarrels, and come to a perfect peace with vs, which shalbe more profitable for both the Realmes, and this I dare assure you, here is no Councellor among vs, that dare once open his mouth to render you Callis, for my part I will not be one to moue or assent thereunto. Nor I said the Constable, and so all the rest.*

The French had rather make faults then see faults.

A faire shew to skar the English.

Callis a continual picke-quarrell.

The Constable.

(55) Then quoth Sir *Thomas Smith, Monsieur Chancelier*, mee thinkes you fetch your Title very farre to haue *Callis*, and howsoeuer the possession was comeby, by and by the right is his in possession, then by your reason all our disputation is in vaine, and it maketh no matter, *bonâne an malâ fide possideat*, the *King* once in possession as a thing returning to his primier estate *postliminio* or gotten of the enemy, yee admit no contract, or latter treaty, so as it doth appeare, yee open that which was thought of some men, and alwayes spoken, that what promise soeuer was made, the *French* would neuer render *Callis* againe to the *English*, but keepe it still, *per ius, nefasque*: this reasoning passeth all answere, for whatsoeuer the *Queen of England* had done *quàm sanctè* so euer shee had kept her treaty of this eight yeeres, though ye could obiect nothing against her, yet she should neuer haue had *Callis* restored; to this kind of reasoning and to that, that no man dare moue the *King* to render it being due, I cannot answere; but to this that toucheth my fact in the making of the *Peace* in *Champaigne*, where I must confesse, and am not ashamed, that I was a Minister, I doe not yet acknowledge that either I am worthy to bee accounted so wise as you would make mee, nor our Nations alwayes so circumspect in making Treatises with you, your owne Writers auerring otherwise, and giue you the prayse therein against vs. But for the point wherein you touch vs, that the peace at *Troes* should be *nouatio contractus*, and wee should thereby acquit our right of *Callis*, it is

Sir Tho. Smith.

The French all for themselues whatsoeuer they said.

Philip Comin.

Antistrophon, and turneth a great deale better vpon you. For if because our talke was of our right to *Callis*, by reason of the attempt in *Scotland*, you of the forfeiture of it by reason of the descent to *Newhauen*, neither condiscending to other, and not concluding thereupon, wee did agree vpon that *Peace*. And if that *Peace* doth make *nouationem*, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping *Newhauen*, which you impute to vs is wiped away, nouated and clensed by this *Peace*, and our right which was not yet in *esse*, & *cuius dies nondum venit*, remaineth still. So as it toucheth you rather then vs; and by this meanes haue you nothing to say against vs, but wee still our right against you. But the truth is, as Monsieur *Le Conneſtable* here can tell, who was part the occasion that wee came to it; for when this was contended, that *Callis* was already due vnto vs, you, that wee had forfaited it, so that wee could enter into no other Article of peace; why said you, haue not wee the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of *Callis*? neither to speake of it one way, nor other: your time is not yet come to ask it, let vs liue in peace in the meane while, and let each *Prince* haue right such as it is, reserued; whereupon you *Monsieur L' Ambespine* were one of the first that came with vs, and you know what passed.

The *French* the cause that *Calis* was not mentioned in the peace.

(56) *Yea (saith he) but wee would neuer grant that it should bee put in, that you should haue Callis*: you say true (said Sir *Thomas*) nor wee that the *Queenes Maiesty* should acquit it, nor the hostages neither. But in the end when it came to the Conclusion, as the Bishoppe of *Orleans*, and *Monsieur Bourdin* can tell, it was agreed that expresly the right bee reserued, aswell to that, as to any other thing, not expreslie there mentioned. *Omnes aliæ petitiones & demandæ & similiter exceptiones & defensiones* as appeareth by the Treaty. And as touching *Newhauen*, *Monsieur Chancelier*, note in it two things. The one, the first entrie, the other, the keeping after the peace agreed vpon amongst your selues. As for the first entrie, I deny that our men of warre made any invasion or came by force. But being requested and desired aide of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in perill and danger. And whether did they like inuaders (I aske for all the time that they were not assayled) spoile any, or robbe any? no, they tooke not an henne or an egge, but they paide for it: I, if any complaine I offer to pay it: This is no invasion, nor no hostility: but the act of a friend, and at their requests and pursuits: whose doings sir, aswell for matter of *Armes*, as for other things done in that tumult, you haue declared by *Edict* to haue beene done *à bon fin et pour vostre seruice*, which may truly bee said, for by their means and defence a great number of your good Subiects, aswell men as women, aswell *Captaines* as *Souldiers*, of whom *Monsieur le Chancellier* did now boast, as of other not Souldiers, are saued now to doe you seruice: which else should haue been a prey and spoile to them which sought but the ruine of halfe or third part at the least of your Realme. For the conseruation of whom, yee in part may thanke the *Queen* my *Mistresse*. And this for the first discent of our men. Now where *Monsieur Chancellier* saith that the *Queene* my Mistresse changed her pretence, I still doe say shee kept her first protestation. That she would appropriate no *Land, Towne*, nor *Fortresse* of the *Kings* to her, nor shee did neuer claime *Newhauen* as hers, but comming peaceably into it, hauing beene at great charge and cost, it was both wisdome and reason all other being satisfied and content, shee should at the least haue some reason offered her in her right to *Callis*. And otherwise she did not hold *Newhauen*, which thing was manifestly declared at *Gallion*, where *Articles* were drawn not vnreasonable, and the matter so farre forward that they were signed with my hand, and tarried but for power and Commission to affirme them. But the mortality and pestilence growing so great in *Newhauen*,

The conditions reserued.

No hostile attempt in entring *Newhauen*.

The benefite accruing vnto the French by the aide of the English.

Newhauen, gaue too much aduantage, which was taken; and the reasonable dealings in this matter broke off, other meaning her Maiesty had none.

(57) *No said the Constable, what meant such preparation, and prouision? I cannot skill of things; but in that arte wherein I haue been brought vp and exercised all my life, I can skill a little. There was such a number of Horse harnesse for the carte: such a number of Artillery, such prouisions of Gamons of Bacon, Cheese and other things, and aboue fiue thousand men, that am I sure went out of it, besides all those that were dead: can you make me beleeue that all this was for Newhauen alone? No Monsieur (said he) I know what belongeth to a Towne of Warre. Yea, said another, and the Ships also that came: Nay said the Constable they came too late. Why, said the Queene-mother smiling, will you make vs beleeue that all that preparation was for Newhauen alone?*

(58) Wisdome would, Madam, quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, because the sea and winde doe not serue at all times, that there should be good store of all manner of prouision. *No, no (said shee) there was a further meaning, but as you haue quitted Newhauen, so must you quit Callis, and let vs be friends; neuer talke more of these demands, nor of the sums of money for which yee had Hostages. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in comming to Newhauen hath quitted all. Shee must forget that matter cleane, and let vs be friends still. The King my sonne doth offer as much friendship as need to bee, but as for Callis ye must neuer speake of it.* It is hard, Madame, said Sir *Thomas Smith*, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. *Nay, no wrong, said shee, you haue heard what Monsieur Le Chancellier hath said, and what all these of my sonnes Counsell doe say.* Madame (quoth he) it is for the most part seene that men be partiall in their owne causes, I doe assure you, that the Queene my Soueraigne doth thinke that she hath as good right to *Callis* as to any Towne in *England*: and so doe all her Counsell: and whatsoeuer yee haue heard, I am able to say for her right euen out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir *Thomas*, is this the finall answer I shall haue? *Yea, said the King.* That yee will not render *Callis* vnto her *Maiesty*, according to the Treaty, nor pay the fiue hundred thousand Crowns which is for the peine.

(59) *No said the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty*: well then said Sir *Thomas* I haue no more to say, but to bring this report to her *Maiestie*, which I shall be sorrie to doe: and thereupon himselfe, and Sir *Henrie Norris*, rose vp to depart, doing their obeisance. *But you take not your leaue, Monsieur L'ambassadors for altogether said the Queene.* Yes forsooth said Sir *Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at Court?* No Madame, except the *Kings Maiesty* doe command me. But I am sorry to carry this answere so precise; and that there is so little regard of the *Queene* my *Soueraignes* right. *No right, said the Queen, for if there were any, the King my sonne, would be loth to offer her any wrong: yee haue heard all the reasons, I marueil that you will take vpon you, you that are learned, to defend so vniust a cause.* Ah Madame (said he) I see well, it is true on your part, that men bee blinde in their owne causes and aduantages. *Surely (quoth she) the Queene (my good sister) shall haue more aduantage thus as it is, then to demand Callis. And I pray you perswade her.* I Madame, against her right? *You must not say so, I pray you commend me hartily to the Queene, my good sister, and desire her to keepe the amity and loue which is betwixt her and my sonne, and I shall bee ready to doe her what seruice or pleasure I can quoth the Queen and so said the King.* Thus this conference ended, and *Callis* kept still by the *French*.

(60) Now as these distastures fell betwixt *England* and *France*, and these broken Couenants ministred occasions to set each against others: So at the same time, the affaires of *Scotland* was carried with so violent a motion as set the Lords at dissentions, and the land in ciuill sedition; so as not onely outrages were committed vpon the best Subiects, but euen vpon the vertuous King and Queene themselues, him they shamefully murdered in a most barbarous manner, and her they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne gouernment, and lastly to flye into forraine parts for succour. But knowing that this Subiect is to be writ with a farre more noble pen, and our extant relations from vncertaine and suspected reports; we will surcease to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queenes affaires, excepting onely in such intercourses of State, as are wouen in ours, and cannot otherwise be auoided without maime of History; this onely in generall.

The King of *Scots* barbarously murthered.

The Queene of *Scotland* oppressed by her owne Subiects.

(61) *Mary* Queene of *Scotland* hauing imbarked her selfe for *France*, where shee well hoped to finde many friends; by contrary windes (accompanied with sixeteene persons) landed at *Werkinton* in *Cumberland*, and from thence was conueied to *Carlile*, to *Bolton* Castle, and lastly to the custody of the Earle of *Shrewesburie*. Whose troubles and misfortune, *Q. Elizabeth* both pitied and sought to redresse; writing in her behalf vnto the Regent of *Scotland*, and blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their *Queen*, which indeede were intollerable to roiall authoritie, and such, as other Princes could not but seeke to redresse, and reuenge; notwithstanding such was the distasture of those distempered Lords, or the frownes of those fatall times, that in *England* she remained euer after during her life.

Queene *Mary* of *Scotland* arriued in *England*.

Queene *Elizabeth* solicireth the *Scots* in her behalfe. *Bucha. lib. 19.*

(62) As the ielousies grew great betwixt these two great Queenes, *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, by the working instruments of the *Pope*, and forraine Princes; so by the like meanes, were the like discontents bred and nourished in some of the greatest *English* Peeres, towards their Soueraigne, whose *Peace*, vnder pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in ranke, time and disloialtie, were the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who with *Leonard Dacres*, *Neuil*, *Norton*, *Tempest*, *Danby*, and others, purposed on the sudden to haue surprized the Earle of *Sussex*, the *Queens* Lieutenant of the North, in his house at *Cawood*; but therein prevented, they were enforced to keepe secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chance to be ministred. They had in readinesse against their rising, certaine *English* Priests, *Morton*, and others, with *Bulles* and instruments of absolution, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that *Queene Elizabeths* vigilant Counsellors had an inkling thereof.

The Popes instruments nourished discontents in the *English* towards their Soueraigne.

The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* in Rebellion.

Morton a Popish Priest aduanceth the Rebellion with Papall Bulles.

(63) *Thomas Percie*, (so was *Northumberlands* Earle named) lying at his Castle of *Topcliffe* in *Yorkeshire*, had gone so farre in his intended purposes, as he could not returne; who being sent for vnto the Court, stroke a great amazement and sudden feare into the other conspirators hearts: and his own guilty minde was much more distracted, vpon notice that some forces were approching for his apprehension; whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to bee rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen raised, all sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord.

An. D. 1569
The Earle of *Northumberland* sent for to the Court, strengtheneth himselfe.
Nouem. 14.

(64) The nest thus broken before the birds could well flye, he departed to *Branspeth*, where hee met with *Charles Neuill* Earle of *westmorland*, and his following consorts; who ioining in Counsell, made no conscience to vndoe many true subiects, and innocent men: For abusing the *Queenes* name in their Proclamations and Commissions, they commanded the Countrey to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of her Maiesties person, in danger (they said) by Treasons in working; and sometimes in case of Conscience for restoring their former Religion, which if themselues should neglect, other forraigne Princes (said they) would doe, to the no little perill of the Realme.

The pretenses of the Rebels.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to *Durham*, with as forward an intent as *Ieroboam* did to *Bethel*, to set vp

1. *King.* 12. 33.

The outrages of those rebels. Ier. 36.

vp his *golden Calues*, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Ioachim* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Darington* they besprinkled their Host with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Rippon* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displaid, they entred *Borowbrigge*, old *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, and fiue wounds of our Lord.

The strength of the Popish Rebels.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bramham Moore*, where they mustered sixteene hundred Horsemen, and foure thousand footemen, intending therewith to march vnto *Yorke*. But their mindes altering, they fell vpon *Barnards* Castle, which after eleuen daies resistance, was yeelded vnto them: which fortunate entrance did so animate their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters sent to their fauourers, they daigned their Soueraigne no better stile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene, pretended Queene*, and *no Queene* indeede: as likewise did the Countesse of *Northumberland* in her Letter sent vnto *Stuckley*, and * others of the faction, in far worse termes.

The Rebels sauciesse towards their Soueraigne. M.S. of Parliament. * The Dutchesse of *Ferrara*, &c.

They are proclaimed Traitors.

(67) These things diuulged, and their rebellions still going on, *Proclamations* came forth denouncing them *Traitors to their Queene and Countrey*; and the Lord *Scroope* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the assistance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Gentlemen of the Countrey, kept the Castle of *Carlile*, while Sir *Iohn Foster* warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanied with Sir *Henry Percie*, exercised their manlie resistance against these proud Rebelles.

The Earle of *Sussex* leades against the Rebels.

(68) To withstand their still-growing outrage, *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex* (her Maiesties *Lieutenant Generall* of the North) gathered some forces; whose Lieutenant for the footmen was *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, and for the Horsemen, was *Henry* Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Warden of the *East-Marches*, *William* Lord *Eure* leading the rereward. These followed the enemy to *North-Allerton*, *Croftbridge*, *Akle*, *Durham*, *Newcastle* and *Hexam*, euen close at their heeles; whose power was so weake, and purse so empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thousand Crownes, promised them by the Pope, to maintaine the Rebellion) as that those Rebellious heads entred conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Naworth*, of their desperate estate, being both monilesse and powerlesse to withstand the puissance of the Lord Generall, now on their backes, as also the Earles of *Warwicke*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willowbie*, and *Howard*, approching very neere them, euen at *Borrow-briggs*. No other succour their consultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, vnto those Lords that there stood out for the Romish.

His Holinesse promiseth treasure to aduance the Rebellion.

The Rebels desperate estate.

The chiefe Rebels flye into *Scotland*.

(69) So the Night following they put it in practise, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as Sheepe without a Shepheard, stood gazing at their owne destructions, whilest *Sussex* surprized them without any resistance. Vpon whose ringleaders, Iustice so seized, that at *Durham* died, by Marshall Law, an *Alderman*, a *Priest*, and sixtie sixe *Constables*; and in the Country for a great Circuit, a great number of such as were forwardest in the Action.

The remaining ringleaders executed.

(70) Not warned by these successes (which vsually proue vnhappy, in such dissoiall attempts) *Leonard Dacres* of *Harlesey* began to gather head againe; whose aiders were the more resolute, in reuenge of their friends executed; and women also became stoute Souldiers in quarrell of their husbands, all forward enough, and too forward to mischief. These vpon a More neere vnto *Naworth*, to impeach the *Lord Hunsdon* that made thitherward, had set downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and most desperate conflict, but in the end were forced to giue backe, and *Dacres* to flie from his slaine, wounded, and scattered people, towards *Scotland*, the then-Refuge of Traiterous transfugers.

Leonard Dacres renueth the Rebellion.

An. D. 1570 Februar. 22. The Rebels embattell themselues.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring those dissoiall *English*, and their owne Lords diuided into seuerall factions, some of them sought to conceale, and some to apprehend these guilty Earles; so that *Westmorland*, was shifted away into *Flaunders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Regent*, and committed to Custody, was afterwards sent into *England*, where hauing beene attainted by Parliament, vpon the twentie two of *August* was beheaded at *Yorke*: vsing liberty of speeches, in auowing the *Popes* Supremacy, denying subiection vnto his Soueraigne *Queene*, affirming the Realme to be in a *Schisme*, and her obedient Subiects no better then *Heretickes*. *Charles Westmorland* his consort, a person vtterly wasted by looseneesse of life, euen by Gods iust iudgement, in the time of his Rebellion, was bereaued of children, and afterwards wandring in forraigne parts, had his body eaten with vlcers of lewde causes, as is most constantly reported. But from these temporall proceedings (being the Domesticke effects of a forraign cause) let vs a while behold the spirituall flourish of the Popes leaden Sword, vnsheathed at *Rome*, to enspirit and enflame such traiterous dispositions against *Englands Queene*.

Northumberland sent into *England* and beheaded. *Tho. Randol.*

A. D. 1570.

Execution of Iustice, &c.

Westmorlands end.

The Popes instruments & endeauours to ruinate Queene *Elizabeth*.

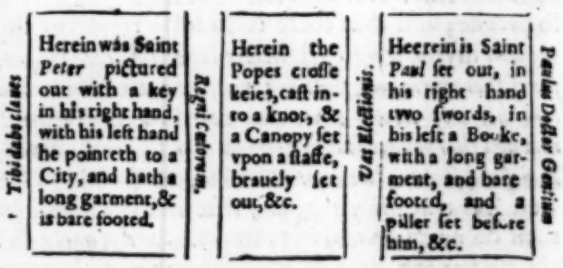
(72) *Nicholas Mooreton* an Englishman, made Bishop by *Pius Quintus*, that Pontificall and surlie Pope of *Rome*, who now hauing turned the key of his Consistorie, and set wide open the dores vnto the complaints of his Clergy, against those Christian Princes, that vrged subiection to their positiue Lawes (a Note indeed ill sounding in the eares of his sonnes) amongst others, this puppet Bishop, commenced a feined suite and plea against *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a *transcendent Iudge*) depriued from all Princely authoritie, as one vncapable either of Crown, or Gouernment, and with the curse of his impious mouth, sent foorth his *Bull* to goare her *Maiestie* like to those of *Bashan*, that encompassed *Dauid*; the tenour whereof (if the words corrupt not the aire, and the inke the eies of the beholders) shal stand for euer as a *Pillar of Salt*, and Monument of shame to that *Man of sinne*; the transcript whereof, taken from the originall it selfe, is as followeth.

Morton, commenceth suite against Queene *Elizabeth* before Pope *Pius Quintus*.

Psalm. 22. 13.

The Bull of *Pius Quintus* to dethrone Queene *Elizabeth*.

Pij Papæ 5. Pontificis Maximi Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabetham, pretensam Angliæ Reginam, & ei adhærentes Hæreticos. Quâ etiam declarantur absoluti omnes subditi à iuramento fidelitatis, & quocunque alio debito, & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.



Pius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnans in Excelsis, cui data est omnis in cælo & in terra potestas, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, vni soli in terris, videlicet, Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; successori Romano Pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc vnum super omnes gentes & omnia regna principem constituit, qui euellat, destruat, dissipet, dissperdat, plantet, & adificet, vt fidelem populum mutua charitatis nexu constrictum, in vnitate spiritûs continet, saluumq; & incolumem suo exhibeat Saluatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad præsidia Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus*

termittimus, omni operâ contendentes, vt ipsa vnitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandam suorum fidem & correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictari permisit) integra conseruetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentiâ inualuit, vt nullus tam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pestima doctrina corrumpere non tentarint, admitente (inter cateros) flagitiorum Seruâ Elizabetha, pretensâ Anglæ Reginâ, ad quam veluti ad Asylum omnium infestissimi profugium inuenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusque præcipuam authoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstruosè sibi vsurpans, Regnũ ipsum, iam tunc ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium reuocauit. Vsu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico octauo olim euersam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima huius sedis præsidio reparauerat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisq; & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Concilium ex Anglicâ Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus hæreticis complenit, Catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores atq; impietatum administros reposuit. Missaq; sacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cælibatum, ritusq; Catholicos aboleuit. Libros manifestam hæresim continentes toto Regno proponi, impia misteria & instituta ad Caluini præscriptum à se suscepta & obseruata, etiam à subditis seruari mandauit. Episcopos Ecclesiarum, Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesijs & Beneficijs ejicere, ac de illis & alijs rebus Ecclesiasticis, in hæreticos homines disponere, deq; Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prælatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neue eius præceptis sanctionibusq; canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; pleroscque in nefarias suas leges venire, & Romani Pontificis authoritatem atque obedientiam abiurare, seque solam in temporalibus & spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere iureiurando coegit; pœnas & supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes imposuit, easdem ab ijs qui in vnitate fidei & prædicta obedientia perseuerarunt, exegit; Catholicos Antistites & Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula eoniecit, vbi multi diuturno languore & tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miserè finierunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua & notoria sint, & grauissimo quamplurmorum testimonio ita comprobata, vt nullus omninò locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiuersationis relinquatur; Nos, multiplicantibus alijs atque alijs super alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium persecutione, Religionisque afflictione, impulsu & operâ dictæ Elizabethæ quotidiè magis ingrauescente, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, vt non modò pias Catholicorum Principum de sanitate & conuersione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne huius quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de causâ Nuntios, in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad arma Iustitiæ contra eam de necessitate conuersi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in vnam animaduertere cuius maiores de Republica Christiana tantoperè meruêre. Illius itaque authoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Iustitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam, & hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, Anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque à Christi corporis vnitate præcisos. Quinetiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti iure, nec non omni & quocunque Dominio, dignitate priuilegioque priuatam, & item Proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi, ac omni prorsus Dominij, fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentiũ authoritate absoluimus & priuamus; eandem Elizabetham prætenso iure Regni, alijsq; omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque & interdicimus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiusue monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia verò difficile nimis esset præsentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus vt earum exempla, Notarij publici manu, & Prælati Ecclesiastici, eiusue Curiæ sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in iudicio, & extra illud, vbique gentium faciant, quam ipsa præsentes facerent, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensa. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1569. Quinto Calend. Martij, Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

The same in English.

The declaratorie sentence of the Vniuersall Bishop, *Pope Pius* the fift, against *Elizabeth* the pretended Queene of England, and against the Heretikes that take her part.

Wherein also all her subiects are declared to be absolued from the Oath of Allegiance and any other dutie whatsoeuer, and besides they that doe obey her are pronounced accursed.

Pius the seruant of the seruants of God for remembrance hereof in time to come.

(74) He that raigneth aboue, to whom is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth, hath committed in fulnesse of power to be gouerned, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church (where-out is no saluation) to one onely in Earth, namely, *Peter* the Prince of the Apostels, and to the Romane Bishop the Successor of *Peter*. And him alone hath he made Chiefe ouer all Nations and Kingdomes, who may roote out, destroy, scatter, waste, plant and build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutual Charity, might be kept in the vnity of the Spirit, and presented in health and safety vnto their Sauiour. For the vndergoing of which office we being called by the goodnesse of God to the gouernment of the said Church, doe refuse and omit no paines, labouring by all meanes that this vnity and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the triall of the Faith of those that be his and for our correction and amendment, hath suffered to bee tossed with so great afflictions) might bee preserued whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath so much increased in power, that now there is no place in the world left, which they haue not attempted to corrupt by most wicked doctrine; among the rest, *Elizabeth* the seruant of sinfulnesse, the pretensed and vnlawful Queene of *England*, with whom, as in a Sanctuary the most wicked persons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdome, and monstrously vsurping to her selfe the place of the Supreme Head of the Church throughout al *England*, and the chief authority & iurisdiction of the same, hath reuoked againe to miserable ruine this very Kingdome which was in a maner recouered againe to the Catholike faith and good deuotion. For the vse of the true Religion (which the most lawfull Queene, *Mary* of famous memory by the helpe of this Seate, had repaired, being before by the Apostata, *Henry* the eight, ouerthrown) now by stronge hand restrained, and the errors of heretickes embraced and followed; shee hath remoued the Councell of State that consisted of the English Nobility, and fild the same with obscure heteticall fellowes; she hath oppressed the Professors of the Catholike faith, and hath set vp wicked Preachers and Ministers of impieties. Shee hath abolished the Sacrifice of the Masse, Praiers, Almes, difference of meate, single life, and Catholike rites. Shee hath commanded bookes to be set foorth containing manifest Heresie, and her selfe vsing and obseruing wicked Rites and Institutions, according to *Caluins* prescription; hath also commanded them to be obserued by her subiects. Shee hath presumed to cast out, Bishops of Churches, Rectors, and other Catholike Priests, from their Churches and Benefices, and to dispose of them and other Ecclesiasticall liuings among Heretticall men; presuming also to iudge of Church matters; shee hath forbidden the Prelates, the Church and people, that they should

not acknowledge the Romane Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonicall Iniunctions; shee hath compelled many to yeeld to her wicked lawes, and to forsweare and abiure the authority and obedience of the Romane Bishop, and to acknowledge her by their Oath the onely Gouernor in temporall and spirituall matters; she hath imposed penalties and punishments vpon those which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like vpon them which perseuered in the vnity of the Faith, and in the aforesaid obedience; she hath cast into prison the Catholike Gouernours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languishings and sorrow, haue wofully ended their liues. All which things forasmuch as they are notorious and manifest to all Nations, and so approued by the most graue testimonie of very many, that no way is left them, for excuse, defence, or euasion; We moued by the impieties and mischiefes that more and more multiply, besides the grieuances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth daily more intolerable by the meanes and working of the said *Elizabeth*, whose minde is so hardned and indurate, that shee hath not onely contemned the godly praiers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conuersion, but also hath not suffered the messengers of this See to come into *England* to her about this businesse; We, I say, moued by these causes, haue of necessity betaken our selues to the weapons of Iustice against her, not being able to refraine from griefe and sorrow, that wee must needes punish such a one, whose Ancestors haue so well deserued of the Common weale, and of all Christendome. Being therefore strengthned with his authority, who hath pleased to set vs in this supreame Throne of Iustice, though vnfit for so great a burthen, we by the fulnesse of our Apostolike power, doe declare the foresaid *Elizabeth* an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretikes, and those that take her part in the things aforesaid, to haue incurred the sentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the vnity of Christs body. And moreouer that shee is depriued of the pretenced right of her said Kingdome, and also from all Rule, dignity, and prehemminence whatsoeuer, and also her Nobility, Subiects and People of the said Realme, and all other which haue sworne vnto her, by any manner of meanes are absolued for euer from such Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity and obedience, in such sort as we doe absolue them by the authority of these presents, and depriue the said *Elizabeth* of the pretenced right of the Kingdome, and of all other things aforesaid. And we doe command and forbid all and singuler of the Nobility, Subiects, People, and other aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whosoeuer shall doe otherwise, we doe enwrappe them in the like curse. And because it were too difficult a matter to beare these presents to euery place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being signed with the hand of the publike Notary, and the Ecclesiasticall Prelate, or with the Seale of his Court, haue the same credit and authority in Court, and without it with all Nations euery where, that the presents themselues should haue if they were exhibited. Giuen at *Rome* at Saint *Peters* in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1569. the fifth of the Calends of *March*, and of our Papacie the fifth.

Isaiah 59. 5.

The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

(75) The webbe thus wouen by these Spiders of *Rome*, and the Cockatrices Egge hatched into a Serpent, many were imploied to patch vp this garment of iniquity, and Spirits sent abroad to corrupt *Englands* sweet aire; the one sort, plotters of inuasions to lay the Land waste, and the other, conspirators against her annointed person. The chief of them both in this place, (omitting the order of Annales) that they may ranke together without interruption of better narrations, & not infect the paper in more places then one, I will heere lay downe; assuring my selfe, that many more attempts were plotted then euer were displaied. For the thunderbolt of curses throwne from that *Iupiter of Rome*, denouncing her Maiesty vncapable either of Crowne or Kingdome, tooke such rootes in the hearts of these Locusts, that they both armed themselues openly to battel, and secretly sought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes blood.

Apoc.

(76) For this Brutish Bull, calued in the Popes Consistory (or rather Cow-house) and now able to trauell from *Rome*; in *London*, and at the West ende of *Pauls*, first put forth his hornes, being there hung vpon the Bishops Pallace gate, by a lewde person imploied as an Herauld from the Pope. *Moreton* an old English fugitiue (as hath beene said) had procured it: brazen-faced *Sanders* in his writings maintaineth it, *Bristow* in his Motiues approued it, *Northumberland* & *Neuill* had put it in practise, *Iohn Felton* had diuulged it, the two *Nortons* supported it, and many after-followers assaid to execute it; all which, like Serpents bite the bosomes, wherein themselues lay, but neuer could hurt her, the *Lords beloued, and holy Annointed*, who in peace & glory came to her graue, and in a full age, as a ricke of Corne into the Barne in due season.

The Popes Bull hangd vp at the Bishop of *London* his gate.

Patrons and abettors of the Bull.

Sand. de Visib. Monarch.

Bristow Motiues.

Iob 5. 26.

(77) The Marshalists, besides them in the North, were *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Thomas Brooke* and *George Redman* with others, who intended with sound of Trumpet and Drumme, to proclaime their diuellish designe at *Harleston* Faire in the County of *Norfolke*; their shew being for the suppression of Strangers, but their maine end, to make a strange alteration in the State; whereby they hastened their owne ends, suffering a death due to Traitors.

An. D. 1570

Execution of certaine Traitors.

(78) But more dangerous were those Conspiratours, which secretly plotted to bring in *forraigne powers*, or publikely by their writings animated men thereunto, defaming the faire face of Englands Religion, and deforming the body of *Elizabeths* Gouernment; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Bristow* two English fugitiues, were the *Iannes and Iambres that withstoode Moses; men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith; Traitors, heady and high minded, hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*, as the Apostle propheſied, that in *the last daies such should arise*: both of them approuing *Pius Quintus* his proceeding about her *Maiesties* depriuation, and iustifying the wicked in their rebellions, contrarie to the doctrine of that Apostle, whose Chaire they pretend to vphold. From which sinke of iniquity, issued those corrupt streames, that became bitter as wormewood, the taste whereof brought many to their vntimely, but wel-deserued, deathes: among whom, first was *Felton*, the two *Nortons*, *Kenelme Barne*, and *Edmund Mather*; not long after whom, followed Doctor *Story*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story.

Secret instruments to draw in forraine enemies into the Land.

2. *Tim.* 3. 8.

1. Pet. 2. 13.

Apoc. 8. 11.

Iustice executed vpon certaine Traitors.

(79) This man by birth was English, though an Alien in heart, by profession a Ciuilian, and Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a persecuter of Gods Saints in the daies of the last Queene, and in this Queenes raigne, a turbulent inueigher against the Religion established in the English Church. For which being apprehended and committed to prison, he found means of escape, and in *Antwerpe* receiued Commission vnder Duke *D'Alua*, to search all Shippes comming thither, for English bookes; not forgetting his tyranny wherein he had beene trained, nor to further traiterously many and great attempts to bring in *forraine powers*, for *Englands* ouerthrow. But the pit that he digged, he fell into himselfe, and the destruction prepared for others, light on his owne pate; for one *Parker*, an English Marchant, loially affected to his Prince, trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his snare faire to catch this foule birde; causing secret notice to bee giuen vnto *Story*, that in his Ship were store of Hereticall books, with other intelligences, which might stand him in steede.

Doctor *Story.*

His imprisonment and flight.

His imploiment beyond the Sea.

(80) The Canonist conceiuing that all was Cock-sure

taken in his owne ginne.

His arraignment and execution.

A.D. 1571.

Sherwin, Campion &c.

Sanders his miserable end.

Somervils Treason.

A.D. 1583. Execution of Iustice.

The progresse of his attempt.

And a Seminary prepareth Somervile.

Somervils conclusion of minde.

Hall animating him.

Somervile and the rest condemned of Treason.

Somervile strangleth himselfe. Decem. 19.

The number of Iesuits & Priests in the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

Cocke-sure, hasted to execute his Commission himselfe, where with lookes very bigge vpon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Chest and Corner, aboue borde were searched, & some things found to draw him further on; so that the hatches must bee opened, which seemed to bee vnwillingly done, and great signes of feare was shewed by their faces. This drew on the Doctor to descend into the hould; where now in the trap, the mouse might well gnawe, but could not get out; for the hatches went downe, and the sailes hoised vp, which with a merrie gale were blowne into *England*, where ere long hee was arraigned and condemned of high Treason, and accordingly was executed at *Tiborne*, as he had well deserued.

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin*, *Campion*, *Kirby*, with others seditious trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sanders* the Irish Legate, and greatest maintainer of his goring authority, though hee escaped the Barre of iustice, yet was found out by a rauing *Phrensie*, as he wandred succourlesse in the waste mountaines of *Ireland*, wherein lastly he miserably died. But to leaue these poisonous tonguemen and libellous pen-men to register their owne shame, and seare their consciences with the brand of sinne; let vs discouer those other daring and swording Monsters, who actually imploied themselues, to lay, either violent hands vpon her Maiesties person, or the Land open to *forreine invasions*.

(82) The first of them (or first manifested) was *Iohn Somervile* of *Elstowe* in *Warwickeshire*, a furious young man, who like a tempest that threatned destruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murther the Queene; the progresse of which attempt summarily was thus. Keeping his *Whitsontid* with *Arden* (his wiues father) he was there so wrought by *Hall* a Seminary Priest, as hee conceiued a desperate rage against her Maiesty, holding it a matter (seeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloody resolution, he was further instigated by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, hee grew much perplexed, hauing many feares and conflicts in himselfe, which caused his wife to write vnto *Hall*, to come and strengthen the man with firmer resolutions. But he, busied elsewhere with the like purposes, by letter excused his not comming, yet therein aduised him to goe forward, promising he would assist him with his praiers to God for his good successe.

(83) This letter receiued, hee grew fully resolued to actuate the designe, and hasted his iourney amayne towards *London*; who no sooner departed, but that his wife sent *Halles* letter vnto her mother, and shee presently made it knowne to *Arden* her husband, which letter hee caused to bee burnt as soone as himselfe was called in question. But *Somervile* discouered by the way, was indited in *Warwicke*, and those his Associates condemned of high Treason in *London*; *Somervile* confessing his intent said, that hee had beene moued thereunto by his wicked spirit, and by the inticements of certain seditious persons, his Kinsmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious bookes, published against her Maiesty. This desperate Ruffian committed to *Newgate* after his condemnation, most desperately strangled himselfe to death; an example of Gods seuerity against such sonnes of disobedience.

(84) Of which litter in the dayes of this blessed *Deborah*, not so few as *one hundred and twenty* of knowne *Iesuites* and *Seminaries* scrawled like frogs, through her faire soile, croaking, and spawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and disswading the Subiects from the allegiance vnto their Queene: Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were banished the land, and the rest as Traitors died for conspiracy against her person, and breach of the law in that case enacted for the indemnity of the State. To shrowde themselues and their Disciples from that daunger of law, at the suite of *Campion*, *Persons*, *Haywood*, and *Hart*, a dispensation was giuen to the *Camelion Catholikes*, from the rigororus extent of the foresaid Bull: so that most of these *Seminaries* imploied for *England*, cast off their *Serpentine Skinner*, and shewed themselues abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more safely to vent their enuenomed drugges, and to keepe their Coules from preaching at the Gallowes.

E. Reg. 27.

A dispensation obtained from the rigour of the Bull.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Persons* and *Edmund Campion*, vntill they could make their party strong in *England*; which faculties were engrossed on this wise;

Faculties granted by the Pope to his adherents.

Petatur à Summo Domino nostro, explicatio, &c.

The Romanists suite to the Pope

Let there be desired of our most high Lord an explication or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by Pius the fifth against Elizabeth, and such as do adhere or obey her: Which Bull the Catholikes desire to bee vnderstood in this manner, that the same Bull shall alwayes bind her and the Heretikes, but the Catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters doe now stand or be, till hereafter, when the publike execution of that Bull may bee had or made. And in the Conclusion thus, *The highest Pontiffe granted these foresaid Graces to Father Robert Persons, and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their way into England the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1580. being present, the Father Oliuerius, Manarke assistant.* And though the one of these *Spiders* sponne his Webbe so in corners, as hee could not be found, yet was the other swept downe by the hand of Iustice, and drew his last threed in the Triangle of Tyborne. After whom others, as some likewise before them, ploughing with the same Heifer, and sowing the furrowes with the same seed, reaped their harueft with no better increase then tares or darnell could yeeld, as was seene by their successes.

The Popes grant to his Agents.

(86) Wherein *Cuthert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copie for a new Iubile, with some other Writings, maintaining the authority of *Rome*, disswaded the naturall subiects from their due obedience, deliuering diuers *holy Graines* (as he tearmed them) by which, hee that had such should bee knowne to bee sure of that side, and thereby to bee defended in the bloody day, as by his inditement stādeth vpon Record, and cōfessed vnder his own hand.

A.D. 1577. *Cuthert Maynes Treasons.*

The vertue of holy Graines.

(87) *Nelson*, *Hanse*, *Lacies*, *Briant*, *Cotam*, and a great number of others, were all of them imploied, to draw the hearts of the Subiectes from their Soueraigne, and to prepare way to an intended inuasion. And left massing Priests should bee wanting to make easie the scrues of their winding deuises, when their Cobwebs were wouen, *Thompson* brought *Holy Oyle* to besmeare their shauen Crownes; *Hemford* a dispensation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes*, *vntill oportunity serued*; and *Haydocke* was doubly imployed, both to prepare aides to assist the enterprise, and to note the fittest landing places, for forraine forces, which himselfe sent word to Doctor *Allen* hee had done.

Nelson and other instruments of Rebellion.

Thompson.

Hemford.

Haydock.

(88) But *Iohn Paine* a Priest stepped yet somwhat further, in practising the death of her Maiesty, who with *fifty Resolutes* furnished at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to assayle her, being slenderly guarded as shee tooke her recreation abroad. These and such others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-rolle, as *chosen vessels* to suffer for the *Romish* cause, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himself Doctor-like signified in his letter vnto *Allen*, which here I insert, according to the original, to shew what honest hearts he & his Mates did beare towards their Native Country.

Paine.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

To the Right Worshipfull M. Doctor Allen
Iesus, S. P. in Domino.

A Letter of *Sanders* vnto M. *Allen.*

(89) *Yours of the seuenth of Iune came to my handes to*

to greater comfort, then the ſucceſſe that followed could maintaine. O pittifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withſtand ſuch troubleſome perſecutions as you there haue ſuffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more choſen veſſels. God grant you all there to know your owne bleſsing, and to thanke God of it. I had as much before my eyes long before, and ſtill thinke that wee ſhall haue no ſteady comfort but from God: a x A *A, not* o x. *Therefore I beſeech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spaine is as feareſull of warre, as a Child of fire: and all his endeauours is to auoid all ſuch occaſions.* * A *will giue two thouſand when you there ſhall bee content with them. If they doe not ſerue to goe to England, at the leaſt they will ſerue to goe into Ireland. I thanke you hartily for the fauour you haue ſhewed to Gibbons brother, it ſeemeth to be a bleſſed brood. for Gods ſake continue your fauour ſtill that way, albeit I feare mee your Seminarie will againe fall to diſperſion. I haue none other thing in this world ſo at the heart as to bee with you: nor can I get leaue to depart hence. Therefore if it ſo fall that it be no hinderance for you to come hither, looſe not the occaſion.* Vale in Chriſto Ieſu viſcera mea, ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in æternum tueatur. *From Madrid the 6. of November,* 1577.

Secret Characters.

* *A.* Seemeth to ſignify the Pope.

(90) By this wee ſee, what plottes were intended for the ſubuerſion of *England*, and what fruits thoſe *Italianate Fugitiues* brought forth; but as men cannot gather grapes from the *Thornes*, neither do finde the figges on the *Thiſtle*; ſo let theſe *brambles* bring forth their owne berries, and let their handes be prickt that ſeeke to plucke them; as indeed they did theirs, of whom wee are to write; wherof *Francis Throgmorton* a Gentleman well educated and of a good witte was one; who weary of longer delay, after ſo many yeeres plotting and conſulting of an Inuaſion, reſolued to be the man himſelfe, to bring the matter to an iſſue.

Luke 6. 43. Matth. 7. 16.

The long conſultation about an Inuaſion draweth towards an iſſue.

Throgmortons Treaſons.

A.D. 1583. See the *Diſcou.* of Treaſons.

(91) This man ſollicited by *Barnardine Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Leager-Ambaſſador lying in *London*, vndertooke a moſt dangerous deſigne againſt his dread Soueraigne, and natiue Country, which was, to bring in a *forraigne Army*, and *to alter Religion*, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imploiment was to ſound the hauens for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of ſuch great men in euery County of *England*, as ſtood for the Papall cauſe, vnto whom *Charles Paget* (masked vnder the names of *Mope* and *Spring*) was ioyned for an aſſiſtant. *Sir Francis Englefeild* in the Low-Countries, and others elſewhere had vehemently ſollicited the King of *Spaine* to attempt *Englands Inuaſion*, and the *Duke of Guize*, vndertooke to bee the principall leader, conditionally that *Rome* and *Spaine*, would beare the charge of the warre.

His deſigne and proſecution of it.

Charles Paget.

Sir *Fr. Englefield.*

(92) For compaſsing this plotte, *Throgmorton* (for his part) had plotted a chard of the hauens and harbours of *England*, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aiders, which hee preſented vnto *Mendoza*. In this his Surucy no place was held fitter to land theſe forraine powers, then was *Arundell* in *Suſſex*, both for the neere cutte from thoſe parts of *France*, where the *Guize* meant to muſter his men, as alſo for the opportunity of aſſured perſons, to giue them aſſiſtance, as they did preſume. The want was onely Money; for which, meſſengers were employed vnto *Rome* and to *Spaine*, whoſe returne was daily expected with bagges and Bils of Exchange, as they wiſhed and well hoped, which confidently was aſſured by *Barnardine Mendoza*, promiſing that the King his Maſter would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

Arundel the harbour appointed for landing.

Bernardine Mendoza.

(93) The treaſon thus forwarded and ready for execution, the *Watchman of Iſrael*, who euer waked for the defence of his *Annointed*, and walled her *Vineyard* with his owne protection, ſhooke out the fruite of this ill-conceiued ſeed from the huske, before it was ripe. For *Throgmorton* ſodainely apprehended, and his ſtudy ſearched, the Catalogue of *Romanized* Gentlemen of euery Shire, and the Hauens for landing of *forraigne power*, were therein found: with certaine Petigrees touching the title to the Engliſh Crowne, and ſome infamous libels publiſhed beyond ſeas againſt her Maieſties perſon. But a certaine Casket couered with greene veluet, was cunningly conuaied from vnder a bed, and carried to the *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*, wherein many things lay hid that neuer after came to light; as alſo a letter which himſelfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conuaied from the ſight of the ſearchers: all which himſelfe confeſſed, and with his owne penne wrote the whole Conſpiracy, for which, after iudgement hee moſt worthily died.

Throgmorton apprehended.

Throgmorton confeſſeth the whole conſpiracie.

(94) Not warned by theſe, *William Parry* (as he named himſelfe) a man of a profuſe waſtfulneſſe, riot, and prodigality, hauing conſumed two widdowes wealthes, and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglarie, was for the fact condemned to die, but ſued and obtained his pardon of life by the compaſsioned mercy of *Queene Elizabeth*, which he, vngratefull man, ſought to requite, by vowing her death, that ſaued him from his. For trauelling into forraine parts, and there obtaining the title of a *Ciuilian Doctor*, he fell from his naturall alleagiance (as riotous Malecontents vſually doe) and reconciled himſelfe vnto the See of *Rome*, then hauing frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine Ieſuiticall Prieſts, was finally inſpired with a helliſh reſolution to kill her who had giuen him life.

A.D. 1584. *Parrits* Treaſon.

M. *Hugh Hare* in the Temple.

Parry formerly had his life by the Queenes pardon.

(95) Whereunto hee was further inſtigated by *Benedicto Palmio* a father Ieſuite, *Chriſtofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholike King, and *Thomas Morgan* an Engliſh Fugitiue, *Annibali à Codreto* his Confeſſor, approuing the diueliſh deſigne; and *Ragazzoni* the Popes *Nuntio*, promiſing that this Catholike ſeruice ſhould bee remembred at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to ſtrike vp this Cataſtrophe, which were the Popes approbation, and his Abſolution from all his ſinnes: to procure which, *Cardinall Como* was imployed, who ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that both were ſhortly procured, and ſent him into *England* with a warrant to proceed in his Holineſſe name.

The inſtigaters of his diueliſh attempt.

Cardinall *Como* ſolliciteth the Pope for the exploit.

(96) Thus armed from *Rome*, his promiſes on earth, and his vowes in heauen, the worke ſeemes meritorious, and the Queene muſt die: to effect which, no fitter way could bee found, then to fain himſelfe a falſe Traitor indeed. For hauing priuate acceſſe to her preſence, was heard at large, that hee was the man who had vndertaken her death, which to ſound the deepe waters, and to beare ſaile with the faireſt hee promiſed to doe, with no intent, as hee conſtantly affirmed, to act that impoſed charge, but onely to diſcouer thoſe who laid for her life. Her Highneſſe (whoſe piercing vnderſtanding was not eaſily blinded or beguiled with words) ſeemed ſo doubtfully to interpret his confeſſed fact (which yet ſhee kept ſecret from her neereſt Counſellers) that he in great feare departed; as how can a conſcience ſo clogged but feare? Whereupon his late letter from *Como* hee ſhewed; which ſeeming alſo to bee little eſteemed, and his ſuit to be *Mr. of St. Katherines*, vtterly reiected, confirmed more deſperatly his reſolution to kil her: and often hauing weapon, preſence, place & oportunity, purpoſely thought to performe it, but euer was daunted when he beheld the glory of her preſence, and Maieſty in her face, wherein to his ſeeming the Image of God, in her his Vice-gerent, was portraied, commanding him obedience, and threatning deſtruction to thoſe who intend violence againſt his holy annointed.

Parry treacherouſly confeſſeth himſelfe a Traitor.

Parry ſheweth the Queene Cardinall *Comos* Letter.

Parry incenſed with deniall of his ſuit for Saint *Katherines.*

The maieſty of Queene *Eliza beths* preſence often daſhed *Parrits* attempt.

(97) This *Sinons* part thus fayling, he ſought to vndermine the walles yet another way; his vowes reſting in heauen were holy motiues (forſooth) to this helliſh act, and *Allens* booke redoubling his former reſolutions (wherein euery word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and euery line taught, that Kings might bee depriued, excommunicated, and violently

Parrie animated by *Allens* booke.

M. Edmund Neuil

violently deposed, in case of the religion of *Rome*) vpon these spurres hee posted to a worthy Gentleman, whom he supposed as discontented as himself, opening his Treasons for the bringing in of *forreine invaders* solliciting his assistance, and threatning with dagge or dagger to kill the Queene.

Parries Treason deferred.

(98) The Gentleman, loathing this horrible intent, reuealed the Treason vnto two principall Priuie Counsellers, and they vnto her Maiesty, who committed his examination vnto Sir *Francis Walsingham* her principall Secretarie, a man of exquisit iudgement, integrity and industry in all state affaires and intelligences; the Treasons then found out, and confessed by himselfe, were diuulged by his voluntarie pen, and subscribed vnto, with his owne hand, with many other circumstances vnknowne before, and againe were seconded by another letter, written to the Lords of the Counsell, which heere out of the Originall, I haue inserted.

Sir Francis Walsingham the prime man of that age for intelligences of State.

Parries Treasons confessed vnder his owne hand.

Parries letter to the Lords of the Councell.

(99) *My Lords, now that the conspiracy is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and minde prepared patiently to suffer paines due for so hainous a crime: I hope it shall not offend you, if crying,* Miserere, *with the poore Publicane, I leane to despaire with cursed Came. My case is rare, and strange, and for any thing I can remember singular: a naturall Subiect solemnly to vewe the death of his naturall Queene, (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the reliefe of the afflicted Catholike, and restitution of Religion. The matter first conceiued in Venice, the seruice (in general words) presented to the Pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastly, commended and warranted by his holines digested and resolued in England, if it had not beene preuented by accusation, or by her Maisties greater lenity and more gratious vsage of her Catholike Subiects. This is my first and last offence conceiued against my Prince, or Countrey, and doth (I cannot deny) containe all other faults whatsoeuer. It is now to bee punished by death, or most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confesse to haue deserued: life I doe (with all humilite) craue, if it may stand with the Queens Honour, and policie of the time. To leane so great a Treason vnpunished, were strange; to drawe it by my death, in example, were dangerous. A sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprize, vpon such a ground and by such a warrant, hath not beene seene in England. To indite him, arraigne him, bring him to the Saffold, and to publish his offence, can doe no good. To hope that hee hath more to discouer then is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsay any thing he hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were very hard and against former experiences. The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (lest the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though partiall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good* Queene Elizabeths; *the offence is committed against her sacred person; and shee may (of her mercy) pardon it without preiudice to any. Then this I say, in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, then to liue. Pardon poore* Parrie, *and releeue him: for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous or dishonourable to the Queenes Maiesty (as by your fauours I thinke it full of honour and mercy) then I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be endicted, and afterwards, if I must die, humbly to entreat the Queenes Maiesty to hasten my triall and execution: which I pray God, with all my heart, may proone as honourable to her, as I hope, it shall bee happy to me. Who will, while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) pray to Iesus Christ for her Maisties long and prosperous raigne. From the Tower the* 18. *of February.* 1584.

W. Parry.

Febru. 25.

(100) And according to this his last request, his inditement was framed, and arraignement performed at *Westminster*, where he pleaded himselfe guilty and had iudgement of a Traitor. Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at *Westminster*, vpon the second of *March* following; where (whether for feare of preiudicing and discrediting the Romanists cause, or by whatsoeuer other perswasion) he impudently denied, that he euer had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithstanding all his owne former confessions, witnesse of the fact, and other cleare euidences of truth; amongst which, the letter receiued from Cardinall *Como* is not vnworthy to be here annexed, whose translation from the originall, written in the *Italian* tongue, is as followeth.

W. Parrie executed.

Denieth his owne confessions.

(101) *Sir, his Holinesse hath seene your letter of the first, with the assurance included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution, which you write to bould towards the seruice and benefit publike: wherein his Holinesse doth exhort you to perseuere, with causing to bee brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that good spirit which hath moued you thereunto, his holinesse doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you that besides the merite that you shall receiue therefore in heauen, his Holinesse will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your deseruings, by all the best meanes he may. And that so much the more in that you vse the more modesty in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartily, and wish all good and happy successe. From* Rome, *the xxx. of* Ianuary, 1584.

Cardinall Como his letter to Parrie.

At your disposing

N. Card. of Como.

(102) Had not then her Maiesty iust cause to complaine, as shee did? when in the honourable assembly of Parliament, she openly professed, that *shee knew no creature breathing, whose life stood hourely in more perill then her owne; and that euen at the first entrance into her estate, she entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wrestle with many and mighty enemies.* And yet, in confidence of her celestiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, shee often seemed somewhat too remisse and neglectiue in the care of her selfe and life as appeared manifestlie by her proceedings with this last Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Counsellers, and often admitting priuately his accesse, though he had tolde her, he was the man appointed to worke her death. And indeed such was this Princesse Magnanimity, that in an apparant danger, as great, though not so traiterous as this, she shewed a resolution of courage farre aboue her sexe; when being in her Barge vpon *Thames* to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambassador, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, a Seruingman in the Court with his Caliuer discharged a Bullet, and shot the Waterman, within sixe foote of her seate, (the second to her Bales) through both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, she threw him her scarffe, and with words of comfort bad him be of good cheere, he should not want, for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him; and with such resolute courage bare it out, as all present, admired. Neither so onely, but knowing afterwards that it was done casually at randome, she both pardoned the partie of his life, when he was to die, and commanded his Master to retaine him againe into his seruice.

Ex Parla. in An. 1585.

The hazards and troubles that attend Crownes.

Queene Elizabeth her vndaunted confidence.

Thomas Appletree shot the Queenes Bargeman. 1579. Iuly 17.

The Queen pardons the offender.

(103) And indeed, of so singular clemency, and inbread lenity was this Lady, that shee neuer heard mention of the capitall (though neuer so deserued) punishment of offenders, euen of such as had sought her owne death, but it bred a kinde of horror and sorrow in her; whereby, had not her Counsellers earnestly inculcated the necessity of such exemplary Iustice, many dangerous attempters had escaped their

Her singuler clemency towards offenders.

due punishment. Which moued her to say, being once questioning with a * great Diuine of *Oxford*, about bookes meetest for Princes to study on, that *her Reading of* Seneca de Clementia, *had done her much good, but some would perswade her, it had done her State as much harme*. But for her loue to her people in generall, and tender care ouer the poorer sort, or any waies oppressed, it was incomparable; whose cares were not only open at all times to their complaints, and her hands ready to receiue their petitions; but her manner was also to commend their cause vnto her Counsell and Iudges, giuing these and the like earnest charges; *Haue care of my people, you haue my place: do you to them that which I ought to do; they are my people, yet euery man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. Themselues can neither helpe themselues nor reuenge their quarrell: See vnto them, I pray you, see vnto them, for they are my charge, them therefore I charge you with, euen as God hath committed them vnto me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare vnto mee, my care is for my people; I pray God my Successor bee as carefull for them; and surely they which might know my cares for my people, may likewise conceiue, that I take no great ioy in wearing the Crowne.*

* D R of C. C. C. in Oxford.

Her gracious loue to her people in generall.

Her earnest commands, to her Counsellors and Iudges.

(104) What heart then could conceiue so great mischiefe, or hand could bee so barbarously violent, as to worke the destruction of so louing a *nursing Mother*, but onely those *obdurate and venemous Vipers*, which eat forth the way from the wombe of their owne conceptions? Or rather those sting-tailed Locusts, arising with *foggy smoake* from the bottomlesse pit, who to reare vp their *Dagon* or great *King Abaddon*, cast downe Princes with the wings of their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in the murthers of the Lords annointed; whereas *Dauid* durst not touch *Saul*, though he was abiected by God.

Apoc. 9.2.

(105) Those Proselites so vncessantly, yeere by yeere, prosecuted the *Romane cause*, that many of them thereby deseruedly came to their deaths; amongst whom was *Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland*, gone so farre in such disloiall enterprizes, as being vpon suspition of Treason committed to the Tower of *London*, he laid violent hands vpō his own life, by discharging a Dagge, charged with three bullets, vnder his left pappe, wherewith he pierced his heart, and presently dying, was by a Iurie found guilty of his owne death. The Treason laid against him (besides the former of the insurrection in the *North*, by himselfe confessed, and by the Court fined at fiue thousand Markes) was, that he had been priuy to the Plots of *Throgmorton*, for the bringing in of *Forreine powers*, to the destruction of the Queen and Realme; which truth being reuealed by other conspirators, he so deepely apprehended, as in that desperate manner hee preuented his further iudgement.

A.D. 1585. *Henry Percie* E. of *Northumberland*.

His violent death.

Out of the Record.

(106) In the same place (though after the *Spanish* attempt for Inuasion *Anno* 1588. which purposely we yet passe ouer, to auoide interrupting of particular mens Treasons and designes) *Philip Earle of Arundel*, and Sir *Iohn Perot* late Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, both of them condemned of high Treason, by course of nature ended their liues; the one, seeking to escape the Land, was first fined at ten thousand pounds, and afterwards found guilty of a higher offence, had sentence of death: the other likewise, *for plotting with Spaine, to open their way into Ireland*, gaue way to the Law to take hold on his life.

Philip Earle of *Arundle* dieth in the Tower. Sir *Iohn Perot* dieth.

An.D. 1589

A.D. 1592.

(107) Neither were these great ones drawne alone into the confederacie of *Romes* irreligious purposes, but others also, thirsting for *Englands* destruction, of lesse quality or place, had parts appointed to be actors in the Scene: which parties themselues shal now enter the Stage, euen foureteene in number; whereof *Anthony Babington* Esquire, was the principall, the others were *Chidiock Tichborne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury*, and *Edward Iones* Esquires, *Iohn Sauage, Robert Barnewell, Henrie Dun, Iohn Trauerse, Iohn Charnocke*, and *Richard Gage*, Gentlemen, and *Iohn Ballard* a Seminarie Priest; for can there be any conspiracies hatched without them? The plot was the more dangerous, by how much the more secretly carried, and the parties resolute to venture therein vnto death, whereof sixe vndertooke to murther the *Queene*, and *Sauage* bound himselfe for her death.

A.D. 1586. *Babington* and his fellowes Treasons.

Babingtons lewes.

(108) The shew must be against the precise *Puritanes*, whose *chiefe* or * *head* in the Low Countrey, not onely threatned (as was pretended) the destruction of all Romish Catholikes, but also to vsurpe the Crowne from the Queene; and therefore for the security of both, they were thus enforced to make ready for armes. Their aiders in *England* were many, as *Babington* beleeued, who wrote that the *West parts*, the *North parts*, all *Wales*, the Counties of *Lancaster*, *Darby*, and *Stafford*, were in great forwardnesse, and had giuen fidelity to giue aide to the enterprize. That *Lord Percy* could doe much in the *North*, *Arundel* in the *South*, and the *Lord Paget* in the heart of the Land, though two of them were then in Prison, and *Paget* in *Spaine*; their onely want was of a *Nobleman* to leade them, whereof they were destitute, as *Babington* complained, vnlesse it were *Westmorland*, and he out of the *Realme*.

Their pretences. * Earle of *Leicester*.

The false imaginations which Traitors haue of Abettors and friends.

(109) Their forreine assisters were many and strong, especially *Spaine*, as *Mendoza* assured them. The Ports were appointed where the Inuaders should land; and once landed, should be seconded from al parts by the Italianated *English*, as they vainly hoped; the *Statists* surprized which held not for *Rome*; the faith restored that had beene abandoned; and the vsurping Competitor (for so they termed the *true annointed Soueraigne*) dispatched by murthers; themselues the onely men marked (if euer) now to redeeme the Land, from the seruitude and bondage, which Heresie had brought, with the losse of thousands of Soules. These were their glozes vpon *Pius Quintus* his alleaged Text, and the *faire visards* that hid their *foule faces*; whom *God* himselfe vnmasked to their following shame.

Their forraine assisters.

(110) For *Ballard* being sent to *Mendoza*, to signifie all things now in a readinesse, and ready to embarke himselfe for *France*, was suddenly apprehended; and part of the conspiracy discouered. Whereupon *Babington*, with *Charnock* and *Sauage*, enters a new resolution, which was immediately to kill the Queene, whereas of their bounty it had beene ordered before, that shee should liue vntill the *Inuasion*, which was appointed to bee in *September* following. But being intercepted before he well wist, he was committed to Custody, yet so as hee went abroad with his Keeper, from whom he shortly made his escape: and thinking to recouer the Seas, disguised himselfe like a Labouring man, staining with wall-nut-tree leaues his hands and face, which shadowed neither his shame nor sinne, neither yet could hide him from the eye that called him to account; for being descried and brought backe to *London*, he was with curses of the people committed to the Tower, whence he could not so easily start.

Ballard a Seminarie.

Babingtons deuilish resolution.

Iuly.

(111) The other conspirators, hearing of these their confederates successe, dispersed themselues and plaied least in sight, yet were they found out, indited and brought to their tryals, all of them confessing their treasons without any torture. Yet at their arraignement (perswading themselues belike, that what they did by papall warrant, could not be called Treason,) they pleaded not guilty, which the Iury vpon manifest proofes finding otherwise, they worthily receiued iudgement of death, and died accordingly in *Lincolnes Inne fields*, euen in the place where they had often conferred for the execution of their Treasons.

The Traitors executed.

(112) The nest of conspirators thus broken in *England*, and their snares still failing though neuer so craftily laid, was a sore corsiue to the *English* fugitiues

tiues in other forreigne parts; especially to the Iesuits, whose griefes were as great, as in the paine of a *Scorpion* when he hath stunge a man. Among whom *Iaques Frances* a perfidious Traitor, and base Laundresse sonne, seeing the *Catholicks* thus cast downe and their case desperate, if treasons were thus preuented and punished, pronounced this *maxime* out of his vnwashed mouth, that the State of *England* then was, and would be so setled, as vnlesse *Mistris Elizabeth* (for so he termed his dread *Soueraigne*) were suddenly taken away, all the Diuels in Hell would not be able to preuaile against, or shake it. And *Stanley* that transfugous Champion for *Spaine* and *Rome*, so impatient was of these vnprospered proceedings, that he hired *Patrick Cullen*, an Irish Fencer and Ruffian, to vndertake the death of the Queene; which he did for the summe of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the report of a Traitors death, which deseruedly hee suffered at *Tyburne*.

(113) To accompany and second these treasons of *Cullen*, *Cresswell* the Legier Iesuite in *Spaine*, writ his traiterous booke vnder the name of *Philopater*, as after him *Cowback* alias *Parsons*, another Iesuite, and Rector at *Rome*, did the like, vnder the name of *Doleman*, concerning titles of the Crowne, both so full of falshood, treason, and impudency, as, (though the Authors be vnnamed,) whosoeuer looketh on the brats, will easily know their Fathers by the resemblance.

(114) This desperate designe failing, another as diuelish was assaid to bee practized, wherein, no English man was yet knowne to haue had any hand, the Actors being onely *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, the one solliciting by promises of great rewards, the other vndertaking to worke the death of the Queene; which was contriued, that poison should be giuen her in Physicke, a designe indeed most fezible and inuitable, had not that hellish hand beene staid by a heauenly. *Rodericke Lopez* was the Physitian, a Doctor of that profession and a *Portugall* by birth, in especiall trust and practise for the state of her health.

(115) Hee a fit instrument to act without suspect, receiued for an *earnest*, *a Iewell of gold*, of good valew, garnished with a great *Diamond*, and a large *Rubie*, from *Christophero de Moro*, a speciall Counsellor of the King of *Spaine*, whose lustre so dazelled his eies, as the practise of treason possessed his heart, and vpon farther payment of *fifty thousand Crownes*, hee couenanted to take away her Maiesties life, in a potion giuen her vpon pretence of health. For the assurance of which money, *Manuel Andrada*, the bringer of the *Iewel*, conferred with the *Conde de Fuentes* at *Callis*, and *Stephano Ferrera*, a *Portugall* also, delt likewise by letters with *Stephano Ibarra* the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to make the same readie: *Lopez* himselfe assuring them the deed should bee done, when the money was paid, which daily was promised and daily expected; the onely stay pretended was, that *King Philip did not well like*, that so base a person as *Andrada* was, should be emploied in so waighty a cause.

(116) Whereupon *Ferrara* of better repute with the King, receiued bils of exchange for the money, deliuered by the *Counte Fuentes*, and from the said *Counte*, *Manuell Lewis* another *Portugall*, was presently sent into *England* to conferre with *Ferrara*, and they both with *Lopez*, who faithfully promised vpon the payment of the money to performe the villanie. At which very instant Gods mercy did bring to light the conspiracy, through the continuall vigilancy of some Lords of the Counsell, in which number neuer any Prince had more, *Sapient*, *Sedulous*, Prouident, and experienced Sages, then *Shee* had.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, *Lopez* was appointed to giue the Queen Physicke; who made ready the potion, and brought it to her presence. But her Maiesty knowing what hee least suspected, told him, hee must goe minister to the Lord Treasurer, *Cecill*, who at that present had more need of Physicke then her selfe; whereupon *Lopez* with double diligence repaired vnto him, signifying his comming was to minister his Lordship Physicke, so commanded him by the Queene: yea marry said the old man but what is your Physicke? a purge and it please your honor said *Lopez*: a purge Master Doctor said the Lord Treasurer, I thinke I must become a Physitian to purge you, and thereupon he apprehended him for a Traitor, who stood so perplexed with feare, that his presence was scarce tollerable for the smell. Then other Doctors of Physicke were called, for to examine the ingredients, who easily found that the potion was poison, for which hee was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where he pleaded not guilty, and his *two Consorts* by long circumstances sought to saue their liues, yet their former confessions subscribed with their owne hands, gaue sufficient testimony of their guilts, for which at *Tyburne* vpon the seauenth of *Iune* they suffered death.

(118) *Stephano Ibarra* thus failing of his purpose, by these Portugal fals, sought yet to raise the fabricke of his wicked intents, vpon the resolutions of some *English fugitiues*; among whom none were held more fit then *Edmund Yorke*, and *Richard Williams*, souldiers by profession, and two desperate Champions for the quarrell of *Rome*; vnto whom *Hugh Owen* an English Rebell, and *Spanish Pensioner*, shewed an assignation, vnder that Secretaries hand, *of foure thousand Crownes* to bee giuen them for to murder their Queene, and for assurance that the same should be forth comming, the assignation was deliuered in *Deposito*, to *Holt* an *English Iesuite*, who producing the Sacrament and kissing it, tooke solemne Oath to pay the money assoone as the fact was done.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three seuerall consultations were held at *Bruxels*, wherein *Holt* sate as President, and *William Stanley Proctor* for this diuelish designe, animating *Yorke* by his vncles example, to be constantly resolued, as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had miscarried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and easie to be done. *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Michaell Moodie*, *Charles Paget*, *Henry Owen*, *Edmund Garret*, and the two diuine Doctors, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, were principall speakers in this impious *Parliament*; all of them eager to egge on the two vndertakers, and to ioyne to them a third man, named *Young*, whose taske should be to kill the greatest Counsellors, as soone as the Queene should be dead. The last that spake was *Holt the President*, who after he had ministred these Traitors their Oathes, in threatning wise, menaced to take from the English this high and acceptable seruice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were farre more worthy: and so sent the two former into *England* with his blessing, which neuertheless could not saue them from the Gallowes: their purposes were to get entertainement of some great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to seeme men of some note for intelligence, sent from *Callis* to procure their pasport, but the vigilant eye of the *English state* had found out their treasons before; & bringing them afterwards to their trials, they were foūd gilty, iudged, & died like traitors.

(120) The last publike attempter, that assaid the Queenes death, was *Edward Squire*, a Scriuener of *Greenewich*, who by deputation had emploiment of a Purueyer in the Stable, but being in witte aboue his vocation, and carrying his sailes aboue his fortunes, put himselfe in action for Sea in the last voiage of *Sir Francis Drake* made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a small shippe, called the *Frances*, who loosing the Fleete about *Guadalupe*, was taken by fiue Spanish Frigots, and with other brought Prisoners into *Spaine*: where falling in acquaintance with *Richard Walpoole* an *English fugitiue* by order a Iesuite, in great credit, and vicar Generall to *Parsons*, in

Anno 9. Digni Francis. — Proceeding against Traitors.

Stanly.

Patricke Cullen. A.D. 1592.

Cresswels Philopater.

A.D. 1594. Parsons.

A.D. 1594. Lopez his treason.

His first bayte. His instigators. Christophero de Moro.

Manuel Andrada Conde de Fuentes.

Stephano Ferrara

Queene Elizabeths most choise Counsellors.

Lopez put to triall.

Lopez apprehended of treason. — Febru. 28.

Stephano Ibarra. — Yorke and Williams Treason. — Owen. — Confessed by themselues. Holt the Iesuite.

Consulters about furthering the Treason. — Young.

Edward Squires Treasons. — A.D. 1597. Walpole the Iesuite.

in his abſence, was by him obſerued to be of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality or education; for yeeres, mature, and paſſed his middle age; for carriage well aduiſed, and reſolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

Squier a fit ſubiect to worke vpon.

(121) Vpon him *Walpoole* therefore meant to worke, conceiuing for his purpoſe two ſpeciall aduantages: the one, that comming into *Spaine* a Priſoner, and not a fugitiue, his returne into *England* would be without ſuſpect, the other, that *Squire* had beene emploied in the *Queenes Stable*, and therefore had liberty of free acceſſe: But the more to inuolue what hee intended, hee ſubtilly cauſed *Squier* to be apprehended by the *Inquiſition*, and put priſoner into the *holy Houſe*: where mollified by diſtreſſe, hee got his heart into his hands, ſo that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romaniſt.

(122) This firſt aſſay prouing effectuall, for an introduction to his further intendments, he fell into the old ſong; whoſe burden was the tyrannies vſed, and the perſecutions exerciſed in *England* againſt the poore Catholikes; vpon how few perſons the Engliſh State did ſtand, and how eaſily thoſe props were to be remooued, if any denoted would put to their hands. *Squire* who wanted no wit to perceiue whereat he aymed; firſt, gaue ſome ſlight ſignification, and after a more ſerious proteſtation, that hee was the man, that would ſacrifice himſelfe and his ſeruice in the cauſe.

Walpoole proiects the killing of the *Earle of Eſſex*.

(123) The good Father hauing thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were* (ſaid he) *no doubt a worke meritorious to kill the Earle of Eſſex; but vnum neceſſarium, one thing is neceſſary:* And then tould him plainely, that he meant to put a ſeruice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accompliſh without any euident perill of life, becauſe it was to bee done not immediately vpon her perſon, nor in her preſence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were ſeene) ſhould be endangered, being acted as hee would preſcribe; and that was, to impoyſon the pommell of the Queenes ſaddle, at ſuch time as ſhee ſhould ride abroade, the Pommell being the place, whereon ſhee would reſt her hand, and her hand not vnlikely to touch her mouth or noſtrils, would giue acceſſe to the forcible poiſon. This, ſaid he, might eaſily be performed, he hauing familiar acquaintance in the Quirry, yea and that very ſafely; but if otherwiſe, and *immediate death happened, he ſhould be aſſured, that for the exchange of this preſent and tranſitory life, to enioye the ſtate of a Glorious Sainct in Heauen.*

He teacheth how to poyſon the Queenes Saddle.

Walpoules heauenly conſolations.

(124) Which *Syrens ſong* ended, and *Squire* inueigled; confeſſions, vowes, promiſes, receite of the Sacrament, and all, confirmed the reſolution of the diueliſh attempt; and to preuent varying from this Center, *Walpoole* tould him, *that now he ſtood in the ſtate of damnation, if hee did not his vttermoſt endeuour to performe his vow*, bidding him remember, *how that the ſinne of backſlyding did ſeldome obtaine pardon; and if he did but once make doubt of the lawfulneſſe or merit of the act, it was enough to caſt him head-long downe into hell*; and if he did conceiue any difficulties, he wiſhed him to conſider *what it auailed a man, to win the whole world, and to looſe his owne ſoule.*

His ghoſtly Counſels.

(125) *Squier* thus armed (though not with that complete Armour of the Apoſtle) fell downe in confeſſion before this *Ieſuites* feete; whom he lifted vp, hugd him about the necke, with his left arme (ſuch were *Squires* owne words) and croſſing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in Latine, and then diſtinctly in Engliſh ſpake thus; *God bleſſe thee, and giue thee ſtrength my ſonne; bee of good courage, I pawne my ſoule for thine, and thou ſhalt haue my praiers dead and aliue.* Thereupon deliuering vnto him the poyſon, directed how it ſhould be vſed, and ſhewed him the nature of the confection; which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and when it was to bee employed, to be pricked full of holes, and ſo preſſed out vpon the pommell of the Queenes ſaddle; the operation whereof was ſuch, that vpon his hand hee muſt haue a thicke double gloue, leaſt the poyſon thereof ſhould infect himſelf; whoſe vigour alſo was ſuch, as neither continuance of time, nor ſubtilty of ayre could checke or vn-vertuate the ſtrength: And that the matter might be carried without all ſuſpect, an exchange was accepted of two Spaniſh priſoners in *England*, for *Rowles* and *Squire*, to be releaſed from *Spaine*.

His fatherly Benediction.

The vſe & force of the poyſon.

(126) Thus himſelfe poyſoned in heart, and minding to poyſon others, being monied by the *Ieſuite*, arriued in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadiz*; which action (as he thought) fitted him well, and thereupon made ſuite and obtained it, to attend the *Earle of Eſſex* in his owne ſhip; aſwel to be abſent when the poyſon ſhould worke on *her Maieſty* (which he meant to beſtow before his departure) as to haue opportunity thereby, to poyſon the *Earle* himſelfe. Occaſion being giuen by the Queenes riding abroad, and her Horſe made ready and attending in the Stable-yard, thether *Squier* repaired, *full of euill ſpirits*; and laying his hand vpon the pommel of her Saddle, bruiſed out the poyſon in the bladder, ſaying cheerefully, *God ſaue the Queen*; with no better affection then *Ioab* bare to *Amaſa*, when with his hand he tooke him to kiſſe him, but with his ſword ſtrock him to the heart. His part thus plaide, *Gods wonted and wonderfull protection began anne*; who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had euer ſhadowed her from the ſtroake of daunger; for albeit the * ſeaſon was hot, and the veines open to receiue any maligne tainture, yet her body felt no diſtemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pauls* did, when hee ſhooke of the Viper into the fire.

Squiers arriuing in *England*.

Squier periſh for the Queenes ſafety, when he attempts to poyſon her. 2. Sam. 20. 9.

* In Iuly.

Act. 28. 5.

(127) The deed thus done, without all miſtruſt, *Squier* taking the remaine of the poyſon, within ſixe daies after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Eſſex* his owne Ship, where ſeeking to finiſh his *diueliſh deſigne* betwixt *Faial* and *Saint Michaels* beſtowed his confection, vpon the pommels of a wodden chaire, wherein the Earle vſually ſate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord ſo working) tooke not effect, to the no little admiration of *Squier*, though very well ſatisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poyſon it ſelfe; and his vow now diſcharged (as he thought) he ſlept the more quiet.

Squiers endeuour to poyſon the *Earle of Eſſex* going to *Cadiz*.

(128) *Walpoole* the Ieſuite ouer-tickled with ioye of his hoped ſucceſſe, and not able longer to keepe ſecrecy, imparted his treaſons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the iſſue thereof, but all things ſilent, and no newes of the *Cataſtrophe*, they chaunged their opinions, and held *Squire* for a falſ-brother, when as alſo their longing hearts beganne to feare, leaſt the maine cauſe would bee mard, being caſt into ſo bad a mould. Whereupon a conſultation was called, and the Sicophant condemned in the higheſt degree, whoſe end muſt be ſpeedily wrought, or elſe thoſe Catholike proceedings would ſurely come to wracke; for that he knowing much, would (as was feared) reueale much more; and therefore it was politikely concluded, that one ſhould be let ſlip from them into *England*, to giue information of *Squires* treaſons.

Squiers Treaſon ſucceſſeles.

Squire miſtruſted to be a falſe brother.

(129) This man to haue the more credit brought two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himſelf had ſtolne out of a *Ieſuits* ſtudy, & the other brought from another perſon, both which indeed were found to be counterfeit, and *Squire* for the preſent reputed an honeſt man. Yet becauſe the matter was tender, and touched nere the quicke, *Squire* was ſent for, and examined; at firſt he denies all, but comming to circumſtances, ſomething was found, hould taken, and the Traitor committed to Priſon; who left alone, began to bethinke him how farre his Confeſſors Confeſſion might extend, and therefore by good Counſell (the truth withall working) therein

A counterfeit meſſenger ſent from the Ieſuits.

Squire voluntarily confeſſeth his treaſon.

he discloſed the Treaſon, and how farre he had therein gon, which indeed no man had knowledge of but himſelfe, and this confeſſed at the Tower, without torture, and at the Barre with remorſe of conſcience, he had his ſentence of death, which he accordingly ſuffered.

The laſt motiue to the ſtate to make ſharp Laws to prevent Treaſons.

(130) Had not then the *wiſe Statiſts* of the Land, cauſe to enact ſuch Lawes as they did; to ſet the ſhaking ſword in the entrance of this *faire Eden*, and to ſtoppe out the wilde Bore that would lay the vineyard waſt? their *Queene* and lamp of Glory, hauing thus often and narrowly eſcaped extinguiſhing, by as many hands of murthering Prieſts and *Ieſuites*, as *Dauid* had purſuers of his life, when to *Ionathan* hee complained that *there was but a ſteppe betwixt him and death?* So that iuſtly in a conference of Parliament, for meanes to be had againſt the many conſpirators, daily leuelling at her royall heart, one of good repute, hauing experience of their deſperate deſignes, in the open aſſembly, with a feeling affection, thus vttered his minde: *that euery night when hee awaked, hee feared to heare ſome newes of deſperate miſchiefe, and proteſted before God, hee neuer ſaw the light of the day, but that he feared, before the Sun-ſet, to heare of ſome ſtrange attempt.*

1. Sam. 20. 3.

So many and ſo continually were the conſpiracies.

(131) For as the Pope had denounced vnder his Buls, an abſolutiõ to him that wold dethroan *Elizabeth Englands faire Queen* ſo were there many foule minded Proſelites, that reputed her bloud as an acceptable ſacrifice, which many times they ſought to offer vnto their God: but hers and our God, *the Watchman of Iſrael, neither ſlumbred nor ſleepes in protecting her Perſon as the apple of his eye*, whoſe iuſt defence, her innocency, and their bloudy guilts, haue often diuulged to the whole world; neuer any Prince eſcaping ſo many dangers, as this moſt *milde and mayden Queene* in her daies had done, and many more no doubt were put in practice, which lay groueling in darkeneſſe, and neuer came to light, and as the *workes of darkeneſſe*, ſo let them lie, and let vs haſten to our former, and farre more pleaſing Subiect. Hauing therefore from the yeere 1570. made our digreſſion, for the cloſer relation of all thoſe treacheries together; let vs thence purſue the enſuing occurrents of her raigne and life.

Many more conſpiracies then euer came to light.

The affaires of Scotland.

(132) The *troubles of Scotland* were about that time, great and many, and much the more by the death of the new *Regent*, who was ſlaine by the hand of Treaſon, with the ſhot of an Harquebuſſe, as he rode through *Lithquo*, miſtruſting no danger, at which time a Roade was made into *England*, by ſuch as little regarded the peace. Whereupon *Suſſex* the Earle Generall, accompanied with the Lord *Hunſdon*, Gouernour of *Barwicke*, in Hoſtile manner entered that kingdome; and in *Tiuidale* did much hurt to the Inhabitants.

Prot. Thin.

Sir General enters into Ireland.

(133) New troubles then ariſing for the death of the *Regent*, and the Land full of factions, threatning ciuill broiles, the *Engliſh Queenes* aide was ſent for, by ſome of the Lords, who with their helps, preuailed in winning and demoliſhing many ſtrong and faire Caſtles. And the *Earle of Lennox* ſent into *Scotland* by her Maieſty, was firſt made *Lord Gouernor*, and after L. *Regent*, by the election of their three eſtates, who afterwards was as trayterouſly murthered, as the other before him had beene, which cauſed great troubles in *Scotland*; yea and ſome Nobles of England were not exempted from the ſame.

The Earle of Lennox Regent of Scotland.

He is murthered

(134) For *Lord Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolke*, intending ſome fauours for the Scottiſh cauſe, proceeded ſo farre therein, as the letter of the Law took aduantage of his life, to the great ſorrow and laments of very many. For being a man filled with fauour, both of his Prince, and of the People, fortune at length made him a Ball for her banding; who firſt from *Burnam* beſides *Windſore* was brought to *Weſtminſter*, and thence by water was left priſoner in the *Tower*, where he remained from the eleuenth of *October*, vnto the fourth of *Auguſt* following, and then was remoued to the *Charter-Houſe* neere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirteene moneths ſpace; till laſtly he was ſent backe againe into the *Tower*, where vpon the hill and Ordinary Scaffold, he penitently ſuffered death; being the firſt vnfortunate *Engliſh* Noble that for offence loſt life ſince *Queene Elizabeth* came to the Crowne.

The Duke of Norfolks troubles.

The good eſteeme of the Duke.

Releaſed out of the Tower.

The Dukes end. Iune 2. A. D. 1572.

(135) About which time, a ſtrange caſe (which we will inſert, rather *to ſhew* the courſe of *Iuſtice* and *mercy* of the Queene, then for any other great vſe in Story) happened at the Common-law barre: where *Simon Lowe*, and *Iohn Kyme* were *Plaintifes*, for a certaine Manor and demaines in the *Iſle of Harty*, adioyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully *poſſeſt* (as they alleaged) by *Thomas Paramour*, againſt whom they brought *a writ of right*: the *defendant offered* to maintaine his title by *Combat*, which the *Plaintifes accepted*, and brought their Champions before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour* was *George Thorne*, of a bigge and broad ſet, who caſt downe his Gantlet as *Challenger*, to iuſtifie *Paramours* right, which was taken vp by *Henry Nailor* Maſter of defence, a man proper and ſlender, and not very tall, who appeared *for Lowe and Kyme*, to make good their claime.

Duell or combat for title of Lands.

The two Champions.

(136) The place appointed for Combat was in *Tuttle-fields*, where a plot of ground of one and twenty yards ſquare, was doubly rayled, and without the Weſt-ſquare a ſtage ſet for the Iudges, repreſenting the *Court of Common Pleas*, behind the which two Tents were pitched, the one for *Thorne*, and the other for *Nailor*, the field with Scaffolds on euery ſide for people to ſee: All things thus ready and the day drawing on, her Maieſty, (who euer abhorred all bloodſhead,) tooke the matter into her owne hands, and gaue command and directions for the parties agrement, with a ſurceaſe from all further ſuite, which could not well be, vnleſſe the Champions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of what was determined, vpon the day aſſigned appeared in place. *Thorne* was there firſt who was brought to his Tent by *Sir Ierome Bowes*; then came *Nailor*, hauing the Gauntletborne before him vpon a ſwords point, a truncheon (taper-wiſe) tipt with horne, about an elle long, and a ſhield of hard leather carried after him; and ſo was conueied to his Tent by *Sir Henry Cheiney*.

The place of Combat.

Iune 18. A.D. 1571.

The manner of their entring lifts.

(137) The Court ſet, and the Combatters called, *Naylor* entred the liſts, being led by the hand by *Sir Ierome Bowes*, where making his obeiſance, hee came to the barre, and there held vp his Shield. Then was *Thorne* brought into the liſts by *Sir Henry Cheiney* and with like reuerence hee held vp his Sheild. Whereupon an oth was miniſtred to the *approuer*, the tenor whereof he ſpake as followeth. *Heare this you Iudges, that I haue this day neither eate, drunke, nor haue vpon me either bone, ſtone, ne graſſe, or any enchantment, ſorcery, or witch-craft, where-through the power of the word of God might bee inleaſed or diminiſhed, and the Diuels power increaſed: and that my appeale is true, ſo helpe me God and his Saints, and by this Booke.*

The oth miniſtred to the Challenger.

(138) Then was *Proclamation* made in her Maieſties name, that no perſon of what ſoeuer eſtate, degree, or condition there preſent, bee ſo hardy to giue any token or ſigne, by countenance, ſpeech, or language, either to the prouer, or to the defender, whereby the one of them may take aduantage of the other: and no perſon to remooue, but keepe ſtill his place: and euery perſon to keepe their ſtaues and their weapons to themſelues; and ſuffer neither the ſaid prouer, nor defender to take any of their weapons, or any other thing that may ſtand either to the ſaid prouer or defender any auaile, vpon paine of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and impriſonment of their bodies, and making fine and ranſome at the Queenes pleaſure. But when all theſe Ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chiefe Iuſtice ſtood vp, and forbad the proceedings, alotting *Paramour* the Lands with the

The Law and manner of a combate.

The Combat ended before begunne.

satisfying of the *plaintifes*, and thereupon commanded *Nailor* to giue *Thorn* againe his Gauntlet, which he vnwillingly did; and so the Combate being ended, we may haue leaue to proceed.

AD. 1573.

(139) Peace flourishing in *England*, to no great liking of the *Seminary*, that often sought to disturbe it: the *Regent* of *Scotland* craued aide of her Maiestie, for the defence of the *young King*, and the Countrie, endangered at that time with ciuill broiles. She as tender in her affection, as he dutifull in his alleageance, sent him *fifteene hundred men*, wherof Sir *William Drury* Knight Marshall of *Berwicke* was Generall. These comming to *Edenborough* laid battery to the Castle, with no lesse then *thirty Canons*, and were as valiantly resisted by the Scotish within, but for want of fresh water, and no aide to bee expected, the souldiers sick, hurt, ouer-wearied, and diuided in opinion, *Lord Peteroe* being let downe from the walle, by composition the Castle was surrendered, to the vse of the *young King*, whereupon the English returned to *Berwick*.

The Queene sends aid to the Regent of *Scotland*.

Edenborough Castle surrendred.

(140) This time of *Elizabeths*, like vnto that of *Augustus*, when the Temple of *Ianus* stood (for the most part) continually shut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be most magnificently repaired, and with many *stately edifices* adorned; among which for beauty and commodious vse, none is more famous then the *Royall Exchange* (so named by her Highnesse) whose Founder was Sir *Thomas Gresham* Knight, Agent to her Maiesty, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whose Traffikes were great, and in these times of peace, extended their Nauigations into the fartheſt (and till then, vnsearched) parts of the world.

The Royall Exchange built.

(141) For the searching and vnsatisfied spirits of the *English* to the great glorie of our Nation, could not bee conteined within the banckes of the *Mediterranean or Leuant Seas*, but that they passed farre, towards both the *Articke* and *Antarticke* Poles, enlarging their trades into the *West* and *East Indies*: to the search of whose passage, that worthy Sea-captain Sir *Martin Furbusher*, made Saile into the *North-East-Seas*, farre further then any man before him had euer done, giuing to these parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths foreland*.

English renowned nauigations.

Sir Martin Furbushers nauigations.

A. D. 1576.

Queene Elizabeths foreland.

(142) The next yeere hee attempted thirtie leagues further, when finding *gould Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and Child, of the *Sauage Catayaes*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold proued drosse, so these liued not long, neither turned that discouery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time assaied by himselfe, and since by other most *famous Nauigators*; the *North-west* by Englishmen being lately descried, to bee Seas more safe, and the passage of farre better hope.

(143) Among these *Sea-worthies* our *famous Vlisses*, *Sir Francis Drake* is the first in the rancke, who the yeere of *Christ Iesus* 1577 and fifteenth of November set saile from *Plimmouth* in a Fleete of *fiue ships*, and one hundred, sixty foure men, who hauing put of *Cape de Verd*, in the beginning of *February*, he saw no land, till the fifth of *Aprill* following, being past the line, thirtie three degrees of latitude, in the 36. degree entred the Riuer *Plate*; whence hee fell with the *straite of Magellan* the one and twentie of *August*, which with *three of his ships* he passed, hauing cast-off the other two as impediments vnto him, and the *Mariegold* tossed from her Generall after passage, was no more seene; but the other whereof *Master Iohn Winter* was Captaine, shaken also off by tempest, returned through the straites, and recouered *England*; onely *the Pellican* whereof himselfe was Admirall, held on her course to *Chily*, *Coquimbo*, *Cinnano*, *Palma*, *Lima*, vpon the West of *America*, where he passed the line the first day of *March*, and so forth till he came to the *Latitude* 47. thinking by those *North-Seas* to haue found passage to *England*. But fogs, frosts and cold windes forced him to turne his Course South-West from thence, and came to anchor 38. degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented vnto him his networke Crowne of many coloured feathers, and resigneth therewith his Sceptre of gouernement vnto his deuotion, his people so admiring our men that they sacrificed vnto them, as to their Gods. This place for the glory of *England*, he named *Nous albion* according to her ancient name; and at his departure areared a Monument to witnesse what there had beene done, which was a plate of brasse fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engrauen her Maiesties name, and her right to that prouince, as freely giuen vnto her deputy both by King and people. Wherein also was written the yeere and day of their entrance, and of the lands deliuerance; vnder which plate he put her Maiesties picture and armes in a peece of Siluer to reteine the memory of this seruice vnto posteritie. From thence the foureteenth of *November* he fell with *Ternate* one of the *Iles of Moluco*, being courteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came vnto the *Iles of Celebes*, to *Iaua Maior*, to the *Cape Buona Speranza*, and fell with the Coasts of *Guinea*, whence crossing againe the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* vpon the third of Nouember and yeere of Saluation 1580. after he had beene at Sea with such fortunate successe the space of three yeeres lacking twelue daies. The small vessell wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was, at her Maiesties commandement, laid vp in the docke besides *Deepeford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, vnto this day; and the worthy Generall honoured with Knighthood, being the first that by trauell encompassed the *Earth*, and saw the wonderous workes of God in those great deepes.

Sir Frā. Drakes Ship kept as a Monument.

Sir Francis Drakes voiage.

A.D. 1577.

Rich. Hakluyt in English voiages.

Francis Drake passeth the straites of *Magellan*.

The 13 of *February* they came to *Lima*, in the degree 11. 50. minutes.

A.D. 1578.

(144) The Seas thus knowne, *our Merchants* began to trade with the *Moscouits*, and *Turkes*, whose priuiledge for Traffike the *Great Sultan* sent them, confirmed vnder his Regall Seale, and at their Ambassadors request (without direction from her Maiestie) made peace with the King of *Poland*, as by his owne letters sent vnto our Queene is apparant; the Coppy whereof being deliuered vnto mee by him who had beene Deputy Ambassador in *Constantinople*, I haue here inserted, translated word for word, as followeth.

Trade with Turkes and Muscouites.

M^r. I. Sa.

The Sultan Muraht his letters to her Maiestie.

(145) *Most glorious, and in brightnes most splendent woman, and of women the chiefest Prince of the mighty followers of Iesus. Queene of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *most excellent* Elizabeth, *most sapient Gouernesse of all the affaires of thy people, and familie of the* Nazarites, *the most pleasant Spring of brightnesse and glorie, the most acceptable cloude sweet showers, the heire and Lady of perpetuall happinesse, and blessednesse, of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *to whom all distressed suiters doe flocke for reliefe. Wee wishing from God the mighty Creatour a most fortunate increase of all the affaires of your excellency and happy successe; and offering eternall vowes and praises worthy of our mutuall and perpetuall familiarity and league, and declaring the premisses, and that which followeth with singular decentnesse: We giue you to vnderstand most friendly, that certaine yeeres passed we had continuall wars with Casulbas Prince of Persia, in right of our people, by reason whereof we would not make warre vpon other parts, whereby certaine theeues in the parts of* Polonia, *called* Casakes, *and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieued our Subiects: now the* Persian *being vanquished, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in those partes being compounded, we determined to punnish the said persons lurking in* Poland, *and other parts; and by the* Belgerby *of* Greece *our Army being ioined, and sent with our charge by a Prince of* Tartaria, *in the yeere last passed, a part of the*

the Kingdome of Polonia, *was on our behalfe troubled, and wasted, and the said Casakes, and other wicked persons were punished accordingly to their deserts, which the King of* Poland *seeing, and sending two messengers to our blessed Port, to inquire, finde out, and punish in full punishment, signified so much vnto vs, and required our acceptation of his present; but we would not allow his petition, but had fully determined againe to send our Army against the said King of* Poland; *but the Ambassador of your Maiesty remaining in our blessed Port, interposing himselfe, and signifying that he did assist your excellency, with Corne, Gun-powder, Masts, and other things, necessary for warre, out of the confines of* Polonia; *now when as the Kingdome of* Polonia *by our meanes was troubled, and your Ambassador declared vnto vs your singuler and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and intercession was vnto vs gratefull and acceptable, and your excellency to whom we owe all fauours and honour. Wee wrote our letters to the King of Polonia on this manner; that the said factious wicked persons and Casakes should be found out and fully punished, but if on the behalfe of your Maiesty, a louing league of peace had not bin sollicited for the King of Poland, we would not by any meanes haue entred League with him, but only at your request we haue shewed this grace to the said King and his subiects, and sith our familiarity is mutuall and perpetuall, we thinke it conuenient that your Maiesty ioining your selfe with the Kingdome of Polonia, doe not leaue to continue warre with the King of Spaine, who so long time hath kept warre against you; and if your Maiesty be not grieued to write vnto vs by some trusty man, we vowe, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall bee on our part finished and ordered, that a speedy dispatch may be made into Spaine wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Giuen in our Royall Seat at* Constantinople *in the yeere of* Iesus. 1590. *and of our Prophet* Mahomet, 998. *in the moneth called* Sadele, *the xij.*

But from these farre trauels, long, and chargeable aduentures, let vs returne to our neerer home proceedings vnder the Gouernment of our prudent *Queene Sheba.*

A.D. 1583.

(146) *Gregory* of that name the thirteenth, and stout stirring man of *Rome*: seeing Pope *Pius* his thunderbolts fall short of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it necessary to raise that begun foundation (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempred mortar) as that his mounted Canons from the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpose hee sollicited *Philip* King of *Spaine*, after his fortunes had set him in *Portugall* *Anno* 1582 to vndertake warre against *Queene Elizabeth* either directly or vnderhand, in fauour of the Irish Rebels, vnto which charge he offered not only his holy blessing, and spirituall treasure, but also to acquit him of the fruites of the *Archbishopricke* of *Toledo*, long retained in his hands, whilst the Archbishop remained suspended, and the King receiued some millions of Crownes, which the Pope claimed to belong vnto the See of *Rome*. But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt vpon *England*, ioined with him for the Conquest of *Ireland*; the one, sending sixe hundred men vnder the command of *Thomas Stukeley*, whom he had lately stiled Marquesse of *Ireland*, (a profuse and defamed person throughout all *Christendome*, flying out of *England*, for his many Piracies, and now imploied to follow the consecrated *Standard* of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge with an addition of three hundred Spaniards; sending money with them to wage foure thousand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of Rebellions, *Doctor Sanders* (the Arch-Rebell and English Fugitiue) was sent from the Popes holy side.

Pope *Gregory* inices the King f Spaine against ngland.

Spanish History.

The Pope and King of *Spaine* sent supply vnto the Irish rebels.

Tho. *Stukeley* and a band of *Spaine* ttempt *Ireland.*

(147) These landing in *Ireland* and Countie of *Kerry*, vpon a Promontory shooting it selfe into the *west Sea*, raised their consecrated standard, built their Fort *Del-Ore*, and with many threats gaue forth that the Country should shortly know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to euill, put in action by papall authoritie, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aides now arriued) then presently to become the sole King of *Ireland*, as *Benhadad* boasted ouer *Israel* before his harnesse was put on.

The Spaniards ssify in *Ireland*

Desmond well hoped to be sole King of *Ireland.*

1. *King* 20. 11.

(148) To salute this puppet King, and to welcome these papals with such entertainement as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputie of Ireland*, hasted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where he bad them to so sharpe a banquet, that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Biscayes*, notwithstanding their bragging brauadoes yeelded their weapons at the first brunt, and vpon the points of the aduersaries died without mercy. the Captaines, Coronell, Secretary and few more reserued for ransome. The Fort they had stored with money, Bisket, Bacon, Oile and wine, sufficient to hold out the space of sixe moneths, and furnished with powder, shot, and armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish as well women as men died; and *Desmond* driuen into extreeme want, fearing the prick of euery thorne, and the shadow of euery bush, notwithstanding he was armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an enchanted ring sent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could he not keepe his traiterous head vpon his shoulders; when like a wolfe wandering in the woods for his pray, was in a poore Cottage wounded by a souldier rushing in vpon him, and being knowne was presently cut shorter by the head. But with his ende, ended not the troubles of *Ireland*, especially those parts of *Vlster*, that lay most remote from *England*.

The Lord *Grey* Deputy of *Ireland.*

The Spaniards slaine by the Lord *Grey.*

All the Irish as well women as men slaine at *Del-Ore.*

Iames Desmond slaine by a common Souldier.

A.D. 1573.

(149) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, aswell to reduce those wilde Irish vnto a more ciuil life and respectiue obedience vnto the English Crowne, as to winne them to the knowledge of Christ, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Noble man hapning before his intendments could bee accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

Walter Earle of Essex, in *Ireland.*

(150) The troubles of which Prouince we haue partly touched vnto the death of *Shan O-Neale*, whose segnories by Parliament were inuested into the Queenes hands, and a Law enacted, that from thence forth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which some small blastes of peace breathed vpon those parts; till shortly *Turlogh Leinigh*, a brothers son of *Con-More* the Grandfather of this *Shan*, by a popular election tooke that stile vpon him, a man stept farre in yeeres which made him more quiet, and much the rather for feare of *Shan O-Neales* sonnes, but especially of *Hugh Baron of Dungannon* the sonne of bastard *Mathew*, vnto whom he had giuen his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

The name or title of *O Neale* forbidden.

(151) This *Turlogh* was most obsequious and seruiceable to Queene *Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the *English*, though to his neighbours the *Irish* he proued most sterne: For, *O-Donell* hee disquieted, the *Scots* of the *Islands* he molested, and in an incounter slew *Alexander Oge* the slayer of *Shan O-Neale*, and indeed became so fearefull, that his sonne in law *Hugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Country, and lastly escaped his hands into *England*: where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition hee got command of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand markes by yeere from the Queene. Whose seruice against the Rebellious *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that he obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, pleading the Letters patent of King *Henry* the eight granted to his Grand-father, and his heires males, whereof himselfe was the sonne of *Mathew* created *Baron of Dungannon* by the same King. Thus growne vnto greatnesse, old *Turlogh* vpon certaine conditions

Turlogh a tyrant against his neighbours.

Baron *Dungannon* got imploiment of the Queene.

He is made Earle of *Tir Oen.*

conditions resigned vnto him the Gouernment of *Vlster* where shortly cõbining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strẽgths to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that euer couered their hatched rebellions.

Mac Guyre.

(152) The first *Champion* that founded the Alarum was *Mac-Guyre* a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Guaran* a Priest, whom *Pope Vrbane* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords* Battaile, assuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings and happy successe. But see how this great Prophet was deceiued; for by the valour of *Sr. Richard Bingham*, *Mac Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

Guaran bought his primacy at a deere rate.

(153) The Confederacy thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* set himselfe for open rebellion; whom *Tir-Oen* in shew of his dutifull obedience pursueth, and was so forward in seruice, that hee receiued a wound in his thigh to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *English* Court, and more enhaunsed in his owne esteeme; so that hee feared not to exhibite Complaints against the *Lord Deputy Sr. William Fitz-Williams*, the Marshall whose sister hee had married, and the Garrisons souldiers that garded those parts. But the *Deputy* recalled, and *Sr. William Russel* appointed in his place; as if all quarrels had beene quite forgotten, became vnto the new Lord Deputy, and exhibited an humble submission vpon his knees, wherein hee dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Maiesty had conceiued some indignatiõ against him. His absenting himselfe from the State, he confessed was disagreeable to his obedience, albeit to be somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alleaged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall that were combined for his destruction. Hee acknowledged that the Queenes Maiesty had aduanced him in title, dignity and great liuings, and himselfe vnworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if he should become vngratefull vnto so good a Prince. With these and the like complement of his true heart and meaning, hee possest the Counsell of *Ireland*, that albeit *Sr. Henry Bagnall* the Marshall was present, and charged him with many subornations of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the beseege of *Inis-Kellin* and others, hee was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the Queene and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

Tir-Oens good seruice against *Mac-Guyre.*

Tir-Oen growne very bold.

Sir W. Russel L. Deputy.

Tir-Oens dissimulations.

(154) Long before these last *Irish* troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the Queene) the brands of dissention were blowne vnto flames, betwixt *Queene Elizabeth of England* and *Philip the Second* of that name King of *Spaine*; whose first breaking-faith was in the *Netherlanders* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the religion that those people profest; and thus it began in the yeere of Grace. 1575. *Don Lewis*, gouernor of those Low Coũtries for the said King, sent his Agent vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repaired to *England*, onely their flight, and their religion all the cause alleaged against them.

Edward Grimston in hist. Nether: lib.10

The *Spanish* hostility with *England.*

Don Lewis sent to haue the *Netherlanders* banished out of *England.*

(155) Her answere was short and nothing acceptable, that she held it vnworthy the Maiesty of a Prince to chase away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safety of their liues, and to auoid the Spanish tyranny, exercised onely in case of their consciences. And yet she forbad some men of speciall note, as also such as bare Armes, to enter *England*, vpon condition that *Westmerland* should bee banished the *Low Countries* with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniard*. But the Clergy intending to bring their *Spanish* Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entred conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the defence of their professed religion, and the preseruation of their distressed Countries, vnable of themselues (as was alleaged) long to defend themselues, and therefore it was thought fittest to choose them a Protector.

Conference among the States how to withstand the *Spanish* Inquisition.

(156) This passing for currant among the Counsellors of estate, three were in name, *the Emperour, the French King*, and *the Queene of England*; for they were past all hope of any assurance with *Spaine*. Yea of these in choice, some excepted against, as neither safe nor conuenient to be yeelded vnto. Against the Empire was alleaged the diuersities of religion, the small vnion of those Germane Princes, and hauing their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to assist with helpe abroad. The *French* (they feared) had wasted their money the onely meanes for warre) with their owne ciuill dissentions; if not, yet might they hardly be trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; their Queene the greatest of all Christian Princes, their Nauy the Commandresse of the Seas, and their people professing the same Religion with them, the surest band of Christian society: further it was alleaged that the Realmes of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the County of *Emdem* and the Hanse Townes in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princes Elizabeth*, issued from the *Earles of Holland* and *Zeland* by the *Lady Philip*, daughter to *william* the third of that name, *Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

The Emperour the *French* King the Queene of *England* in election for defence.

Obiections against the Emperor.

Obiectiõ against the *French* King.

Queene *Elizabeth* chosen to be the defender.

The reasons alleaged to haue *Elizabeth* their gouernor.

(157) Thus then concluded, the States were sent vnto *England*, and made the end of their comming knowne to the *Queene*; who wisely weighing into what a Labirinth shee should enter, sought rather the safety of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spaine* shee well knew would storme at the Vnion, and *France* bee in great iealousie to haue such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to bee a mediator vnto the King of *Spaine* for their peace; and after some complements of Princely entertainments with thankes for their offer, and sufferance to carry with them many voluntary English souldiers, let them depart: whose deniall made knowne, was nothing welcome to those distressed Prouinces.

The States of the *Low Countries* sent to the *English Queene.*

(158) Long after this, *Lewis* the Gouernour liued not, whom *Don Iohn of Austria* (base brother to King *Philip*) succeeded; who at first made shew of most fauourable affection, yet so, as vrging their subiection to *Spaine*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Counsell, without Hostages deliuered, and most of their troupes to guard his suspecting person, esteeming them *Lutherans* and *Heretikes*, in whom was no trust.

Don Iohn made gouernour of the *Low Cõtries.*

(159) These moued the States once more to sue vnto her *Maiesty*, that by her meanes, with peace they might enioy the ancient Priuiledges of their Prouinces, and the freedome of their own consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of Spaine; and indeede so lamentably deplored their case, that the pitty-full *Queene* sent into *Spaine*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdrawe these extremities from the distressed. But *Philip* deafe on that eare, and *Iohn* planting his Garrisons with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* began to looke to the maine, sending the King word, shee liked not that his Souldiers should bee her bad neighbours, and the *Gouernour* notice that she would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of forty thousand Angels in Bullion, vnminted (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to bee sent vnto *Brusels*, receiuing the States obligations for the same: where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt her and them.

The States sue against to the Queene.

The Queene solliciteth the Spanish King for the States. *Ed. Grimston lib.10. pag.611.*

p. 612.

(160) This moued *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by interposing

Ed: Grim. lib. 10. pag 619.

terposing himselfe in the Scotish affaires, yea, and by the destruction of *Queene Elizabeth*, whereto hee is said to haue got the *Popes* good furtherance. But whether by poison or discontents this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of *England* where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the graue of death.

Iohn de Serres. page. 685.

(161) And indeed so glorious was *Elizabeths* fame, growne now more potent by the Low Countries engagements, that the wise Statists of *France*, feared their owne Starre would be dimmed at the presence of her bright Sunne. For *Henry* their King, though he made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Counsell of State; in feasts, in maskes, and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in vnmeasurable delights: And yet the Clergy to hold in their owne hands the raines of Church-gouernment, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, sounded forth the zeale of his religious piety in the eares of their auditories: And to manage all temporall affaires at their owne dispose, the *Queen Mother*, and the *Guize* laide loose the bridle in his owne necke, not abridging his pleasures with their grauer aduices. But lest the *English maiden Queene* should bee a maule to the Churchmens Massings, or disturbe these State-guiders by claime (as she had done) of her owne right in *France*; the mariage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother *Francis Valois Duke of Anion*, and *Elizabeth Englands faire Queene*, was againe solicited in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: & so effectually was the sute mooued, and so acceptably heard of her Maiesty, that the *Monsieur* came ouer in person to wooe her himselfe; though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which (by reason of some personall and ouer-lauish passages) the * Inditor lost his hand. But whether her Maiesty affected not marriage, or disliked the man, or else out of her tender care not to giue the least griefe or distaste to her Subiects, after most Princely and magnificent entertainment shee let him depart without any promise of a nuptiall knot.

The States of France somewhat hunted at Q. Eliz. great cost.

A mariage solicited.

A.D. 1581. Anno Reg. 24.

Francis Valois comes into England about a mariage with the Queen.

Wil. Stabs.

His departure.

(162) The fame of this *Duke* was very renowned, and much the more by the *English Queenes* fauours; in so much, that the distressed vnited Prouinces, after they had declared *Philip of Austria* (then King of *Spaine*) by his too violent Gouernment against their priuiledges (whereunto hee had sworne) to be an enemy vnto their state and peace, and therfore vpon breach of couenants to haue fallen from his interest among them, chose this hopefull *Monsieur* to bee their Protector, as a Prince most powerfull to defend their cause; of whose triumphes and *French* treacheries there, let *Serres* and *Petit* report for me.

Ld Grimston pag. 726. K. Philip adiudged enemy to the States. Monsieur chosen Protector of the States. page 779. Emes page 793. See the History of Pance and Netherland. page 813.

(193) He dying in *France* (penitent and sorrowfull for what hee had done) and *William of Nassau Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spaine* proclaimed a Traitor, his Lands and goods giuen to them that could bring him either dead or aliue, with a further reward of twenty fiue thousand Crownes annuall) was first dangerously wounded in the face with a Pistoll, and at last murthered with the like shot by the base hand of an odious traitor at his Court in *Delfe in Holland*; whereupon the oppressed Prouinces once more sued for reliefe, both to her *Maiesty of England*, as also vnto *Henry the French King*.

The Prince of Orange murthered.

Ld Grim. Hist. Nether. p. 764

The Prouinces again sue for help

(164) Shee much disliking the cruelties of *Spaine*, whose hands were thus dipt in the bloud of this Prince, commended their cause vnto King *Henry* by an honorable * Ambassage. But hee, finding himselfe ouermastered at home, and in danger of the *Guize* and the league; himselfe without forces, and theirs growne very strong; recommended their distresses vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by his owne Ambassadour, promising her by the faith of a King, assistance for those *Netherlanders* relieue: and the like request hee made vnto the King of *Nauarre* in their behalfes. Hereupon their *Procurators* were sent into *England*, with full Commission to dispose of their Prouinces at the *Queenes* pleasure.

Earle of Darby Ambassador into France.

A.D. 1585.

(165) Her Councell then assembled to conferre of the businesse, many waighty considerations amongst them were mooued, and lastly concluded, that her Maiesty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gods Gospel* was the first motiue she being the nursing mother of *Christs* distressed Saints; The *Spanish* Inquisition, that without respect had persecuted her Subiects contrary to right, was too cruell to be tollerated: *Philips* Army with flying colours sent lately into *Ireland* vpon gift made vnto him by the Pope, with a purpose of the like enterprize for *England*, bewraied their intents; and lastly the hard measure that was to bee expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* seated in these neere *Netherland Prouinces* was to be preuented. These important reasons for her owne State, and pitty of theirs, moued her *Maiesty* to become their *Defendor*, but would in no wise take the Title *of Soueraigne Lady* thereof, which they would haue conferred vpon Her and her heires.

Considerations why it behoued to assist the Low Countries.

Sanders and Creyghtons letters.

Elizabeth taketh vpon her the defence of the Low Countries.

(166) And thereupon Articles being drawne, (to the nũber of thirty) *Sir Iohn Norris* (a renowned Marshall man) was appointed *Generall* of fiue thousand foote, and a thousand Horsemen *English*, all retained at her Maiesties pay during the said warres; which monthly amounted to twelue thousand fiue hundred, twenty sixe pound sterling, accounting 56. dayes to the moneth, according to the Contract. For which monies so disbursed, the Townes of *Flushing* and *Brill*, with *two Skonces*, and the *Castel of Ramekins* in Holland, were deliuered to her Maiesties vse in pledge, vntill the money were repaied: these Couenants were dated at *Nonsuch* the tenth of August in *Anno* 1585.

Sir Iohn Norris Generall.

Great summes of monies disbursed, for which certaine holds were deliuered.

(167) This Protection, vndertaken by the *Queene of England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip of Spaine*; neither better digested by the Pope his holy Father, as was shewed in two *lying libels* published against her: where amongst other things, shee was taxed with *Ingratitude* towards King *Philip*, who in the raigne of her sister, was said to haue saued her life, and that treacherously she had sought the death of the Prince of *Parma* the present Gouernour in those parts vnder the said King: vnto which impudent slanders shee made answere in a booke printed both in English and French, shewing the shamefull vntruth of those imposturous liers, and the reasons that led her to assist those poore distressed States; whereof these were a part.

Loude-lying libels against her Highnesse.

Printed by Christopher Barker.

A.D. 1585. Anno Reg. 27.

(168) The naturall situation of those Countries, lying directly opposite to *England*; the neerenesse, commodious hauens, and commerce of these people with the *English*, euen when they were seuerall, and not yet vnited together, as of late yeeres they haue beene, by inter-marriages, and reduced vnder the Gouernments of the Lords that succeeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*; betwixt whom and the *English* Kings, hath beene a continuall league; as also betwixt the naturall Subiects of both Countries, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other speciall bonds of mutuall amity. For testimony of which, there are extant sundry Authentique treatises and transactions for mutuall commerce, intercourse and straite amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry the sixth*, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was reuiued by Duke *Charles* his sonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grand-mother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to King *Edward the Fourth*) and againe confirmed by King *Henry the Seuenth* and the *Arch-Duke Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spaine*. And of later yeeres betwixt King *Henry the Eight*, and *Charles the Fifth*, Emperour of *Almane*, Father to *Philip* now

King of *Spaine*. In all which treatises it was at all times specially contained in expresse words, that the naturall people and Subiects of either side should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other: But now *Philip* of *Spaine* departing the Low-Countries, and appointing Spaniards, Forreiners and Strangers, men exercised in warre, and delighted in blood to bee chiefe Gouernours of all the saide Low-Countries, contrary to their ancient lawes & customes, who vpon ambition, and for priuate lucre haue violently broken the Liberties, as the people alleadge; and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed within the space of a few monethes many of the most ancient and principall persons, of the naturall Nobility, haue brought in intestine warres, made the Country in a manner desolate by famine, sword, and other exactions. So that the people are forced for the safety of their liues to seeke the protection of other forraine Lords, or rather to yeeld themselues wholy to the soueraignetie of some mighty Monarch, as not onely by the ancient laws of their Countries they may, but euen by speciall priuiledges granted to the people by some of the Lords and Dukes of the Prouinces as they doe affirme, whereby they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choise of any other to be their Prince and head.

Bernardyn Mendoza the Spanish Lieger Ambassador practiseth an inuasion.

(169) Besides these reasons concerning them, the practises of *Bernardin de Mendoza* (Lieger Ambassador in *England* for *Philip* King of *Spaine*) who by the directions of *Francis Throgmorton*, contriued to bring in a forraine power to the destruction of *Englands* estate, it was not onely holde a worke of piety to defend these distressed Christians, but also a necessary policy to aide the Low-Countries Protestants with *Englands* supply, the better to impeach these dangerous assignes. And how ioyous her protection was to these Prouinces, the deliuery of *Flushing* with the Castell of *Ramekins* vnto Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the *Brill* vnto *Sir Thomas Cecill*, appointed by her Maiesty the Gouernours thereof, is witnessed by the letters of Prince *Maurice* himself, wherin hee signified the great ioy and hopes that he conceiued, and his willing surrender of the same towne *Flushing*, being his patrimoniall inheritance.

The ioy conceiued at *Elizabeths* protection.

(170) Things ordered thus among these great Potentates, *Robert Dudley* Baron of *Denbigh*, was the man, whom the Queene appointed to bee her *Deputy Generall*, honourable by birth, being the Duke of *Northumberlands* sonne, by creation Earle of *Leicester*, and of the Order of the Gartar, gracious in the eye of his Soueraigne, and sufficientlie sorted with all courtly complements, who being accompanied with a gallant traine of Earles, Barons, and other great Persons of *England*, landed in *Zealand* the nineteenth of *December*, and thence was honourably conuaied vnto *Dunbage* in *Holland*, where hee was enstalled, and the States tooke their oath to the Queene, which no sooner was accomplished, but that a suspition began to arise; vpon this occasion.

The Earle of *Leicester* sent into the Low Countries.

A.D. 1587.

(171) The States hauing drawne instructions of Counsell for their Countries affaires, presented the same to their new made Gouernour, whose answere was, that such instructions would proue limitations, which his authority now being absolute, could no wayes indure: they greatly mistrusting whereat hee did aime, bewailed the miseries whereunto their Country seemed to bee brought, and suffered him to choose his Counsellors of Estate, and to stampe his owne Armes both in their great and Counter-Seale: which when the Queene their assister vnderstoode, shee was offended both with them and him, supposing her selfe to bee drawne further then euer shee entended, or that she had yeelded vnto in the *Declaration*, where her selfe had granted to bee their *Aider*, but neuer would graunt to bee the *Soueraigne* of those Countries.

Ed. Grimst. hist. Netherl. Pag. 911.

The States mistrust, & *Leicesters* pride.

(172) Things thus passing betwixt *England* and the *United Prouinces*, the English Marchants, Ships and goods were arrested in *Spaine*, which caused many to leaue the trade of Marchandizing, and to become men of Warre on the Seas, where alwayes the Spaniard, whosoeuer wanne, went to the worst. But on the land, the Prince of *Parma* held Plea; for whose further safety Pope *Sixtus* the fift sent him a consecrated sword with a hatte, and to his men of Warre the Apostolicall blessing, with eternall life for them that should die in the Catholike Romish faith.

Troubles in traffick vpon the seas.

A consecrated Sword sent to Prince *Parma*.

(173) Another feare was blowne into the Netherlanders eares, which sore troubled them, though without all cause; for it was diuulged by sinister reports, that Queen *Elizabeth* meant to make peace with the King of *Spaine*, without either mention or regard for the safety of her vnited Confederates. Shee touched in honour, whereof shee was euer iealous, wrote her letters to Prince *Parma* in answere of his, that had mentioned the same, and to these doubtfull Netherlanders, to assure them the contrary, both which were dated from *Richmond* vpon one and the same day.

The feares of the distressed Netherlanders.

(174) Now *Leicester* not liking to lie still, and doe nothing, made his preparation for *Zutphen*, which being in want of victuals, the Prince of *Parma* sought to supply, to intercept which, Sir *Iohn Norris* was sent, and to the saide seruice came the Earle of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *William Russell*, in all two hundred horse, and fifteene hundred Musketiers and Pikes: the *Parma* hauing seauen hundred horse, and two thousand foote, appointed with the like defence.

July 19. A.D. 1586.

(175) The day being darke through great foggy mists, the Spaniard whilest their Wagons made forward, stayed in a place of aduantage neere vnto *Zutphen*, vpon whom the English were entred before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of shot, which notwithstanding they abode, and so valiantly followed the skirmish, that they ouerthrew a cornet of horse, and tooke *Cressier* the Captaine thereof prisoner, and after him Count *Hanniball Gonzaga*, another Cornet also they put backe and slew. But in this, the day was made vnfortunate, that the worthy Sir *Philip Sidney* as he changed his horse, was shot by a Musket aboue the left knee, which so shiuered the thigh-bone, that the Bullet could not bee recouered, of which wound he died fiue and twenty dayes after, to the no little griefe of her Maiesty, and many others, for the great hopes they had of that worthy Gentleman; in whom were compleat all vertues and valours that could bee required or residing in man.

A conflict at Zutphen.

Sir *Philip Sidney* shot with a musket, whereof he died.

(176) Good seruice done vpon the Sconces neer *Zutphen*, so that the Towne seemed to be blocked vp; his *Excellency* (so did they now enstile the Earle) made *Rowland Yorke* the Gouernour thereof, and ouer *Deuenter* Sir *William Stanley*, to the great discontents of the Estates, for that *Yorke* had beene a double Traitor in seruice, and *Stanley* before time had serued the *Spaniard*. Other grieuances also they then beganne to complaine of, and by Petition to his Excellency sought the redresse; but hee minding for *England*, with faire words held them in expectance vntill such time as hee should returne againe.

Yorke and *Stanley* made gouernors of townes.

(177) The State-Souldiers found themselues agreeued, that they were not dealt with according to custome, degrees or desert, (as that the Sergeant should be aduanced to be Ensigne, the *Ensigne* Sergeant Maior, and so vpward) they venturing their liues to winne reputation. And the Earle of *Holocke* held himselfe much wronged, in that Sir *Edward Norris* vpon words spoken at Table, sent him a letter of challenge to fight with him body to body; the Earle then lying sicke of a wound receyued at *Zutphen*, which hee disdainefully tooke, as being his vnequall

Grudges and grieuances at *Leicesters* doings.

Stanley and Yorke traiterously sell their Townes.

vnequall, and partly imputed it to the sufferance of his Excellency. But more neerely touched the losse of *Deuenter* and *Seonne* at *Zutphen*, traiterously solde vnto the *Spaniard* by Sir *William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke* Englishmen, whom *Leicester* had left there at his departure. These things drone the Counsell of State into many icalousies, that the English entended as the French had done.

An. D. 1587

(178) The occasion that moued the Lord Generall to return into *England*, was for his presence in Parliament, wherein was handled the waighty cause of that great Princesse *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, whose vntimelie death and vnfortunate end was finished at *Fotheringhay* Castle in the County of *Northampton*, to the great discontent of her Maiesty, as was manifestly seene * to all her people, by the griefe shee conceiued, and high displeasure shee tooke against the forward * Actor, both in casting him into the Tower of *London*, and neuer admitting him after into her presence, or his place. The bodie of the deplored Queene was solemnly interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, where it yet remaineth vnder a hearse of blacke veluet.

February 8.

* Yet *Sanders* (in his *Schisma Anglic.*) impudently forgeth that the Queene thereupon was triumphantly drowne with her white Coach horses.

(179) In this absence of *Leicester* euery seuerall Captaine tooke vpon him the place of a *Generall* whereby many desperate seruices were attempted, and great Robbery by their Souldiers committed, so that it was feared all would come to ruine. To preuent which, a *Counsell for State* was assembled at *Dunbage*, where *Maurice Nassau*, the younger sonne of *William* Prince of *Orange* was elected their *Gouernor*, and the Prouinces sworn vnto him, with a reseruation had vnto her Maiesty; when also a great complaint was sent into *England*, which to examine, the *Lord Buckhurst* was sent into *Holland*; at whose doings *Leicester* tooke offence, but especially against *Sir Iohn Noris* (that renowned Leader) whom to the great dislike of the States, hee caused to bee recalled, and sent into *Ireland*.

*Secretary Danisa.

Maurice Nassau chosen gouernour of the Low-Countries.

(180) *Leicester* the Lord Generall hoping to recouer his wel nigh lost reputation, landed in *Zeland*, gallantly accompanied, where hee made a forwarde shew of great seruice; but such was the successe, that *Sluce* was surrendred, and the occasion thereof partly imputed to him; when also beganne many factious abettings betwixt the Estates and his Excellency, so that some Townes vtterly reiected his gouernment, and hee againe sought to seize vpon some other.

Sr Iohn Noris sent into *Ireland*.

July 6.

Sluce surrendred.

Ld Gri. m. hist. Ireland.

An. 1579.

(181) The care of preuenting further mischiefes, moued her Maiesty hereupon to recall the Earle of *Leicester* into *England*, well knowing that a Kingdom diuided could not long stand: who on his returne, shee commanded to resigne his gouernment of the *Netherlanders* into the hands of the Generall Estates, which was performed by act, signed vnder his hand, and sent vnto them: which resignation receiued, was presently proclaimed through al the Prouinces, to the end that euery man might know himselfe discharged of his oath to the Earle of *Leicester*.

Leicester discharged of his gouernment in the Low-Countries.

(182) Now *Philip* King of *Spaine* espying these dissentions, thought it a fitte aduantage for him to worke vpon, hauing a long time proiected an attempt for *England*, and at that time preparing a mighty Nauie vpon the seas. To cast therefore a mist ouer her Maiesties eyes, and to driue all icalousies out of her head, hee importuned by all meanes the Realmes vnto peace. Shee measuring other princes by her owne true meaning, and peacefull dispositions, gaue eare to his guilefull lullaby without suspition of any snake to be hid in so flourie a garden; and therefore sent to the Estates to vnderstand their resolution for an vniuersall peace, protesting that if they stood out, shee would withdraw her whole forces from thence.

Spaine contriues warre vnder the faire proffers of peace.

Elizabeth louer of peace.

(183) They, like themselues answered with a bold deniall, neither thought they that shee could haue any peace with him that was head of the *holy League*, and persecuted the exercise of the reformed Religion, whose policy (as they feared) was but to detract time, till his sea prouisions were better ripened, as indeed the sequell soone proued, the terror of this prepared, and *Inuincible Nauy* (as the *Spaniards* tearmed it) spreading it selfe wide, and menacing fearefull stormes both vnto the English and Flemish; insomuch that the Estates like prouident respecters of themselues, and thankeful men to their Protectresse, prepared their shippes of warre to assist her Maiesty, and pressed a thousand sailers of the Netherlanders for her seruice on seas.

The Low Country States feare to haue peace with Spaine.

The Dutch prepare against the Spaniard.

(184) During this brute of the Spanish proceedings, Commissioners were sent out of *England* to conferre vpon conditions of the pretended peace with the Duke *Parma*, Lieutenant for the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpose came to *Ostend*. For her Maiesty were assigned *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, *William* Lord *Cobham* Warden of the Cinque-ports, with Sir *Iames Croft*, and others. For King *Philip* were *Maximilian* Earle of *Aremberg*, Gouernour of *Antwerpe*, *Monsieur Richardot* President of *Arthois*, and Counsellor of State, besides other Ciuillians. These stayed at *Bruges*, and by messages too and fro much time was spent for precedency of place, where they should meet, and what hostages should bee giuen for security of sides; yet lastly, the English had the priority, and the place was *Ostend*.

A. D. 1588. Feb. 24.

Commissioners for the pretended peace.

Variance for precedency.

(185) The demaund of the Queene was, to haue a surcease of Armes, with a present and vndelayed truce, mistrusting the Kinges preparation at Sea; the sending away of forraine Souldiers out of the Low-Countries for *Englands* safety, a restitution of such summes of money as the Queen had lent vnto the Estates, which the King had promised by his Edict made at *Brusels*, that the Netherlanders might enioy their ancient liberties and priuiledges, nor bee gouerned by a stranger, but by a Native Prince; that the Religion might bee permitted for two yeeres at least; and lastly, that the Articles of Pacification of *Gant*, and other like Treaties might bee obserued: and these being concluded, the Townes shee possessed should bee deliuered vpon such reasonable conditions, as all the world should witnesse shee tooke them not to her owne vse, or commodity, but onely vpon a necessary defence and assurance.

The Queene demands.

The reasonable offers of the English Queene.

(186) To these the Spaniards replyed, that touching their preparation for Sea, they did assure them it nothing concerned *England*; to send away their Souldiers, their King could not resolue, vntill that the Netherlanders had submitted themselues vnto him; concerning their priuiledges, it appertained nothing to the Queene, neither should shee prescribe to the King a law; and so farre was hee from tolerating Religion, that hee would not heare thereof, otherwise then hee had allowed vnto other Townes that had submitted vnto his obedience: and the like answere made they for the pacification of *Gant*.

The Spanish shifts and answeres.

(187) The propositions further vrged, and answered with dilatorie delayes, *Pope Sixtus* the fourth (who being prime in the intended Tragedie) obseruing well the time, among other beasts sent forth his Bull to thunder out bolts against *Englands* Queene, confirming the Excommunications of his two predecessors, and depriuing her Maiesty from all princely dignity; for whose finall dispossession, hee then ordained his Catholike sonne *Philip* of *Spaine*, commanding all her Subiects, vpon paine of his curse, (oh fearefull bugge-beare) to aid and assist the *great, noble, and Inuincible Armie*, prepared to that end vnder the command of the Duke of *Parma*. And *Allen* an Englishman, an eager Trumpetor to this exploit, now purposely made Cardinall by the Pope (to shew his Holinesse affection to the English Nation) would not lie idle, but set himselfe on work to write a Booke exhortatory to the Nobilitie of *England* and *Ireland*, to rouze them vp to the execution of the Popes sentence against their Soueraign, in

The Popes Bull sent forth against *England*.

Cardinall *Allens* traiterous libell.

in assisting K. *Philip*, who was made the whip in his Holinesse hand, & the Duke of *Parma* appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of diuelish slanders against her sacred person) was printed at *Antwerp* in *Anno* 1588.

The Queene sent to Prince *Parma*.

(188) This Bull and Booke comming to the Queenes knowledge; she sent vnto *Parma* (who had gained the reputation of some Princely vertues) to deale plainly with her; if so, then meant she no longer to continue the treaty of peace: but he with many Court-like complements denied his authority, neither had seene (as hee said) any such prescripts. Moreouer the English Commissioners pressed the conditions, purposely to finde some footsteps of this close-carried designe, when at last it burst forth in these termes, that the King of *Spaine had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeere to lie still and doe nothing; to his great charge by the meanes of that treaty.* At which very instant, these their hidden traps and toyles apparantly shewed themselues, when the Seas were turretted with such a Nauy of ships, as her swelling waues could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and Ensignes, so spread in the winde, that they seemed to darken euen the Sunne, which put the English Commissioners in some suspition and feare, hauing no hostages for their safe returne.

Parma denieth his authority.

The Spanish purpose made knowne by themselues.

(189) This *Inuincible Nauy* long in preparing, and now in a readinesse, was furnished with all prouisions of warres, and with many brauadoes spread their sailes for *Englands* inuasion, guided by the *Prouinciall Generals*, whose names, the numbers of Vessels, Ordinances, Sailers, Souldiers, and Slaues, as I finde them recorded, in this ensuing Table are inserted.

A Table containing the prouisions of the Spanish Armado.

Leaders.	*Prouinces.*	*Galliasses & Gallions.*	*Ships, & Hulks*	*Pinasses & Carnals*	*Great Ordinance.*	*Sailers.*	*Souldiers.*	*Gally Slaues.*
Duke Medina Sidonia.	*Portugal.*	10.	2.		300.	1300.	3300.	
Diego de Mandrana.	*Portugal.*	4.			20.	360.		888.
Iohn Martinez de Richald.	*Biscai.*	10.		4.	250.	700.	2000.	
Michael de Oquendo.	*Guypusco.*	10.		4.	310.	700.	2000.	
Pedro de Valdez.	*Andolozia.*	10.		1.	280.	800.	2400.	
Martin de Vertendona.	*Italy.*	10.			310.	800.	2000.	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	*Castil.*	14.		2.	380.	1700.	2400.	
Iohn Lopez de Medina.	*Medina.*		23.		400.	700.	3200.	
Hugo de Moncado.	*Naples.*	4.			200.	460.	870.	1200.
Antonio Buccado.	*Mendoza.*		22.		193.	574.	488.	

Rich Hulks.

The wonderfull and great prouisions in the Spanish Armado.

(190) Admirable (as yee see) was the prouision of this mighty Armado, and so confident was the *Spaniard* that *England* should pay the whole shot, that no cost of any thing was at all spared; of bullets for great shot were two hundred and twenty thousand; of powder foure thousand and two hundred kintals, euery kintall containing a hundred waight; of lead for bullets one thousand kintals; and one thousand and two hundred kintals of match; seuen thousand muskets and caliuers; tenne thousand partizans and halberts; with murthering peeces, double Canons, and field peeces for campe; with store of furniture for carriages, Mules and Horses, so that they were sufficiently prouided both for sea and land. Bread and bisket was baked and wine laide aboord for sixe monthes prouision; sixe thousand and fiue hundred kintals of bacon; three thousand of cheese, besides flesh, rice, beanes, pease, oyle and vineger, with twelue thousand pipes of fresh water, store they had of torches, lanthornes, and lampes, canuas, hides and lead to stop leakes, whips, and butcherly kniues; for what vse wee may imagine. In a word by the report of *Don Diego Piementell*, the army was two and thirty thousand strong and cost the King of *Spaine* thirty thousand ducats euery day.

Their Regiments.

(191) In this army were fiue regiments of old Spanish souldiers, of the *Terties*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Terceraes*, commanded by fiue Masters *Del Campo*; the first was *Don Diego de Piementel* a Knight of the order of *S^t. Iohn*, brother to the *Marquesse* of *Taueras*, and couseu to the Earle of *Benenent* and *Calui*: the second Colonel was *Don Francisco de Toledo* brother to the Earle of *Orgas*: the third, *Don Alonzo de Luzon*: the fourth *Don Nicholas de Isla* or *Patritio Anselmo*: and the fifth was *Augustin Mexia* brother to the Marquesse *de la Garda* who was afterwards made Gouernour of *Antwerp*; each company hauing in his regiment two and thirty companies, besides the *Castilians* and *Portugals* bands, each of them hauing their peculiar gouerners, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

Their great strength in men.

(192) The Generall of this mighty army was *Don Lodouicus Perez Duke of Medina Sidonia, Baron of Saint Lucas*, of the Order of the Golde Fleece. The Admirall was *Don Iohn Martinez de Richald*, the Marshall *Don Francisco Bonadille*: and the chiefe Counsellers for the warre were *Diego Piementell*, *Floris de Valdez*, *Pedro de Valdez*, *Michael Oquendo*, *Don Alonzo de Lieua*, *Don Diego Maldonado*, and *Don Georgio Manriquez*. *Don Martin Alarcon* was ordained Vicar Generall for the holy Inquisition, in whose traine were a hundred Monkes and Iesuits: and Cardinall *Allen* was appointed the *Superintendent* of all Ecclesiasticall matters throughout *England*; who fearing to bee ouertaken with time, translated Pope *Sixtus* his Bull into English, that it might bee the sooner published vpon the arriuall of the Spanish Fleete into that Kingdome. Of voluntary aduenturers were an hundred twenty foure Noble men, and

Their Generall.

The Admirall Marshall and Counsellers.

Vicar Generall of the Inquisition.

Cardinall *Allen*.

and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furnished at their owne charges: among whome was the Prince of *Ascoli*, *Alonzo de Leina*, the Marquesse of *Pennafiel*, the Marquesse *de Gaues*, the Marquesse *de Barlanga*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Count *de Feluas*, and diuers other Marquesses and Earles of Honourable Families of *Mendoza*, *Toledo*, *Pacheco*, *Cordouas*, *Guzma*, and *Manriques*, neither was there any Noble house of *Spaine*, but had a sonne, brother or Nephew in the voyage, in hope of reuenews and riches in *England*.

The voluntaries in this voyage.

(193) Neither was the Duke of *Parma* slacke in the businesse; who lying in readinesse to ioyne his forces with this Nauie, set many thousands on work to build ships, to digge and deepen riuers for saile from *Antwerpe* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*, lading three hundred small boates with munition and victuals; as also prepared seauenty others flat bottomde, euery one able to beare thirty horses for transportation, with Bridges ready made to shippe and vnshippe them. Two hundred more were made of the like fashion, though not so bigge, and lay ready in the Hauen of *Newport*; at *Dunkirke* lay thirtie seauen shippes of warre, wherin store of pyles were bestowed, sharpened at the end with yron pykes, to pile vp the mouthes of riuers; and at *Graueling* hee had prouided twenty thousand empty Casks, with Cords and other furniture fitee to make floating Bridges to stoppe vp the Hauens. He likewise had shipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all other furniture for horse; and horses also for carriage, with Ordinance, and other prouisions of warre.

The Duke of Parma his preparation.

Ld. Grimston in history of Holland. Pa. 1000.

(194) Neere vnto *Newport* hee had lying vnder the command of *Camillo*, thirty Companies of Italians, two of Wallons, and eight of Burguinois, euery Company being an hundred men. At *Dyxmew* he mustered fourscore Companies of Netherlanders, threescore of Spaniards, threescore of high Dutch, and seauen of rebellious fugitiue English, whereof Sir *William Stanley* was Generall; at *Corricke* also were foure thousand lodged, and at *Wateme* nine hundred horse, ouer whom the Marquesse of *Guast* was Commander. And to this Land-seruice came the Duke of *Pastrana*, supposed to bee the Spanish Kings base-sonne: the Marquesse of *Bourgon*, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* sonnes; *Don Vespasian Gonsagua* of the house of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had beene Viceroy of *Spaine*, *Don Iohn de Medices* Bastard of *Florence*, *Don Amedeus* bastard of *Sauoy*, with many others of the like estate.

Duke Parma his Forces.

The Noblemen imployed in this Armado.

(195) Neither must you think that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope of *Rome*, did in any wise neglect his diligence and deuotion to this intended inuasion; whose helping hand was shewed in sending forth his *Crusado* (as hath beene vsed against the Turkes) and publishing a safe pasport for his *Philippians* to enter into *England*. Who also for the furtherance of the enterprise, vndertooke to contribute a *million of gold*, the halfe presently, and the other when any notable Hauen in that land should bee wonne; with this *proviso* notwithstanding (most wisely inserted) that hee should hold the English Crowne as feudatorie vnto the See of *Rome*; in earnest whereof, hee bestowed vpon him his Apostolicall benediction, and the Title of the *Defendour of the Faith*, so liberall was hee, both in his temporall and spirituall largesses, and so forward was *Philip* to catch at *Elizabeths* still flourishing Crowne: but her vndanted heart in this present danger, as another *Ezekiah*, sought vnto the Lord, whose annointed seruant shee was, and who euer had beene her onelie defendant. And for preuenting those long threatned stormes, shee sent *Charles Howard* Lord Baron of *Effingham*, *high Admirall of England*, vnto the seas, where the Lord *Henry Seymer* kept betwixt *Callis* and *Douer*, seconded by the Ships of the vnited Prouinces, in league with the Queene.

The Popes Crusado.

Is contribution

(196) The French King who euer honoured & admired Queen *Elizabeth* great and gracious vertues, hauing more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made against *England*; gaue speedy & secret notice therof to her Maiesty; whereupon shee commaunded the generall forces of the Realme in their seuerall shires to bee mustred, trained, and put in readinesse for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done, and whereof the Lord *Robert Dudley* Earle of *Leicester*, and Steward of her Houshold was appointed Lieutenant. *Tilbury* in *Essex* was the place for the Campe, whervnto were appointed 1500. horsemen, and twenty two thousand of foot, and to guard her Maiesties person, out of the seuerall Counties of the West, East, and South parts of *England*, were selected two thousand, three hundred, fifty two horsemen, and thirty foure thousand and fifty of foot, her selfe in courage farre surmounting her sexe, as another *Zenobia*, or rather *Deborah*, lead forth the Lordes hoast against this great *Sisera*, and her souldiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, men skilfull to handle speare and shield, both for courage and quicke dispatch, might well be compared vnto those Gadites that came to aide *David*, whose faces were like to the faces of Lions, and were compared to Roes in the mountaines for swiftnes.

The French king giues notice to the Queene of the preparation.

The Queenes Forces at Tilbury.

1 Chr. 12. 13.

(197) The *Inuincible Nauie*, and terrour of *Europe*, as the Papals both tearmed, and tooke it to bee, hauing all things prepared, loosed Anchor from *Lisbon* vpon the nineteenth of May, and made vnto the Groine in *Gallicia*, it being the neerest Hauen to *England*, whence hoysing sayles with great hope and pride, bent their course thitherward: but suddenly the heauens hating such hostile actions, powred downe reuenge, by a sore and vnexpected tempest, which draue the Duke of *Medina*, the chiefe Generall backe againe into the *Groine*; eight other of their shippes being dispersed on seas; their masts broken and blowne ouer-boord; besides three Portingall Gallies which fell vpon the Coast of *Bayon* in *France*, and were set vpon by their owne slaues, whereof *Dauid Gwyn* an Englishman was the first, who with his fellowes both French and Turks freed themselues by the slaughter of many *Spaniards*, among whome *Don Diego de Mandrana* was one.

A. D. 1588.

A tempest afflicteth the inuincible Nauie.

(198) *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall hearing for certaine that their Fleet was ready to hoise vp their sailes, had sent the worthy Sir *Francis Drake*, who was constituted his Vice-Admirall, vnto the West parts, with fifty six shippes well appointed, whither himselfe also following with speed, and ioyning his Fleete, their number amounted to one hundred shippes, whereof fifteene were *Victuallers*, and nine *Voluntaries* of *Deuonshire Gentlemen*; many a seruiceable man returning backe for lacke of imploiment or place. These from *Plymouth* resoluing and * assaying to put forth to seas, were so met with the wind, that past the *Syllies* they could not attain, and thence also were forced by tempest into the Hauen, from whence they lanched to refresh their ships and companies; where lying at Anker, the scouts at Sea had descryed some sayles of the *Spaniards*, which had beene likewise distressed by the stormes; but before these could bee haled, the wind came about, and brought them to the *Groine*, where the rest lay in harbour.

Sir Francis Drake Vice-Admirall of the English.

* May 30.

June 8.

(199) Intelligence spreading that the *Spaniards* were in want; their great shippes dispersed, the rest storme-shaken, and their men by multitudes slaine with the plague; the Lord *Admirall* meant to vse the aduantage vpon the first North wind, which came about the eight day of July, and bare his sayle almost within sight of *Spaine*, when suddenly it changing into the South, and he wisely foreseeing, that the enemy might passe without his discouerie, that the Seas might bee stormy, and his Fleet windbound, and that whilest they thus lay abroad, their

July 8.

seruice much better might be employed at home, hee therefore presently returned, and ankered his Fleet in the Hauen of *Plymouth*, suffering his men to relieue themselues on land.

The Spaniards agains set forth.

(200) But the *Spaniards* ships new rigged, and their wants supplyed, their King still hote on his former resolutions, instantly vrged and hastened his Chiefetaines to put againe to Sea, which accordingly was done vpon the eleuenth of Iuly, waying their Ankers at the Groin, where with braue shews and full sailes they came into the Chanels of the narrow Seas, where they cast anker, and dispatched certaine small pinnasses vnto the Duke of *Parma*, to signifie their arriuall and readines, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge for that seruice.

The English haue notice of their approch.

(201) The English Fleet beeing in harbour, and many men on shore, Captain *Thomas Fleming* (some say a Pyrate) discried the *Spaniard* vpon the point of the *Lizard*, the wind being then *South and by West*: He hastening to *Plimouth*, made relation thereof vnto the Lord Admirall, the newes was more fearefull, for that it was sodaine, the Queene hauing receiued intelligence for certaine, that this great *Armado* would not come forth that yeere, their bulkes being so dispersed and bruised, and their wants and sickneſſe so great, vpon which rash reports (a dangerous matter in State-affaires,) so confident she was, that shee sent for foure of her tallest royall shippes, to bee brought againe vnto *Chattam*; but *Flemings* vnexpected discouery hindred that purpose, and all hands were set on work to warpe out the Shippes, the winde blowing harde, and hindering the same.

They set foorth from *Plimouth*.

(202) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleet was descryed by the English, who with a South west wind came forward amaine, and (as seemed) they made for *Plimouth*. But whether their Commission were otherwise, or for that they saw the English shippes out of the harbour, they passed by, towards *Callis*, well hoping about those coasts to meet with Prince *Parma*, by whose wafting that way the English got the wind, and eftsoons gaue them chase, and encounter, where fire, smoake and ecchoing Canons beganne the parley, and bullets most freelie enterchanged betwixt them, were messengers of ech others mind.

Iuly 20.

The English assaile the Spanish.

(203) The next day the two Fleetes fought within Musket shot, where the English Admirall fell most hotely on the Vice-Admirall of *Spaine*, at which present they well perceiued their owne ouersights; their great shippes (like Castles) powerful to defend, but not offend, to stand but not to moue; and therfore farre vnfit for fight in those narrow seas: their enemies nimble, and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harme themselues, by being low built, and easily shot ouer. Therefore they gathered themselues close in forme of a halfe Moone, and slackned their sailes, that their whole Fleete might keepe together. Notwithstanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Vasques de Silua*, *Alonzo de Sayas*, and other Noblemen, was sore battered by the English shot, in auoiding whereof shee fell fowle vpon an other shippe, and ere she could bee cleared, had her fore-mast broken off, which so hindred her saile, that shee was vnable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to succour these Lords, but left both shippe and them, in this sudden and vnlooked for distresse. But night comming on, and shee lagging behind, the Lord Admirall supposing neither men nor Mariners to be left within boord, and fearing to loose sight of the *Spaniards*, past by, and followed the Lanthorne, which hee tooke to be borne by *Sir Francis Drake*, but that renowned Knight, busied vpon fiue great hulkes pursued them amain, which being haled, were found to be Easterlings, & therupon freed from his further harmes.

Iuly 21.

A Gallion distressed.

Iuly 22.

(204) The next day following, *Sir Francis Drake* espying this lagging Gallion, sent forth a Pinnasse to commaund them to yeelde, otherwise his Bullettes should force them without further fauour; but *Valdez* to seeme valorous answered, that they were foure hundred and fifty strong, that himselfe was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, thereupon propounding certaine conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that hee had not leasure to parley, if hee would yeeld, presently doe it, if not hee should well proue that *Drake* was no dastard; whereupon *Pedro* hearing that it was the *fiery Drake* (euer terrible to the Spaniards) who had him in chase with forty of his followers came on boord *Sir Francis* his shippe; where first giuing him the Conge, he protested, that hee and all his were resolued to die in defence, had they not fallen vnder his power, whose valour and felicity was so great, that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to attend him in his attempts, & whose generous mind towards the vanquished, had often beene experienced, euen of his greatest foes. Sir *Francis* requiting his Spanish complements with honourable English curtesies, placed him at his own Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The residue of that company were sent vnto *Plymouth*, where they remained eighteene monethes, till their ransomes were paid; but Sir *Francis* his souldiers had well paid themselues with the spoile of the shippe, wherein were fifty fiue thousand Ducats in gold, which they shared merilie among them. The same day *Michael de Oquendo* Admirall to the *Quadron Guypuſco*, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleete, suffered no lesse disaster, whose ship being one of the greatest Gallions, fell suddenly on fire, all the vpper part of the shippe, and most of the persons therein consumed, howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold was all saued, and the rest of the scorched *Spaniards* with the hulke brought into *Plimouth*, to the great ioy of the beholders.

Don Pedro yeeldeth himselfe.

Iuly 23.

(205) Vpon Tuesday the twenty third of Iuly, the *Spaniards* approaching right against *Portland*, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could bee wished to further their designes; but the English agill, and foreseeing all harmes, recouered the aduantage thereof from the *Spaniards*, and continued that day from morning til night, in battring those vast woodden Castels with shot both great and small; which forced them for their further safety, to gather themselues close into a roundell, their best and greatest ships standing without, & securing the battered and lesse. On this day the soarest fight was performed: wherein, besides other remarkeable harms, a great Venetian shippe with some other smaller, were surprised, and taken by the English.

Iuly 24.

(206) The foure and twenty day of this present Moneth, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galliasses, and the English ships, the *Spaniards* hauing the aduantage, theirs being rowed, and our sailes vnfilled, by reason of the calme, which notwithstanding they sore galled the enemy with *chaine shot*, therewith cutting a sunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage to their no little annoyance. But wanting powder, which so freely they had spent, they sent men on land for a further supply, which ministred dislikes (if not suspitions) to many, that wee should thus want vpon our owne coasts. In which Interim, a *Councell* was called, wherin it was decreed that the English Fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and those committed to foure worthie *Captaines*, and most skilfull Nauigators, whereof the Admirall in the *Arke Royall* was chiefe, *Sir Francis Drake* in the *Reuenge* led the second, Captaine *Hawkins* the third, and Captaine *Frobisher* the fourth. Other most valiant Captaines there were in her Maiesties Shippes, as the Honourable Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Lion*, the Lord *Sheffield* in the *Beare*, *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Elizabeth Ionas*, Captain *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captaine *George Fenner* in the *Galeon Leicester*.

Iuly 25.

(207) The fiue and twenty of Iuly, the *Spaniards*

ards were arriued against the *Isle of wight*, where was a terrible encounter, each shooting off their whole sides, and not aboue six score yards the one from the other, till at length the English so battered the Spanish high Turrets, that they were forced once more to secure themselues in a roundell, and the foresaid Generalls so worthily bare themselues in this conflict, that the Lord Admirall bestowed the Order of Knighthood vpon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheiffeld*, Master *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Frobisher*, and others. And yet (by the Spanish brags) a false rumour was spread in *France*, that *England* was wholy conquered by the *Spaniard*.

July 27. (208) Their Fleete making forward about Sunset, the 27. of the same moneth, came against *Doner*, and ankered within sight of *Callis*, intending for *Dunkerk*, there to ioyne with the Duke of *Parma* his forces, without which, they well saw, they could doe nothing. The English Fleete following vp hard vpon them cast anker so neere, that they lay within Culuering shot. Where the Lord *Henry Seymer* vnited his to the Lord Admirals shippes. Meane-while the Duke of *Medina* sent vnto *Parma*, to bid him make ready his long expected forces; with which messengers many Noblemen of the Spaniards went on Land, among whom was the Prince of *Ascoli* the Kings base sonne, who so well liked his shipping, that hee made no great hast againe from shore: wherein he was onely fortunate; for that his Gallion was cast away vpon the *Irish* coast, and neuer returned to salute *Spaine*.

(209) Duke *Parma* hearing the best of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whose hopes were so fixed for *Englands* Conquest, that the glittering *Diadem* vpon Queene *Elizabeths* head, dazeled his ambitious eye, beeing assured by Cardinall *Allen*, that he was the man designed to bee crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope and Spaine should hold that Kingdome himselfe. Wherefore thinking his Coronet of the Low Countries Gouernment, would but trouble the English Crowne, and both too weighty to be worn vpon one head, he committed that charge vnto Count *Mansfeild* the Elder, and making his vowes vnto Saint *Mary* of *Hall* in *Henault*, was already in conceit no lesse then a King. But soone the date of his raigne was expired, and his swelling tide fallen into a Low shallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards *Dunkerke* hee heard the thundring Ordinance ring the passing peale of his stile and title, and the same euening had newes of the hard successe of the *Spaniards*, the hoped aduancers of his dreamed fortunes.

The fleete dis-anchored from *Calis* by stratagem. (210) They lying thē at anker nere *Callis*, to ioyn their powers with *Parmaes*, were forced thence by a politike stratageme thus: Their Ships, as Castles pitched in the seas, had their bulkes so plancked with great beames, that bullets might strike and sticke, but neuer passe through, so that little auailed the English *Canon*, except onely in playing on their masts and tackling; whereupon, by her Maiesties aduise and appointment, eight of the *English* ships were discharged of men, and filled with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustible matter; their Ordinance charged with bullets, stones, chaines, and the like; which vpon Sunday, the eight and twenty of Iuly, at two of the clocke after mid-night, were let driue with winde and tide among the Spanish Fleete, whose Pilots returning, and their traines taking fire, such a suddaine thunder-clap was giuen, that the Spaniards, affrighted in the dead of the night, were stricken into a horrible feare, least all their shippes should bee fired by these; which present mischiefe to auoide, in great perplexity, they hasted to cut their owne Cables, the time beeing too short to weigh vp their ankers; and hoising their sailes did driue at randome into the Seas, in which hast and confusion the greatest of their Galliasses fell foule vpon another ship, and lost her Rudder, so that guideless she droue with the tide vpon a shelue in the shoare of *Callis*, where shee was assaulted by the English.

July 28.

A Galliasse taken. (211) This Galliasse was of *Naples*; her Generall, *Hugh de Moncada*, who fought the more valiantly in hope of present rescue of the Prince of *Parma*; but Sir *Amias Preston* gaue so fierce an assault, that *Moncada* was shot dead with a bullet, and the Galliasse borded, wherein was many a *Spaniard* slaine, and a number of the rest leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet *Don Antonio de Matiques*, a principall Officer, had the hap to escape; and was the first man that brought into *Spaine* the welcomes of this now vincible Nauy. This huge Bottome, manned with foure hundred souldiers, and three hundred slaues, had in her also fifty thousand Ducats of the Spanish Kings treasure, a booty well fitting the English souldiers affections; who, hauing ransacked all, and freed the slaues from their miserable fetters, went about to set that vessell of Emptines on fire; but *Monsieur Guerdon*, the gouernour of *Callis*, fearing some danger to the Towne or Hauen, would not permit them, but discharged his ordnance against such as assaied it.

July 29. (212) The morning after this their miserable hap, ranging themselues againe into order, they approched ouer against *Greueling*, where once againe the English getting the winde, the Spanish were thereby depriued of the Conueniency of *Callis* roade, and kept from supply out of *Dunkerk*; in which port had rested their full hope of support. Notwithstanding they were forced to passe by, and so followed by the English, that their ships discharged vpon them from morning till night, the conflict prouing dismall to the inuincible *Armado*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biscay* perished, the Captaines thereof to auoid ignominy, or to be accounted valorous, desperatly slew each others, in which distresse also two other great ships presently sunke. A Gallion taken. The *Saint Philip*, and *Saint Mathew*, two *Portugall* Gallions, were so torn with shot, their tacklings spent, and their bulkes rent, that the water entred in on all sides; in the former of which, was *Francis de Toledo*, being Colonel ouer two and thirty bands, who taking his course for the Coast of *Flanders*, the leake was so great, that hee with others, committing themselues to the Skiffe, arriued at *Ostend*, and the Ship, with the Residue, were taken by the *Vlishingers*.

(213) In the *Saint Mathew* was embarked *Don Diego Pimentelli*, Campe-maister, and Colonel also of thirty two bands; whose Shippe, though very strong, was so pierced with shot, that her Leakes could not be stopt, which knowne, the Duke of *Medina* sent his skiffe for him; and some others, to saue themselues from their imminent danger. But he, vpon a Spanish braue, refused so to doe, assaying each way to free himselfe like a souldier; but not able to keepe saile with the Fleete, he forthwith made toward the coast of *Flanders*, where being espied by fiue men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which lastly hee did vnto Captaine *Peter Banderduesse*; who carried him into *Zeland*, where, for a trophie of Victory, his Banner was hung vp in the Church of *Leiden* in *Holland*, whose length reached from the very roofe vnto the ground: and another Ship of lesse burden coasting also for *Flanders*, was cast away on the sands.

(214) The *Spaniards* now finding their BVENVENIDA vnto *England* far other then they expected, were content to couch their fleete close together, not seeking to assaile but to defend; and the winde comming to the *South-west*, in the same order passed by *Dunkerk*, whom the English still followed. But least *Parma* should play vpon aduantage, the Lord Admirall dispatched the Lord *Henry Seymer*, with his Squadron of small ships, vnto the coast of *Flanders*, to second those *Hollanders* which there kept watch vnder the conduct of

Iustin

The Hollanders Aides.

Iustin Nassau their Admirall: whose Nauy consisted of thirty fiue shippes, furnished with most skilfull Mariners and old experienced souldiers, whereof twelue hundred were *Musketiers*, whom the States had culled out of the Garrisons. Their charge was, to stop all entrance into their Hauens, or entercourse with *Dunkerke*, whither Duke *Parma* intended; though his men were vnwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the sea, onely the English fugitiues, about seuen hundred, vnder the command of that treacherous Knight Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to bee the first that should assault *England*.

English fugitiues prooue the most desperate enemies.

(215) But the *Armado*, being now passed the place of their expected supply, and hauing gotten more Sea-roome for their huge bodied bulkes, * spread their maine sailes, and made away as fast as winde and water would giue them leaue, more fearing the small Fleete and forces of the English, (though nothing in number like vnto them) then standing vpon termes of honour, either of their chieftaines or *Inuincible Nauy*. But surely, if they had knowne the want of powder that ours sustained, (a fault vnexcusable vpon our owne coasts,) they no doubt would haue stood longer to their tacklings; but God in this, as the rest, would haue vs to acknowledge, that we were onely deliuered by his owne gracious prouidence and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

* Iuly 30.

The Spanish Armado flieth.

(216) The *Vincible Armado* holding on their way, the English *Admirall* followed, least they should assay to put into *Scotland*; but the winde comming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their sailes spread they betooke themselues to flight, leauing *Scotland* on the West, and bending toward *Norway*; il aduised (but that necessity vrged, & God had infatuated their counsells) to put their shaken and battered bottomes into those blacke and dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, ouer-beaten and tyred with wants, being now entred the degree of Latitude. 57. from whence the Lord *Admirall* returned, leauing some Scouts to descry their successe.

August 2.

The Spanish consultation.

(217) The *Spaniards* now cleared from those their haunting spirits, consulted most seriously what was to be done: the Popes credite was to bee respected, who had predicted this voyage to fortunate successe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expenses thus lost; the aduenturors loosors if the voyage should bee left; the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the suds, the Inuincible Nauy in the ebbe of her fame: and *England* still *England*, not lorded by the *Spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt should returne into *Spaine*. But withall, fiue thousand of their souldiers were slaine; multitudes of sicke and maimed lay on their hands; twelue of their greatest ships were sunke, lost, and taken; their Cables, Masts and Sailes, cut, rent, and broken, with the English shot, their ankers left, where the fired Hulkes forced them, their victuals failing, and fresh-water all spent, their enemies no lesse fierce and vndauntable, then fortunate: and their long expected friend, the Duke of Parma, though euer preparing, yet still forestalled by the *Dutch*, most firme Allies vnto the Queene: these circumstances wisely ballanced, the voice went currant for speeding into *Spaine*.

The Spaniards cast their horses into the sea.

(218) But knowing that *Scotland* (whose *Religious King* was fast-knit in affection, and blood vnto Queene *Elizabeth*) would yeeld them no comfort, and hopelesse also that *Norway* would giue them any supply, they cast all their Mules and Horses ouer-boord for sparing of their fresh-water: then framing their course to saile about *Cathenes* and the coasts of *Ireland*, so proceeded betweene the *Orcades* and *Isles* of *Farr* vnto the 61. degree Northward; whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his best stored shippes tooke Westward ouer the maine Ocean towards *Biscay*, and so arriued safely in *Spaine*, where for his *Welcome*, hee was deposed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to be priuate. Neither could hee thus giue satisfaction for his bad successes, albeit he imputed it to the treachery of his mariners, their ignorance, and small experience of those Northern Seas, the want of succors from the Prince of *Parma*, the tempests, shipwrackes, and *ill fortune*, but not a word of the *iudgements of God* vpon this Gyantlike attempt to enslaue all *England* to the mountaines of *Grenada*, or to the mines of *Peru*.

The Duke of *Medina* disgraced for his successe seruice.

(219) The residue of his ships, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coast of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water; but the windes contrary, and tempests storming vpon those dangerous Seas, many of their ships perished vpon the shoares of *Ireland*, and among other a great Galliasse, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was a commander, and two other of *Venice*, both ships of great burthen, besides thirty eight more, together with most of the Spaniards conteined within them. Those that got cleare of the danger, put forth to Sea, whereof some with a strong West winde were driuen into the chanell of *England*, where part of them were taken by the English, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*, and some arriued at *Newhauen* in *Normandy*. In so much, that of *one hundred thirty foure ships*, which had set saile out of *Lisbone*, onely fifty three returned to *Spaine*: of the foure Galliasses of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallies of *Portugall*, but one: and of the ninety one Gallions, and great Hulkes from diuers Prouinces, only thirty three returned, fifty eight beeing lost: in briefe, there were missing of their whole fleet foure-score and one vessels, and of the thirty thousand souldiers, thirteene thousand, fiue hundred and odde. Of prisoners taken in *England*, *Ireland* and the *Low-Countries* were two thousand and more. In *England*, *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Vasquez de Sylua*, and *Don Alonzo de Sayes* and others were kept for their ransome: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Piementell*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonzo de Lucon*, *Roderigo de Lasso* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy family in all *Spaine*, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

Iohn Stowe hist. France.

The successe of some ships on the Irish coasts.

The sum of the Spaniards losse.

(220) Thus were these Sea-seruices effected: as for the Land, preparations were made throughout the Kingdome, but the maine forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* vnder the command of the Earle of *Leicester*, thither her Maiesty in person vpon the ninth of August repaired, full of Princely resolution, and more then feminine courage, whose louely presence and imperiall speeches, as shee passed like some *Amazonian* Empresse through all her Army, were so acceptable and gratious, that Her souldiers, full-fraught with manly spirit, yet receiued an accesse of hardinesse from so alacrious a patterne in their *Mayden Queene*: and both they perceiued so well the loue of their Prince, and shee saw what it was to haue the loue of her subiects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them professing resolution, and willing to sacrifice their liues in that most rightfull quarrel. But the *God of Hosts* hauing now preuented their forwardnesse, without losse of English bloud, eft-soones the Campe was dissolued: and not long after *Leicester* ended his daies, hauing beene a Peere of great estate, but lyable to the common destiny of most *Great-ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few speake well of after their death.

Earle of *Leicesters* death.

(221) The Land thus deliuered by the arme of the Omnipotent, and the Bore put back that sought to lay *Englands* faire vine-yard waste, *Queene Elizabeth* (who euer held ingratitude a Capitall sinne, but especially towards her Almighty protectour) commanded solemne Thankes-giuing to bee celebrated vnto the *Lord God of Hosts*, at the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paules* in Her chiefe City of *London*, which

Queene *Elizabeths* thankfulnesse to God.

which accordingly was done vpon Sunday the eight of September, where eleuen of the Spanish Ensignes (the once badges of their bravery, but now of their vanity) were hung vpon the lower battlements of that Church, as palmes of praise for *Englands* deliverance; a shew no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their spread colours did set out the pride of their shippes, threatning the bloud of so many innocent and faithfull Christians.

(222) The next day, the Faire being kept in *Southwarke*, these faire flagges were spread vpon *London-Bridge* to the great ioy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spanish purposes, as irreligious as vnprosperous. But the solemne day assigned to be kept holy throghout the land, was the *nineteenth of November* being Tuesday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had so continued stil, being no lesse for our deliverance, then was that *Purim* for the Iewes, which they instituted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

Hest. 9. 26.

(223) Queene *Elizabeth* therefore, to bee her selfe an example vnto others, vpon the Sunday following, being the foure and twentieth of Nouember, repayred from the Pallace of White-Hall in *Westminster*, through the streetes of *London* in great Estate: and came accompanied with her Nobilitie vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where dismounting from her Chariot at the West-dore, shee humbled her selfe vpon her knees, and with great deuotion audibly praised God, acknowledging him her onely Defendor, who had thus deliuered the land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherein none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayse and glory to bee rendred vnto God; her Maiesty herselfe with most princely and Christian speeches exhorted all the people to their due performance of those religious seruices of thankefulnesse vnto God, like vnto another *Iosuah*, *David*, and *Iosias*. The *Zelanders* also to leaue a *Memoriall* of their no lesse gratitude to God, then faithfulnesse to the Queene, caused a new *Coyne* of siluer to bee stamped, hauing on the one side the *Armes* of their Country engrauen, with this Inscription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the other side, the portracts of great ships, vnder-stiled, *The Spanish Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, went, and was. Anno* 1588. Wherein they alluded to that quicke worke of *Cæsar*, * *Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee haue seene also excellently described in deuise, where on the one side, the *Spanish Fleet* had inscribed *veni*, the *Sunne* (the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the *English* Navy, *vici*. In other coines also were stamped ships fleeting, & sinking, and in the *reuerse*, *Supplicants* vpon their knees, with this Motto, *Man proposeth, God disposeth.* 1588. To the like effect also the Hollanders stamped the remembrance of this *Armado* in their monies, after the example of the Ancient, whose vse was to inscribe their *victories* vpon their *Coines*, of which kind were those with *Spanish Shippes*, hauing this *Word*, *Impius fugit nemine sequente.*

The Zelanders thankefulnes to God.

I came, I saw, I conquered.

(225) Neither did the *Dutch* alone participate the triumph of this glorious successe, but all other Nations also congratulated the same; which vniuersall ioy being excellently expressed in this ensuing *Ode*, by a * Stranger of eminent *Pietie* and *Learning*, and translated into all the chiefe Languages of *Christendome*; we will here annexe the same, as the Close and Epilogue of this *Tragico-Comedy*, to bee perpetuated vnto all ensuing posterities.

Vladerus Reyd. 1588. and in his Epistle before his Comment on Iob. A. D. 1589.

Straverat innumeris Hispanus Classibus æquor,
Regnis inuecturus Sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanti huius rogitas quæ Motûs causa Superbos
Impulit Ambitio, *vexit* Auaritia.
Quàm bene te, Ambitio, mersit vanissima ventus!
Et tumida tumidos vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene Raptores Orbis totius Iberos
Mersit inexhausti insula vorago Maris!

At Tu, cui vetuit, mitescere militat Aequor,
Regina, O Mundi tutior una decus:
Sic regnare Deo perge, Ambitione remotâ,
Prodiga sic opibus perge tuare Pios;
Vt te Anglis longum, longum Anglis ipsa feruaris,
Quàm dilecta Deo, tam metuenda Malis.

Spaines King with Nauies huge the Seas bestrewde,
To augment with English Crowne his Spanish swaye.
Aske yee, what causd this proud attempt? t'was lewde
Ambition *drone, and* Auarice *led the way.*
It's well; Ambitions *windy puffe lies drowned*
By winds, and swelling hearts, by swelling waues.
It's well; those Spaniards who the Worlds *vast Round*
Deuourde, deuouring sea most iustly craues.
But Thou, *O Queen, for whom* Winds, Seas, *do warre,*
O Thou, Sole Glory of this Worlds wide Masse:
Soraigne to God still, from Ambition *farre,*
So still with bounteous aides the Good *embrace;*
That Thou, *England long, long may England* Thee *inioy*
Thou, Terrour of all Bad, *thou* Good *mens Ioy.*

(226) The thunderclappe of this Spanish Armado thus past, and the *inuincible* vanquished, as the attempt & Issue was open to the eyes of the world; so the due consideration thereof was rooted in all true English hearts; whereupon the *Nobles* and *Commonalty* being then assembled for Parliament, this course was at length thought fittest, that the proud Castilian should bee required vpon his owne coasts: And first it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expulsed King of *Portugall*, whose title was apparantly farre more iust, then either *Philips* for *England*, or *Stukeleys* for *Ireland*; both which Kingdoms they had in hostile manner inuaded: and this the rather was resolued on, for that the Spanish king was endeauouring to repaire his dishonour by repairing his Fleet and Forces for a new expedition against *England*.

Consultations for attempts on *Spaine*.

Don Antonio king of *Portugall* flyeth to Queen *Elizabeths* protection.

Philip prepareth for a new expedition.

(227) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crowne of *Portugall* after the decease of King *Henry*, as sprung from King *Emanuel* by his sonne *Don Lewis* the Infant; but alleadged by the Philippians to haue been his *Bastard*. Against which accusation *Don Antonio* had sentence for his legitimation by the Bishoppe of *Angra*, and euery way sought to rubbe off that scandalous imputation. His conditions were such as well befitted a Crowne, he being a Prince of greater spirit then person, and yet of rare modesty and humility, seasoned with a disposition very deuout and religious, whereby hee came to bee in farre better fauour and esteeme then *Philip* of *Spaine*; for which cause hee was first made *Defender* of the Realme by the Gouernours, and afterwards accepted *King* by the people, whereto he was in a manner enforced, seeing himselfe enuironed with many drawn swords in midst of a furious multitude.

Don Antonio his Title.

His conditions.

(228) But *Philip* as more ambitious, so more strong in men and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his *Generall*, Duke *Alba*, put this new King vnto flight; after which fortune, himself enters *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed *eight hundred thousand Crownes* to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either alive or dead. But such was their loue vnto this vnfortunate Prince, that eight monethes hee kept in Portugall disguised, and had conuersation and conference with many, yet was neuer betraied; but not able to hold vp his side, the Gouernors (as is the fashion of the world) dayly falling to his stronger, after many conflicts, and much lamenting their miserable estate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing but Kingdomes) to possesse the Gouernment of *Portugall*.

K. Philip attempts the Crowne of *Portugall*.

Portugall possessed by the *Spaniard*.

(229) *Antonio's* kingly stile thus ended, before it was throughly begunne; *Philip* had subiections offered him *anew*; and in such sort, as some that seemed *Competitors*, yeelded him their rights, among whom *Katherine* Duchesse of *Braganza* was one, yea

and Pope *Gregorie* himselfe, who had hitherto sided with *Don Antonio*, the Prior of *Crato*, knowing it was surest to hold with the strongest, sent *Philip* his Apostolicall allowance, the better to put on his Newgotten Crowne; exhorting him to thankefulnesse, for these his prosperities, and moving him earnestly to make warre against *England*, with proffers of assistance as we haue said.

King *Antonio* seekes aid from *France*.

(230) *Don Antonio* thus driuen out of his Kingdome, for succour repaired vnto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queene Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crowne, he was both fauoured and aided at Seas for the Isles of *Terceres*:

His losses at sea.

but such was his destiny in his Sea-fights also (the *Peruan gold* being no lesse powerful then the Spanish Canons) that eight of the tallest French Ships were lost, & two thousand men slaine; among whom was the Lord *Philip Trosy* the *Generall*, whose death was so taken, and the expedition so censured, as the Portugall Captaines were reputed for Cowards, imprisoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption and treason; so that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further assistance could bee expected of the *French*.

K. *Antonio* repaires for aide to Q. *Elizabeth*.

(231) The pore Prince thus deiected in *France*, knowing the vniuersall report of Queene *Elizabeths* great fame, obtained leaue of her Maiesty for accesse vnto her sacred presence, whose *Court* had euer been a famoused *Sanctuary* to all oppressed Princes, or distressed Estates: where shewing his right to the *Portugall* Crowne, and clearing the obiections touching his *Bastardy* (which imputation in sundry languages hee refuted in Print to the publike view of the world) receiued now comfort to bee set in his Kingdome, *England* hauing so iust an occasion to warre against *Spaine*. Among whom once more he assayed to trie the fauour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that she would but land him safe in his Country, and amongst his own People, of whose assured loue and readinesse to receiue him as their King, and thence forward to defend him and his iust Title, hee nothing doubted. So honest and reasonable a suit could not but finde fauour with so gracious a Queene: whereupon prouision being made for the Portugall voyage, he embarked at *Plimouth* in Aprill, whence sixe of the Queenes shippes, and twenty more of warre (besides many other ordained for transportation) spread their Sailes vnder the conduct of the euer-feared Sir *Francis Drake*, and the most valorous Sir *Iohn Norrit Generall* for the land seruice, with *eleuen thousand soldiers, and twenty fiue hundred Mariners*. These *landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, neere vnto the *Groine*, in their March were met and encountred within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were soone forced to retire vnto their Gates.

Succours are afforded him.

A.D. 1589
The Portugall voyage.

Ant. Winkfeild.
*April 20.

(232) The next day General *Norris* hauing viewed the aduantage, resolued to attempt the place by a scalado, and to land some Artillery, to beate the ships and Gallies which did play vpon their troopes, which was effectually performed; and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Base-Town was surprized, and in three seuerall places entred, where the Inhabitants with a great cry tooke into the high Towne, but some preuented, escaping the fury of the sword fledde to the Rockes, where they were found and slaine to the number of fiue hundred. Among these so hid, *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yeelded himselfe to the Generals deuotion; *Iuan de Vera*, a Commissary of victuals, was likewise taken, who confessed that there was in the Towne *three hundred thousand Ducats of siluer*, and order giuen for the baking of three hundred thousand of Bisket, that the Towne was stored with two thousand Pipes of wine, a thousand Iarres of Oyle, three thousand Kintals of Beefe, a great quantitie of Beanes, Pease, Wheat and Fish, and of Match and Harqueboizes three Barkes were brought thither not long before. All which (thee confessed) were for a new voyage against *England*. And indeed such store of wines was there found, as the English Souldiers vsing little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themselues open to danger from the vpper Towne, but by distemperature so inflamed and infected their blood, that it caused a greate mortality and infection in the whole Army.

The Groine surprised. Infection through intemperate drinking of wine.

(233) The Base-Towne thus gotten, a sudden rescue of two thousand men so resolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could possibly keepe them from entrance, but in the first brunt of resistance, they were content to make their heeles the safe-guardians of their heades, of whose yet many were cut short by the English pursuers. With the like feare the shippes in the Roade were fraught, whose Souldiers ouercharging the great Ordinance of a great Gallion, abandoned her bord, and set her on fire, which for the space of two daies burned in most terrible wise, so that of fifty great peeces but sixteene were found whole, the rest broken and melted, and so brought away by the English; but the higher towne strong both by situation and sufficiency for resistance, resolutely held out, onely intreated by Parley to haue faire Warres. And being built for the most part on a hard rocke, one place was found mineable, where the Generall the fourth day of this siege set men on worke, who bedded their powder somwhat too short of the wal, wherby that designe tooke not the supposed effect. But this error reduced, another as great was committed, for the Miners againe set on worke, came right vnder the Wall, but somwhat wide of a great Tower thereupon built, so that when the blast of powder brake forth, it ouerthrew but a part of the same, and left the other standing tottering and shaken, which being not regarded in the heat of assault, fell suddenly vpon the English, and slew Captaine *Sydenham* with thirty Souldiers besides, to the great astonishment of the rest there employed, not knowing the cause whereof it came, but rather suspecting it a Strategeme of the Towne; and the rest of the rubbish lay so loose vnder foot, that the Assaulters could haue no sure standing to make their fight.

The Enemie put to flight.

(234) Whiles these things were in doing, the Generall had certaine notice that the *Conde de Andrada* had assembled an Army of eight thousand strong, which was but the beginning of another more strong, leuied vnder the *Conde de Altemira*; the former, not passing sixe miles off, and both of them intending the rescue of the *Groine*: To preuent which, Sir *Iohn Norris* with nine Regiments *met them, and presently fell to a hote skirmish, whose brunt the enemy not able to endure, tooke ouer a Bridge, built vpon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foot whereof their Campe lay very strongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sydney*, the Captaines *Hinder*, *Fulford*, and *Barton* entred the Bridge, whose further end was barricaded with Barrels, where comming to push of pike and sword, Sir *Edward* was grieuously hurt in the head, Captaine *Hinder* receiued fiue wounds in the heade and face by the Sword; Captaine *Fulford* hurt in the left arme with a shot, and Captaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Notwithstanding, the Generall so seconded the encounter as the Guard was ouerthrowne, and the whole Army put into route, of whom our men had the Chase fully three miles in foure sundry wayes. What the slaughter was, is vncertaine, but supposed to bee great; besides others that were found hid in Vineyeards and hedges, and two hundred put to sword that had taken into a Cloister. In this seruice the *Kings Standard* was taken, some plate and rich apparell found in their Campe, and the Country for three Miles compasse set on flaming fire; the *Generall* making his retreat with the *Kings Colours* and *Armes* displayed before him, to the great honour of the English.

The enemy encountred. *May 6

The English victorious.

(235) Thus

(235) Thus returning vnto the Groine, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the English fired the Base-Towne, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the windes being contrary, many assaies were made before the Fleet could recouer the Burlings; in which passage *Robert* Earle of *Essex* with M. *Walter Deuereux* his brother, accompanied with others, came to the Fleet, which Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, seemed vnto the Sager sort to hazard his fortunes; but other more stirring spirits, held it the great aduancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may say, as *Tacitus* said of *Vespasians* employment in *Britaine*, *That there was laide the first foundation of his future esteeme*.

The Earle of Essex commeth to the Fleet. May 13.

Tacitus.

(236) The Fleete thus encreased, they landed in *Portugall*, euen vnder shot of the Castle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drowning; for most of them waded to the waste for the Shoare. Of this Towne and Peece, *Conde de Fuentes* had the command; who with fiue Companies of *Spaniards* sallied out against the English, and made their approach close to the Sea-side; whereupon the Earle of *Essex* with Sir *Roger Williams* diuided their men into two Troupes, the one keeping the Sands along the Shoare, and the other ouer the sand-hilles made towards the in-land. Which the enemy seeing, hasted to the encounter, and came vnto fight, euen within push of Pike; but were so entertained, as they had no great liking, but presently turned their backes, and fled further then the English had reason to follow. The Towne they left vndefended, so that it was entred without any resistance, and the Castle summoned the same night, the Captaine whereof was *Antonio de Aurid*, a Portugall, who demanding, and being satisfied, that *Don Antonio* was present, gaue vp the peece, with the munition therein. Vnto this place some Fryers & other poore of the Country, came to welcome their King, promising him (in the name of the rest) a sufficient supply both of horse and foot, which notwithstanding was neuer performed.

The enemy put to flight.

Peniche in Portugall taken.

(237) Here it was thought fitte that the wounded and sicke should remaine, with sufficient prouision, and seuen companies of foot to guard the ships and Castle; and the maine Army to march ouer land vnto *Lisbon*, the *Metropolitane* of *Portugall*, accounted the strongest Fort in the World, and whosoeuer held that, might (in their esteeme) make head against the mightiest Monarch in the Earth; whither likewise Sir *Francis Drake* (*Generall* of the Sea-seruice) promised to come, if the iniury of weather did not hinder him. The March vndertaken, *Torres Vedras* made some shew of resistance, but presently vpon the approch of the English, that Castell was abandoned, and left to the possession of *Don Antonio*; whose hopes hereupon beganne to enlarge, thinking the whole would stand for his claime; but therein was not a little deceiued; for victuals growing scarse in the Army, the Country did not supply them according to expectation, neither came in any of strength. Notwithstanding the English Army from *Vedras* marched to *San Sebastian*, thence to *Lores*, and lodged the fift day at *Alualana*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Souldiers perished by drinking in two places of poisoned standing waters, as also in eating of honey, purposely left in the houses, and spiced with poison, as it was thought.

The attempt for Lisborne.

Spanish history.

(238) The fiue and twentieth of May, the English Army came vnto *Lisbon*, whose Suburbes were found abandoned, houses of prouision for corne & victuals fired, and none left to defend but a sort of olde folkes and beggars, crying in the streetes, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*; and about midnight they within the Towne set fire on their houses that stood within vpon the wall. The English wearied with the six dais march, want of victual, the last nights watch, and many of them weake, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy hauing aduertisement, in the dead of the night sallied out of the Town, and made their assault in three seuerall streetes, but chiefly vpon Colonell *Brets* Quarters, who being at rest (as most of the Army were) with what hast was possible, put himselfe, and his in Armes, & so throughly made head, that hee was slaine in the place; Captaine *Carre* with the like resistance and valour ended his life; Captaine *Carsey* wounded to death; Captaine *Caue* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts so easie, but were put to a suddaine and foule retreate; insomuch as the Earle of *Essex* (full of high spirite, and hote youthly bloud) had them in chase to the very gates of the *high town*: and (as it was truly reported) the enemies losse did triple the English, aswell in quantity, as in men of quality.

The Englishe approch Lisbon.

A Sally on the Englishe.

Essex pursueth the enemy to the very Gates.

(239) Mean while Generall *Drake* with his whole Fleete was come to *Cascais*, and possessed the towne without any resistance, for the inhabitants at the discouery of his Nauie, fledde with bagge and baggage into the mountaines, which the *Generall* perceiuing, sent vnto them a *Portugall Pilote*, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so as they would accept of their rightfull King, and minister necessaries to the Army which hee had brought. Which offer they ioyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of the Towne, to signifie their loyaltie to *Don Antonio*, and their honest affection to his Army, whereupon *Sir Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Castell, which being guarded by the Spaniards, held out against him for their King.

Drake surpriseth *Cascais*.

(240) At *Lisbone* the Portugals had promised to aid *Antonio* with three thousand horse, besides other supplies from the Duke of *Braganza*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, and others, at a day prefixed, and now altogether past, by reason (as it seemeth) that the Spaniards hauing chiefe command in all places, they were vnable by any meanes to make head. Whereupon the vnfortunate *Antonio* seeing the time expired, & but forty horse come, nor of foot sufficient to furnish two Ensignes, grew almost hopelesse, yet assaied hee to perswade a stay before *Lisbon* for 9. dayes more: but the Towne being strong, and the English declining (for there was the first apparant shew of sickneesse among them) the Portugals backward, and of base resolutions, ready to obey any so themselues may be rich: and the Generall hauing already done more then was promised, left they should hazard the honour which hitherto had beene gotte, denied his request, and gaue present order to return to *Cascais*; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the stand, that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawn into the field: at which time, the King (euen herein of kingly disposition towards his Natiues) made request to saue the Suburbes from spoile, which if the English had ransacked, they had beene the richest Armie that euer returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Essex* in the courage of his Martiall bloud, ranne his speare and brake it against the Gates of that City: demanding alowde, if any *Spaniard* mewed therein, durst aduenture forth in fauour of his Mistresse to break a staffe with him. But those Gallants thought it safer to court their Ladies with amorous discourses, then to haue their loues written on their breasts with the point of his English Speare.

Don Antonio his princely compassion.

(241) Being now come to *Cascais*, intelligence was brought by a Fryer, that the enemy was marched vnto Saint *Iulian* with a strong power to encounter the English, vnto whose Generall, the Generall *Norris* sent a Trumpet, promising to meete him the next morning if hee durst abide his comming, and withall gaue him the lie: the Earle of *Essex* also sent him a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie, or else fiue, eight or tenne, to trie single combate, wher-

at

at this *Spaniards* combe was so cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation hee dislodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not answering the Challenge, but threatning to hang the Messenger, who followed him euen to the very Gate. Then was the Castle of *Cascais* rendred vpon condition, that the men of Armes should depart with bag and baggage; which Peece in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne vp by mine. During which time threescore Hulkes laden with Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe, beeing the Spanish Kings prouision were taken going to *Lisbon*.

The Castle of *Cascais* rendred.

Sixty Spanish Hulkes taken.

(242) The English hauing thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when, vnlooked for, and in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleete, and so plaied vpon a stragling Barke of *Plimouth*, that Captaine *Calwerley*, his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoning the vessell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Captaine and Master were) was ouerrunne by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hulkes also stragling from the Fleete, were set vpon by the Spaniards; in one of which, Captaine *Minshaw* fought to the last, and very valiantly after his ship was on fire; but whether fired by himselfe or the enemy, could not be iudged; the calme being so still, as no succour could bee sent from the fleete, to their great griefe.

(243) Thus continuing seuenteene daies on board, many of the dead Souldiers were cast into the Sea; and the whole now consisted of two thousand men, who comming to *Vigo*, found euery streete fenced with a strong Barricadoe, and but only one man in the Towne, the Inhabitants making toward *Bayon* as fast as they could driue; then was both the Town and all the Country for seuen miles compasse set on a flame. Which seruice thus performed, *Sir Francis Drake* with the Queenes ships safely * arriued at *Plimouth*, and vpon the second of Iuly following arriued *Sir Iohn Norris*, hauing both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

The English arriued at *Plymouth*. * Iune 21.

Iohn Serres. The State of *France.*

(244) Whilst these Realms were at variance each against others, the *French* were not quiet among themselues, the King somewhat voluptuous, but excessiuely prodigall towards his fauorites; the Nobility ambitious, mistrustfull, and disloyall; the Clergy turbulent, and vndutiful, bending all their force and thoughts against the plantation of the truth. To vnite friendship therefore some league had beene made, for confirmation whereof the three Estates were assembled at *Bloys*. For the Clergy appeared *one hundred thirty foure deputies*, among whom were foure Arch-bishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of Orders; for the Nobility came one hundred and foure score gentlemen; and for the third Estate an hundred foure score and eleuen Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the first sitting, and before these best wits of *France*, King * *Henry* made a solemne Oration to perswade vnion, full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pregnant reasons, deliuered with such an admirable eloquence and grace, as it rauished the eares of all present, besides the opening of the propositions; the which, *Mantelon*, the keeper of the Seale, for him further prosecuted; after him *Reynauld de Beaulme*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and primate of *Aquitaine*, spake in the same argument; and lastly, *Michell Marteau*, Prouost and President for the third Estate, confirmed, and consented to all that had beene said. Whereupon an oth of *Vnion* was taken, to binde the King, them, and all their posterities, the fundamental Lawes and liberties of *France* onely reserued.

An. D. 1588 Octob. 17.

* *Henry* 3.

An oth of Vnion in *France.*

(245) This notwithstanding, the *Leaguers*, to hit the marke whereat they aimed, daily diuulged and buzzed the *French* Kings disgraces, and al to install the *Guize* in his Throne; the Papists wrongs were greeuously expostulated, their Churches burnt, and Altars profaned; the people oppressed with impositions and subsidies; places of Iudgement set to sale; and spirituall benefices to him that would giue most; the offices at Court, they alleaged, were managed by men of meane ranke; the Noblemens seruices neglected and vnrewarded. All these, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King base in the peoples eye, the *Guize* himselfe the while temporizing with both, as disswading the King to subiect his authority vnto their complaints, and at the same present perswading the other, to bee vehement in their pursuites.

The *Guizians* practises.

(246) Among their other practises one was against the King of *Navarre*; whom the Clergy condemned for an *Heretike*, the chiefe (as they termed him) of the relapse, excommunicated and depriued him of the Gouernment of *Guienne*, and of all other dignities, as beeing vnworthy of successions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Festus* thought it vnreasonable, to condemne this Prince without hearing, and therefore desired to haue him againe summoned, and againe to bee sworne to the *Vnion*.

A. D. 1588. Nouemb. 4.

Acts 25.

(247) To this motion was answered, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his vncle had once obtained absolution for him; that the Queene mother had many times assaied to winne him; many learned doctors had been sent to reclaime him: but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (said they) hee hath beene brought vp in this new Heresie, hath beene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, receiued againe into grace by the Consistory, is againe fallen into the error which hee abiured, and is now an Heretike, relapsed, vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of respect, and vnworthy to bee praied for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismatike, excommunicated him as incapable of succession, and therefore must the Estates of *France* ratifie the Popes sentence; and King *Henry* must thereunto subscribe; if not, the Duke of *Guize*, who was Master of the Castle; and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would dissolue the assembly and lay all the blame vpon his Maiesty.

(248) Thus then (by the purpose of man) the first Prince of the bloud, and the onely remainder, after so many sisters and cousens of *Anion*, *Alencon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgoyne*, *Angolesme* and *Orleans*, and which only succeeded that of *Valois*, was now depriued of the succession which Nature gaue him, without calling, or hearing of his iustifications.

Henry King of *Navarre* pronounced incapable of the Crown of *France.*

(249) To further this *Guizian* enterprize, his followers buzd into the heads of the multitude, that it was the Kings Climacterical yeere, and so many presumptions were obserued, as it was told the King in plaine tearmes that the Duke of *Guize* would surprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of reuenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition, at last, by the lightening, supposing a thunder-clap would follow, he sought timely to preuent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not so secretly carried, but that the designe was discouered, and a scrowle laied vnder *Guize* his Napkin as he sate at dinner, wherein it was written, that *his life was in danger*: but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the same scrowle, these words, *they dare not*; and threw it from him vnder the Table. Other aduertisements hee had (if wee may beleeue the additions of *Serres*) from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine*, and *Sauoy*, that a bloudy Catastrophe should dissolue this assembly, their Almanakes had obserued it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(250) But the Duke bearing himselfe bolde vpon his owne greatnesse, neglected all motiues, and very presumptuously spake to the King, complayning that the affaires of *France* inclined from bad vnto worse, vncurable, and almost growne desperate, wherefore, the charge hee had receiued, hee would againe giue vp, and retired in the Country, least

least other mens sinnes should be reputed his.

(251) The King, who had resolued on his death, gaue him good words, with promise of amendment what in him lay, and held him with familiar discourses, and fauourable countenance, vntill a fitte time should bee offered; which was the three and twentieth of December, when the Lords sitting in Councell, and entring consultation, the *Guise* was called for vnto the King, who as hee lifted vp the Tapestrie into his Cabinet, was charged vpon by the Guard, and with their swords and partisans presently slaine; the King auouching, that thenceforth he would rule alone. And not long after the Cardinall of *Guise*, the Duke dranke of the same cup at the commandement of the King.

(252) This death of the *Guize* & Cardinall, caused the King to bee exceedingly hated of the Papals, whose Preachers banded his reproches in their Pulpits, incensing the people to open rebellion, and as Furies of hell heaped an Iliade of curses vpon the heades of the Executioners. In *Paris* the Kings furniture, and in the *Lowre* his pictures were broken, his Armes beaten down, his Images dragged throgh the streetes, his great Seale defaced, and his royall name blurred with many opprobrious tearmes. Yea and the Colledge of *Sorbon* as forward as any, concluded by a publike Act, *That the people of France were free from the Oath of Obedience and Fealty which they stood ingaged in vnto Henry of Valois, that lawfully, and with a good conscience they might arme themselues against him, receiue his reuenewes, and imploy it in their warres for his ouerthrow.*

(253) Contrariwise the Duke of *Guize* was extolled to heauen, Orations made of his commendable exploits in *Hungary* against the Turkes, at *Iarnac* against the Protestants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour*, at *Vimorry*, and at other places; in a word, such were the intestine troubles of *France*, as the king sent for *Henry* King of *Nauarre* to helpe quench the flames of ciuill sedition, which were mounted so high, as that the Leaguers preuailed against the Lords of Parliament, prophaned Churches, violated Virgines, and defiled their Christian profession with streames of bloud. And to fill vp the measure of their impious iniquity, a *Iacobin* Frier, by name *Iames Clement*, when the King had besieged *Paris* (the head City of this rebellion) made vowes to kill the Tyrant (as hee tearmed him) to free that holy City from *Senacherib's* siege; with which resolution hee went to Doctor *Bourgoine* Priour of his Couent, and imparted this damnable proiect to him, to Father *Commolet*, to other Iesuites, and to the heades of the League, all of them incouraging him to this Diuelish designe, with promise of Abbeyes and Bishoprickes if hee escaped, and if he died in the action to be made a Martyr, and haue place in heauen aboue the Apostles.

(254) Thus furnished with blessings for this cursed act, vpon the first of August the Monke went to *Paris*, and had priuate accesse to the King to deliuer a letter, pretending some matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolicall Instrument with a knife from his sleeue, wounded him in the bottome of his belly, and there left the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the same struck this *Iacobine* aboue the eye: their strugling being heard, many hastily came in, who seeing the King wounded, and all in gore bloud, in their rage stabbed the Monster to death, and not many dayes after, K. *Henry* died of the wound.

(255) Whereupon *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon* a younger brother to *Anthony* King of *Nauarre*, and vncle vnto *Henry* then the present King, was proclamed *Lieutenant Gouernor*, yea and gold and siluer coined with his picture and stile of *Charles* the tenth King of *France*. Howbeit *Henry* King of *Nauarre* was proclaimed of the Army, whose right was before that Papall Prelates, and whom the last *Henry* by his last will ordained to bee his Successor. Notwithstanding onely in respect of his Religion, being a professed Protestant, the Leaguers made such head against him that hee was enforced to sue vnto that *Generall Sanctuary* of Princes, Queene *Elizabeth* for her aide, who euer fauouring the progresse of the Gospell, and knowing *Nauarres* claime to be aboue all other (of that Nation) for the French Crown, and that the Spaniard was setting foot into *France* first, sent him twenty thousand pound sterling, with powder, munition for warre, and certaine ships also to serue at his command; and causing a generall muster to be taken in most of the Shires in *England*, sent foure thousand souldiers furnished, from euery of them into *France*, to which seruice the Citizens of *London* set forth a thousand very well appointed and seruiceable men: the Generall of all which forces, was the noble *Peregrine Barton* Lord *Willoughby*: whose want she again supplied with three thousand foot, which were sent into *Britaine*, vnder the conduction of Sir *Iohn Norris*, that sonne of *Mars*: these ioyning with the Prince *Dombet* Lord Generall of that Prouince, performed many worthy exploits for the French King.

L. Willoughby Generall of the aides for France.

Septemb. 21.

A.D. 1591.

(256) But *Parma* being entred *France*, and the *Pope with his Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication against *Henry* and his adherents: *Queen Elizabeth* (who neuer was daunted with such flashes) sent into *France Robert* Earle of *Essex*, for her Lieutenant Generall ouer foure thousand footmen, and two hundred horse, (besides many Pioners) all of them to bandy for the King against his enemies the *Leaguers*. The Earle, though yong, yet full of valour, was followed with many voluntarie Gentlemen, whose countenances well shewed the courage of their hearts: These landing in *Normandy*, laide siege vnto the strong *Roan*, in assault whereof his brother *Walter Deuereux* was slaine with a small shot, to the excessiue griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trained vp, both by Academicall and Marshall education, vnto very great hopes and expectation.

** Gregory 14.*

Earle of Essex Generall of aids for France.

Walter Deuereux slaine before Roan.

(257) But King *Henry* finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers still increasing their strengthes from *Rome* and *Spaine*, and the Crowne of *France* laid at stake for him that threw most, thought it good policy (though proued to him in the end disasterous and fatall) to temporize with the predominating faction; and therefore leauing the Religion wherein he had been bred, fell to that of *Rome* which euer till then hee had resisted, and after great suit made to the Pope, was lastly absolued by the *Holy Father*, who heaped whole streames of blessings vpon his sacred head, himselfe swearing to defend the Romish faith against all impugners: so that now all sides satisfied, without contradiction; *Henry* of *Nauarre* was crowned King of *France*. Onely the *Spaniards* were vnwilling to leaue that faire Country; fortified in *Britaine* vpon the Riuer, ouer against *Brest*; whence after much slaughter, General *Norris* forced them, though with the losse of some English, & life of Captain *Furbisher* commander of the Fleet.

Spanish history. Henry K. of France forsaketh his Religion.

A.D. 1593. Iuly 25.

(258) The *Leaguers* not liking *Nauarres* aduancement, mistrusting that his conuersion was fained, and temporary, as being but a steppe, the easier to mount the royall throne: by treason laide wait for his life, and croft what they could his countenance at *Rome*; whilest the *Spaniards* imployed all their wits for the worrying of *France*, and so farre persisted in their designes, as King *Henry* by proclamation denounced warre against *Spaine*, and *Philip* in like manner proclaimes warre against *France*; in which state they stood, during the life of *Ernestus* Arch-duke of *Austria*, brother in law and Nephew vnto King *Philip*, whose Gouernour hee then was in the Low-Countries.

Warres proclaimed betwixt France and Spain.

(259) After whom succeeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinall, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, who no sooner was made Gouernour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared against

Callis surprised.

the French and Vnited Estates; and to make his assayes, hee first beganne with *Callis*, a thing long before proiected by others in his place; that Towne being a Sea-port of great importance, as the English found it whilst it was theirs, and the losse thereof great, as Queene *Mary* and her wise Statists both tooke it, and felt it.

(260) At this time the Garrison was small, and the Gouernour negligent, vndiscreet, and vnfortunate, though hauing notice from *Netherland* that the *Spaniard* meant her siege; so that *Richbanke* left vnmanned, and in great ruine, was entred vpon by the Cardinall, and such as resisted driuen into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitants hee grew to a composition for the surrender, *Vysdossein* the Gouernour neuer interposing therein.

A.D. 1596

Queen Elizabeth offereth aid to recouer Callis.

(261) *Callis* thus turning Spanish, and the *Spaniards* still intending for *England*, *Elizabeth* solicited the *French* king, & proffered her aid for recouery of that Peece; but hee empouerished by warre, sought to regaine his losses rather by some faire conditions of peace, then to depend vpon the dependencies & hazard of Armies; at which resolution our Noble *Senobia* was nothing well pleased, and therefore to preuent the practises of *Spaine*, began to make good against them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more prince-like then *Philip* had done by her (who made fairest pretence of peace, when hee was hotest in preparing warre) shee caused to bee published and printed a *Declaration* of the iust causes mouing her to set forth her Nauy for the defence of her Realme, the Tenor wherof we thinke not vnfit to bee here inserted.

The Declaration touching the setting forth of a Nauy.

(262) *To all Christian people to whom this Declaration shall come to bee read or heard, greeting*; *Wee* Robert *Earle of* Essex, *and* Ewe, *Vicount* Hereford, *Lord* Ferrers *of* Chartley, Bourchier, *and* Louaine, &c. *and* Charles *Lord* Howard, *Baron of Effingham, Lord* High Admirall *of* England, &c. *hauing the charge of a Royall Nauie of Shippes, prepared and sent to the Seas, by the most Excellent Princesse the Lady* Elizabeth, Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. *doe giue all men knowledge that the said Nauie vnder our charge is by her Maiesty prepared, and sent to serue on the Seas, for defence of her Maesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subiects, against such mighty Forces as wee are aduertised from all partes of Christendome, to be already prepared by the King of* Spaine, *and by further prouisions of men and shippes daily sent for, are to bee mightily increased, to inuade her Maesties Realmes, as heretofore in the yeere of our Lord,* 1588. *was attempted (euen when there was a Treaty continued by both their Commissioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then euer before in his time was set to Seas: though by Gods goodnes and the valiance and wisdome of her Noble and faithfull Subiects, the same was notably made frustrate. And because her Maiesty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and Princes of Christendome, sauing with the King of Spaine, who hath this many yeeres most vniustly professed openly great enmity by diuers actions, both against her royall person and her people, and countries, without any iust cause first giuen on her Maesties part: Therefore wee the said Earle, and Lord Admirall doe ascertaine all persons, that wee are most straitly cõmanded by her excellent Maiesty, to forbeare from offending in this our voyage of any manner of persons of what Nation soeuer, except the saide Kings Naturall Subiects, or such other borne Strangers, as shall giue to the said King manifest aide with men, shippes, artillery, victuall, and other warlike prouisions for inuasion of her Maiesty. Which her Maesties commandement we meane dutifully to obserue, and do therefore giue strait charge to all persons, that shall serue in this Nauy vnderneath vs, vpon pain of extreme punishment to obserue the same; yet to auoide all occasions that may breede question, who they are, being not the King of Spaines Subiects, that shal be charged by vs, to bee manifest aiders for the furnishing and strengthning of the said Kings Forces, prouided either by land or sea, to attempt any inuasion of her Maesties countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly in Gods name, require and charge all persons, that are not the said Kings naturall Subiects, and yet that haue giuen him aide with their shippes, victuall and munition as is aboue said, to withdraw all their said ships prepared for the warre, and all their prouisions of hostilitie out of any Hauens of* Spaine *or* Portugall, *or from the company and seruice of the Kings shippes against our Nauy; and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they shall like to come to our Nauie, to whome, in the reuerend name of our Soueraign Lady the Queens Maiesty, wee doe promise all security, both for their persons and goods, to bee vsed and defended as friends, and to suffer all their Shippes and prouisions, that were taken by the King of* Spaine, *or intended for his seruice, or that shall be by the Owners withdrawne from his aide, to remaine in their free dispositions, so as the same bee vsed in all sorts as friends, and not as enemies to the Queenes Maiesty, and to vs her Generals: and if any shall vpon knowledge of this her Maesties most honourable Order, and of our promise (to obserue the same as fauourably as wee may) willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeuour themselues to performe this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty; wee shall then bee iustly moued, as by the law of Armes wee may, to take and vse all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest aiders of the King of* Spaine *with forces to inuade her Maesties Dominions, and so manifest enemies: and in such case of that refusall, if any harme shall happen by any attempt against their Persons, Shippes and goods, by any our Nauie, for the aiding of the said King: there shall bee no iust cause for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to sollicite restitutions or amends for the same. And for the more notification hereof, wee haue thought good to haue the Originall hereof to be signed with our hands, and with our Seales, to bee sent by any that will require to reade or see the same: And likewise wee haue put the same in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish, and haue also caused the same to be distributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugall as conueniently might be, for the better knowledge to be had in the said Ports, as also in all other Portes vnder his subiection.*

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

(263) These things premised, seuenteene of her Maesties *Ships Royall*, three of the Lord Admirals, foure and twenty of the *States shippes*, Marchants, Men of Warre, and Victualers aboue one hundred, in all to the number of *one hundred and fifty Saile*, in the beginning of May met at *Plimouth*, where such lawes were ordained for the true seruice of God, and Iustice in the Army, as it seemed rather a Regiment of Ciuill Academians, then a Rendeuou of Souldiers: and her Maiesty likewise in the Court, as *Hezekiah* in the Temple, opened her heart vnto the Lord in this wise.

A.D. 1596

Lawes ordained for the Army.

2. King. 19. 15.

A Prayer made by Q. Elizabeth for the prospering of her Nauy.

Most omnipotent Maker, and Guider of the Worlds Masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true Originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truly discerne, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniurie, nor desire of blood-shed, nor greedinesse of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our new-set out Army, but a heedfull care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-surety of hauen might breed either danger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest inspire the mind; wee humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewinds guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed Grant.

(264) The whole Fleet was commanded by *Charles* Lord *Howard, High Admirall*, shipped in the *Arke-Royall*, and Lord *Robert Deuereux* Earle of *Essex* and

The English Commanders in the Fleet.

and *Ewe* in the *Du-Repulse*; both of them iointlie her Maiesties *Lieutenants Generall* for this seruice, by Sea and by land. The *Vice-Admirall* was the Lord *Thomas Howard*, shipped in the *Mirmure*, and the *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the *Warre-Spite*; and for the *States* was *Admirall*, *Iem Van Duuenuoord*, who serued in the *Neptune*, a Shippe of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleet was diuided into fiue squadrons, with a commandement that euery squadron should attend his Admirall, & euery one of these had his Vice-Admirall assigned. Of the first was Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lion*; of the second, *Sir Francis Vere*, in the *Rainebow*; the third Sir *Robert Dudley* attending the Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Non-Pareile*; the fourth, *Robert Crosse* following Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in the *Swift-sure*; and the last was, *Iem Gerbrantson*, Vice-Admirall of the *Hollanders*.

The Dutch Commander.

The Vice-Admirals

(265) For the Land-seruice besides the *Generals*, were Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marshall: *Sir Iohn Wingfield* Campe-master Generall: *Sir Coniers Clifford*, Sergeant Maior, *Sir George Carew*, Master of the Ordinance: *Iohn Bucke* Prouost Marshall: *Oliuer Lambert*, Quarter-Master, and *Roger Astley*, Secretary. The *Colonels* of the Army were the Earle of *Sussex*, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Thomas Gerrat*, *Sir Richard Winkfeild*, and *Sir Edward Winkfeild* of the *Voluntaries*, and for the *Dutch*, was the Count *Lodowicke*, in all about *ten thousand men*. The priuate Counsell for this expedition being selected, certain instructions were sent sealed to euery shippe, with a commandement to the Captain, not to break them open, till such time as they came to the South-Cape, vnlesse they happened to bee seuered from the Fleete by storme or mischance; but if taken by an enemy, then to cast them ouer-bord.

Officers for Land seruices.

(266) Thus ready for Seas, vpon the first of Iune a warning Peece being shot off, all weyed Anchors, and with a gallant shew, and full sailes followed the Lord Admirall; but the wind scanting before they past *Cornwall*, they were enforced backe into the *Sound*, where staying two dayes, vppon the thirde the winde came about, and with a prosperous Gale brought them to Cape *Saint Vincent*, where an *Irish* Barke was mette with from *Cadiz*, which signified the strength of the Towne, and the shipping that lay in the Bay, to witte, twenty Gallies, ninety Sailes of Shippes, wherof fiue were of those great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelue Apostles*, (all doubtlesse the *sonnes of Thunder*) two great Galliasses, three Frigats, three Argosies, twenty Biskaines; the rest were *Merchants* shippes, rich, and of great burden, whose ladings were munition, coine, oyle, wine, waxe, silke, cloth of gold, and quicke-siluer; some bound for the Indians, some for *Britaine*, some for *Lisbone*, and some for other places. Newes most acceptable vnto the *Generals*, who hasting thitherwards, vpon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, assaied at the *Friery of Saint Sebastian*, on the west side of *Cadiz*, to land their men, but the place strong, and the Seas going high, their purpose was hindered.

The voyage to Cadiz.

Iune 18.

The King of Spaines twelue Apostles, but far vnlike Christs.

(267) May I relate with hope of credite what others haue reported vpon their owne eye-sight? At the first approch of this *Royall Nauy* before *Cadiz*, a faire Doue (a fortunate *Presager*) betimes in the morning, is said to haue lighted vpon the Mayne-yard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there to haue sate quietly the space of three howres, euery man gazing, but no man suffered to harme her: as also the last day of their departure thence, another *Doue* presented her self in the same Order, and in the same shippe, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and so continued with them till they came into *England*.

Yet rich ladings of the Spanish Ships.

A fortunate presage.

(268) The day following their approch, being the first of the weeke, the Spanish ships in the road, in number fifty nine, attended with twenty Gallies, by the aduise of their * Admirall, shot with the tide within the point of Maine-land, vnto Castle *Puntall*, and in the straites of the Baye, sorted themselues in good order, and of a reasonable distance, aswell to offend the enemy, as to relieue each others interchangeably.

* Diego Sote.

(269) The Bay was narrow whereinto they had entred, full of Rocks, shelues, & sands, al which notwithstanding, it was in Councell determined, that the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, with some *Louden's*, and a Squadron of the Low-Country shippes, should beginne the fight; which was most valiantly attempted, maintained, & continued, the thundring shot battering their bulks, and renting their shrowdes.

The Nauall fight at Cadiz.

(270) In the heate whereof, the Earle of *Essex*, (in Counsell appointed to keepe the *Maine battell*) vpon the sodaine from Port Saint *Maries* side, thrust himselfe formost in this Sea-fight, which the other *Generall* perceiuing, and the *Arke-Royall* too vnweldy for that narrow water, tooke into his Pinnesse, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were assailed by *Sir Iohn Winkfeild*, who with his small shippes so hanselled their sides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shoare, and so got passage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the English, whose eyes were euer ayming at the fairest Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, so battered with Bullets that hee beganne to stagger, and giue ouer fight; whose souldiers seeking to sane themselues by water, and swimming, set this *Apostle* (their *Admirall*) on fire, by whose example, the *Saint Thomas*, another of *Spaines* Apostles did the like, least the English should leade them in triumph of their victory. The rest of the *Spanish* Fleet ranne themselues on ground in the Bay of *Port Reall*, to gaine some breathing time from their still following pursuers.

Charles Howard L. Admirall.

The Spanish Admirall set on fire.

(271) These seruices thus forwarded, the Earle of *Essex* forthwith landed his mē vnder the Blockhouse *Puntall*, about a mile westward from *Cadiz*, whence it was thoght expedient to send some Regiments to the Bridge on the West of the Iland, to impeach all succours that should come from the Maine: To which seruice were sent *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard* (now Lord *Gerrard*) and *Sir Coniers Clifford* with a power of twelue hundred strong. Meanewhile the Generall *Essex* with the Earle of *Sussex*, Count *Ladowicke*, Lord *Harbert*, Lord *Burk*, *Sir George Carew* (now Lord *Carew*) and others took towards *Cadiz*.

The English goe on land.

(272) The side of their entrance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from sea to sea, and a Counterskarpe raised some distance, where were built two Bulwarkes, and a Curtaine for the stronger defence of the Town, the enemy hauing also an aduantage from the higher ascent, played sore vpon the English to their great annoyance, insomuch that the formost began to giue backe from the Gate, which the Earle of *Essex* perceiuing, to engage his souldiers resolutions, caught his owne *Colours* and cast them ouer the Wall into the Towne, giuing withall a most hote assault vnto the Gate, where to saue the honour of their *Ensigne*, happy was hee that could first leape downe from the Wall, and with shotte and sword make way through the thickest presse of the enemy. The Towne thus surprised, the Lord Admirall hasted to second the charge, when a hote encounter ensued; for the streets were very narrow, so as but two could march on breast, and from their flat roofed houses, heapes of stones were tumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the English, who nethlesse droue the enemy before them into the *Market* place, where the worthy Sir *Iohn Winkfeild*, sore wounded at the Gate in his thigh, was shotte with a Musket from a loope-hole of the Castle into the head, and presently died.

The assault on *Cadiz*.

Cadiz surprised.

Sir *Iohn Winkfeild* slaine.

(273) But the Towne and Castle surrendred, a *Procla-*

The Christian vsage of the English towards the conquered.

Proclamation was made to stay the fury of the Souldier, and the slaughter of the *Spaniard*, with commaundement vpon paine of death, that no man shold offer violence or harm to any religious person, woman or child. And such honourable care had the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they sent them in their owne Pinnaces vnto *Porto Santta Maria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen first, who were suffered to depart in their costliest apparrell, and richest Iewels: and to saue them from the spoiles or any the least wrong of the ruder Souldiers or Seamen, the Generals themselues in persons stood at the Water sides, to see them shipped without hurt or violence.

(274) The rich Bishoppe of *Cusco* being taken Prisoner, without any ransome was released, and all other of sacred Orders or Habite suffered without touch to depart; such was the heroicall Clemency of these most noble and truly-English Generals, to the great glory of our Nation, as the *Spaniards* themselues were forced to confesse. The Town thus won, the spoile thereof was giuen to the English Captains and Souldiers, the wearing clothes of the inhabitants onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with the Lords Generall, to pay an hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for their ransome, were suffered to depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chiefest *Citizens*, *Cauallcroes*, *Clergy-men*, and *Merchants*, were brought pledges into *England* til the mony was paid.

The Citizens ransome.

Iob. Stow, in Annal.

(275) The like accord was attempted by the Shippes which had runne themselues on ground, whose number was about fifty two, many of them Marchants, and all most richly laden, as might seeme by the offers they made; for no lesse then two millions and a halfe of Ducats were offered by them for the redemption: but the LL. Generals more minding honour and the seruice they came for, would heare of no compositiō but for the Merchants ships onely, which whilest it was in trauise too and fro, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spaine*, commanded them all together to bee set on fire, which was suddainly done: and the flames terribly mounting, forced the pitchy smoake, as thicke cloudes to darken the Aire. Among these were two of the Spanish *Apostles*, the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*; the first of which was saued by the Lord Admirals directions, & the second was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, in whose bottome himselfe returned for *England*.

The Ships make offer for their redemption.

(276) Thus in an instant, a Fleet, ful of men, marchandize, victuall, armour, & twelue hundred peeces of Ordinance, all valued by themselues, at twelue Millions of Ducats, was suddenly sunke, consumed or taken; the Towne also ransacked, euery Souldier bringing some portion of her rich spoiles into *England*, to shew the seruice he performed at *Cadiz*. The Towne they burnt, sauing the Churches onely: the Walles they battered, and Towers demolished, the Iland it selfe they burned, razed and spoiled, laying all waste before them, and leauing the rubbish to declare the ruines which the English had made.

The value of the losse in the Spanish ships.

Iune 30.

(277) Vpon the fift of Iuly the Earle of *Essex* with his, abandoned *Cadiz*, the Lord Admirall being gone on boord some sixe dayes before; and the next day the whole Fleet set saile Westward towards *Faro* a Towne in *Algarua*; where the Earle desirous to doe some further exploite vpon the *terra firma* of *Spaine*, landed his men (the Lord Admirall on board securing the seas) and marching to *Faro* hee found it empty of men, the Inhabitants being fledde with much of their substance, and the Towne left destitute of victuall: yet in the Nunnery and in the Bishoppes Palace, some goods were found, and in the *Library* Bookes valued at a thousand Markes; and among other prizes of note, the faireſt Culuerin the King of *Spaine* had, was there found, and seased vpon; the English forraged the Country for 3. leagues about, and burnt the towne *Lotha* without any resistance.

The English depart from *Cadiz*.

The attempt on the firme-land.

(278) Thence the first of August the LL. *Generals* fell before the *Groine*, where seeing no shippes stirring, and the Seas altogether cleared; vpon the seuenth of the same moneth they safely and very richly arriued at *Plimouth*, to the great honour of *England*, glory of their Queene, and renowne of their owne valours and famous aduentures.

The English returne.

(279) But as the wrongs offered by the *Spaniards*, seemed to the *English* farre greater then was yet the reuenge: so also the *most prudent Queene* held it still fitte to finde King *Philip* more worke at home, and therefore a third voyage was vndertaken the yeere following, whereof *Robert* Earle of *Essex* was made as well Lord Generall for the Land, as Admirall for the sea; hauing for the one seruice, his *Vice-Admirall*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Knight of the Order, and his *Rere-Aamirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his *Lieutenant Generall* was *Charles* Lord *Mountioy* Knight of the Order; his *Marshall*, Sir *Francis Vere* Coronell Generall of the Low-Countries Forces; Sir *George Carew* Lord President of *Munster*, Master of his Ordinance; and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Maior of the field. The whole number consisted of sixe thousand men, besides Mariners, for which an hundred and twenty shippes were furnished, whereof seuenteene were her Maiesties, sixty men of Warre, the rest for victuall and transportation. These vpon the ninth of Iuly were embarked at *Plimouth* for the Ilands of *Azores*, and hauing cleared sixty Leagues fell fowle by a Tempest, and were driuen backe againe to *Plimouth*, and againe thence set saile vpon the 17. of August next following.

An other voiage at Sea.

The Earle of *Essex* both Admirall and Generall of the Forces.

A.D. 1597

(280) Vpon the fifteenth of September they fell with the Isles *Flores*, *Euernes*, *Fayall*, and *Pike*; al which submitted themselues to the Lord Generals deuotion; whence weying their Anchors, they made saile for *Saint Michaels*, and there before the Towne cast them againe, where it was determined that *Sir Walter Rawleigh* should keep the sea, whiles the Lord Generall with two thousand should land elsewhere in the Iland; which they did, and sacked the rich town *Villa Franca*: but the seas going high, and the Winters stormes approaching, after the spoile of those places, the destruction of a Carracke richly laden with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a Brasile mān, and the surprize of three prizes which they brought into *England*, valued at foure hundred thousand Ducats, they returned, the *Spaniard* euery where hauing the worst.

Villa Franca sacked.

(281) These stirres on the seas brought yet further mischiefes on the *Spaniard*, by hindring the traficke of Marchandise, as well for their owne trade & comerce with others, as for others trading into *Spain*; among whom *Sigismond*, the young and new elected King of *Polonia*, found himself most agreeued: whose Ambassador for that businesse vnto the *Queen*, was one *Paulus de Ialine*, a *Polone Gentleman*, learned, eloquent, and very audacious, (if not ouer-much) who bringing *letters of credence from his King, had audience at *Greenwich*, her Maiesty sitting vnder her cloath of Estate, and with her Nobles, attending the summe of his message, which the *Polonian* beganne with more then an ordinary Grace.

Sigismond Kal Polonia his Ambassage to the Queene.

* Dated 19. of May.

July 25.

(282) Whose tenour was filled with blasts of discontent, conceiued by his potent Master the King of *Polonia*, and caused by the greeuances of his *Marchants*, who not onely were depriued of some priuiledges in *England*, but the sea which is made free by the Omnipotent stopped, and the trades of his Marchants into *Spaine* by her Highnes Edicts debarred, cōtrary to the law both of *Nature* & of *Nations*: that his Master as he could not be moued to diminish any part of his loue towards her Maiesty, so yet could hee not but relieue his owne subiects; and the rather for that it touched all his Nobility, whose reuenews consisted chiefly vpon the Trade of Marchandizing. That hee had hitherto forborne all meanes of requite,

The summe of the Ambassadors Oration.

quite, though her Maiesty well knew, of meanes he had no want; and now had sent to aduertise her Highnesse in a louing manner by him his Ambassador, seeing that his letters to that purpose heretofore sent, had not beene regarded, in whose name he now required, that the seas might be open, a restitution made, and the Trade Westward to *Spaine* bee free, according to equity; otherwise his Master would no longer neglect his Subiects losses, but would take in hand a meanes of redresse. As for her Maiesties wars with *Spaine*, that ought not to hinder Nauigation by the common Law of Nature (as hee auouched) nor, for her respect should the ancient friendship betwixt the potent Polonian and the mighty King of *Spaine* bee broken, nor with the house of *Austria*, whose daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double band of loue. But hee trusted (his Masters request bearing such equity) her Maiesty would regard it, and command satisfaction of these things forthwith to bee made, to the content of his Prince, and safety of her selfe, which thing hee wished, & therof warned her Maiesty. And with other like wordes ended as peremptorily as he beganne.

(283) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queen her selfe not brooking to be braued by any Prince in the World, presently made answere, preuenting the Lord Chancellor therein who was about to doe it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the same language wherein the message was deliuered) replyed: the very words as neere as could bee taken from her mouth were these.

Queene Elizabeths answere vnto Polonian.

(284) *Heu quàm decepta fui. Expectaui Nuncium: tu verò querelam mihi adduxisti; per literas te accepi esse Legatum, te verò Heraldum inuenio. Nunquam in vita talem Orationem audiui. Miror, sanè miror, tantam & tam insolutam in publico audaciam; neque puto si Rex tuus adesset, talia verba protulisset: Sin aliquid tale tibi in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valdè dubito) ie tribuendum, quòd cùm Rex sit Iuuenis, & non tam iure Sanguinis quàm Electionis, atque etiam nouitèr electus, non tam benè percipiat quid inter Reges conuenit, quàm Maiores sui nobiscum obseruarunt, & alij fortasse deinceps obseruabunt. Quod at te attinet, videris multos libros perlegisse, libros tamen Principum non attigisse, neque intelligere quid inter Reges conuenit. Cum verò Ius Naturæ & Gentium commemoras, Hoc scito esse ius naturæ & Gentium, vt cum bellum inter Reges intercedat, liceat alteri alterius vndique allata Præsidia intercipere, & ne in damnum suum conuertantur, præuidere: Hoc scito esse Ius Naturæ, & Gentium; Vbi itidem Domum Austriæ narras (quam iam tanti facis) non te lateat ex eadem Domo non defuisse qui Regnum Poloniæ regi tuo intercipere voluissent. De reliquis quæ cum multa sunt, & singulatim deliberanda, non sunt huius loci ac temporis, accipies quod à quibusdam Consiliarijs huic rei designatis deliberandum fuerit. Interim valeas & quiescas.*

(285) Oh how was I deceiued! I looked for an Embassage, but thou hast brought me complaints; I vnderstood by thy letters that thou wert a *Legate*, but I finde thee an Herauld; neuer since I drew breath heard I such an Oration. I maruell, truly, I maruell at so great and such vnaccustomed boldnesse in so publike an assembly; neither doe I think if the King thy Master were present, that hee would say so much: but if peraduenture he hath committed any such thing to thy charge (which surely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed vnto him, that where the King is of yeers vnripe, and not by bloud, but by election (yea and but newly aduanced) hee doth not so perfectly vnderstand the course of negotiating these kind of affaires with other Princes, which either his Ancestors haue obserued with vs, or perhaps others will obserue, who afterwardes shall succeede him. As touching thy selfe, indeede thou seemest to mee to haue read many Bookes, but not to haue perused the Bookes of Princes affaires, but vtterly to bee ignorant what is conuenient amongst Kings. And whereas thou makest mention of the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, know, that this is the Law both Naturall and Nationall, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helpes of the other, brought from what place soeuer, so to preuent the harms which might otherwise redound on himselfe: And this againe I auow to bee the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. Whereas likewise thou mentionest a new affinity with the *house of Austria*, which now thou makest so famous, and of so deare esteeme, forget not Sir, that there haue beene of that house that would haue bereft the Kingdom of *Polonia* from thy King. As for other points which bee not to be spoken off at this place, and time, because they are many and seuerally to bee considered of one after another: thou shalt waite for such further answere as shall bee resolued on by some of my Councell, to whom I will assigne the consideration of this matter. In the meane time farewell and be quiet. And thus Lion-like rising, daunted the malepert Orator no lesse with her stately port and maiesticall departure, then with the tartnesse of her princely checkes: and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said; Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath euer in anger) I haue been enforced this day to scowre vp my old Latine, that hath laine long in rusting.

(286) To entreat a Peace betwixt these Christian Princes of *England* and *Spaine*, the King of *Denmarke* likewise did send an Embassage vnto Queene *Elizabeth*, as also to deliuer the Gartar worne by his Predecessor lately departed this world, with an earnest entreaty to continue the amity betwixt their two Realmes. The man was *Arnald Whitfield Chancellor* of *Denmarke*, iudicious, learned, and wise, who with farre better temper and tearms well couched, deliuered his oration; which ended, hee most humbly propounded certain requests (wherunto her Maiesty presently replyed) which in effect were these.

An Ambassador from the King of Denmarke, Sept. 7.

(287) 1. That the League of peace confirmed betwixt the Crownes of *England* & *Denmark* might be continued as formerly it had beene in the late deceased Kings dayes, & other his Predecessors, which now the present King his Master did instantly desire: To which shee answered: that she was most willing thereunto, wishing that the now-King would preserue the same amity no worse then his Predecessors had done.

The Danish Ambassadors requests.

2 That whereas much Christian bloud was spilt in these continuall warres betwixt *England* & *Spain*, it would please her Maiesty to giue her consent, that the King his Master might make a motion of Peace; and as hee found the occasion, so to proceede. Wherunto she replyed, that shee thought his King was too yong, and vnexperienced, to conceiue throughly the cause of breach betwixt her and *Spaine*; and as the League had not beene broken on her part, or with her roiall consent, so an accord should not be sought after by her, nor by any in her behalfe, for (quoth shee) *I would haue the King of Denmarke, & all Princes* Christian *and* Heathen *to know, that England hath no need to craue Peace; nor my selfe endured one howres feare since I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithfull Subiects.*

An heroicke answere of an vndaunted Queene.

3 His third request was, if it stood with her Maiesties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Marchants of *Denmarke* might transport their goods into *Spain* without danger on the narrow seas as heretofore some of them had sustained to their great losse. Her Maiesties answere was, that it was to her vnknowne, that any of his Masters good Subiects were in any wise molested, or their goods stayed, and that vpon iust proofe thereof made, a redresse shall bee ordained, to the full satisfaction of the King, and content of his Subiects.

4 Lastly, hee was to returne the *Gartar*, (wherewith her Maiesty had honnured the late deceased King) as the manner is of forraine Princes to doe, which hee with great reuerence there deliuered;

Which her Maiesty accepting; yet told him, shee was right sorry to receiue it, for thereby shee was put in mind of the losse of a most Noble Brother, & a most louing friend. But howsoeuer the *Danish Marchants* now complained of losse, the English Marchandize were arrested in the *Sound*, for release whereof, Ambassadors were sent into *Denmarke*, where a restitution was made by the King, with such honour and bounty, as well satisfied her Maiesty, and contented her Marchants.

Tir-Oen rebellion in *Ireland*.

(288) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spaine*, was the Irish *Tir-Oen*, who serpent-like lay lurking vpon his aduantage to raise the Standard of *Rome*, and to diuert subiection from the English Crowne. This mans fortunes wee haue formerlie declared, how being the sonne of a Bastard, or a banished fugitiue, he was raised by her Maiesties* meer bounty to the dignitie of an Earle, and stood in authority ranked with the best; nor so onely; but being twice in danger of the capitall crimes (once for a murther, next for vsurping the Title of *O-Neale*) vpon better hopes, of her princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receiue forraine powers, it was thought conuenient to imploy Sir *Iohn Norris* (that famous Warriour) into those parts, with thirteene hundied of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the wars in *Britaine*.

* See *Cambdens Brit. in Ireland.*

Sir *Iohn Norris* sent into *Ireland*.

Tirones first flying out.

(289) *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oen*, fearing least the English would make their nests, where himselfe meant to build, namely in some Castle, at the mouth of *Lough-Earne*, sodainly assailed the fort of *Blacke-Water*, by which the entry lay into his Country, and got it by surrender. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare*, to side with him against his wrongs receiued of the Lord Deputy; yea and at the same instant, to Sir *Iohn Norris* (appointed *Lord Generall*) that hee might be mildly dealt with, and not be driuen headlong vpon the dangerous rockes of disloialty.

Tiroen gets the fort of *Blacke-water*.

(290) But how his loyalty stood affected vnto her Maiesty (his raiser) was well perceiued by the powers which hee retained about him, being alwaies guarded with a thousand horsemen, and sixe thousand two hundred and fourescore foot of *Vlster*, besides two thousand three hūdred of *Conaught*; which euer lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed *Traitors*; the flames of rebellion beganne more violently to burst forth, which for a long time, and not without losse of much bloud could hardly bee quenched: for though the *Lord Generall* were not inferior in strength of men, yet the aduantages of the enemy were such, that the time was rather spent in taking of booties, and friuolous Parlies, then in any memorable exploit; the one part waiting for fitter opportunities, and the other looking euery day for his promised succours from *Spaine*.

He and his adherents proclamed Traitors.

(291) But to spare the effusion of Christian bloud Queen *Elizabeth* who euer minded *Mercy* more then *Iustice*, caused her *Treasurer* & *Chiefe Iusticiar* of that Kingdome, as her *Commissioners* to confer with this discontented Earle, and others his adherents, before whom, *Tir-Oen* complained of wrongs offered him by Sir *Henry Bagnall* Mareschall, aswell to the preiudice of his estate, as of his esteeme with the Queene, the Lord Deputy, Lord Generall, and others, and therupon exhibited a Petition in humble maner containing these requests. That himselfe and all his followers might bee pardoned of their crimes, and bee restored to their former estates; that they might freely exercise their Romish Religion without molestation; that no Garrison Souldiers, Shiriffe, or other Officer should interdeale within the iurisdiction of his Earledome; that the Company of fifty horsemen with the Queenes pay might bee restored to him, in the same State as formerly hee had lead them; that the spoiles of his Country, and people might be punished, and that Sir *Henry Bagnall* should pay him a thousand pound promised in Dowry with his sister, whom *Tir-Oen* had married, and who was now deceased. Others likewise laid out their greeuances conceiued; such were *O-Donell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oge*, *Mac Mahun*, and *Euer Mac-Conley*, who receiued most reasonable answeres to all their demands.

Sir *Henry Wallop*. Sir *Rob. Gardiner*

Propositions made to the Rebels.

(292) But vnto them the Commissioners likewise proposed certain Articles: as, That they should forthwith lay downe their Armes, disperse their Forces, acknowledge submissiuely their disloialties, admit the Queenes officers in their Gouernments, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, suffer the Garrisons to liue without disturbance, make restitutions of spoiles taken, confesse vpon their oath how farre they had dealt with forraine Princes, and finallie to renounce all forraine aide. But these propositions not pleasing the palate of those Rebels, they departed with a resolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which moued *Norris* the *Generall* aided with the Lord Deputy to march with his Army vnto *Armagh*; whose approch (euer dreadful to his enemies) when *Tir-Oen* heard of, in great perplexity hee forsooke the Fort of *Blacke-Water*, set on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dunganon*, with part of his owne house, bewailing his estate to bee past recouery; & was so much dejected in mind, as hee sought nothing else but where to hide his rebellious head.

Preparations against *Tyron*.

(293) The Country now wasted, and no victuals to bee had, *Norris* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthned *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traitor in his owne territories. Which done, hee stayed in *Vlster* without any great deeds of martiall importance, onely *Tir-Oen* to gaine time presented vnto him a fained submission, signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe (a rare and vncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures feet, vngirt his sword, and craued pardon vpon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt he for aides out of *Spaine*, and so far preuailed, as that Messengers were sent from King *Philip*, with capitulations that the King of *Spaine* at a time prefixed should send them a competent Army to ioine with the Irish, that all conditions of peace with the English should be reiected, and that the Rebels should bee furnished with munition from *Spaine*.

(294) Hereupon (though there was a cessation from Armes) hee fell to harry and wast the Country, to burne villages, to driue away booties, and hauing done what hee could or would, as it were pricked in conscience, hee once againe put on the vizard of simulation, and sued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, hee sent the letters of king *Philips* promises vnto the L. Deputy with the causes of his owne discontents, which moued him to doe what he did. And surely such was his dexteritie, or his Destiny, or the English no lesse dangerous, then frequent securitie, negligence and confidence, or the sparing of money by the grand disbursers, or the inbred lenity of the too-clement Queen, that his faire wordes were euer beleeued, and his foule offences pardoned: but whose fault soeuer, most of *Connaught* was now reuolted, all *Vlster* rebellious, onely seuen Castles kept for the Queene.

(295) In which desperate estate, *Thomas* Lord *Burrough*, a man full of courage, was sent Lord *Deputy* into *Ireland*; who no sooner arriued, but *Norris* either crossed by some higher-swaying Powers, or by his fortune in these his proceedings (the seruices there being farre different from those his others, in other parts imployed) through griefe & discontent, (the too vsuall guerdon of many a Noble Seruitor) as was thought ended his life.

(296) The Lord *Deputy* no sooner had receiued the sword, and taken the charge of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but hee made forward to meete with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delayes, which

which commonly increaſe the abilities of the enemie. *Tir-oen* on the other ſide, as boldly made his reſiſtance, and in a dangerous ſeruice encountered him at the *Moiry*, where the Lord *Burrough* by his valour made the way, and moſt valiantly wanne the Fort of *Blackewater*, (repaired and reenforced by the Rebels) the only ſtrength (beſides Woods) that the *Tir-oen* had. To reſcue this Peece, immediately the enemie ſhewed himſelfe: againſt whom *Henry* Earle of *Kildar* preſently marching with a Coronet of horſe, and certaine voluntaries, (gentlemen of the better ſort) where he diſcomfited the enemy, though with loſſe of ſome men of note; as of *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, *Robert Turner* Sergeant Maior, and the two *Foſter-brethren* of the Earle *Kildare*, whoſe deaths hee ſo tooke, as within few daies after himſelfe died for very griefe.

Blackwater again beſieged.

(297) The Fort reenforced with men and munition, and the Lord Deputy vpon ſeruice in other parts; *Tir-oen* now wauering betweene hope, feare, and ſhame, thought beſt to aſſay it by ſiege, as the place of greateſt importance to further his deſignes; for that loſt, hee ſaw his fortunes muſt downe, and thereupon with his ſtrongeſt power, he beleaguered it. The Lord Deputy hearing thereof, prepared ſtraightway to reſcue the place, and marching with full pace and aſſurance of victorie, whether through too forward a minde, diſtemperature of body, aire, or of bogges, arreſted hee was with ſickneſſe, and violently cut off, by vntimely death, leauing to her Maieſty a miſſe in her *Iriſh* Eſtate, and a further ſecurity to the ranging rebelles.

The Lord *Burrough* dieth in *Ireland*.

A.D. 1598.

The Earle of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(298) The gouernment of *Ireland* was then committed to the Earle of *Ormond* vnder the Title of Lieutenant Generall of the Armie, and vnto the Lord Chanceller Sir *Robert Gardiner*; vnto whom *Tir-oen* (after his accuſtomed manner) in a long letter recapitulated his great grieuances, leauing not out the leaſt offence of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffes; his breach of couenants with Sir *Iohn Norris* hee coldly excuſeth, and laid his complaints againſt his enemies (the *Engliſh*) who had intercepted and ſuppreſſed his ſubmiſſion to the Queene, that they had raiſed intolerable impoſitions vpon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the reuenues of *Ireland* was ſhared among Counſelers, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Notaries: by which and other like ouertures, it was manifeſt that hee intended to extirpate the *Engliſh* quite out of *Ireland*.

(299) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort of *Blackewater*; for the raiſing whereof, Sir *Henry Bagnall* (the bittereſt enemy that *Tir-oen* euer had) with fourteene Enſignes of the choiſeſt troopes were ſent, whom the Earle met neere vnto *Armagh*, and beeing egged on with a fretfull deſire of reuenge, bent all his force againſt the Marſhall, where beganne a bloudy conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongſt the thickeſt) whereby *Tir-oen* obtained not onely a ioyous triumph ouer his priuate enemy, but withall went away with a glorious victory ouer the *Engliſh*, who neuer ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland* receiued ſo great an ouerthrow: for therein thirteene valiant Captaines loſt their liues, fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to ſhamefull flight, diſparkled and cut in peeces. Vpon this diſaſter the *Garriſon Souldiers* (hauing with loyall hearts and weapons in hand, vnto extreame famine and exceeding diſtreſſe, held out to the laſt) laſtly ſurrendred the Peece of *Blackwater* vnto the Rebels; by which ouerthrow and ſurrender, the *Iriſh* became furniſhed with armour and munition to maintaine their warres, and *Tir-oen* renowned all the Realme ouer, as their onely *Horatius*, and founder of their freedome.

The *Engliſh* foiled at *Blackwater*

(300) Himſelfe ouer-ioyed with theſe gotten victories, ſwelled aboue meaſure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as ſole Monarch of *Ireland*. Into *Mounſter* hee ſent *Owny Mac-Rory-Og-O-More* with foure thouſand preying rogues, to forrage the Countrey, and the rable that daily reſorted vnto them, burned the houſes of the *Engliſh*, ranſacked their ſubſtance and killed very many; *Iames Fitz-Thomas* one of the family of the *Deſmonds* they ſet vp as Earle of *Deſmond*, yet ſo, that hee ſhould hold as *Tenant in Fee* of the *O-Neale*, (the Earle of *Tir-oen*) and thus after a moneth, when they had kindled this fire and ſet *Mounſter* in a flame, they returned laden with rich booties and ſpoile. *Tir-oen* in the meane time had ſent his letters to King *Philip* of *Spaine*, wherein he ſounded his victories with a full trumpe, aſſuring him that he would heare of no peace with the *Engliſh*, were the conditions neuer ſo indifferent, and would for his part inuiolately keepe his promiſes with the *Spaniſh* King.

(301) In this deſperate eſtate ſtood *Ireland* when Queene *Elizabeth* choſe *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, to bee Lord Lieutenant and Gouernor Generall thereof: a Peere in regard of his approoued wiſdome, fortitude, and fidelity, thought fitteſt to repaire the detriments and loſſes therein ſuſtained, and in ſuch deere eſteeme with his Soueraigne, and intire loue of the people, as the heauens ſeemed to haue framed him for the delight of man. In whom ſhined all ſparkles of true Nobility and Martiall honor, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His commiſſion was large, and authority, and led no leſſe then twenty thouſand complet Souldiers, whereof ſixteene thouſand were foot, and the reſt horſe-men, ſo well furniſhed and prouided, as the like had neuer beene ſeene before in *Ireland*.

Robert Earle of *Eſſex* Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(302) Thus honourably accompanied with the flower of *Engliſh* Gallants, and well-wiſhing acclamations of the people, with a ſtrange thunder-clap in a cleere Sunne-ſhine day, hee ſet forward from *London*, and arriuing in *Ireland* receiued the Sword; where (toward the end of *March*) falling in counſell touching his affaires, it was thought fitteſt by wiſe Statiſts, that *Mounſter* ſhould bee cleared of thoſe petty Rebels lying neerer, and of more validity then the remote *Vlſter*, of ſmall wealth and leſſe account. Whereupon, contrary to his owne opinion formerly deliuered (whiles hee was in *England*) and his directions from her Maieſtie, in *Ireland* hee made firſt into *Mounſter*, and became terrible vnto the Rebelles of thoſe parts, chaſing them before him into the woods, and ſo cleared that Prouince, with more expence of time, and loſſe of men, then was heere well liked by the State.

The Earle of *Eſſex* enters *Mounſter*.

(303) Hence he made into *Leinſter*, againſt the *O-Conors* and *O-Moiles*, who had gathered head and taken Armes againſt their obedience; whom in light skirmiſhes he fortunately vanquiſhed; whence he ſent Sir *Conyers Clifford* Gouernour of *Conaught* one way towards *Bellike*, whilſt hee himſelfe tooke an other way, ſo to diſtract the force of *Tir-oen*. Sir *Conyers* with a power of fifteene hundred ſtrong, marched ouer the Mountaines of *Curlew*, where *O-Rorke* and his Rebels ſuddenly aſſailed them, being out-wearied with trauell, and their powder neere ſpent; in which conflict, amongſt many other ſlaine, Sir *Conyers Clifford* himſelfe, as alſo Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, ſealed the teſtimony of their valours with the loſſe of their liues.

Sir *Conyers Clifford* incountred with and ſlaine.

(304) The Lord Generall hearing of this ouerthrow, made towards *Vlſter*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Louth*, where *Tir-oen*, on the other ſide of the River, from the Hilles made his Brauado. But falling into his wonted vaine of diſſimulation, deſired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which he altogether reiecting, anſwered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, hee ſhould find him the next morning in the head of his troops: on

He enters *Vlſter*.

Septem. 13.

Tir-oen ſueth for Parley but is reiected.

on which day, when after a light skirmish, a horseman of *Tir-oens* troopes, with a loud voice cried, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley vpon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denied him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* sent from *Tir-oen*, met him, and declared that the Earle most humbly desired to haue the Queenes mercy and peace, and withall besought, that his Lordship would be pleased to afford him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee with all reuerence attend him at the Foord of the Riuer not farre from *Louth*.

Essex and *Tir-oen* meet in Parley.

(305) To this lastly the Lord Lieutenant assented; and sent to discouer the place, and bestowing a troope of horse vpon the next Hill, came down alone vnto the Riuer; *Tir-oen* attending on the other side, no sooner saw his approach, but forthwith rode his horse into the Riuer vp to the saddle, and with all semblances of a dutifull respect, most reuerently saluted his Lordshippe: where, hauing had conference the space of an houre, they both returned vnto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Essex*, *Con*, a base sonne of *Tir-oen*, instantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might be admitted to a conference, whervnto his honour condiscended.

A further conference.

(306) And taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham St-Leger*, Sir *Henry Danuers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Constable*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-oen* with his brother *Cormoc*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guir*, *Euer mac Cowley*, *Henry Ouington*, and *O-Quin*, attended their comming. And falling in conference, it was concluded that certaine *Commissioners* should the next day meet for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there should bee a cessation of warres, from sixe weekes to sixe weekes, vntill the first of May: yet so, as it might bee free on both sides, after fourteene daies warning giuen, to resume hostility a fresh. And if any of *Tir-oens* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleasure.

Septemb. 8.

An. D. 1599.

Exceptions against *Essex* his seruices.

(307) But howsoeuer these his proceedings pleased the Marshalists, yet was her Maiestie highly incensed, that such expeditions had beene made without her directions, beeing informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autumme, were spent without seruice vpon the Arch-rebell, that her men were diminished, and large summes of money consumed, without doing that for which he was sent; that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to bee lost: Which his defaults (for so they were apprehended) were (as he conceiued) much aggrauated, by some that were hard against him, in her attentiue eare; vpon which surmize Her Maiesties sharpe letters receiued (though hee had excused his seruice by others whom himselfe sent at the same season) so ouerpressed his troubled thoughts, as leauing his charge to be managed by others, hee made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soueraignes displeasure with satisfaction from his own mouth, and at *Noneuch* had accesse to her presence, where after a short welcome, hee was commanded to his chamber; and soone after was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper.

A.D. 1599. Septem. 28.

October 2.

(308) No sooner almost was the Lord Generall departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-oen* (notwithstanding the cessation from warre) drawing his forces together, addressed himselfe for the Field, vnto whom Sir *William Warren* was sent, to charge him with breach of promise; but he swelling in pride, peremptorily answered, that his doings were according to couenants, hauing giuen warning before, and his cause iust, for that the Lord Lieutenant was committed in *England*, vpon whose honour hee reposed his whole estate; neither would hee haue any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ireland*, in whom (as he said) he neuer found either safety or truth. And thereupon presuming vpon *Spaine*, and giuing it forth that there would bee shortly an alteration in *England*; he sends *O-Donell* into *Conaught*, receiueth tumultuous persons, strengtheneth the weake, and comforteth the distrustfull, glorying euery where that he would restore againe the ancient Religion, and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *English* from thence; to which end, some money and munition were sent him from *Spaine*, with *Indulgences* from *Rome*; and (for an especiall fauour) the Pope sent him a plume of *Phenix* feathers, for a trophey of his victories, as *Vrban* long before him sent a Coronet of Peacocks tailes vnto King *Iohn*, when hee was first inuested Lord of *Ireland*.

The Popes present bestowed on *Tiroen*.

(309) *Tir-oen* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocke like to shew his owne pride and greatnesse by his personall presence, vnder a religious pretext to worship a peece of the wodden Crosse of Christ, reputed to bee kept in the Monastery of the *holy Crosse* in *Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence hee sent out *Mac-Guir* with a number of rifeling robbers, to despoile and prey on the peaceable subiects; with whom Sir *Warham St.-Leger* met, and at the first race with his Lance ranne *Mac-Guir* through the body, and was by him runne through himselfe. Whereupon *Tir-oen* fearing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Mounster* sooner then was expected, or himselfe meant.

(310) At this time *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montioy* (afterwards created Earle of *Deuon-shire*) was sent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with small port and little solemnity, entred vpon the Gouernment, the state of that Countrie lying desperately diseased, and almost past recouery. At his first comming, hearing that *Tir-oen* was to depart *Mounster*, hee hastned to stoppe his passage in *Fereal*, and there to giue him Battell, which the Earle preuented by taking another way, hauing intelligence of the Lord Generals designes; but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himselfe on his March towards *Vlster*, with purpose to driue the Earle to a stand, whiles Sir *Henry Docwra* at *Lough-foile*, and Sir *Matthew Morgan* at *Balosshanon* planted the Garrisons, which they with small adoe effected, and suppressed the Rebelles in diuers ouerthrowes.

The Lord Montioy Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

A. D. 1600. In February.

In May.

(311) The Lord Generall likewise held *Tir-oen* very hard, and with light skirmishes euer put him to the worse, so that hee now perceiuing his fortune to goe bake, withdrew himselfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then entred into *Leasse*, the place of refuge and receit of all the Rebels in *Leinster*, where he slew *Ony-Mac-Rory-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O-Mores*, a bloudy, bold, and desperate yong man: and so chased out the rest of those his rakehels, as that neuer since they were seene in those parts. And although in the commensing of these affaires the *Equinox* was past, and the winter weather begunne in that climate, yet marched he forward to the entrance of *Moyery* three miles beyond *Dondalke*.

(312) The passage into *Vlster* is euery where naturally cumbersome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of stakes stucke in the ground, with hurdles ioyned together, and stones in the midst, with turffes of earth laid betwixt hils, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers: notwithstanding, the *English* brake through those *Pallisadoes*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputy placed a Garrison eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memory of Sir *Iohn Norris*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris*: but to omit many other skirmishes in his returne, that at *Carlingford* was most famous, where the enemies assembled to stoppe his way, were all of them discomfited,

Tiroen againe fals off.

comfited, and put to fearefull flight.

The Glinnes electe of Rebels.

(313) In the midst of Winter hee entred the glinnes, that is, the vallies of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels, where he brought into subiection *Donel Spanioh*, *Phelim Mac-Feogh*, and the *O-Tooles*, of whom hee tooke hostages. Then went he to *Fereall*, and draue *Tirell*, the most approoued warrier of all the Rebels, from his fastnesse, (that is his bogges and bushes,) into *Vlster*; the Territory of *Fernes* he laid waste, spoiled *Fues*, and in *Breany* placed a Garrison, receiuing such into mercie as deliuered vp hostages. Which done, and the Spring approching, he marched to *Vlster*, fortified *Armagh*, and went so farre forward, that he remooued *Tir-oen* from the Fort of *Blackewater*, who had very artificially encamped himselfe there.

The Pope and Spaine busied to hold vp *Tir-oen*.

(314) As the Lord Generall was thus busied to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, so the Pope and *Spaine* studied to hold vp *Tir-oen*, and to maintaine the rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope, Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Clonfort*, the Bishoppe of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a Iesuite. These by praier, and promises of *heauenly rewards*, wonne *Philip* to send succours into *Ireland*, which forthwith hee did, vnder his *Generall Don Iohn D'Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would bee his, as confident of much aid from the titular Earle *Desmond*, and from *Florence Mac-Carty*, a rebell of great might; wherein hee was deceiued; for Sir *George Carew*, Lord President of *Mounster*, had preuented that designe, and sent them prisoners to *England*, where they were kept sure.

Don Iohn De Aquila sent into Ireland.

(315) *Don D'Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards*, all of them old trained Souldiers, with certaine *Irish* Fugitiues, landed at *Kinsale* in *Mounster*, the last of October, and straightwaies published a writing, wherein hee gloriously stiled himselfe with this Title, *Master Generall, and Captaine of the Catholike King in the warres of God, for holding and keeping the faith in Ireland*; indeauouring to make the world beleeue, that Queene *Elizabeth*, by the definitiue sentences of the Popes, was depriued of her Kingdomes, and her subiects absolued and freed from their Oath of allegiance, and that hee was come to deliuer them out of the Diuels iawes, and the *English* tyrannie, vpon which suggestions many distempered and wicked persons beganne to bandy on his side.

October *Vlt.*

Don Iohns Title.

(316) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, hasted to *Kinsale* and encamped neere vnto the Towne on the Land side, whiles Sir *Richard Leuison* with two of the Queenes Shippes inclosed the Hauen, to forbidde all accesse to the *Spaniard*; when from both sides, the thundering Canon played vpon the Towne; but newes beeing brought that two thousand *Spaniards* more were arriued at *Bere-hauen*, *Baltimore*, and *Castle-hauen*, Sir *Richard* was imployed vpon them, in which seruice he sunke fiue of their Ships.

A new supply of Spaniards vnder Alphonso O Campo

(317) Vnto these new landed *Spaniards*, whose Leader was *Alphonso-O-Campo*, *O-Donell* ouer the ice, by speedy iournies and vnknowen by-waies repaired; vnseene of the *English*; and a few daies after *Tir-oen* himselfe, with *O-Raicke*, *Raimund Burke*, *Mac-Mahun*, *Randall Mac-Surley*, *Tirrell* the Barron of *Lixnaw*, and the most selected choice of all the Rebels came vnto them, who mustered together made sixe thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse; all confident of victory, as being fresh, strong, and exceeding in number, where, the *English* were outwearied through winter siege, with scarsity of victuall, and their horse weake with sore trauell.

Tir-oens braueries.

(318) In this hope, *Tir-oen*, vpon an Hill not a mile from the *English* Campe, made a Brauado two daies together, intending to haue put these new supplies of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred *Irish*, by night into *Kinsale*, as by letters intercepted from *Don D'Aquila* did appeare. Which to preuent, the Lord Deputy appointed eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and himselfe with the President of *Mounster*, and the Marshall, at the foot of the Hill, chose out a conuenient plot to giue the Earle battell, who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bag-pipers sounded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to stand in the brincke of a bogge, where there horsemen were disordered and rowted by the Earle of *Clan-Ricard*.

The rebels rowted.

(319) The maine battell then wauering in feare, was violently charged by the Lord Deputy himselfe, who in his directions discharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels not able to withstand his fury, brake their arraies, and in disorder confusedly fled, in whose pursuite many of them felt the reuenging edge of the *English* sword. *Tir-oen*, *O-Donell*, and the rest flung away their weapons, and saued their liues by flight; but *Alphonso O-Campo*, with three other *Spanish* Captaines, and sixe Ensigne-bearers, were taken prisoners, nine of their Ensignes borne away by the *English*, and *twelue hundred of his Spaniards slaine*; such welcome found these new guests in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the intruding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the disloyall *Irish*; so that *Tir-oen* was forced into his starting holes in *Vlster*, *O-Donell* driuen into *Spaine*, and the rest of that rebellious rabble scattered into obscure places, where their best succour was to play least in sight.

Don Alphonso taken prisoner.

The rebels dispirkled.

(320) The Lord Generall, returning to the siege of *Kinsale*, beganne to raise rampires, and to mount his Canons neerer the Towne, wherein sixe daies were spent without any impeach from the *Spaniard*, whose courage being cut by the losse of their fellowes, sought rather how to gette cleare and bee gone, then to aduenture resistance against such a warlike opposer. *D'Aquila* hereupon, sent his letters by his Drumme Maior, to the Lord Deputy, wherein he craued, that some Gentleman of credit might be sent into the Towne, with whom he might Parley for a peace. Whereunto his Lordship inclined, and to that end sent thither Sir *William Godolphin*.

The Spaniards sue for peace.

(321) Vnto whom *D'Aquila* signified, *that hee had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable person; the Irish of no valor, rude and vnciuill, yea and (that which hee sore feared) perfidious and false; That hee was sent from the King of Spaine his Master to aid two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any such in* Rerum natura, *considering that one tempestuous puffe of warre had blowen the one of them into Spaine, and the other into the North, so as they were no more to bee seene: willing therefore hee was to treate about a Peace, that might bee good for the English, and not hurtfull to the Spaniards: albeit hee wanted nothing requisite to the holding out of the Siege, and expected euery day out of Spaine fresh supplies to finde the English worke and trouble enough.*

(322) The matter thus proposed, and the *English* weake and weary through a long Winters siege, the Lord Deputy consented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were these.

January 2.

1 That *Iohn D'Aquila* should quitte the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, aswell in the Towne of *Kinsale*, as the Forts and Castle of *Baltimore*, *Berehauen*, and *Castle-hauen*; and should deliuer them vnto the Lord Deputy, or to whom he should appoint.

Iohn Stow, Conclusions of peace.

2 That *Don D'Aquila* and his *Spaniards* should depart with armes, money, munition, and banners displaied, the Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no armes against the Queene of *England*, till such time as they were vnshipped in some part of *Spaine*,

3 That Shippes and victuals ſhould be granted vnto them in their departure, for their money, and at ſuch reaſonable prices as the Countrey could afford.

4 That if contrary winds inforced them into any other Port of *Ireland*, or elſe into *England*, they might be intreated as friends with ſafety of harbor, and prouiſions neceſſary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a ceſſation ſhould be from warre, a ſecurity from iniuries, and victuall granted at reaſonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for *Spaine*.

6 That the Ships in which they ſhould bee imbarked might freely paſſe by other *Engliſh* Shippes without moleſtation; and the Shippes arriued in *Spaine*, might ſafely returne backe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*: for ſecurity whereof, the ſaid *D'Aquila* ſhould deliuer for hoſtages, ſuch three of their Captaines as the Lord Deputy would chuſe. Vnto theſe Articles *Don Iohn* ſolemnly ſwore on the behalfe of the *Catholike King* his Maſter, and with his hand ſubſcribed his name, *Don Iohn D Aquila*.

(323) The troubleſome cloude of moſt likely dangers, thus diſſolued in *Mounſters* faire Aire, the coaſts of *Ireland* were ſhortly cleared of thoſe forraine intruders, who notwithſtanding their former great bragges, with ſhame and diſhonour embarked themſelues for home, their companies being much empaired, and proud ſpirits brought downe. And now the *Ben-hadad Tir-oen*, who had boaſted all *Ireland* was his, with fearefull flights and by-waies recouered his lurking holes in *Vlſter*: after he had loſt moſt of his men, whom the ſwelling and violently-running Riuers, by reaſon of Winter floods, had ſwallowed vppe; where his traitors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne deſerts, could take no reſt, no not ſo much as to breath without feare, diſtruſting euery ſhadow that hee ſaw, and ſhifting out of one by-corner before he well knew where to find another.

1. *King*. 20.

The guilt and feares of *Tir-oen*.

(324) Meane whiles, the Lord Deputy refreſhed his weary and winter beaten Souldiers, repayred the decaies, and renewed the Garriſons in *Mounſter*; which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the winter ſtormes, towards the ſpring, by a gentle and eaſie march, well appointed, hee returned into *Vlſter*, meaning to belay the Rebell on euery ſide, by planting his Forts, ſo to take him in his toile. Thus beeing approached vnto *Blackewater*, hee tranſported his Armie ouer the Foord vpon floates, vpon whoſe banke, beneath the old Fort, he erected a * new, to ſuch terror of the Arch-rebell, as hee ſet on fire his owne houſe at *Dunganon*, and got himſelfe further from danger; whether the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made ſpoile without any ſpare; the corne fields were deſtroied, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on euery ſide. The Forts in *Logh*, *Crew*, *Lough. Reogh*, and *Mogher Leeowd*, were yeelded vp, and Garriſons placed in *Lough Eaugh* or *Sydney*, and in *Monaghan*, whence with their continuall ſallies, they ſo croſſed the enemies, that ſeeing themſelues inuironed about, and no way open for eſcape, like wilde beaſts they hid their heads in the thickets, forreſts, and woods, muttering complaints againſt their late magnified *Tir-oen*; exclaiming he had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne priuate diſcontents, and that theſe warres, howſoeuer beneficiall to him, yet were they moſt pernicious vnto them, whereupon changing their mindes with their fortunes, beganne a vie, who ſhould be firſt in ſhewing their alteration, by comming in to the Deputy.

* *Charles Mount.*

Great ſpoiles made in *Vlſter*.

The Rebels exclaime againſt the Arch-rebell.

(325) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces ſhaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more ſuſpected, hee once more determined to preuent the worſt, by his ſubmiſſion, which in humble letters he ſent to the Queene, wherein with praiers and teares hee craued pardon of his faults: to ſuch an ebbe was the ſwelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Maieſty (whoſe Nature was Mercy) euer diſtaſtiue of bloud, gaue the Lord Deputy authority to pardon his life, though hardly drawen to remit his offences, they beeing ſo many and great: His friends that affected him, and *Mac Baron* his brother, daily ſolicited the Deputy for his peace, which laſtly, vpon an abſolute promiſe, to put his life and reuenewes, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and at *Melliſont*, accompanied with two perſons and no more, had acceſſe into the *Chamber of Preſence*, where the Lord Deputy ſate in a Chaire of Eſtate, moſt of his Marſhalliſts ſtanding about him.

(326) *Tir-oen*, in baſe and poore array, with a deiected countenance, at the very entrance fell down vpon his knees, and ſo reſted till hee was commanded to ariſe, and come neerer; when ſtepping forward a few paces, hee fell againe proſtrate, and like a moſt humble Supplicant, in words well couched (as cunning hee was both in ſpeech and action) acknowledged his ſinnes againſt God, and fault vnto her Maieſty; and thus beganne his ſubmiſſion to the Lord Generall.

In the royall clemency of my dread Soueraigne and moſt gracious Queene, I doe onely lay the hope and reſt of my now remaining eſtate; vnto whoſe pleaſure I abſolutely remit my life, and whole reuenewes; and doe moſt ſubmiſſiuely deplore mine owne miſery, beſeeching againe her mercy, whoſe bountifull fauours I haue heeretofore, and mighty powers now of late both felt and found, and well hope, that the fountaine of her euerflowing graces are not drawen dry. Let mee (I pray) bee the ſubiect, whereon her mercy may worke, and an example for euer of her mild clemency, both to diuulge her Princelie lenity, and to redeeme in ſome part the honor I haue loſt. For age I am not ſo vnſeruiceable, nor of body ſo vnable, neither in courage ſo dejected, but that my faithfull ſeruice in her behalfe, may expiate and make ſome meaſure of ſatisfaction, for theſe my many and moſt diſloyall rebellions. And yet I may iuſtly complaine, that through the malitious enuy of ſome, I haue beene hardly and vnfriendly dealt with, which may ſomewhat extenuate my crime and offence; for——

But as he was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his ſpeech, and with a fewe words deliuered with great authority, (which in a Marſhalliſt ſtands in ſtead of *Eloquence*) told him, that there was no excuſe to be heard, his crimes were too great; and thereupon commanded him to depart the *Preſence*: which he did with a countenance ſeeming very heauy and ſad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, hee tooke *Tir-oen* thither, meaning to tranſport him for *England*, had not the death of the Queene hindered his deſigne. Theſe things premiſed, and *Ireland* thus recouered that was in hazard to be loſt, let vs returne to our *Engliſh* affaires, from whence theſe *Iriſh* bogges haue detained vs too long.

(327) On what tearmes the Earle of *Eſſex* left *Ireland* we haue already heard, and to what lamentable ſucceſſe the height of his riſe brought him, is now to bee related; wherein hee may be the example of fortunes daliance, and of the vnſtayed felicity had in this life; a man indeede filled with the affection of his Prince & the people, & fraught with honourable habilities to purchaſe both, vntill by his owne vnaduiſedneſſe (for ſo it muſt needs be cenſured) he clouded his honour, wiſdome, and loyalty, with the ſhadowes of his owne diſcontents. Whether his Soueraignes fauours were the wings of his ambitions, or the dependancies of men of warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not cenſure; but that ſome ſecret vnder-workings gaue fire to his paſſionate diſcontents, I doubt not, hauing ſeene his owne letters penned in that behalfe. Howſoeuer,

ſure

ſure it is, the Eie of Ielouſie now laſtly attended him, and his doings were more noted, then was made ſhew of: wherefore, being yet in *Ireland* with an eminent authority, followed with the flower and chiefeſt men of warre, and ſuſpected to be too well reſpected by the Arch-rebell *Tir-one*, it was held good policy (vpon another pretended occaſion) to muſter forces, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant Generall of all England*, which was, the right honorable *Charles Howard* Earle of *Nottingham* Lord high Admirall.

(328) The ſhew of this preparation was a preuenting prouidence (as was pretended) againſt a *Spaniſh* Navy in new rigging for the Seas; and indeed ſuch preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not beene in *England* ſince Queene *Elizabeth* came to the Crowne. For *London* was allotted to furniſh ſixteene Ships to the Seas, and ſix thouſand Souldiers for the Land ſeruice, whereof three thouſand were to reſt euer in a readineſſe, and the other three thouſand (all of them houſeholders) to attend and gard her Maieſties royall Perſon. And out of many Countries adioyning, ſuch numbers of braue horſe and horſemen were gathered, as neuer till then had beene ſeene; the fame whereof was ſo farre ſpred, as neither *Spaine*, nor any other, could haue any heart to make attempt this way.

(329) But the Earle of *Eſſex* arriuing in *England* not onely peaceably, but alſo very priuately and vnaccompanied (as hath beene ſaide) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers cuſtody, was often and ſeriouſly dealt with, by that truly honourable and prouident Statiſt (of whom hee was intirely affected) ſomewhat to decline his lofty ſoaring, leſt in mounting too high, he ſhould melt his waxen wings againſt the hot Sunne, and not to ſuffer the ſore to feſter till it were paſt cure; to which purpoſe alſo he afterward wrote him a letter of pithy and ſapient perſwaſions, out of the abundance of his well-wiſhing heart; the coppy whereof we held worthy to bee heere preſented.

The Lord Keeper to the Earle of Essex Iulie 18. An. 1598.

(330) *My very good Lord. It is often ſeene, that a ſtander by ſeeth more then hee that playeth the game; and for the moſt part euery man in his owne cauſe, ſtandeth in his owne light, and ſeeth not ſo cleerely as hee ſhould. Your Lordſhippe hath dealt in other mens cauſes, and in greate and weighty affaires with great wiſdome and iudgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to contemne or refuſe the aduiſe of any that loueth you, how ſimple ſoeuer. In this order I range my ſelfe; of thoſe that loue you none more ſimple, and none that loueth you with more true and honeſt affection: which ſhall pleade mine excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake, or miſconſter, my words or meaning; But in your Lordſhips honorable wiſdome I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one or other. I will not preſume to aduiſe you, but I will ſhoot my bolt, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too-long continuing of this vnſeaſonable diſcontent you haue ſeene and prooued, by which you may aime at the end. If you hold ſtill this courſe (which hitherto you finde to bee worſe and worſe, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood that the end will bee better. You are not yet ſo farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is ſafe, the progreſſe dangerous and deſperate.*

In this courſe you hold, if you haue any enemies, you doe that for them which they could neuer doe for themſelues. Your friends you leaue open to ſcorne and contempt; you forſake your ſelfe, and ouerthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You giue that courage and comfort to the forreine enemies, as greater they cannot haue. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleaſing newes vnto them, then to heare that her Maieſty and the Realme are maymed of ſo worthy a member, who hath ſo often and ſo valiantly quelled and daunted them. You forſake your Country, when it hath moſt neede of your counſell or helpe. And laſtly, you faile in that indiſſoluble duty which you owe to your moſt gracious Soueraigne. A duty impoſed vpon you, not by nature or policy onely, but by that religious and ſacred band, wherein the diuine Maieſty of almighty God hath by the rule of Chriſtianitie obliged you.

For the foure firſt, your conſtant reſolution may perhaps moone you to eſteeme them as light; but being well weighed they are not light, nor lightly to bee regarded. And for the two laſt, it may bee that the cleerneſſe of your inward conſcience, may ſeeme to content your ſelfe. But that is not enough; theſe duties ſtand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effects be externall action, and when that faileth, the ſubſtance faileth.

This being your preſent ſtate and condition, what is to bee done? what is the remedy? My good Lord I lacke wiſdome and iudgement to aduiſe you; but I will neuer lacke an honeſt true heart to wiſh well, nor (being warranted by a good conſcience) will feare to ſpeake what I thinke.

I haue beginne plainely, bee not offended if I proceede ſo. Bene cedit, qui cedit tempori. *Seneca ſaith well,* Lex ſi nocentem punit, cedendum eſt iuſtitiæ; ſi innocentem, cedendum eſt fortunæ. *The medicine and remedie is, not to contend and ſtriue, but humbly to yeelde and ſubmit. Haue you giuen a cauſe, and yet take a ſcandall vnto you? then all you can doe, is too little to make ſatisfaction. Is cauſe of ſcandall giuen vnto you? yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to ſue, yeelde, and ſubmit, to your Soueraigne, betweene whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requires it as a principall duty and ſeruice to himſelfe; and when it is euident, that great good may enſue of it to your friends, your ſelfe, your Country, and your Soueraigne, and extreame harme by the contrary: there can bee no diſhonour or hurt to yeelde, but in not doing of it, is diſhonour and impiety.*

The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquere your ſelfe, which is the height of true valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honorable actions haue intended. Doe it in this, and God will bee pleaſed, her Maieſtie (I doubt not) well ſatisfied: your Country will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your ſelfe (I mention you laſt, for I know that of all theſe, you eſteeme your ſelfe leaſt) ſhall receiue honour, and your enemies (if you haue any) ſhall be diſappointed of their bitter-ſweete hopes.

I haue deliuered what I thinke, ſimply and truly; and leaue you to determine according to your wiſdome. If I haue erred, it is Error amoris, *not,* Amor erroris. *Conſtrue and accept it (I beſeech you) as I meane it; not as an aduiſe, but as an opinion, to bee allowed or cancelled at your pleaſure. If I might conueniently haue conferred with your ſelfe in perſon, I would not haue troubled you with ſo many idle blots. Whatſoeuer you iudge of this mine opinion, yet bee aſſured my deſire is to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and ſo wiſhing you all honourable happineſſe, I reſt your Lordſhippes moſt ready and faithfull, though vnable, poore friende.*

The Earles Anſwere.

(331) *My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day liuing, whom I would ſooner make a Iudge of any queſtion that did concerne mee, then your ſelfe: yet you muſt giue me leaue to tell you, that in ſome caſes I muſt appeale from all earthly Iudges; and if in any, then ſurely in this, where the higheſt Iudge on earth hath impoſed vpon mee the heauieſt puniſhment, without triall or hearing. Since then I muſt either anſwere your Lordſhips arguments, or forſake mine owne iuſt defence, I will forces mine aking head to doe mee ſeruice for an houre.*

I muſt firſt deny my diſcouragement, which was forced,

to be an humorous diſcontentment, and in that it was vnſeaſonable, and is too long continuing, your Lordſhippe ſhould rather condole with me, then expoſtulate. Naturall ſeaſons are expected here below, but violent and vnſeaſonable ſtormes come from aboue: there is no tempeſt to the paſſionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time ſo vnſeaſonable, as when it lighteth on thoſe that might expect an harueſt of their painefull and carefull labours. Hee that is once wounded muſt feele ſmart till his hurt is cured, or the part ſenſeleſſe; but cure I expect none, her Maieſties heart being obdurate; and be without ſenſe I cannot. But then (you ſay) I may aime at the end. I doe more then aime, for I ſee an end of all my fortunes, and haue ſet an end to all my deſires. In this courſe doe I any thing for mine enemies? when I was preſent, I found them abſolute, and therefore I had rather they ſhould triumph alone, then haue mee attendant vpon their Chariot. Or doe I leaue my friends? when I was a Courtier, I could yeeld them no fruit of my loue to them; now I am an Hermite, they ſhall beare no enuie for their loue to me. Or doe I forſake my ſelfe, becauſe I doe enioy my ſelfe? Or doe I ouerthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of paper walles, which euery puffe of winde blowes downe? Or doe I ruinate mine honor becauſe I leaue following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe marke of the ſhadow of honour? Doe I giue courage or comfort to the forraine enemies, becauſe I reſerue my ſelfe to encounter them, or becauſe I keepe mine heart from baſeneſſe, though I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I giue euery one of theſe conſiderations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I finde my ſelfe iuſtified from offending in any of them. As for the two laſt obiections, that I forſake my Country when it hath moſt need of me, and faile in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my Soueraigne: I anſwere, that if my Country had at this time need of my publike ſeruice, her Maieſtie that gouernes it would not haue driuen me to a priuate life.

I am tied to my Country by two bands; one publike, to diſcharge carefully, faithfully, and induſtriouſly, that truſt that is committed vnto me; and the other priuate, to ſacrifice for it my life and carkaſe which haue beene nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt I am free, being diſmiſſed or diſabled by her Maieſty. Of the other, nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occaſion of performance ſhall offer it ſelfe, but I will meete it halfe way. The indiſſoluble duety which I owe to her Maieſty, is the duetie of alleagiance which I will neuer, nor can faile in; the duetie of attendance is no indiſſoluble duety. I owe her Maieſty ſeruice of an Earle, and of a Marſhall of England. I haue beene contented to doe her the ſeruice of a Clerke, but can neuer ſerue her as a villaine, as a ſlaue. But yet (you ſay) I muſt giue way to time: ſo I doe, for now I ſee the ſtorme come, I haue put my ſelfe into the harbour. Seneca *ſaith, wee muſt giue way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind and ſtrong, and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I can. You ſay the remedy is not to ſtriue, I neither ſtriue nor ſeeke for remedy, but I muſt yeeld and ſubmit: I can neuer yeeld my ſelfe to bee guilty, or this impoſition lately laide vpon me, to be iuſt: I owe ſo much to the Author of truth, as I can neuer yeeld truth to be falſhood, or falſhood to be truth. Haue I giuen cauſe (you aske) and take a ſcandall? No, I gaue not cauſe to take vp ſo much as* Fimbrius *his complaint, for I did* totum telum corpore accipere. *I patiently beare all, and ſenſibly feele all that I then receiued. When this ſcandall was giuen mee, nay, when the vileſt of all indignities are done vnto mee, doth* Religion *enforce me to ſerue? doth God require it? is it impiety not to doe it? why? cannot Princes erre? cannot ſubiects receiue wrong? is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon mee my Lord, I can neuer ſubſcribe to theſe principles: but* Salomons *foole laughes when he is ſtricken: Let theſe that mean to make their profite by Princes faults, ſhew to haue no feare of Princes iniuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite abſolutenes in earth, that doe not beleeue in an abſolute infinitenes in heauen. As for me, I haue receiued wrong, I feele it, my cauſe is good I know it. And whatſoeuer come, all the powers on earth can neuer ſhew more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, then I can ſhew in ſuffering, whatſoeuer ſhall be impoſed vpon me.*

Your Lordſhip in the beginning of your letter made your ſelfe a looker on, and mee a player of mine owne game; ſo you may ſee more then I: but you muſt giue mee leaue to tell you in the end of mine, that ſince you but ſee and I ſuffer, I muſt of neceſſity feele more then you. I muſt craue your Lordſhips patience, to giue him that hath a crabbed fortune leaue to vſe a crabbed ſtile. But whatſoeuer my ſtile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordſhip, then that of your Lordſhips poore friend

R. Essex.

(332) The diſtempered humor diſcouering it ſelfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his ſetled diſcontent, and the danger of giuing way to violent paſſions, which not onely depriue the wiſeſt of the vſe of their owne vnderſtanding, but alſo blinde their eyes that they cannot ſee, nor apprehend the benefite of other mens faithfull counſels. Notwithſtanding, it pleaſed her gracious Highneſſe (whom he ſo cenſureth as wronging him, for lending a more attentiue eare to his enemies ſuggeſtions, then to his owne ſatisfactions) firſt, to remitte his durance to his owne houſe, and then loth to looke into his faults but with her princely eye of fauour to proceed vnto ſome moderate cenſure of his actions, to the end hee might ſee his owne errors, and ſhee ſo limit his power as her owne might be ſecured. *Eſſex* comm. ded to his owne houſe.

(333) To which end ſhee aſsigned certain of her Priuy Councell to conuent him concerning the breaking of his former inſtructions for the North-Iriſh proſecution, and the manner of his treating with *Tir-Oen*, his comming from Ireland, and leauing that Kingdome contrary to her Maieſties expreſſe commandement, ſigned vnder the Royall Hand and Signet. Whereunto his anſwere was, that the State of Warre held it a *Maxime*, to make good the *Stand* before the *Remoue*, and that it was one thing at Table to direct, but another thing in field to effect, eſpecially in Ireland, whoſe war was with *Boggs* and *Woods*, aſwell as with *Men*. And to the reſt of the obiections hee anſwered with ſuch obedient diſcretion, and loyall ſubmiſsion, as hee well ſatisfied the Honourable preſence, onely a ſuſpenſion from the exerciſe of ſome of his Offices was decreed, vntill her Maieſties pleaſure ſhould otherwiſe order it. Shortly after hee was ſet at full liberty; the Queene ſending him word that ſhee well hoped his ſureſt guard would now bee his owne diſcretion. *Eſſex* ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his offices.

(334) But ſeeing his wonted greatneſſe reſtrained, though the ſcope of his liberty was thus farre enlarged, he preſently mounted higher with the winges of diſcontent: for depriued of Offices, neglected in Court, and all his forraine ſeruices powred into her Maieſties lappe, was now (as he imagined) there wrapped vp, and laide in obliuion. Neither were theſe his grieuances leſſened by his military followers, who dayly watred theſe ill ſet plants with their exaſperated complaints, till they were ſprung to ſome height, and ſtill to nouriſh their ſappe, many proiects were caſt, and conferences held how to lop off other branches, which as they feared would hinder their growth, til laſtly, at *Drury* houſe they agreed on the manner (O had it withered before it had blowmed, or died in the graffing before it tooke ſappe) which was by violent hand to bring the Earle into her Maieſties preſence, and to remoue from her ſuch as they deemed his oppoſites. The conference at *Drury* houſe.

(335) The frequent aſſembly vnto *Eſſex* houſe by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others, was preſently obſerued by the Statiſts in Court, to ſtoppe the current of which confluence before it grew to a floud, Secretary *Herbert* was ſent from her Maiſty to require him to repaire before the Lords of her Councell, then aſſembled at *Salisbury* Court, which hee excuſing with ſickneſſe, neglected to do, and the ſame night vpon ſome ſiniſter reports ſet

set a double watch about him, pretending some danger to bee meant to his person. For whose defence the next morning (being Sunday) many repaired vnto his house, among whom, as chiefe were the Earles of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sandes* and *Monteagle*, accompanied with a Troupe of gallant Gentlemen their followers.

Feb. 8.

(336) Her Maiesty hearing of these disorderlie proceedings, in her princely wisdome thought to cast water vpon this begunne fire, before it brake forth into flame, and thereupon sent foure men of much honour vnto his place, to offer him iustice for any griefes, and to command the assembly to depart. The persons sent were the *L. Keeper of the great Seale*, the Earle of *Worcester*, Sir *Francis Knowles* his vncle, and the Lord *Chiefe Iustice of England*, all of them in high honour and fauour with the Earle himselfe.

The Queen sendeth foure of her Councell vnto the Earle of Essex.

(337) These comming to his house without *Temple-barre*, were receiued in themselues, but scarse any of their seruants suffered to follow, excepting the Bearer of the Purse and Seale, where finding the Court full of those his followers, the Lord Keeper putting off his hatte, tolde them that *they were sent by her Maiesty to vnderstand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them know, that if they had any particular cause of griefe against any person whatsoeuer, they should haue hearing and iustice.* The Earle of *Essex* answered that his life was sought after, and that hee had beene perfidiously dealt withall. To which the Lord Chiefe Iustice replyed, that if any such matter was attempted, it was fitte for him to declare it, assuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Maiesty would doe him iustice. Which promises the Lord *Keeper* seconded, and desired the Earle to declare his griefes, if not openly, yet in priuate, and he doubted not but to procure him full satisfaction, & then turning towards the multitude, with a louder voice said; *I do command you all vpon your alleageance to lay down your Weapons, and to depart.* Whereupon the Earle himselfe went into his Booke-chamber, these foure Councellors following him in hope of priuate conference; but so farre off was hee from hearing them further, or answering to their demands, that leauing them there vnder sure custody, hee returned to his other attendants.

The Earles answere.

A.D. 1600. Sunday, Feb. 8.

(338) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee made into *London*, his followers crying, that the Earle of *Essex* should haue beene murthered by *Cobham*, *Cecill* and *Rawley*, all men amased what this did meane. Thus past he from *Ludgate* through *Cheapeside*, into *Fan-church street*, where hee entred the house of a * supposed friend (then one of the Shiriffes) who seeing the multitude, auoided himselfe out at a backe-dore, when presently in diuers parts of the City *Essex* was proclaimed a Traitor, to the no lesse griefe of the Citizens, then feares of his followers, and thence returning with a Halbert in his hand, and a Table-napkin about his necke, came into *Gracious street*, where a while hee made his stand, (the Lord Maior and others being assembled at the vpper end towards *Leaden-hall*) no one Citizen or seruant shewing him any signe of assistance. The ease so desperate, one of the principall offenders contriued how by redeeming his fault, to saue his owne life; who hastening into the *Strand* to *Essex-house*, and comming to Sir *Iohn Dauis*, as being sent from the Earle, gat release of the foure Counsellors, vnder whose guard they had beene hitherto kept.

Essex entreth into London.

Thom. Smith.

F. G.

(339) *Essex* now dispairing of all succours in *London*, saw it was booteless there to make his abode, & therefore retired againe towards *Paules*, meaning to passe *Ludgate* the way that he came, but being resisted by a company of Pikemen, and other forces, made by that stout and noble Prelate, the then Lord Bishoppe of *London*, hee was put backe, Sir *Christopher Blunt* sore hurt, and young *Tracy* slaine; besides some others on the Queenes part, himselfe narrowly escaping, being thrust through the hatte with a pyke. So hence againe returning, at Queene Hiue hee tooke boate, bidding the City and his fortunes adue.

He returneth, & is forced from Ludgate.

Taketh boat and fortifieth his house in Strand.

(340) His enterprise thus frustrate, with a mind distracted hee rowed vp the riuer, and landed at the Water-gate of his owne house; which hee presently fortified; and the Lord Admirall assaulted; suffering notwithstanding the Countesse of *Essex*, the Lady *Rich* and their Gentlewomen to depart; which done, hee forced the Garden euen to the walles of the house. Some resistance was made, and some persons slaine vpon either part, which the Earle perceiuing, presently yeelded, desiring onely that hee might bee ciuilly vsed, and that hee might haue an honourable triall; and so being first brought to *Lambeth-house*, where an howre or two he remained with the Lord Archbishoppe (his euer most louing, but then most mournefull friend) was thence with some other Lords and Gentlemen conuaied by water to the Tower, about tenne of the clocke the same night: hauing then experience, that *vaine is the loue of the Commons to a Subiect (how great soeuer) when it is counterballanced with the dutiful obedience vnto their Prince.*

(341) Vpon the nineteenth of the same moneth, the Earle of *Essex* and *Southampton* were arraigned at *Westminster*, the Lord *Buckhurst Lord high Treasurer of England* beeing made *Lord Steward* for the day, where the great resolution of the one, contemning death, and the sweet temper of the other well deseruing life, did breed most compassionate affections in all men, hearing the sentence of law to passe vpon them. The one of them remained prisoner in the Tower during the raigne of the Queene, and by the gracious clemency of our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames* at his comming to the Crowne, had pardon of life, and restauration of bloud, the other (*Essex*) the fiue and twentith of February being *Ashwednesday*, suffered vpon the Greene within the Tower, rendring his soule to God with a most penitent and Christian constancie, whose last speeches were to this effect.

Essex arraigned and condemned.

Is executed.

(342) "My Lords and Christian brethren, who "are present witnesses of my iust punishment, I "confesse (to Gods glory) my selfe a most wret- "ched sinner, and that my sinnes in number ex- "ceed the haires of my head; that good which I "would haue done, that did I not, and the euill "which I would not, that did I. For all which I "beseech my Sauiour Christ to bee a Mediator to "his Father my God, especially for this my last "sinne, this great, this crying, this bloudy, this "infectious sinne, wherein, through loue of mee, "so many haue beene drawen to offend God, their "Soueraigne, and the world. I beseech God, her "Maiesty, and the State, to forgiue vs; and I be- "seech him to blesse her with a prosperous raigne, "with a wise and vnderstanding heart, to blesse the "Nobles and Ministers of the Church and State. "I likewise beseech you, and all the world, to hold "a charitable opinion of mee, for my intention "towards her Maiesty, whose death (I protest) "I neuer meant, nor any violence towards her Per- "son. I thanke God, I neuer was Atheist, in not "beleeuing the Scriptures: neither Papist, trusting "in my owne merits; but am assured to bee saued "by the mercies and merits of Christ Iesus my "Sauiour. This faith I was brought vp in, and "heerein I am now ready to dye; beseeching you "all to ioyne your soules with mee in praier, that "my soule may bee lifted vp by faith, aboue all "earthly things; and first I desire forgiuenesse of "all the world, euen as freely, as from my heart I "forgiue all the world.

His speech at death.

(343) And then kneeling downe saide, I haue beene diuers times in places of danger, where death was neither so present nor so certaine, and yet euen then I felt the weaknesse of my flesh, and therefore now in this last and great conflict, I desire Gods as-

* See this his praier and other his speeches at large in *Stowes Annals p.*1406.

siſtance by his preſeruing Spirit. And ſo with *a moſt heauenly praier, and faithfull conſtancy, (as if his ſoule were then already in heauenly fruition) hee humbled himſelfe to the blocke, and ſpreading abroad his armes (the ſigne that he had giuen to his headſ-man) his head was with three ſtrokes of the Axe ſeuered rom his body, to the great heauineſſe of all men, appearing as well by their countenances, as ſpleene againſt his Executioner, who was in danger of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriffes aſſiſted him to his home.

Others executed

(344) For acceſſaries and chiefe Counſelors in this offence, died at *Tyborne*, Sir *Gilliam Merricke* Knight, and *Henry Cuffe* (for his exquiſite learning much bewailed of all men) and fiue daies after them, vpon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, were beheaded Sir *Charles Dauers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* Knights. And before any of theſe, *Thomas Lee* a Captaine was executed, for words ſpoken touching the Earle of *Eſſex* his deliuerance, to mooue, or rather to inforce the Queene thereunto, as his words were conſtrued, who neuertheleſſe confidently tooke his death, that hee neuer had thought of any violent attempt.

The griefe conceiued for the Earle of *Eſſex* his death.

(345) As the death of this Noble-man was much lamented by the ſubiects, (whoſe loue towards him was ſo ingrafted, as I thinke, I may well ſay, neuer ſubiect had more,) ſo her Maieſty likewiſe, hauing ſuch a Starre fallen from her firmament, was inwardly mooued, and outwardly oftentimes would ſhew paſſions of her griefe, euen till the time of her approching end, when two yeeres after ſhee laide downe her Head in the Graue, as the moſt reſplendent Sunne ſetteth at laſt in a Weſterne cloud.

A briefe ſhadow of Queene *Elizabeths* due praiſes.

(346) The ſtate of which *Great Queene* throughout the whole courſe of her moſt flouriſhing raigne, was (as in part you haue ſeene ſhadowed already) ſo beautified and ſtrengthened with all honorable perfections, both of *Peace*, and *Warre*, as neuer any Monarch raigned with greater obſeruance of her owne, nor ruled with a more obſerued magnanimity toward forraine Nations: inſomuch, as if her incomparable vertues and praiſes were truly and exactly deſcribed (a worke worthy ſome noble ſpirit and penne) wee are verily perſwaded, that future ages will ſomewhat ſtagger and doubt, whether ſuch celebration of her, were not rather affectionately Poeticall, then faithfully Hiſtoricall.

Her ſway and eſteemation in forraine Counties.

(347) For, the great affaires of *Europe* mainely depended vpon her directions, who ſitting at the Helme of the Shippe (as *Fronto* ſpake of *Antoninus* the Emperour) arbitrated and guided their Eſtates both in peace and warre: *Spaine*, ſeeking to ouerflow all, was beaten backe, and ſcarcely able to maintaine her owne bankes: In *France*, the houſe of *Valoys* vnder-propped by her counſell; that of *Bourbons*, aduanced by her countenance, forces, and treaſure; *Scotland* releeued by her loue; *Neatherlands* by her power; *Portingals* King by her bounty; *Poland* by her commiſeration; likewiſe *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sueueland*, often tooke vp and laide downe Armes at her becke and diſpoſe. Neither could the vtmoſt bounds of *Europe*, (the *Ruſsians* and *Tartars*) containe the limits and extent of her great fame; but that the ſame pierced further into the remoter parts of *Aſia*, *Africa*, *America*, among the *Turkes*, (whoſe great Emperour, in honour of ſo great a *Mediatreſſe*, granted peace vnto the *Polomans* outworne with warres,) among the *Perſians*, *Barbarians*, *Indians*, and where not? In moſt of whoſe Dominions to the great enriching of her Kingdome, ſhee ſetled commerce for encreaſe of merchandize, and got large priuiledges for encouragement of her Merchants, whom ſhe cheriſhed as a moſt neceſſary and important part of her Weale Publike.

Her Princely qualities.

(348) Who, for her royall actions and Princely qualities of Minde (ſeated alſo in ſuch a Body as for ſtate, ſtature, beauty, and Maieſty, beſt befitted an Empreſſe,) may be ſingled out for an *Idea* of an abſolute Prince, her *Sex* onely excepted, which yet made her vertues more remarkable, as beeing (and ſo reputed by Strangers) of all the Princes of her time, the moſt exact obſeruer (both for *Action* and *Ceremony*,) of true Regall deportment and magnificence. For her enterprizes as fortunate as *Caſar*, for life, loue, wiſdome, and magnanimity, another *Auguſtus*; by her peaceable raigne ſhutting the Temple of Warre in *England* (whiles all Nations round about her felt the miſeries of warre) as hee did the doores of *Ianus* in *Rome*. And yet had ſhee Warriers like vnto the Worthies of *Dauid*; her forraine imployments, Nauigations, and Diſcoueries, hauing bred ſuch numbers of moſt renowned Captaines, both for Sea and Land, as none of our former Princes hath ſeene the like. With which neceſſary kinde of noble Seruitors, that her owne Kingdome might bee alwaies munified (as foreſeeing the vncertainties and ſudden changes in the Peace-pretending amities of forraine Princes,) ſhee euer imploied many of her Gentry and others, in the warres of Princes abroad, ſo to perfect them for all occurrents of their Country at home; which alſo induced her (ſome Statiſts haue thought) to ſuffer that long lingring protraction of her *Iriſh* warres, the rather, to keepe in vre and exerciſe, the skill and valour of her *Engliſh*. By which meanes, the ſpreading fame and * extent of her Empire was ſuch, that ſhee might ſeeme a ſecond *Traian*, who laide the circuite of the *Romans* the largeſt; hauing not onely ſo powerfull a Nauy ſtill in readineſſe, as whereby ſhee attained the Soueraignety of the Sea, but ſo famous Sea-men alſo, as that, vnder her auſpicious Raigne, * twice was the whole Globe of the Terreſtriall World ſailed round about.

Her Military prouidence.

* *Virginia* made an Engliſh Colonie 1585. *Guiana*, &c.

* By *Drake* and *Candiſh*.

(349) Neither leſſe was her renowne for thoſe other vertues which are the attendants of *Peace*; her *Clemency*, *Iuſtice*, and * *Temperance*: touching the laſt of which, as in one kind (of her diet and priuate life,) King *Edward* her brother vſually called her, his *Lady Temper*: ſo of another kinde of *temperance* in this learnedeſt of Queenes, the * *learneſt of Kings* hath giuen this memorable teſtimony, that when as *France* (part of her Royall Title) was in ciuill warres, *Spaine* (her mortall Enemie) enfeebled both in power and purſe, *Netherland* ambitious of her gouernment, and *Scotland* ruled by an Infant, yet in ſuch abundance both of meanes, opportunities, and prouocations, ſo ſuperabundant was her moderation and temper, that ſhee euer religiouſly abſteined from all ambitious deſire of encrochment, on the rights or territories of any her neighbour Princes. Beeing in this, and thoſe other her vertuous actions, ſuch, as of whom that which was ſpoken of *Antoninus Pius* may more truly bee verified, that ſcarcely, *in youth ſhee did any thing raſhly, or in her age indiſcreetly*; ſcarcely, I ſay: for as a *Creature*, wee cannot exempt her from all frailties, as a *Woman*, from paſſions, or as a *Prince*, from all errors, whereinto, euen againſt her owne naturall inclination, ſhe might be drawen, either on miſinformation, or on opinion of neceſſity in the State. For her *Court*, it was not onely a frequent Academie, of as Honourable *Councellors*, Illuſtrious *Peeres*, Gallant *Courtiers*, Learned *Profeſſors*, Intelligent *Statiſts*, as euer attended any Chriſtian Prince; but alſo a Nurſery, where yongue Nobles and others might bee trained vp to the managing of greateſt affaires, and a *Sanctuary* where the meaneſt might finde releeſe againſt the mightieſt; becauſe as the Wiſeſt in her Counſell were content to learne wiſdome from her directions, ſo the Greateſt were drawen to practiſe Equity, both by her example and command. Yea, which is more admirable in her *Sex*, ſo reſerued was ſhee from giuing any man too-much intereſt, or being lead and ouerſwaied by any of her Great-ones about her, that they all ſtood in a reuerent awe of her very preſence and aſpect; but much more of her leaſt frowne or checke, wherewith ſome of them, who

Her Temperance.

* King *Edward* the Sixt vſed to call her, his *Lady Temperance*.

* King *Iames* his ſpeech to the Parliament.

Her Court.

Her Counſell.

Her awe.

who thought they might best presume of her fauor, haue bene so suddenly daunted and Planet-stricken, that they could not lay downe their griefe thereof but in their graues. A thing so much the stranger, considering otherwise her incomparable meekenesse and gracious countenance and demeanours towards her people, who neuer satiated with her sight and presence, were no otherwise affected with ioy and wondering thereat, (though they beheld her neuer so often) then if they had beheld some Angelicall creature.

Her Meeknesse.

Her loue amongst her subiects.

(350) These *Soueraigne Arts* of Maiesticall rule, were maruellously polished and perfected by her exquisite learning, and insight in the *Arts Liberall*: for which if the Emperour *Hadrian* bee so highly commended, much more must this *learned Empresse*, who further to perfect her solid knowledge, read euery Author in his owne Originall, and answered most Nations Ambassadours in their owne languages. Yea, so farre was shee deuoted to learning and the professors thereof, that in honour of it, and them, shee purposely went to the Vniuersity of *Oxford* twice, and once to *Cambridge*, at each time there spending many whole daies together, at the Academicall Exercises, and disputations of their chiefest learned men in all faculties. In both which noble Academies, shee left not onely the deare remembrances of her gracious loue, deliuered to them publikely in her Princely and Eloquent Orations, but much more testified in her Princely bounty, by enacting a law for the doubling (almost) of the yeerely reuenewes of all their noble foundations. Thus spent shee her time & cares in cherishing wisdome in others, and like *Sabaes* Queene seeking to encrease it in her selfe, esteeming a day spent otherwise (as *Titus* was wont to say of himselfe) quite lost. For which purpose euery day all other affaires laide away, shee set apart some howres, either to reade, or heare her learned Readers; one of which number, (a * man of excellent learning) professed, that her Instructers as oft as they came to her presence about such employments, receiued such admirable documents from her, that they seemed rather to learne of her, then to bring learning to her; and that the learnedest Authors, as *Diuine Plato*, and the like, were made more diuine by the learned Commentaries which shee wrote vpon them. In which respects, both of noble actions and arts, well may she bee paralelled with that euer-renowned *Zenobia*, who hauing both perfectly read the Roman Story in Greek, and also herselfe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Orientall* history, thereby attained to so high a pitch of wisdome and authority, that shee not onely insulted vpon the *Romans*, but held the *Arabians*, *Sarazens*, *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractable people in such obedience, that they neuer durst stirre against her.

Regina in liberalium omnibus Disciplinis, rarissimo omnibus seculis exemplo, erudita; verum Scriptorum tum Græcorum, tum Latinorum libros consuetudinem tenere, &c. Præfix. Comment. in Iob.

Her Languages. Her fauor to the Learned.

Her Learning.

Her Studiousnes.

* Sr Henry Sauill knat. habit. coram Regina Oxon.

(351) But amongst her volumes (which were very many and choisest) the *Booke of God* was first in her esteeme, nor last in her readings: the pious fruites whereof shined brightly throughout the whole course aswell of her priuate life, as publike actions. In her *Priuate*; Piety, Sobriety, Purity, Charity, and Chastity (maugre the venemous tongues of all *Hell-borne Slanderers*) were her vnseparable Companions, neuer suffering any Lady to approch her sacred presence, of whose staine she had but the least suspition. For the *Publike*, the distressed shee releeued, the oppressed shee succoured, the ouer-borne Princes shee aided, the proud shee amated, and alwayes ouermastered to her lasting memory, and *Englands* glory. But most especially shined her *zeale* to God (on whose onely *Prouidence* and reflexe of her owne vnstained *Conscience*, shee reposed against all affronts of the world) in preseruing his true Church and worship, both from the pollutions of *Idolatry*, and frenzies of *Nouelists*; her Kingdome being a receptacle, and Court a Sanctuary for the banished *Protestants*; as was the Pallace of *Constantius* (the husband of our *Helena*) for the persecuted *Christians*, when hee sate *Emperour* of the *West* in this Iland of *Britaine*. Whereby as in her life time shee attained to be * styled by forraine Churches; so at her death was shee by them generally lamented, as the *Nursing mother of the French, Dutch, Italian, Exiles for Christs name, & the vnconquered Defendaresse of the whole true Christian Religion.*

Her Pietie.

Priuate.

Publike.

Beze in Ep. præfix Comment. in Iob.

(352) Thus shee liued, raigned, and dyed, in Peace, and full of glorie, celebrated by the tongues and pennes of the rarest spirits of all Nations (yea euen enemies) of her time: till lastly the God of Peace called her to a farre higher glory, by his vnpartiall messenger death, who seized on her at her Manour of *Richmond*. Her sickenesse was accompanied with a deepe melancholy, wherein, as shee gaue signes of death vnto the learned Physitians, so great assurance of her eternall life, vnto all the worthy Prelates emploied about her: manifesting (euen when silence oppressed her tongue) by liuely signes at their praiers and speeches, how she reioyced with the Apostle, that she *had fought a good fight, finished her course, and kept the faith, hoping for the Crowne of righteousnesse, that the Lord the righteous Iudge had laid vp for her against that great day.* And so her Soule departed this flesh (the earthen vessell wherein so many heauenly endowments had beene treasured) beeing borne vp by the Angels vnto the fruitions of endlesse blisse, the twentie fourth of March, the yeere of Saluation 1602. of her owne age, sixty nine, sixe moneths, and seuenteene daies, and of her glorious Raigne the fourty fourth yeere, foure moneths, and seuenth day; as well beloued and as much lamented as euer was Prince; admired, fauoured, and feared, as the worlds wonder and heauens darling: being the last in order of those Monarchs who had long raigned ouer the South-part of this Island, and the greatest in fame that euer ruled before her, as if all their vertues had made a confluence in her, that so glorious a Monarchy might not haue end but with so glorious a period.

L. Whitgift Arch-Bishop of Cant. L. Bancroft Bishop of London, L. Watson Bishop of Chichester. D. Parry now Bishop of Worcester and others.

Her disease.

Her Age.

Her Raigne.

(353) Her body was embalmed, wrapped in lead, and brought vnto *White-Hall*, from whence (her Statue beeing made according to life, in her Parliament Robes with a Crowne on the Head, and Scepter in the Hand) it was vpon Thursday the twenty eight of Aprill, carried in a Charriot (drawen by foure Horses) couered with Purple Veluet, attended vpon by the Nobility, and with solemnities befitting so great a Prince, brought into the Collegiate Church of St. *Peters* at *Westminster*, was there enterred in the Vault of her Grand-father *Henry the Seuenth*, in his most magnificent and beautifull Chappell; where our renowned Soueraigne, *King Iames*, in admiration of *Her* rare vertues and excellencies, hath built *Her* (neere the place of her Sister Queene *Maries* Buriall) a Princely Monument, inscribed with these ensuing Epitaphes of her *Greatnesse*, and the Actions of her Raigne, to the propagating of her renowne vnto all succeeding ages.

Her Funerall.

Memoriæ Sacrum.

RELIGIONE AD PRIMÆVAM SINCERITATEM RESTAVRATA, PACE FVNDATA, MONETA AD IVSTVM VALOREM REDVCTA, REBELLIONE DOMESTICA VINDICATA; GALLIA MALIS INTESTINIS PRÆCIPITI SVBLEVATA, BELGIO SVSTENTATO, HISPANICA CLASSE PROPLIGATA, HIBERNIA PVLSIS HISPANIS, ET REBELLIBVS AD DEDITIONEM COACTIS PACATA, REDITIBVS VTRIVSQVE ACADEMIÆ LEGE ANNONARIA PLVRIMVM ADAVCTIS, TOTA DENIQVE ANGLIA DITATA, PRVDENTISSIMEQVE

SIMEQVE ANNOS XLV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIVMPHATRIX, PIETATIS STVDIOSISSIMA, FOELICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTVAGENARIA SOLVTA, MORTALES RELIQVIAS DVM CHRISTO IVBENTE RESVRGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA CELEBERRIMA AB IPSA CONSERVATA, ET DENVO FVNDATA, DEPOSVIT.

Obijt xxiiij. Martij, Anno salutis MDCII. Regni XLV. Ætatis LXX.

Memoriæ Æternæ.

ELIZABETHAE ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REGINAE, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIAE, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PRONEPTI, PATRIAE PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET BONARVM ARTIVM ALTRICI, PLVRIMARVM LINGVARVM PERITIA, PRAECLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORIS DOTIBVS REGIISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVPRA SEXVM

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI

IACOBVS MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HAERES, BENE MERENTI PIE POSVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VRNA, HIC OBDORMIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS.

Sacred vnto Memorie.

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITIE RESTORED; PEACE THROVGHLY SETLED; COINE TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBELLION AT HOME EXTINGVISHED; FRANCE, NEERE RVINE BY INTESTINE MISCHIEFES, RELEEVED; NETHERLAND SVPPORTED; SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, VVITH SPANIARDS EXPVLSION AND TRAITORS COERCION, QVIETED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES REVENEVVES, BY A LAVV OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGMENTED; FINALLY, ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND XLV. YEERES MOST PRVDENTLY GOVERNED: ELIZABETH, A QVEENE, A CONQVERESSE, A TRIVMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY, THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LXX. YEERES OF HER LIFE, QVIETLY BY DEATH DEPARTING, HATH LEFT HERE (IN THIS MOST FAMOVS COLLEGIAT CHVRCH, VVHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND RE-FOVNDED) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRISTS CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

She died xxiiij. of March, the yeere of Salvation MDCII. of her Raigne XLV. of her Age LXX.

For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAVGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO K. HEN. THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO K. ED. THE IIII. THE MOTHER OF THIS HER COVNTREY; THE NVRSE OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OF VERY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOVS ENDOVVMENTS AS VVELL OF MIND AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX,

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE:

IAMES OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SO VVELL DESERVING, PIOVSLY HATH THIS ERECTED.

CONSORTS BOTH IN THRONE, AND IN GRAVE, HEERE REST VVE TVVO SISTERS, ELIZABETH AND MARIE, IN HOPE OF OVR RESVRRECTION.

IAMES,

King Iames.

IAMES, OF THAT NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST MONARCH OF THE VVHOLE ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME HIS MOST GLORIOVS CROVVNE, THE KINGDOMES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, GODS IMMEDIATE VICEGEREND, SVPREAME HEAD OF ALL PERSONS, AND DEFENDER OF THE ANCIENT AND TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THESE HIS EMPIRE AND DOMINIONS. HIS PEACEABLE ENTRANCE, AND MOST HAPPIE BEGVN RAIGNE.

Monarch 1.

The Tenth Booke.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1602.

BEfore the conceiued ſorrowes, for the death of the late renowned *Queen* could fully be diſſolued into teares, or thoſe get paſſage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was ſtopped with a ſodaine ioy, and all faces cleared, before that ſad penſiueneſſe had therein ſet her full print. The ſtate of *England* ſtãding that day, like vnto that of *Iudahs*, wherin the foundation of the *ſecond Temple* was laid, whoſe ancient men mourned, as doubting the glory thereof could not be anſwerable to that of *Salomons*; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from God, THAT THE GLORIE OF THE LATER SHOVLD SVRMOVNT THE FORMER, ſo all *Engliſh hearts* by a diuine bleſſing from God were preſently chered, when they ſaw their *morning ſtarre* ariſe in the *North*, whoſe

Exra. 3.12.

Hag. 2.4. The ioy of the Engliſh for the Scottiſh Kings entrance.

Pole with *His* attractiue *power*, long before had drawne the *Needle* of the *Southerne Compasse* vnto that *One* point.

March 24. (2) Immediately vpon the death of the *Queene*, the Lords of the Land gaue full satisfaction vnto the people, in proclaiming IAMES THE SIXT, *King* of *Scotland*, by the name of IAMES THE FIRST KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH &c. to the vnspeakeable comfort of all true English, aswell for his vnquestionable claime, as for that hee professed the same true Religion (whose preseruation was their tender care) as also for his singular learning and experience, whereby hee was accomplished to vndergoe the managing of so great an Empire, hauing now attained to thirty sixe yeeres, nine monethes, and fiue dayes, exercised altogether in the practise of Kingly gouernement, from the very first dayes of his infancy.

King *Iames* proclaimed.

King *Iames* his iust title to the Crowne of *England*.

(3) That his Title was most iust, no man can deny, being sprung from the vnited Roses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, *King Henry the seuenth, and Queene Elizabeth his wife*: whose Issue by the Male failing in the late deceased Queen *Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the offspring of *Margaret* their eldest daughter, was the next heire, which Lady married vnto *Iames the fourth* King of *Scotland*; by him had issue King *Iames the fift*, whose onely Daughter *Queene Mary* was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Doleman* therfore dote vpon his own dreames, and other like Traitors fashion their barres vpon the Popes forge; yet hath *God & his right* set him on the throne of his most lawfull inheritance, so to vnite the two Crowns into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at last that to passe, which had often beene assayed, but could not bee effected by any power of man. For, did not *Edward* our *first*, the terror of *Syria*, and *Edward* the *sixt* our godly *Iosias*, both of them distresse *Scotland* with their warres, only to haue made an vnion by the marriages of the next neire, and of their Queene? But the time being not come, and all other preceeding Princes failing of their purposes, the peaceable vnion of those two Kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*, as also of two other, *France* and *Ireland* was reserued for *Him*, who is a patterne of all princely Learning and Piety, vnto all other Monarches vppon the surface of the Earth.

King *Iames* appointed by God to vnite the two kingdomes.

The Romanists hopes for a toleration in Religion.

(4) But these calme proceedings without any oppugnancy, as they were most ioyfull to the English, so were they admirable vnto other forraine Nations, yea, and enuied at of some, especially, such as hoped for an alteration, or at leastwise a toleration of Religion. And so much the rather, for that Pope *Clement* the eight, had sent the yeere before vnto *Henry Garnet*, *Superiour* of the Iesuites in *England*, two *Bulles* to the contrary; one to the *Clergy*, and the other to the *Laitie*. The title of the former was, *Dilectis filijs Archipresbytero, & reliquo Clero Anglicano, &c.* the later, *Dilectis filijs, Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem*: the summe of both thus. *To our beloued sonnes, the Archpriest and the Clergy, the Peeres and Nobles, Catholikes of England, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction, &c.* The tenor was, that after the death of her Maiesty, whether by course of Nature, or otherwise: *Whosoeuer should lay claime or title to the Crowne of England, though neuer so directly, and neerely interessed by discent, should not be admitted vnto the throne, vnlesse he would first tolerate the Romish Religion, and by all his best endeuours promote the Catholike cause, vnto which, by a solemne and sacred Oath, hee should religiously subscribe, after the death of that Miserable woman*, for so it pleased his Holinesse to tearme *Elizabeth, that most great and happy Queen*. By vertue of which *Buls*, (if vertue may be in any such vicious Libels) the Iesuites diswaded the Romish-minded Subiects from yeelding (in any wise) obedience vnto King *Iames*, as being not an obedient *Catholike sonne*; but this not working to their wished effect, and *He* now solemnly proclaimed with an vniuersall applause, loue and peace, their hopes beganne to grow cold, and no succours from *Spaine* being now to bee expected, *Garnet* the *Superiour* to auoid further dangers, sacrificed these hunger-starued Buls to *Vulcan* the fiery God.

Ex Libro Inscript. Proceedings against Traitors.

The Popes Buls sent to *Garnet* to probibite succession, vnlesse he were a Catholike.

Christ would not be Iudge of the inheritance betwixt Brethren: his Vicar will against all right.

(5) King *Iames* in *Scotland* receiuing intelligence of the most plausible passages to this enlargement of his Stile and Dominions, prepared himselfe hitherward, and vpon the sixt of Aprill came to *Barwicke*, thence to *Wytherington*, *Newcastle*, *Durham*, *York*, *Doncaster*, *Newarke*, *Burleigh*, *Roiston*, *Theobalds*, and thence to *London* vpon the seuenth of May. In all which places hee was most royally and ioyously receiued, with all demonstrations of truest loyalty, loue and obedience, which was no lesse benignely accepted of by his Maiesty, who the better to manifest his royall disposition, in all such places as hee came, where Gaioles for offenders were kept, out of his clemency most graciously set free the Prisoners, (those onely excepted, who lay for treason, murther, or Romish disloyalty) disbursing also large summes of money for release of many others from their creditors.

A.D. 1603. King *Iames* commeth to *London*.

His progresse and places of entertainment.

His mercy extended to the prisoners.

(6) In all which progresse, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haste to meete him, seemed rather to flie then to runne, and such were their shoutes of ioy, that the hils resounded the Eccho thereof, euen vp to the heauens, which had beene so propitious, as to bestow on them so *good a King*, which most abundantly appeared the day that his Maiesty remoued from *Theobalds* to *London*, when at *Stanford-hill*, neer vnto *Totnam-high Crosse* in *Middlesex*, the City of *London* (represented in the *Lord Maior*, the *Aldermen*, with fiue hundred choice *Citizens*, all in chaines of gold; & very well mounted) met his Maiesty, and with all solemne obseruance attended *Him* vnto the *Charterhouse* neere *Smithfield*, which was most sumptuously furnished for his royall entertainement. On which very day, a *Proclamation* came forth against all griping *Monopolies* that hindred commerce, and *Protections* that stopped the due proceedings of law, as also against other abuses in other inferiour carriages. All which were so acceptable to the *People* and *Common-wealth* (which had beene too much eaten-out with such Locusts & Caterpillers) as neuer any King wanne himselfe more loue: these being accepted as the auspicious beginnings, promising most happie sequels. So that *His* entrance was as another *Constantine*, whose person euery man prayed for, and desired to see: and for Peace another *Octauius*, hauing ruled peaceably a stout stirring Nation, euen from his yonger yeeres, and liued in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the earth: in which peace now lastly hee brought the Crown and Kingdome of *Scotland* to augment the glory, circuit and strength of this Realme of *England*, in whose vnited body, as a faire branched tree, euen at the first hee beganne to engraft the Syences of his princely vertues, which by the sappe and Sunne-shine of his iust gouernement still spredde more and more, like vnto the Cedars that grow vpon *Lebanon*.

The ioy that was conceiued at the sight of his Maiesty.

His Maiesties comming to *London*.

His Maiesties first proceeding to maintaine law and commerce.

(7) The English Empire thus peaceably established, both by, and vnto, this peaceable Monarch: from sundry forraine Princes were sent Ambassadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Pals-graue of the Rheine*, *one of the Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans*: from the *French King*, *Mounsier de Rosny*, Great Treasurer of *France*: from the *Spanish King*, *Don Iohn de Tassis*: from the *States* of *Holland* and *Zeland*: from the *Archduke* of *Austria*: from the *Seigniory* of *Venice*: from the *Duke* of *Florence*, and from others.

Diuers Ambassadors came into *England* to congratulate his entrance.

(8) But among all new-commers, none was more admired nor gazed on, then was *Hugh Oneal*, Earle of *Tir-oen*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) subtle

Tirone brought into *England*.

ſubtle, and ſmooth-tongued Traitor, and *Bonterſes* of *Ireland*, that had beene the death of many a worthy man; who hauing (as wee haue ſhewed) yeelded himſelfe to the Lord Generall *Mountioy* in the ſickeneſſe of the late Queene, was now by him brought vnto *Englands* Court, to the Generals great honour, and *Tir-oens* great good, if hee could haue had grace to conteine himſelfe. For not onely was he taken vpon his lowly ſubmiſſion into fauour with his dread Soueraigne, and reſtored to his former eſtate and dignity, (a very great fauour to ſo great an offender) but a *Proclamation* was alſo made in his behalfe, and for his ſecurity, that hee ſhould of all men bee honourably vſed (a grace, ſeldome ſhewed a Traitor) becauſe as it ſeemed, his guilty conſcience ſurcharged with bloud, feared the hand of euery man that beheld his face; and indeed many a woman, enraged for loſſe of their husbands or ſonnes, furiouſly deſired and aſſayed to quench their hatred with his bloud: in which perplexity wee will leaue him for a reſtleſſe Rebell, who laſtly like a fugitiue left againe both his loyalty and his owne Country.

(9) In the meane while the ſolemnities for the Coronation were prepared, and many ſtately Trophies (no leſſe due to the conſeruation of Peace, then to the atchieuings of Warre) in *London* ſtreets ſet vp, which by reaſon of the great ſickneſſe in that Citie then cruelly raging, ſtood a long time rather like the ruines of ſome old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fifth of Iuly beeing the feaſt day of Saint *Iames* the Apoſtle) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* ſhould preſume to approch to the Court, the City hauing buried that weeke aboue a thouſand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended ſome weekes before, had not the prouidence of a good God preuented the deſignes of mercileſſe men. For, certaine *Italianated* Prieſts, boyling in reuengefull rancor, becauſe their plots and hopes (which they vainely promiſed themſelues for aduancement of their Religion) were now paſt all appearance of poſſibility or ſucceſſe, and combining with ſome other of better Ranke and Note, whom priuate diſcontents had whetted on to a publike miſchiefe; contriued together a deſperate deſigne, for ſurprize of the Kings Perſon and Prince *Henry* his ſonne. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to retaine them priſoners in the Tower, and with the Treaſures therein to mainetaine their intent, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Douer* Caſtle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration in Religion, and a remoouall of ſome Counſellors of the State, or elſe to put ſome further proiect in execution. To conceale this Treaſon, *Watſon* the Prieſt deuiſed Oaths for ſecrecy, and himſelfe with *Clarke* (another Prieſt alſo) taught, that the act was lawfull, beeing done before the *Coronation*, for that the King was no King, before he was annointed, and the Crowne ſolemnely ſet on his head.

(10) The other perſons whoſe loyalty was likewiſe called into queſtion, as inuolued in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke* Lord *Cobham* and *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, *Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton*, Sir *Walter Raughley Lord Warden of the Stanneries*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* knights, *George Brooke*, and *Bartholmew Brooksby* Eſquires, and *Anthony Copley* a Gentleman; all which parties beeing apprehended, were committed ſome to the Gatehouſe at *Weſtminſter*, others to the Tower of *London*. Meane while (notwithſtanding the raging ſickneſſe) the day for the Coronation (being the feaſt of Saint *Iames*) was celebriouſly kept, with all ſolemne performance and ancient Rites of the *Engliſh* Kings, in the Collegiate Church of St. *Peter* in *Weſtminſter*. Where, the antique *Regall Chaire* of inthronization, did bleſſedly receiue, with the perſon of his Maieſty, the full accompliſhment alſo of that Prophetical prediction of this *Hiu* comming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to haue beene therein inſcribed thus.

Ni fallat Fatum Scoti hunc quocunq; locatum
Inuenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

If Fates goe right, this Stone, where e're 'tis pight,
The Scot ſhall find, and there his Raigne aſsign'd.

The Regall Chaire brought out of *Scotland*, wherin is a ſtone called *Saxum Iacobi*, ſaid to be of high eſteeme with the *Scots*.

For euen there now the ſacred Oile was powred vpon the royall Perſons of King *Iames* and Queene *Anne*, by the moſt reuerend Prelate, *Iohn Whitgift Lord Arch-Biſhoppe of Canterbury*, the Princeſſe and Peeres wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giuing attendance in their places, and the Lord Maior of *London* in a Gowne of Crimſon Veluet, with the Aldermen in Scarlet: twelue principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden becauſe of the plague.

(11) As the great ſolitude of the City of *London* by reaſon of this infection, and the retiredneſſe both of his Maieſty and all his Nobles, gaue ſome hopes to the fore-mentioned Prieſts and their Abettors, for the eaſier accompliſhing their plots: ſo was it alſo ſome occaſion of the delay of Iuſtice on them after their treaſonous deſignes were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing ſtill vnfit for ſuch a triall, and requiſite concourſe of Peeres and people, *Wincheſter*, the Tearme beeing there kept, was the place deſigned for their arraignement, whither they were all conueyed vnder ſtrong gard. The firſt who there * came to their triall, were *George Brooke*, brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, *Brooksby*, *Copley*, *Watſon*, and *Clarke*; whoſe inditement was, that they had conſpired; firſt, to deſtroy the King, ſecondly, to raiſe Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Religion; fourthly, to ſubuert the State; and laſtly, to procure forreine Inuaſion. That theſe their intents they had made knowne vnto the Lord *Gray*, whom they meant ſhould haue bene Earle Marſhall of *England*, *Watſon* Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords alſo ſhould be ſurprized in their chambers at *Greenwich*, and the Lord Maior and Aldermen of *London* ſhould bee ſent for, and ſo be ſhut vp in the Tower.

The conſpirators conueied to *Wincheſter*.

*Nouem. 15

Their Inditements and condemnations.

(12) *George Brooke* heereunto anſwered (with a colour and pretext as leude as the attempt,) that he had Commiſſion from the King to doe what hee did, onely to try faithfull Subiects; which commiſſion hee could not produce. Sir *Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of bloud) confeſſed his offence very penitently, alledging it was through a diſcontented mind, and deſired the Lords to bee a meane to the King for mercy. *Watſon* and *Clark* (the former of which confeſſed he had drawen all thoſe Gentlemen into theſe plots) did vainely and ignorantly auerre, that they held the King no King, vntill hee was Crowned, and that therefore it could not be Treaſon: alledging, that *Saul* was not King vntill he was choſen in *Mizpeh*, though he had beene annointed in *Ramah* by *Samuell* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the daies of *Saleman*, had beene confirmed by the Prophet to raigne ouer *Iſrael*, vntill the people made him King vpon the fooliſh anſweres of *Rehoboam*. Thus theſe great Rabbies made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary ſucceſſion of lawfull Princes, ordeined by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully-eſtabliſhed Common-weales, and thoſe Kings which himſelfe extraordinarilie aduanced, and erected to be the whips in his hand; as the firſt manifeſtly proued, when they had caſt off *Samuel*, and the latter allotted to no other end, as by the Prophet is apparent, where God in him ſaith, *I gaue them a King in mine anger, and I tooke*

Mr. *George Brooke* condemned.

1. *Sam.* 9.

Watſon and *Clark* apply Scriptures to mainetaine Treaſon.

Hoſea 13.11.

Inhated.

Trophees ſet vp in *London* ſtood vnfiniſhed

Conſpiracies intended and reuiued.

his *Stow.*

The intents of the Conſpirators

A Doctrine well fitting ſuch Doctors.

The Coronation of the King and Queene.

Iuly 25.

tooke him away in my wrath; but the more learned enformed them, that in *England* is no *Inter-regnum*, becauſe the King neuer dieth, and that the Coronation is but a Ceremony to ſhew the King to the people.

November 17.

Sir *Walter Raughley* arraigned and condemned.

(13) Two daies after was Sir *Walter Raughley* brought to the Barre, beeing indited for combining with the Lord *Cobham* (his accuſer) in the foreſaid deſignes. Whereunto he pleaded not guilty, and ſo ſtood for his purgation, as he held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of ſo exquiſite vnderſtanding and experience ſhould giue conſent vnto ſuch a plot, no leſſe foule, then fooliſh. Yet in fine hee was found guilty, and had ſentence of death.

The Lords *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned and condemned.

(14) The like iudgement, a few daies after, paſſed vpon the Lords, *Cobham* and *Gray*, arraigned on two ſeuerall daies. The former being indited, for cõbining with Sir *Walter Raughley* and *George Brooke*, to procure forces from the King of *Spaine* and the Arch-Duke, for an Inuaſion, &c. The other for ioyning with the foreſaid Prieſts, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conſpiracies. The Lord Chancellor of *England*, beeing *Lord Steward* for that ſeruice, ſate vnder a *Cloth of Eſtate* in the vpper end of the *Hall*, the Nobles ſitting (as their Peeres and Iudges) on benches vpon both ſides. Thoſe at the Barre he willed to bee bold, and to anſwere without feare: the Kings learned Counſell he intreated not to confound the memory of the priſoners with vnneceſſary matters: and the Peeres, though vnſworne, hee aduiſed to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwiſe by the Court, and receiued iudgement of death.

Watſon and *Clark* vpon the 29. of Nouember.

(15) Of all theſe arraigned, Sir *Edward Parham* only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the reſt onely three died, which were *Watſon*, *Clarke*, and Maſter *George Brooke*: the former of which, hauing at large laied open in Print, the Treaſons and vnſufferable machinations of the Ieſuiticall Order, left this ſuſpition on them at his death, that they, in reuenge, had cunningly and couertly drawen him into this Action, which brought him to this ſhamefull end. After whoſe death, his Maieſty then at *Wilton*, (hauing commanded his Lords, to deliuer the true narration vnto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignements and anſweres of all the reſt) ſigned alſo a warrant for the execution of the Lords *Cobham* and *Gray*, as alſo *Markham*, to be performed the Friday following before ten of the clock in the morning. Notwithſtanding his Maieſty more mooued to milde mercy, then the high ſtraine of Iuſtice, of his Princely and free clemencie, gaue life vnto thoſe perſons, expecting preſent death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counterchecke his former Warrant.

The Kings Letters for ſtay of the Execution.

(16) *Although it bee true, that all vell gouernid and flooriſhing Kingdomes and Common vealthis aire eſtabliſhid by Iuſtice, and that theſe tuo Noblemen by birth, that aire nou vpon the point of exeeution, aire for their treaſonable practiſes condemnid by the Law, and adiudgit voorthy of the execution thaireof, to the exemple and terror of otheris: The one of thaim hauing filthily practiſed the ouerthrow of the quhole Kingdome, and the other for the ſurpriſe of our owin Perſonne: yet in regaird that this is the firſt yere of our Raigne in this Kingdome, and that neuer King was ſo farre obleiſhid to his People as ve haue beene to this, by our entry here vith ſo hairty and generall an applauſe of all ſortes. Among quhom all the kinne, freindis, and allies of the ſaidis condemnid perſonis, vaire as forduart and duetifull as any other our good Subiectis, as alſo that at the very time of their Arrainement none did more freely and readily giue thair aſſent to thair connidtion, and to deliuer thaim into the handis of Iuſtice, then ſo many of thair neereſt Kinſmen and Allies (as being Peeris) vaiere vpon thair Iury; as likeuaiſe in regard that Iuſtice hath in ſome ſort gottin courſe already, by the execution of the tuo Prieſtis, and* George Brooke, *that vaire the principall plotteres and intiſairs of all the reſt, to the embracing of the ſaidis treaſonabill Machinations, vee thairfore (being reſoluid to mixe Clemency vith Iuſtice) aire contented, and by theſe Preſentis command you, our preſent Sheriffe of Hampſhire to ſuperſeid the Execution of the ſaidis tuo Noblemen and to take thaim backe to thair priſon againe, quhile our further pleaſure bee knowin. And ſince ve vill not haue our Lawis to haue reſpect to perſonis in ſpairing the great, and ſtrikking the meaner ſort; It is our pleaſure, that the like courſe be alſo taken vith* Marckham, *beeing ſorry from our hairt, that ſuch is, not onely the heynous nature of the ſaidis condemnid perſonis crime, but euen the corruption is ſo great of thair naturall diſpoſition, as the care ve haue for the ſafety and quiet of our State, and good Subiectis, vill not permit vs to vſe that Clemency towardis thaim, quhich in our owin naturall inclination, vee micht very eaſily be perſuadit vnto.*

The Kings mercifull reprmal of the Priſoners mody to dy.

(17) This Letter thus framed, the deliuery thereof his Maieſty committed vnto one *Iohn Gibb* a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, a diſcreet perſon, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Counſellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-ſtanders ſhould not obſerue any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themſelues take any apprehenſion by his preſence, to the end that each of them ſeuerally ſhould prepare to breath out their laſt breath, with a true confeſſion of their ſecret conſciences. The time approching, Sir *Griffin Markham* brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Caſtle Greene) made himſelfe ready for the ſtroke of the Axe, when ſecretly Maſter *Gibb* deliuered vnto the high * Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who ſoone perceiuing his Maieſties intent tooke backe the priſoner, (as if he were firſt to confront the two Lords in the Hall vpon ſome ſeruice to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Caſtle Hall. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought forth, who hauing powred out his praiers vnto God, at length kneeling downe for the ſtroke of death, the Sheriffe bad ſtay, telling the Lord that ſome further ſeruice was expected of him, and thereupon likewiſe lead him againe into the Caſtle. The Lord *Cobham* then was brought to the Scaffold, who being in praiers and preparation for death, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe, where the priſoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Maieſties Warrant for the ſtay of their Executions, and that as then they ſhould not dy. Vpon which rare Clemency, vnexpected both of priſoners and ſpectators, aroſe ſuch ſhouts of the people, as was wonderfull, crying *God ſaue the King*, and the condemned ouercome with his Clemency, wiſhed they might ſacrifice their liues to redeeme their own faults and to repurchaſe ſo mercifull a Princes loue.

* Sir *Be Tukker.*

Sir *Griffin Markham* returned from the Scaffold

The Lord *Cobham* Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin Markham* reprieued.

(18) This buſineſſe thus tranſacted, for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon and whole Kingdome; his Maieſty, (who well conſidered, that the quiet of a *Weale-Publike* cannot poſſiblie ſubſiſt long, without the peace and well managed gouernment of the *Church*,) hauing among many other *Petitions* which were preſented to *Him* at his firſt entrance, receiued one from certaine perſons of vnquiet ſpirits, againſt the eſtabliſhed Gouernment and Liturgy in the *Engliſh* Church, reſolued now by his Princely iudgement, as another *Hezekiah* to breake the Brazen-Serpent, if Idolatry were thereunto committed, and like a ſecond *Ioſiah*, to reade the law of the Lord him ſelfe: whereupon by *Proclamation* hee commanded an aſſembly of ſelected Diuines, ſuch as could beſt deliuer the minds of both parts, to appeare in his Royall preſence, at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court*: whither the ſummoned accordingly repayred. For the maintained Church-ſtate, were the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worceſter*, *Saint Dauids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carliel* and *Peterborow*: the Deanes of the Chappel, *Chriſt-*

The Miniſters petition to the King againſt the booke of Common Praier.

2. *King.* 18.
2. *King.* 24.

A Proclamation for a conference to bee held at *Hampton Court.*

* On Thurſday Ianuary 12.

The perſons ſommoned.

Tuelday.

Iohn Stow.

Mr. *George Brook* vpon the 5. of December being Tueſday.

Christ-Church, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Paules*, *Chester*, and *Windsor*, with Doctor *Field*, & Doctor *King*, the now Lord Bishoppe of *London*. To deliuer the Plantiffes desires, were summoned, and appeared Doctor *Reynolds* and Doctor *Sparkes* of *Oxford*, *M. Knewstubs*, and *M. Chaderton* of *Cambridge*.

His Maiesties Oration vnto the Clergy.

(19) The first sitting was vpon Saturday, the foureteenth of Ianuary, in his Maisties Priuy-chamber at *Hampton-Court*, whereinto the *Church-Gouernours* onely being admitted (by his Maiesties commaund) in the presence of his *Priuy Councell*, he made a most godly and princely declaration of his entent, in summoning this Assembly, in effect, thus; That "this his proceeding was no nouell deuise, but ac- "cording to the example of all Christian Princes, "who in the commencement of their raignes, vsual- "ly take the first course for the establishing of the "Church both for doctrine and policy, to which "the very Heathen themselues had relation in this "their Prouerbe *à Ioue Principium*. And particu- "larly in this land, King *Henry* the eight, towards the "end of his raigne; after him King *Edward* the sixt, "who altered more; after him Queene *Mary*, who "reuersed all; and the last Queen of famous memo- "ry, who setled the Church state as now it stan- "deth. Wherein yet his Maiesty deemed himselfe "happier then they, in that they were faine to alter "those things which they found established, where- "as himselfe saw yet no cause, so much to change a- "ny thing, as to confirme that which *He* found so "well setled already. Which State so affected his "Royall heart, that it pleased him, both to enter in- "to a gratulation to almighty God, (at which words "he put off his hat) for bringing him into the land "of Promise, where Religion was purely professed, "where he sate among graue, learned, and reuerend "Diuines, who better knew what belonged to the "State of a King, to the honor and order of a king- "dom, then some other Nations did, and withall to "assure the Prelacy there present, that *He* inten- "ded not any Innouation, acknowledging the Go- "uernement Ecclesiasticall to haue beene approued "by manifold blessings from God himselfe, both for "the encrease of the Gospell, and with a most happy "and glorious peace. Yet, because nothing could "be so absolutely ordered, but that somewhat might "bee added, and in any State as in the body of man, "Corruptions like ill humors might insensibly grow "either through time or persons; his purpose was, "after the example of a good Phisitian, to make "search into the supposed diseases, and to examine "the complaints, so to remoue the occasions there- "of, if they proue scandalous, or to cure them, if "they were dangerous, or if but friuolous, yet to take "knowledge of them, thereby at once both to cast a "soppe into the mouth of *Cerberus*, and of all facti- "ous spirits, and withall to giue satisfaction to all "quiet and sober minded men.

Any alteration in the church since K. *Henry* 8.

No State without corruption.

His Maiesties demands touching some supposed abuses.

(20) His Maiesty concluding this his generall aduertisement, entred more particular discourse with the Bishops (for his owne priuate information) concerning the *Booke of Common Prayer*, *Excommunication* in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, and the prouision of fitte and able Ministers for *Ireland*. Touching matters in the saide Booke, hee desired satisfaction; First, for *Confirmation*, which if it were held and so called, as if the Sacrament of *Baptisme* were therby *confirmed*, & were inualidous without it, then was it in his iudgement blasphemous: but if it were only that Children, who at their Baptisme made profession of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Bishoppes professe it in their owne persons, and so receiue Episcopall Benediction by prayer, and impositon of hands, then was it of very sacred v.. in Gods Church. Secondly, for *Absolution*, which his Maiesty had heard compared to the Popes pardons. Thirdly, for *Priuate Baptisme*, which hee vtterly disliked to bee administred, but by a lawfull Minister. His second point was *Excommunication*, wherein hee moued two especiall considerations; the one of the *Matter*, that the sentence being so waighty, was not to bee pronounced vpon euery sleight cause: the other of the *Person*, why *Lay-men* as Chancellors & Commissaries, and not rather the *Deane* and *Chapter*, or other graue Ministers and Chaplaines should bee assumed by the Bishops for their assistants therein. The last, which was touching a sufficient Ministerie in *Ireland*, his Maiesty referred to another day.

Confirmation.

Absolution.

Priuate Baptisme

Excommunication

(21) But his Maiesty receiued full satisfaction & contentment by the seuerall answeres to all his demands. Touching *Confirmation*, that the Church of *England* held it no essentiall part of the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, but a * practise of the *Primitiue Church*, yea of the * *Apostles*, (as * *Caluin* himselfe expounds their meaning, who also wished the restitution thereof in such Churches where it had beene abolished,) and for Imposition of hands on children, warranted by * Christ himselfe, a Custome still retained in our Church, as very godly and necessary for those very reasons and vses, which his Maiesty had mentioned, and truly obserued. Touching *Absolution*, it was answered, that as Christ desired not the death of sinners, so hee hath giuen power and commandement to his Ministers, to pronounce his mercy with remission of sinnes vnto all Penitents, that the practise hereof in the English Church, is so farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of *Augusta*, *Boheme*, and *Saxony*, do both allow it, and retaine it, yea, and *Caluin* himselfe approues it. Of *Priuate Baptisme* it was answered, that though the words seemed somwhat doubtfull, yet the practise of the English Church did contradict all administration of it by *Laickes* and *Women*, in censuring them in that case: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawfull Minister only should be imployed in times of necessity, when the Infant was in danger of life; yet so vnderstood, that the person was in no wise to bee reputed of the Essence of the Sacrament. And finally, for *Excommunication*, it was there resolued, that the abuses (if any such there were) being remoued and amended, that sacred censure should retaine its necessary vigour in the Church; and so for that day his Maiesty dismissed the Assemby of his Prelates.

The Prelates satisfaction to his Maiesties demands.

Of Confirmation

*Cyprian Ep. 73. Hieron. aduers. Luciferian.

*Heb. 6. v. 2.

*Caluin in Heb. 6. 2. & Fulke in Act. c. 8. v. 17.

*Mat. 19. 13

Of Absolution.

Of Priuate Baptisme.

Of Excommunication.

(22) Vpon Munday following, being the sixteenth of Ianuary, those other Doctors, who were to relate the dislikes of the Opposites, were called likewise into the Priuy Chamber, where in presence of his Prelates and Peeres his Maiesty deliuered vnto them, a pithy & princely declaration of his mind, "That *He* intended not to innouate the gouerne- "ment now established, which by long experience "hee had found accomplished with so singular bles- "sings of God forty fiue yeeres, as that no Church "vpon the face of the earth hath more flourished "then this of *England*. But rather his meaning, and "earnest desire was, first to settle vniformity through "the whole, for the more quiet and flourishing e- "state thereof: secondly, to plant vnity for the sup- "pression of Papists, and enemies of Religion: third- "ly to amend, abuses as incident to *Bodies politike*, "as the shadow to the body Naturall; which once "getting entrance, hold on as a Wheele doth his "motion, when it is once set on going. Among the "complaints therefore of many greeuances made "since his entrance into *England*, none was more "weighty, nor himselfe more willing to heare and "amend, then such as might concerne the state of "the Church, if the same did in any wise decline "from the ancient and Apostolicall rule. For which "cause he had sent for them, whom hee vnderstood "to bee graue, learned, & modest Diuines, to heare "by them those greeuances, and seuerall obiections "at large, and desired them boldly to declare the "same.

The other Doctors appeare before his Maiesty.

The Kings Religious speech vnto them.

His Maiesty most willing to amend abuses.

(23) Wherupon Doctor *Reinolds*, a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (vpon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giuing vs

D. *Reynold* the Speaker for the Complainants.

so godly, so learned, so carefull a King, reduced all matters, either desired or disliked amongst *the weake Brethren* (whose *Spokesman* hee protested hee would not haue been, but onely vpon his Maiesties mandatory Summons) vnto those foure heades. 1. for preseruation of true doctrine. 2. for placing of good Pastors, 3. for sincere administration of the church gouernement; 4. for explanation of some clauses in the Common-prayer Booke. It would be here too impertinent, to farce an historicall Narration with those Theologicall particulars, which vpon those seuerall points were then produced, and are *elsewhere to be found exactly related. Yet as wee cannot but commend the iudgement of these foure Diuines (as touching the third point) in that, finding no iust exception to the *Episcopall Hierarchie* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or disapproued the same; so much more must we celebrate the admirable dexterity, iudgement and learning of his sacred Maiesty, ioyned with so rare industry and patience, whose owne accurate search and exquisite expositions of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitiue practises, did there both breed wonder & astonishment in that noble and learned audience, and also giue singular satisfaction (euen to the *agents for the *Opposites*) touching all the exceptions taken to the Church-state; which his Maiesty now found to bee no other then the phantasmes of a scrupulous indiscretion.

*The Conference at *Hampton Court*, printed 1604.

*They all promised obedience, and Doctor *Sparke* writ a booke to perswade vnto conformity.

(24) The Wednesday following, being the 18. of Ianuary (appointed for the next meeting) his Maiesty againe, with most of the Lords of his Priuy Councell, entred the Chamber; where the Reuerend *Prelates* with such others onely as the L. Archbishoppe appointed, (for so his Maiesty cōmanded) being admitted to his Royal presence, after some conference about the *High Commission court*, *Subscription*, *Oath ex officio* and the like, his Maiesty (causing the other foure Diuines to bee then called in) was pleased to declare what formerly had past; and for a conclusion, shut vp all with a godly ex-
"hortation, like another *Constantine*, perswading
"euery man to vnity, and to a diligent discharge of
"their duties, their in seueral places; the superiors to
"gouerne without violence, the inferiors to obey
"without murmuring, and all of them to builde
"Gods Temple without sound of discord; desi-
"ring and commanding all present, not only them-
"selues to labour that way, but to be a meanes to
"draw on all others vnto a peaceable conformity,
"the matters being no other (as now hee saw plaine-
"ly) but of meere weakenesse: wherein persons
"*discreet* would doubtlesse bee easily henceforward
"reclaimed, and for the *vndiscreet* & reluctant, their
"roomes were more behouefull then their seruices:
"by their fruites therefore He should discerne and
"iudge them; Obedience and Humility being the
"markes of honest and good men, which thence-
"forth hee would expect from as many as would
"be held well affected to his Maiesty and his State.
Which princely exhortation (deliuered with much more feeling words, and mouing earnestnes) was so piercing as it fetched teares from some of both sides, and all vnanimously protested their most dutifull obedience to those his Royall commands.

The conclusion of the Conference.

(25) Besides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the setling of the Church-peace, sundry other important matters (not here to be pretermitted, because necessarily tending to that noble end) were therein also proiected, and by his Maiesties euer prouident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the birthes to perfection. The first (both in due ranke and vse) was his sacred Decree for a new Translation of the holy Scriptures, vpon a princely and pious care of Gods eternall Truth according to the Originals, as also for an vniforme reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three selected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge* and in *London*, most iudicious in the languages and learning being imployed, after long conference, much reading, and diligent comparing of all translations with the ancient originals, it is now most exactly and happily published, as a witnesse to the world both of Gods constant promise, that *Heauen and Earth should perish, but his word should neuer*: and also of the Religious care of this his Vice-gerent, in seeking euen at the first, the first thing that man is commanded to seeke after, whose praise shall stand for euer in the Record of that godly worke, and the worke shall iustifie it selfe against all gaine-sayers to Gods eternall glory, and many soules great comfort.

The translation of the Bible intended and commanded.

(26) His second sacred proiect was, that as now in *England*, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northerne parts*, *true Religion* (which *He* there auowed to bee *the onely band of true obedience*) might be throughly planted. Which religious purpose *He* so zealously prosecuted, especially for the *North* and all *Scotland*, as that *He* held it not sufficient to haue ioyned these two Kingdomes into one Temporall Monarchy, vnlesse *He* might see them both vnited also in the Doctrine, Regiment and Rites of one spirituall *Hierarchy*. Neither was his princely *wisdome* for the meanes lesse conspicuous then his zeale in the intendment, in making so heedfull choise of such English Diuines, as were (not long after) in this imployment sent into *Scotland*; the very first, in which Apostolike Ambassage for establishing those Neighbour-Churches was he, whose eminency both for *Place* and *Piety*, is now worthily foremost in guiding our owne; and whose blessed trauels in that seruice, as they were acceptable to God, his Maiesty, and that Nation; so are they a document to others, how powerful & admirably successeful true *Learning* is, where it is guided with true *Prudence*, and where *Piety* and loue of Gods glory is linked with *Charity*, and zeale of mans good.

The King second religious proiect at the Conference.

The now Lord Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* (D. *George Abbot*) the first preacher sent into *Scotland*.

(27) This great businesse and conference so rolally accomplished, his Maiesties next care was (herein also as another *Constantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flourishing Church (whose peaceable estate hee had thus prouided for) with the reuenues of her ancient foundations; as also to establish salutary lawes for the peaceable gouernment of his people; to which purpose a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, the 19. of March, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither Archbishoppe nor Bishoppe should alienate, assure, giue, grant, demise, or in any sort conuay, no, not to the King himselfe, his Heires or Successors, any of the Honors, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, being parcell of the possessions of his Archbishoppricke or Bishoppricke; and if any so were, to bee vtterly voide and of none effect, notwithstanding any former law, statute, act, or ordinance to the contrary.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church lands not to be alienated.

Ex Parliament. Iacobi primi.

(28) Foure dayes before this Parliament commenced, it pleased his Maiesty, with the most noble Queene *Anne*, and the most illustrious Prince *Henry*, attended with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers, to ride in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the houses beautified with rich hangings, the streets adorned with goodly Trophees and Pageantes, of seuerall nations inhabiting, the rayles on both sides couered with blew cloth, the seuerall Companies honourably addressed, and ranked vnder the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their seuerall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and gouernement, and all making manifest the vnspeakeable ioy they conceiued to receiue their great Soueraigne into this His City and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their excessiue ioy, vnfained loue, and vowed fidelity, the *Recorder* at the Crosse in Cheape, both gratulated his Maiesty with a * pithy speech in the name of the City, and wishing him a golden raigne, presented his Greatnesse with a cuppe

March 15. The Kings triumphant passage through *London*.

Sir *Henry Montague*.

* See Iohn Stowes Annales.

cuppe of gold; deliuering another likewise to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no lesse graciously accepted, then most louingly presented.

(29) Neither lesse was his Maiesties desire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subiects true affections, when recounting the great hinderances of Marchandizing and Nauigations of trafficke, by reason of the long continued breach betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, his royall heart tendring his Subiects tranquilitie, endeauoured to salue againe those wounds of discord with the *sweet balme of Peace; which was solemnly proclaimed in *London*, August 19. the sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

*Psal. 141. v. 6

(30) Both Domesticke and forraine affaires thus plausibly composed, as his Maiesty was the first, who in this last age of the world held the Scepter of the whole Iland in his royall hand, so to vnite the two stiles vnder the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a ioint blessed vnity; Hee caused himselfe by Proclamation to be enstiled King of *Great Britaine*, according to the ancient name of this Isle before the Saxons Conquest; the restoring of which name againe, many foredooming spirits had anciently presaged, as now wee see effected. Vnto which Imperiall stile, are rightly annexed the kingdomes of *France* and *Ireland*, rightfully belonging by birth and Conquest vnto the Crowne of *England*.

The two kingdomes vnited vnder the name of *Great Britaine*.

(31) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one for the Banishment of all Iesuites & Seminary Priests, out of the land, and the other to confirme the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, and Booke of *Common Prayer*, in the same forme and estate, as Queene *Elizabeth* left them; to the no little griefe of the workers for *Rome*, whose designes began now to sucke in such poyson, as in the venting whereof, not onely the earth might haue trembled vnder the weight of such monsters, but euen the heauens be astonied and confounded, to giue those Serpents the breath or benefit of aire. Vnto which bloudy, horrible and odious act to God and man my Stile must now turne: a matter indeed so distastiue for mee to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres my very soule to fill the penne with inke, or to blotte the paper with these far blacker spots of darknes, and deformers of *Englands* faire face.

Iesuites and Seminary priests banished.

Iam. 2, 12. The treason conceiued against the State.

(32) The plotte was to vndermine the Parliament house, and with Gunpowder to blow vp the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights and Burgesses, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence, Authority in the land; fathers, sonnes, brothers, allyes, friends, foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast. A stratageme inuented by him that blowes the bellowes of destruction, fashioned in the forge of the bottomlesse pitte, put in practise in a vault of darknesse, and forwarded by him that is the father of darkenesse, and in darkenesse I could wish it might euer dwell, whose like was neuer reuealed to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that religious atchieuement had beene performed, was to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue, to alter religion and the State, and to bring in forraine power. Sir *Edmund Baynam* an attainted person (who stiled himselfe Prince of the damned Crew) was sent vnto the Pope, as hee was a temporall Prince, to acquaint him with the Gunpowder-treason; a fitte Poste indeed to bee imployed betwixt the Pope and the Diuell.

The heathenish cruelty of the Gunpowder Treason.

The Traitors intents:

Proceedings against Traitors, pag. 19.

Baynam appointed the Post. pag 133.

(33) This treason was first set on foot in the last yeere of the late Queenes raigne, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the Iesuites, *Catesby* and others sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine* to negociate with King *Philip* in the name of the English Catholikes; first, to send an army vnto them, who now were in a readinesse to ioyne their Forces with his; secondly, to grant some pensions vnto sundry persons deuoted to his seruice in *England*: and thirdly, to giue aduertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceiued vpon the death of *Essex*, whereby a most fit occasion was then offered to forward the common cause. To prosecute which businesse, he made for his means father *Creswell* the Leiger Iesuite in *Spaine*, *Don Petro Franceso* second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, a great Counsellor to the king; all of them being said to haue assured this ill commissioned Ambassador, that the office of his imployment would bee very gratefull to their master.

Winter sent into *Spaine*.

(34) The place for landing concluded vpon by these wise Statists, was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Haven* in *Wales* was held fittest: with these and other like complots, *Winter* all that summer followed the King in his Progresse, and lastlie had answere by the Count *Miranda*, that his King would bestow a hundred thousand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe thereof to bee paide that present yeere, and the rest in the next Spring, when (at the farthest) hee meant to set foot in *England*; on whose behalfe hee willed the *English* Catholikes to maintain their promise, whom hee respected (as was auowed) as his owne proper Castilians: And further desired their continuall aduertisements, if in the mean time it chanced the old Queene to die.

The plots determined for the inuasion of *England*.

King *Philips* answere and offer.

(35) *Winter* thus laden with hopes, returneth from *Spaine*, and emptieth his male into the bosoms of *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Tresham*, and they vnto others, all of them tickled to heare the newes, rested fully satisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approched, that Morning Starre, and Mirror of her Sexe, did set in our West, the thrice glorious *Elizabeth*, who had now iudged *Israel* full forty foure yeeres in admirable tranquility, as in her raigne wee haue sufficiently seene. To signifie whose death *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spaine*, and *Guy Fawkes* likewise was posted thither from *Bruxels* by Sir *William Stanley*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the Spanish King, that King *Iames* meant to runne the same course, and to proceede as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whose defence they instantly desired that some *Spaniards* might bee transported vnto *Milford-Hauen*, where the Romish-minded would bee forward to assist them, hauing in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprise. But King *Philip* aswell poizing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and obseruing a great difference betwixt States in hostility, and of Kings raigning in friendshippe, in no wise would listen to inuade *England*, or further to proceed in any forcible enterprise.

The hopes of the English Catholikes.

Christopher Wright sent into *Spaine* to signifie the death of the Queene.

(36) In the meane while the Iesuites had been tampering to disswade the acceptance of King *Iames* into *England*, vrging it for a Maxime, that death was to bee indured, rather then to admit an heretike (so it pleased them to tearme the Lords annointed) and those that gaue him consent they held lyable to Excommunication by the censure of Pope *Clement* the eight, who had liberally bestowed vpon his sacred person the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Caluinist, a Persecutor of Protestants, and another *Iulian Apostata*.

Proceedings against Traitors, pag. 72.

King *Philip* refuseth all hostile attempts against *England*.

(37) The Romanists thus loosened from their Ankor-hold of *Spaine*, and left by that Pilote to shift for themselues, now perceiued their owne error in their long expectation, *That change of State would change Religion*: but shee now gone, whose life they had often laid for, and her godly Successor no whit inferior to her for aduancing the Gospell: their hopes grew desperate (as these desperates alleadged) and no other meanes now left them but onely to kill the King, whom they falsly calumniated to haue broken his promise for a toleration in Religi-

The desperate attempts of the Papists.

King *Iames* scandalized by the Papists.

Religion, as *Watſon* and *Percy* had diuulged among them; yea, and a fraudulent meſſage was ſent to the Pope by the Scotiſh Secretary, that K. *Iames* would become his obedient ſonne. But how farre his religious heart was from theſe aſperſions, appeared both by *Watſon* himſelfe, who, condemned to die, *tooke it vpon the ſaluation of his ſoule, that hee could not draw the ſmalleſt comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholikes, but that himſelfe had imparted his wordes in a milder tune then his Maieſty meant them, onely to keepe (as he excuſed the matter) the Catholikes in loue and duty vnto the King:* and ſince by the Lord of *Balmerinoth* (Secretary to the King in *Scotland*) who acknowledging his offence, hath beene arraigned and found guiltie of death, for deuiſing letters, and ſending them to *Rome*, which himſelfe cunningly got ſigned in ſhufling them amongſt others, his Maieſty being vtterly ignorant of the Contents.

Biſhop of *Lincolns* page 194. Letters ſigned by the King againſt the Kings knowledge.

(38) Vpon which falſe ſuggeſtions, the Atheiſtical poſition of *Catesby* was grounded, who holde it for an *Axiome* as father *Parſons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Diuines and Lawyers make it a poſition certain, and to bee vndoubtedly beleeued, *That if any Chriſtian prince whatſoeuer, ſhall manifeſtly turne from the Catholike Religion, and deſire or ſeeke to reclaime other men from the ſame, he preſently falleth from all princely power and dignity, and that alſo by vertue and power of the Law it ſelfe both diuine and humane, euen before any ſentence pronounced againſt him by the ſupreme Paſtor and Iudge.* And that his Subiects of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer are freed from all bond of oath of Alleagiance which at any time they had made vnto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (prouided they haue competent ſtrength and force) caſt out ſuch a man from bearing rule among Chriſtians, as an *Apoſtata*, an *Heretike*, a *Backe-ſlider*, and *Reuolter* from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and an enemy to his owne State and Common-wealth, leſt perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the faith. Yea; one ſteppe further elſewhere is ſtood vpon, that if any Prince ſhall but fauour or ſhew countenance to an Heretike, hee preſently looſeth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Hereſie* a Prince is to bee depoſed, and his kingdome to bee beſtowed at the pleaſure of the Pope, for whom the People vpon paine of damnation are to take part and fight: out of which deteſtable concluſions aroſe the firſt ſmoake of the Gunpowder Treaſon.

In his Booke *Philopater*, Sect. 2

De officio Principis Chriſtiani, Cap. 5.

(39) For the Parliament diſſolued the ſeuenth of Iuly, and proroged vntill the ſeuenth of February following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, ſent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had beene imployed into *Spaine*, and brake with him then for blowing vp of the Parliament houſe: who readily apprehending it, ſaid, *that indeede ſtrake at the roote*: onely theſe helpes were wanting, a houſe for reſidence, and a man of skill to carry the Mine; but the firſt *Catesby* aſſured him was eaſily to bee got, and for the man hee commended *Guy Fawkes*, a ſufficient ſouldier, and a moſt forward Catholike. *But firſt* (quoth hee) *becauſe no peaceable way ſhall be vntrod, you ſhall ouer to the Conſtable, and entreate him to ſollicite his Maieſtie at his comming into England, that the penall lawes may here be repealed, and the Catholikes tolerated and ranked with his other Subiects.*

Thomas Winters Confeſſion.

Thomas Winter ſent into the *Low Countries.* See the Booke intituled, A diſcourſe of the intended Treaſons.

(40) *Winter* thus poſted to negotiate with the Conſtable, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, and by the meanes of *Owen* the fugitiue Traitor, deliuered his meſſage; whoſe anſwere was, that *he had a ſtrict command from his Maſter to doe all good offices for the Catholikes, and for his owne part hee found himſelfe bound in conſcience not to omit any good occaſion that might forward their cauſe:* although indeed hee did but temporize as Sir *William Stanley* told *Winter*, for the great deſire which the *Spaniards* had that the Peace might proceed with *England*. Whereupon *Winter* (hopeleſſe that way) returned for *England*, bringing with him the foreſaid *Fawkes*, a fitte inſtrument for ſo diueliſh a deſigne; and comming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the Conſtable was not the man whatſoeuer were his words, and that all now in theſe parts were bent for a concluſion of Peace; which ſounded ſo harſhly in his ill-tuned eares, that his braines became more buſied about his impious Proiect, and his mind in continuall trauell to bring forth that ſinne, which hee had moſt vnnaturally conceiued.

See *Winters* Confeſſions.

The Conſtable diſſembleth.

The great deſire the Spaniards had of Peace.

(41) *Robert Catesby, Iohn Wright, Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their miſchiefes ſtill about *London*; about the middeſt of Eaſter-Terme, *Thomas Percy* as hote as the *Hotſpur* himſelfe to forward Rebellion, came puffing to *Catesbies* lodging in *Lambeth*, and the firſt word hee ſpake was this: *What Gentlemen ſhall wee alwaies be talking, and neuer doe any thing? you perceiue (I know) how things doe proceed.* To whom *Catesby* anſwered, *that ſomething was reſolued vpon, but firſt an Oath for ſecreſie was to bee miniſtred.* For which purpoſe they appointed to meet ſome three daies after behind S. *Clements* Church without Temble-barre, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleaged that this laſt Parliament had left the Catholikes in as much danger as they ſtood before, & that now the peace with *Spaine* was rather a meane for harder lawes to proceed, then thoſe in force againſt them to bee abrogated; ſo that the ancient Romiſh Religion, & the Catholike profeſſors thereof muſt now bee enforced to bid *England* adue, if Gentlemen of power and repute ſhould thus giue way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to beginne: at which ſpeech *Percy* made preſent anſwere, *himſelfe was the man that wold vndergoe the Catholike cauſe, were it with the ſlaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to vndertake and doe.*

Percies ſpeech to the Conſpirators.

The conference of the Conſpirators behind S. *Clements* Church.

Percyes reſolute and diueliſh anſwere.

(42) No *Tom* (ſaid *Catesby*) thou ſhalt not aduenture thy ſelfe to ſo ſmall purpoſe, if thou wilt bee a Traitor, there *is* a plot to greater aduantage, and ſuch a one as can neuer bee diſcouered: and thereupon all of them taking the *Oath of ſecreſie*, hearing the *Maſſe* and receiuing the *Sacrament*, *Catesby* told them his diueliſh deuiſe, which was by *Mine* and *Gunpowder* to blow vp the Parliament houſe, and at one ſtroke with the deſtruction of many, effect that at once, which had beene many yeeres in attempting. A matter eaſily performed (as he vrged) if men of reſolution would thereunto beſtow their purſe and their paines; and moſt ſure from ſuſpition of diſcouery, the deſigne being ſo eſtranged from the conceit of man: wherein he alſo obſerued that religious *Iuſtice* was thirſty of reuenge, euen vpon the ſame perſons, and in the ſame place, whence ſhee firſt receiued the vniuſt lawes enacted againſt her. For caſe of conſcience to kill the Innocent with the nocent, hee told them it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himſelfe, the Superior of the Engliſh Ieſuites, and of *Gerrard*, and *Teſmond* (Ieſuiticall Prieſts likewiſe) who by their Apoſtolical power did abſolue and commend the fact, which for the aduantage of the Catholikes was to bee executed (they ſaid) though with the death of ſome Innocents, rather then the ſeruice ſhould quaile, the neceſſity of time and occaſion ſo requiring it. The Oath was giuen them by the ſaid *Gerrard* (the Diuels Atturney in this buſineſſe) the forme whereof was as followeth.

Catesbies obſeruations for Iuſtice.

Proceedings againſt Traitors.

The Oath of ſecreſie miniſtred to the Traitors.

> *You ſhall ſweare by the bleſſed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receiue, neuer to diſcloſe directly nor indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keepe ſecret, nor deſiſt from the execution thereof, vntill the reſt ſhall giue you leaue.*

The Gunpowder plot reuealed among the Conſpirators.

(43) The proiect thus farre paſſed, the practiſe was to proceed; and the firſt thing ſought after was for

The prouision how and where to begin the horrible treason.

for a house wherein they might beginne their work, to which purpose, no place was held fitter then a certaine edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parliament house, which serued for withdrawing roomes for the assembled Lords; and out of Parliament was at the dispose of the Keeper of the place and Wardrobe thereunto belonging. These did *Percie* hire for his lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as most vnknowne by face) for his man, who changing his name into *Iohnson*, had the Keyes and keeping of the rooms. Neither was this enough, but a house must be also had to supply *Percies* lodgings for prouision of Powder, & to frame and fit wood for the carriage of the Mine, which *Catesby* prouided at *Lambeth*, & sware his man *Keyes* into their Conspiracies, making him the Keeper of those his prouisions, who in the night as occasion serued, conuaied the same vnto the custody of *Fawkes*.

Fawkes changed his name into *Iohnson*.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being the 7 of February, in October before it was thought fitte to beginne the worke, whereupon *Fawkes* returning forth of the Country, found *Percies* rooms appointed for the *Scotish* Lords to meet in, there to conferre touching the *Vnion* of the two Kingdoms: so that they feared (for that present) to iniate their attempt. But that honourable assembly dissolued, vpon the eleuenth of December late in the night, they entred into their *Worke of Darkenes*, and begun their Mine; hauing tooles prepared, and baked meates prouided, the better to auoid suspition by sending abroad.

Percyes house imployed by the Scotish Lords.

Robert Catesby
Tomas Percy.
Thomas Winter.
Iob. Wright.
Guy Fawkes.

(45) The Moles that first vnderwent these vnder-minings, were *Robert Catesby* Esquier, the mouing Arch-traitor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Esquier, kinsman and attendant vpon the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright* and *Guy Fawkes* Gentlemen, all of them grounded schollers of the Romish Schoole, and such earnest labourers in this their Vault of Villany, that by Christmas Eue (which very day might haue remembred them of more Christian workes) they had brought the worke vnder an entry, vnto the wall of the Parliament-house, vnderpropping still as they went the earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day were they seene abroad of any man.

The Traitors conference how to proceed after their treasons.

(46) During this vndermining, much consultation was had how to fashion the rest of the busines, after the deed should bee accomplished, and many questions propounded and argued at full, before they could pitch on a setled resolution. The first was how to surprize the next heire to the Crowne; for though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, & take his lot with him, yet they feared lest D. *Charles* (being absent, as too yong to attend at Parliament) would escape their train, and perchance be so carefully guarded, and attended vpon at Court, that hee would hardly bee gotten into their hands. Of which first rub in their way, *Percie* offered himselfe to bee the first remouer, and shewed his meanes, which was, that with some other Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reason of his acquaintance hee very well might doe without any suspition: and others of his like acquaintance should bee placed at seueral dores in the Court: so that when the blow was giuen, and all men in a maze, then would hee carry away the Duke, which hee presumed would be easily done, the most of the Court being then absent, and the present altogether vnprouided for to make resistance.

Duke *Charles* intended to be surprised.

(47) For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of farre lesse difficulty, she remaining at the Lord *Haringtons*, and *Ashby* (*Catesbies* house) neer vnto her, whether vnder a shew of Hunting, diuers Catholikes should bee gathered, who hauing the aduantage in knowing for what purpose they were assembled, had the full liberty of that distracted time, to prouide money, horses, armour and other abiliments of war, vnder pretense of strength to guard and secure the heire apparant.

The Lady *Elizab.* laith intended to be taken from the L. *Harrington*

(48) Then it was discussed, what Lords they should saue from the Parliament; where it was agreed, that they should keepe thence as many as they could that were Catholikes, or that way fauouring: all others to feele the smart, and the imputation of the Treason to be cast vpon the Puritanes, to make them more odious to the world.

(49) Next it was controuersed what forraine princes shold be made priuy to these their purposes; for to enioyne them to secresie, or to oblige them by oath, was not in their power: & to assay their likes or dislikes, would proue dangerous. For if any of them approued the design, their preparation might beget suspition: if not then the feares of discouery would extinguish the enterprise, no man daring to proceed further therein. *Spaine* was held the fittest to second their attempts, but hee was too slow in his preparations, & *France* too neere and too dangerous to be dealt with, and how *Holland* stood affected to *England* they all very well knew. But in the midst of these turmoiles and minings vnder-ground, the Parliament was againe adiourned till the fift of October ensuing. Vpon which Proclamatiō they brake off both discourse and worke till the feast of Saint *Maries Purification*. At which time they laide in powder and other prouisions, and then beganne againe to worke, hauing taken into their company *Christopher Wright* and *Robert Winter*, both of them sworne, and receiuing the Sacrament for secresie. The wall (which was very hard, & nine foot thicke) with great labour they wrought halfe through, *Fawkes* being their Centinell to giue warning when any came neere, that the noise in digging might not bee heard.

The feares concerned to open the treasons to forraine Princes.

The Parliament againe prorogued.

Robert Winter, *Christopher Wright* taken into consort.

The worke again begun.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wal, were suddenly surprised with a great feare, and casting from them their digging tooles, tooke to their weapons, hauing sufficient of shot and powder in the house, being fully resolued, rather to die in the place, then to yeeld or be taken. The cause of their feare was a noyse they heard in a roome vnder the Parliament house, vnder which they meant to haue mined, directly vnder the Chaire of Estate. But al now at a stand, & their countenance cast each vpon other, as doubtfull what would bee the issue of this their enterprise: *Fawkes* scowted forth to discry (if hee could) what was done abroad, and finding all safe and free from suspect, returned and told them, the noyse was onely a remouall of coales there now vpon sale, and that the Cellar was to bee let, which would bee more commodious to their purpose, and would also spare the labour in the Mine. Whereupon *Thomas Percy* vnder pretence for stowage of his winter prouision of wood and coales, went and hired the Cellar, which done, a new conference was had.

The feare of the Traitors.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole too heauy for himselfe alone to support; for besides the maintenance of so many persons, and the seuerall houses for seuerall vses, hired and payde for by him, the Gunpowder and other prouisions would rise to a very great summe, and indeede too much for one mans purse. Therefore he desired that himselfe, *Percy*, and some one more might call in such others as they thought fit to helpe to maintain the charge, alleadging that they knew men of worth and wealth, that would willingly assist, but were not willing their names should bee known to the rest. This his request they approued as necessary, and withall surceasing further to digge in the Vault, knowing the Cellar would be of better vse for their designes, they remoued twenty Barrels of Gunpowder into that roome, which they couered with a thousand of Billets, and fiue hundred of faggots, so that now the lodging roomes were cleared of all suspitious prouisions, and freely might bee entred without danger of descry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe pro-

rogued vntil the fift of Nouember following, these foresaid vnderminers of our State and happinesse thought fitte they should againe (for a while) disperse themselues (matters being already in so good forwardnes) and that *Guy Fawkes* should go ouer to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, & *M. Hugh Owen* with these their proceedings, yet so as the oath of secresie should be taken of them. For their policy was to haue Sir *William Stanleys* presence so soone as the dismal blow should bee giuen, to bee a leader to their intended stratagems, whereof (as they thought) they should haue great need, & that *Owen* should remain where hee was, to hold correspondency with forrain Princes, to allay (asmuch as hee might) the odiousnes of the fact, or to impute the Treason to the Puritanes discontents.

(53) *Fawkes* comming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, vnto whom, after the oath, hee declared the plotte, which hee very well approued. But Sir *William Stanley* (at that time in *Spaine*) *Owen* said would be hardly drawne into the businesse, for that hee had suites in the English Court himselfe, yet hee promised to forward him in all that hee could, and to send him into *England* with the first, when their proiect had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes* to auoid further suspition, kept stil in *Flanders* vntill the beginning of September, and then returning, receiued the keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more powder, billets and fagots; which done, hee retired into the Country, and there kept till the end of October.

(54) In the meane while *Catesby* and *Percy* meeting at the *Bathe*, it was there concluded, because their number were but few, that *Catesby* himselfe should haue power to call in whome hee would to aide their designe: by which authority he tooke in Sir *Euerard Digby* of *Rutlandshire* knight, and *Francis Tresham of Northamptonshire* Esquier, both of them of sufficient estate and wealth, had they not abused both to their owne destruction: for Sir *Euerard* offered fifteene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Tresham* two thousand. But *Percy* disdaining that any should outrun him in euill, promised foure thousand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, and tenne horses of speed to steed them when the blow was past. Against which time to prouide munition, *Catesby* likewise tooke in *Ambrose Rookewood* and *Iohn Grant* two Recusant Gentlemen, and vndoubtedly others were written in the same Roll, had these two grand Electors beene apprehended aliue, whose owne tongues only could vnfold their Catalogues Record.

(55) The businesse thus forwarded by their complices abroad, their *Inmates* did not neglect the supplies at home. For *Percy*, *Winter* and *Fawkes* had stored the Cellar with thirty sixe Barrels of Gunpowder, and vpon them bestowed (in steed of shot) Barres of Iron, logges of timber, massie stones, Iron Crowes, Picke-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to couer all) great store of Billets and fagots, so that nothing was wanting but fall in a readinesse, attending that great and terrible day. Neither were the Iesuiticall Priests slacke on their parts, who vsually concluded their Masses and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good successe of their expected hopes, as by these verses, made and vsed by *Garnet* is to be seene.

Gentem auserte perfidam credentium de finibus,
Vt Christo laudes debitas persoluamus alacriter.

And others thus, *Prosper Lord their paines that labour in thy cause day and night, let Heresie vanish away like smoake, let their memory perish with a cracke, like the ruine and fall of a broken house:* Allusions doubtlesse to the labours in the Vault, the mounting smoake of powder, and the fall of the Parliament house, which if it had hapned, they might haue said to haue bin Prophetically foretold by their high Priests for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord that neuer slipt the deliuerance of his elect, kept this his *Israel* as the Apple of his own eye, & this pit digged for the destruction of others, they fell into themselues: so that we may wel say, *If the Lord had not bin on our sides when mẽ rose vp against vs, they had swallowed vs vp quicke, when their wrath was kindled against vs; but praised bee the Lord which hath not giuen vs a pray vnto their teeth: our soule is escaped euen as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken, and wee are deliuered.* For this Cockatrice egge hatched by themselues proued a Serpent onely to themselues, and themselues (by Gods hand) made the only Instruments to breake the shell of their owne treason. Psal. 124.

(57) For vpon Thursday in the euening, tenne dayes before the intended Parliament, a letter directed to the Lord *Mounteagle* was deliuered by an vnknowne person vnto his footman in the streete, with a straight charge giuen, to giue it into his Lords owne hand, which accordingly hee did. The letter was without date and subscription, and somewhat vnlegible, so as the Nobleman called for one of his seruants to assist him therein, the strange contents whereof much perplexed the true construction, as whether writ by some *Pasquill* to scarre him from attendance, or as matter of consequence from aduise of some friend. Howsoeuer, though it were supper time, and the night as darke as the purport of the letter; yet to discharge his loyall duty, hee forthwith repaired to the Kings Palace at Whitehal, where he imparted the letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both presently acquainted the L. Chamberlaine therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himself, the charge of his office being to ouersee all places whether his Maiesty was to repaire, these two Counsellors shewed the same letter to the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who together concluded (how sleight soeuer the contents seemed to appeare, as proceeding from some surmises of an idle and light braine) to acquaint the King himselfe with the same, which accordingly was done, and was as followeth.

The letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle*.

My Lord, out of the loue I beare to some of your friends, I haue a care of your preseruation. Therefore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, to deuise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not sleightly of this aduertisement, but retire your selfe into your Country, where you may expect the euent in safety. For though there bee no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receiue a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme, for the danger is past so soone as you haue burnt the letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vse of it: to whose holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Maiesty a while pausing, & then re-reading the letter, deliuered his iudgement, that the stile thereof was too quicke and pythy to bee a libell bred from the superfluities of an idle braine, and on the instant did apprehend by these words; *that they should receiue a terrible blow at this Parliament, & yet should not see who hurt them*, that a sodaine danger by blast of Gunpowder should be intended by some base villaine in a corner, no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appearing. And thereforẽ wished, that the vnder rooms of the Parliament house might bee throughly searched, before himselfe, or Peeres should sit therein. To which purpose it was then concluded, that the L. Chamberlaine should (according to his office and place) view all the rooms aboue ãnd below: but aswell to stay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reueale their own mysteries, this his search should bee deferred vntill Munday, the day immediately before the Parliament, & then to bee with a seeming slight eye, to auoid suspect.

(59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the conclusion, vpon Munday in the after- November. 4

afternoone (being accompanied with the L. *Monteagle*, who still thirsted to see the issue) repaired vnto those vnder-roomes, and finding the Sellar so sufficiently stored with wood and coales, demanded of *Fawkes* (the counterfeit *Iohnson*, who stood there attending as a seruant of small repute) who owed the place; his answere was, that the lodgings belonged to M. *Thomas Percy*, and the Sellar likewise, to lay in his winter prouision, himselfe being the Keeper and M. *Percies* seruant. Whereunto the Earle as void of any other suspition, presently replied, that his Master was well prouided against Winters blasts: but being come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him, that hee did much suspect *Percy* to bee the inditer of the letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendship betwixt them professed, so as his heart gaue him (hee said) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning, related to the King in presence of some Counsellors, what hee had seene: and the suspition that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himselfe of *Iohnson* his man; which presently encreased his Maiesties apprehension and iealousie, whereupon hee insisted, that a narrow search should be made, and those billets and coales should be turned to the bottome, which as he confidently supposed was the couering of some notable intended treason. But some moued the doubt how this search should be made: for albeit no caution could be too much in so great a danger, yet the inducement thereunto, being no more then a nameless inscript, shufled no man knew whence, and might wel be the euaporation of an idle brain, wold seeme (if nothing were found) some scandall vnto the State, to bee ouer suspitious of so friuolous a toy, and withall might leaue some sad imputation on a great counsellor of the land. Notwithstanding, his Maiesty still persisting in his former opinion, willed that the search should be throughly made, and no possibility of danger left vnexamined, vnlesse they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leaue the hazard to the euent, which hee thought they in conscience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the search should be made; but vnder color of searching for certaine hangings belonging to the house which were missing, and conuaied away.

(61) Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, (now Lord *Kneuet*, then a Gentleman of his Maiesties Priuy-Chamber) was imployed herein, and about midnight (before the very morning when the Parliament was to beginne) went vnto the place with a small but well affected company. At the dore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at so vnseasonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fitte to apprehend him, and entring the place, ouerturned the billets and coales, when presently hee found the Serpents nest, stored with thirty sixe barrels (small and great) of gunpowder, then searching the villaine that should haue hatched these egges, found about him a darke lanterne, three matches and other instruments for blowing vp the powder: who no whit daunted, instantly confessed his guiltines, and was so farre from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee been found within the house (as indeed hee was then but immediately come foorth from his worke) hee certainely would haue blowne vp the house with himselfe, and them all: & was so obdurate in his Romish resolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Councell, hee lamented nothing so much, as that the deed had not been done, saying, *that the Diuell and not God was the discouerer of the plot.*

(62) As desperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the rest, who hauing notice that the L. *Montegles* letter did giue some ouerture of suspition, yet would they stay to see the successe, and forsooke not *London* vntill the same day wherein the deed should haue beene done: *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rookewood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, posted all into *Warwickshire*, where *Grant* and his associates had taken certaine great horses out of a stable, to forward their hoped great day. These meeting at *Dunchurch*, where Sir *Everard Digby* had made a match for a set hunting, not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour) but with *Nimrod* for bloud, and surprize of the most vertuous young Princesse Lady *Elizabeth*, were told (by the escaped) of their certaine discouery, and presently scarred with report of pursuit; when strucke with terror, not knowing where to make stay, or whither to stir, they desperately beganne an open rebellion, pretending the cause was Religion, and affirming for truth, that all the Catholikes throates were appointed to be cut. And so trouping together, wandred through *Warwickshire*, the edges of *Worcester*, and borders of *Stafford shire*, their seruants and aiders being about fourescore men, & those euer ready to steale away from them, more care was in keeping, then trust reposed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no resistance, they rifled the Lord *Windsors* house of all the Armour, shot, powder, and other warlike prouisions, but the weather rainy, and the waters somewhat high, the powder in carriage took wet, and thereby became more vnseruiceable, God in his iustice so ordering the successes, that the element of water, and accident of fire fought against them, as the stars in their courses did against *Sisera*. Iudg. 5. 20.

(63) For their last fort of refuge, being *Holbach* in *Staffordshire* (the house of *Stephen Littleton*) whither Sir *Richard Walsh* (high Shiriffe of *Worcestershire*) pursued them, who thinking the stirre no greater (though so great enough) then some fray or riot, sent his Trumpet vnto them, commanding to render themselues vnto him his Maiesties Minister, with promise of his best meanes (if they so did) to allay the offence. But their owne consciences witnessing what the Shiriffe knew not, told them the fault was too waighty to leaue them any hope of fauour: and thereupon returned answere, that *hee had needé of greater assistance then of those few numbers that were with him, before hee could be able to command or controll them.* So preparing for resistance, they made ready their weapons, and hauing laid two pound of the said powder in a platter to drie in the chimney, one (a Millar) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a sparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whose sodaine blast was so violent, that (though being of so small a quantity) it blew vp the roofe of the house, and scortched the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookewood* and *Grant*, with some others, whose consciences then strucken with the guilt of their sinne, made them see Gods searching iustice in punishing like with like. Thus being dieected with the accident, and now knowing that all was lost, like desperate men, they there resolued to die together, set open the gate, suffered the Shiriffes followers to rush in among them, and by valour (as they tearmed it) fought for their owne destruction; for both the *Wrights* were therein shot downe dead, *Ambrose Rookwood*, & *Thomas Winter* were very sore wounded; and lastly, *Catesby* and *Percy* resolutely fighting, backe to backe, were both of them slaine with one bullet of musket-shot.

Fire-working Traitors punished by fire.

(64) Thus these high aspiring spirites, deceiued with the spirit of illusion, vnder opinion of religion, and dreaming of no lesse then destruction of King, Princes and people, with alterations of kingdomes, Church and State, were miserably defeated, not by humane prouidence, but diuine mercy. Some presently flame in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded were taken aliue, the rest either whole or but lightly hurt, were led prisoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gazed at, reuiled and detested by the common people, as some strange Monsters of the world, for this their hellish and horrible Treason; and lastly condemned & executed as they most worthily deserued; whose inditemẽts, arraignments and confessions, I refer to be read in the true

Relations

Relations already printed thereof, with ſundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned diſcourſe, written by the moſt honourable Lord *Henry Howard*, Earle of *Northampton*, now Lord Priuy Seale.

An.D.1605. (65) In memory of which great deliuerance, the *fifth of November* (the day appointed for mercileſſe deſtruction) was by authority of the ſame Parliament enacted to be for euer celebrated with thankſgiuing, prayſe and prayers vnto our heauenly Preſeruer, and to bee kept holy vnto the Lord through our generations, which *we* wiſh may bee obſerued, with no leſſe acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to vs-ward, then was among the Iewes, the

Heſt.9. inſtitution of their Purim, for their deliuerance from the practiſe of wicked *Haman*, that ſo our Temples being thus freed from their prophane idolatry, wee

1.Maccab.4. may euer make this day as the feaſt of our dedication, like to the *Maccabees*, who in the ſame moneth did inſtitute theirs, by cleanſing Gods Temple of heatheniſh pollutions. So ſhall Chriſt with his ſpirituall approch beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane preſence in the Temple at *Ieruſalem* he celebrated that Winters feaſt of theirs: wher-

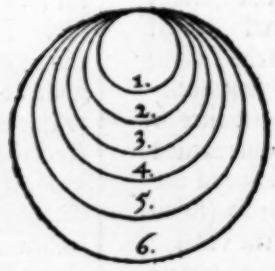
Iohn 10.22 in hee taught that himſelfe was the true ſon of God, and the only dore by which all muſt enter. Through

Ier.29.7. which therefore let vs with *Ieremy* approch his Altar to make ſupplications for the Kings peace: and

Baruch.1.11 with *Baruch* to pray for the Kings life, and life of his ſonne, that their dayes may be vpon the earth as the dayes of heauen, their branches as the beauteous Oliue, & their roots faſtned as the Cedars of *Lebanon*. Hoſe.14.6

(67) In offering of which Sacrifice my ſelfe (his Maieſties loyall ſeruant) hold vp my handes towardes Heauen, for His continuall preſeruation, His noble Queenes felicity, their Royall Iſſues proſperity, our Churches Peace, and Great *Britaines* euer flouriſhing State: and doe at this place (as of moſt note & eminency) end my many yeeres trauels, hitherto purpoſely continued, that this laſt foule blot of infamy, though it cannot vtterly bee wiped away, yet may it bee ſomewhat vailed, and lie obſcured in this hindermoſt frame of our now finiſhed Theatre, that ſo, when any more noble, and more enabled ſpirit and penne, ſhall attempt to continue and enlarge the life and raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wiſe *Salomon*, hee may adorne the frontiſpice of ſo glorious a worke, with ſome porch and entrance of more pleaſing aſpect. For my part, I haue here onely pointed at His Maieſties firſt entrance and acts, rather to ſhew a liberty of writing the kingdomes affaires, which neuer is permitted, ſauing vnder good Princes, then by my vnable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of ſome iudicious *Tacitus*, or eloquent *Zenophon*, and conclude with the aduiſe of *Ammianus Marcellinus* the famous Hiſtorian: *Let other men for experience more ſufficient, and for learning better known write the reſt, whom, if it ſhall pleaſe them to enter thereupon, I aduiſe to frame their pennes vnto an higher Stile.* Ammia.lib.31. cap.17

The Circumferences of theſe ancient Monies being diuers and different, wee haue in this Sculpture obſerued, by ſhewing three Diameters, whoſe Circles import the bigneſſe of their Mintage and their figures compared with theſe, direct their proportions to be of the ſame as thou ſeeſt.



A ſummary Concluſion of the vvhole.

BY the aſſiſtance of the *All-Sufficient* (the onely defence and Preſeruer of man) my inſufficient abilities, haue attained the end of this worke, and my weake vnable Perſon brought to a Period this large Edifice of GREAT BRITAINS THEATRE. How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what paines and trauaile to my ſelfe, my decaied ſtrength too manifeſtly hath felt, and with what care of truth, the *Authorities* alleaged through the whole Proceſſe, are my witneſſes; whoſe lines haue beene the meaſures, and Antiquities the matter, that hath raiſed the *Fabrick* vnto this height. The attempt was great, and farre vnfit (I muſt confeſſe) for me to vndergoe; which, euen at the firſt entrance was ſo cenſured by the Iudicious, and in the continuance hath ſo proued: that now it being finiſhed, as the Silkeworme endeth her life in her long wrought clew, ſo I in this *Theatre* haue built my owne Graue; whoſe Architecture howſoeuer defectiue it may be ſaid to be, yet the proiect is good: and the coſt great, though my ſelfe haue freely beſtowed this paines to the Preſſe, without preſſing a penny from any mans purſe. For me to ſhew the vtilitie of Hiſtory, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sunne; or to preſcribe a methode for their vſes, were, with *Phormio* to reade a Lecture of Cheualrie vnto great *Hannibal*, warres experienced Conductor: But, as our owne concerneth vs neereſt (wherein my pen hath taken the freeſt acceſſe) ſo let me abridge the whole in a ſmall Circle, and incompaſſe that briefly, which hath beene related in a farre wider circumference.

(2) Our Land, peopled from *Iaphet* the firſt ſonne of *Noah*, fell vnto thoſe ſonnes of *Gomer*, who inhabited theſe parts of *Europe*, whoſe iſſue were moſt famouſly knowne by the name of *Britaines*. At firſt, naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no ſooner were frequented with the ciuill *Romanes*, but that they couered their Cut-painted bodies with Garments; and ſhortly imitated them euen in their moſt ciuilized actions; yea, ſcarcely was Chriſt taken downe from his *Croſſe* but they became *Chriſtians* (the greateſt glory of any Nation) and among them the *Goſpell* had her firſt progreſſe by eſtabliſhed authority. Their Gouernment was vnder Kings, and thoſe of as honourable a reſpect, as were any other in theſe Weſt-parts of the World, both in training their Subiects vnto due obedience, and miniſtring of Lawes for the maintainance of eſtate. Their warres domeſticke and forraine were ſo managed with Policie and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themſelues againſt their aſſaults, and in the other ſteeded the *Romanes* in moſt of their Conqueſts: which coſt them laſtly their owne ſubuerſions, when their warriers and virgins were conſumed and tranſported into other parts, whilſt their natiue Land lay expoſed to the will of Inuaders.

The firſt Inhabitants.

Their ciuilitie.

Chriſtianity.

Gouernment.

Warres.

(3) The glory-thirſting *Romans* (from a crew of lawleſſe Shepheards now lately become Lords of the World) were the firſt that ſet foot, with diſplaied Enſigne, for the Conqueſt of *Britaine*, and the ſame

Their firſt Conquerors.

firſt aſſaied by *Iulius Cæſar* from the Coaſts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was ſo honourable in eſteeme of their Emperors, that *Claudius* (the fifth in ſucceſſion) holding the Triumph but baſe, that attends vpon authority without action of Price, made choiſe of *Britaine* to adorne his triumphant Chariot, that this Iland (ſited, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof ſhewed by *Cæſar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Perſon: and to that end, hauing made hither himſelfe, ſtamped his Conqueſt vpon his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and vpon his aged knees crept vp the ſteps of the *Capitoll*, to giue thankes of victory vnto his gods on the day of his *Triumph*; which, though for a ſmall part of this Ilands ſubiection, was yet accompliſhed with more then ordinarie magnificence, and the ſhewes greater then vſually had beene ſeene, for the Conqueſts of farre larger and better knowne Kingdomes. And with as great a care was it kept, whilſt the *Romans* kept their owne greatnes. But when their high-mounted Pillar ouerſwayed her owne Baſe, and the farre-ſpread boughes were growne too weighty for the ſtemme, many hands at once graſped at the Emperiall Crowne, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom alſo the faire and flouriſhing Cedars of *Britain* were ſhaken, and left naked both of fruite, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other vtterly defaced, and neither of them able any longer to ſupport their owne ſtandings, gaue place vnto *deſtiny* that would now haue both downe; whereby the *Iewell* ſo much deſired, and which had beene kept with ſuch care, was now laid at ſtake to them that could winne it, and *Britain* abandoned by the *Romans*, without further claime, after they had beene Lords thereof the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres.

Their Triumphs.

Their eſteeme.

Their ruine.

Abandoned by the *Romans*.

Inuaded by *Saxons*.

(4) The next Actors vpon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold and irreligious, as, for the moſt part, the reſt of Nations in thoſe daies were. Theſe infeſting with Piracies the Coaſts of *Britaine* and *Gallia*, grew both fearefull and famous in profeſſion of military ſeruices. In *France* they ſeized vpon the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*; in *Germany* by intruſion they vnſeated the *Sueuians*; in *Holland* and *Frieſland*, they incroached vpon the *Batauians*, and *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often aſſailed the Coaſts of this Iland, euen whilſt the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Stilicho* and others, whoſe praiſes the *Poet Claudian* chaunted aloud. But the *Romans* departed, and *Britaine* left bare of men, their land waſted by famine, tumultuous vprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who ſhould be greateſt; the *Scots* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their Peace) tooke the aduantage, and continually made bloody incurſions into their Land. And albeit a ſtone-wall was raiſed athwart the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades; yet that auailed little, their aſſaults were ſo great. Whereupon the *Saxons* were ſent for, and in their firſt ſeruice freed the *Britaines* from thoſe raging *Picts*; The Lands defence then they vndertooke, and the Inhabitants conſented to maintaine the charge; which whilſt it was in giuing was thankefully receiued, but once receiued was vngratefully forgot. And they (like the Rauens of *Arabia*, who ſo long as they are full, yeeld a pleaſant noiſe, but being empty make a horrible crie) emptied faſter then the *Britains* could fill, and euer complained they had not inough, till laſtly by ſurprize they got all into their owne clawes. Then deuided they among themſelues the beſt of the Land, and droue their Receiuers into the worſt and waſte mountaines of *Wales*, euery of their Captaines ſharing a part to himſelfe, and of one Emperiall Crowne made ſeauen *Diadems* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worne, without

* *Baieux*.

By *Picts* & *Scots*.

The occaſion of *Saxons* comming.

Their vſurping on the Land.

Their diuiding the Land into an Heptarchie.

inteſtine warres, each of them ſtriuing to inlarge his owne, vpon his next, till God and deſtiny againe brought all vnto *One*, euen to great *Egbert*, who forbade the Ilands old Name, and commanded theſe now vnited Prouinces to be called *Anglia*. Yet no ſooner was this accompliſhed, with aſſured hopes conceiued, that the *Saxons* glory ſhould thence forward aſcend and ſpread forth with peace, but that a ſauage nation, as fierce as the *Scythians*, caſt their eies of deſire vpon that beautifull Crowne, and preſently attempted, but neuer intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the ſame, till they had ſet it on their owne *Helmets*; and theſe *Saxons* worne out with reſiſtance, gaue place to the *Danes*, when time had worne out fiue hundred ſixtie three yeeres of their Gouernment.

The Heptarchie againe reduced to a Monarchie.

Britaine firſt named *England*.

The *Saxons* confuſion.

(5) Theſe *Danes* thus ſucceeding (though with no better right to enioy) were a ſtout ſturdy Nation whoſe many Piracies both *France* and *Bretaigne* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For theſe, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hiue, the land of their owne natiuitie was too little for each to haue a part: vpon which occaſion a cuſtome was practiſed to baniſh ſome that the reſt might haue roome. Theſe Exiles therefore (chiefely conſiſting of their youth) fell vpon other Landes with no leſſe danger, then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, and greeuouſly wounded whereſoeuer they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred and eighteene yeeres continuance, they vnceſſantly aſſaulted; ſometimes harrowing the Countrey before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: ſometimes impoueriſhing the People, by exacting great ſummes of money for compoſition of Peace: ſometimes expelling the Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelues in their places: and ſometimes ſharing the Country with their Kings, and taking vnto themſelues none of the worſt; but not as other Conquerors to build, ſow, and plant, but to lay waſt, caſt downe, and deſtroy, ſparing neither Erections for ciuill vſe, nor places of Oratory dedicated to diuine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canut*, was worne with great glory, and by three of thoſe *Daniſh* Kings, *Englands Crowne* was enioied. The firſt of them Potent, religious, wiſe and iuſt. The ſecond, illegitimate, an vſurper very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiſer, laſciuious and a glutton, in which exceſſe at *Lambeth* he ſuddainely ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* ſore oppreſſions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for fiue and twenty yeeres ſpace worne the royall diademe of this Realme.

The *Danes* inuaſion.

The occaſion thereof.

Their continuance here.

Their deuaſtations here.

Their three Kings.

Their end.

(6) Theſe foure Nations fulfilling their times by Heauens aſſignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe looſing, the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINES gouernment: a fift, inferiour to none, made thereunto a double claime, and by a third (more ſure then both) which was, their *conquering ſword*, got it. Theſe laſt (which I pray may be laſt) were the *Normans*, a people fierce and valorous, whoſe many Sea-aduentures were ſo great, in the daies of *Charles the Great*, as that he wept to foreſee the harmes they would doe to his in *France*, which proued ſo many that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-Child) was forced to part with the Earledome of *Charters* vnto *Haſting* a Norman; *Charles the Groſſe* with the County *Newſtria*, vnto *Godfrey* their Chieftainer: and *Charles the Simple* with all the Countreys which lay betwixt the Riuer *Seine* and *Loyre*, vnto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof he became Duke, and that Dutchie from him named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Baſtard* the ſeuenth in diſcent, in a bloodie field at *Battell* in *Suſſex*, wan the Engliſh Crowne from King *Harald* that held it; when, by changing of Lawes, diſheriting of Nobles, and beſtowing the Lands Reuenewes vpon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchie. At firſt, ſomewhat bloodie, (as Conqueſts commonly proue) and the Crowne

The *Normans*.

Their title to *England*.

Their attempts and ſeatings in *France*.

William the Conquerors victory.

The ſucceſſion of the Crowne vnduely ſeaſed.

Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the desire of a Diademe doe?) the two yonger brethren successiuely wearing it, to the preiudice of their * Elder, and *Stephen* hauing no right, but such as Intruders pretend. But *Henrie Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeeres taken vp in the Raignes of foureteene Kings of his line, their Acts afforde matter of more Princely consequence, their Dominions spread wider, themselues being the lawfull Inheritors to the third part of *France*, and to the *Whole* by the *Title* of their *third Edward*, and by the *Conquest* of their *fifth Henry*. And surely had not the ciuill dissentions of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* spent their weapons in the woundes of themselues, those Kings and their Successours vndoubtedly had beene double crowned euen to this day. But these *Roses* pluckt off by dissentious hands, and their Branches torne downe in home-bred broyles, their roiall rootes lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Tyuder of Lancaster* with *Plantagenet* of *Yorke*, gaue them vigor and sappe, by binding both together in wedlockes goulden band. Whereby also the long dead stemme of the auncient British Kings beganne againe to bud forth, and fiue renowned Princes of that Sirname succeeded in *Englands Throne*. The *first* of them, the richest, and wisest King of this Westerne-World; The *Second*, the forest wounder of the Papall authority; The *third*, the forwardest in all pious actions. The *fourth* the feruentest for the Religion of *Rome*; And the *fifth* a *Mayden-Queene*, the most famously renowned among the Worlds Monarkes, vnder whose raignes one hundred and sixteene yeeres were fully complete and run. And were it not that the English are taxed to be ouer-much addicted vnto vaine Propheſies, and that *Merlins* was prohibited by decree of Counsell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shaftesbury*, both of them foreshewing that the *British Empire* after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, should returne againe to her auncient *Stocke* and *Name*. Notwithstanding Truth bids vs acknowledge, how farre God hath accomplished both these in the royall Person of our now-*Soueraigne*, the one by his discent from the loines of that Roiall *Tuder* King *Henry the Seuenth*; and the other, by his *Edict*, in restoring to the *Iland* her auncient Name, *Britannia*: himselfe being the *first Monarch* of the two Kingdomes Vnion, and the greatest of Command, since *Canutus the Dane*. The Cordes of whose *Royall Tents*, we pray, may be further extended, that those naked *Virginians* may be couered vnder the Curtaines of his most Christian Gouernment; and that the *Scepter* of his *Peace* may bud, as *Aarons Rod* in his hand, and in the hand of his Sonne, and Sonne Sonnes, so long as the *Sunne* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) These then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence haue issued such plentifull Springs, that now met together in one Body the Streame is grown very bigge, which thing I euer feared, but could neuer preuent; offending rather with the *Niggard* who thinketh euery mite too-much, then sinning with the *Prodigall* in superfluous excesse; so plenteous is our Story, and so largely requires it to bee writ. Through all which my weake body with many yeeres labour hath alone trauelled, aswell in the reuiewing of the Geographicall parts of the Land, as in the compiling of the succeeding Historie, though far vnable to perfect either, according to their owne worths. But lest the waight of the whole should rest vpon so slender a proppe as myselfe: I haue laid my buildings vpō far stronger arches, as by the many alleaged authorities may appeare. For first, the Chards for the most part traced by others, and most of them diuulged vnto view, were the foundations of my begunne paines; in supplying their wants with my many additions, and dimensions of the Shire-townes, and Cities true platformes. The further descriptions of sundry prouinces, I haue gleaned from the famous workes of the most worthy and learned *Cambden*, whose often sowed seedes in that Soile hath lastly brought forth a most plenteous harueſt. For the body of the Historie, many were the manuscripts, notes, and Records, wherewith my honored and learned friends supplied me; but none more (or so many) as did the worthy repairer of eating times ruines, the learned *Sir Robert Cotten* Knight Baronet, another *Philadelphus* in preseruing old Monuments, and ancient Records: whose Cabinets were vnlocked, and Library continually set open to my free accesse: & from whence the chiefest garnishments of this worke haue beene enlarged and brought: such as are the antique altars, & Trophies in Stone, by him preserued from perishing obliuion; The Coines of gold, siluer, alcumy, and copper, of the *Britaines*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *English*, with the Broade Seales of those Kings since the same were in vse: all of them so followed from the originall moddles, and moneyes, by the most exquisit and curious hand of our age, as any eye may witnes they are the true prints from those stamps. The like most acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, (especially in matters remoter from our times) I continually receiued from that worthy *Diuine*, *Master Iohn Barkham*, a gentleman composed of *Learning*, *Vertue*, & *Curtesie*, as being no lesse ingenuously willing, then learnedly able, to aduance and forward all vertuous endeuours. Besides, these, some other supply I haue had: for my disease growne dangerous, and life held in suspence; it behoued him who had towards the publishing bestowed so great cost, to forward the finishing; and to that end hee procured mee to his further charges an * assistant in the liues of our middle *English* Kings: whose Stories and raignes (by the Iudicious) may by their stiles bee knowne to bee writ with another penne. Lastly for the matters of *Herauldrie*, the willing and ready paines of Master *William Smith*, *Rough Dragon*, (an Officer at armes) was euer at hand: and by these hands this building is mounted to such an height as thou seest: which thus now finished, this scanted Epitome, may well serue thy foote-steppes, as staires to ascend these fiue nationall Stories alreadie finished, and leade thee into the sixth now most happilie begunne. Where from those mounted heights, thou maist behold, how *Time* hath squared the Stones of these buildings: how *Fortune* hath varied in contriuing the Worke: and how the *Fates* haue erected, polished, and puld downe, the supporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES THEATRE. From whose *Tarras* with *Dauid* cast not thy lusting eie vpon vnlawfull delights: Nor with *Babels* King boast, that this was built by thy owne might: But with *Moses* confesse that from a small stocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou art now growne into a great Nation, mighty, and ful of people. And with *Salomon* make supplication vnto thy great *Iehouah*, that the *Arke of his strength* may euer rest in this House, & his eies be euer open thereon day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that this building may be as beauteous as his, the Foundations laid with *Saphires*, her Windowes with the *Emerauds*, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*. That the desarts of this *chosen Zion* may be as *Eden*, and her wildernes like the *Garden of God*. Her Gouernment *Peace*, her People the *Saints of Saluation*, & her Kings the *Signets on Gods right hand*, successiuely to sit on this Royall Throne, till *Christ the King of Kings* shall come in the Clowdes, and from the Raine-Bow the Throne of his Maiesty pronounce vs blessed, and make vs heires with himselfe of that Kingdome which neuer shall haue end. *Vnto which* CHRIST, *with his* FATHER, *and* HOLY SPIRIT, *three in Persons but* ONE GOD *eternall, vndiuideable in Deity, be ascribed all Praise, Honour, Glorie, Wisdome, Power and Might for euermore. Amen.*

FINIS.

* Robert Curthrop.

The Plantagenets succession.

Their large inheritance.

Their ciuill dissentions.

The Tuders succession.

Fiue Princes of that sirname.

Comin. lib. 4 cap. 10.

The Crowne returned to the old Britaines and Britaine to her olde Name.

The Vnion of the whole Iland in the person of our Soueraigne.

L. Har. Christ. Saxton, Iohn Norden, Wil. White.

Christ. Swisser.

* M. Ed. Bol.

Deut. 28.

2. Chro. 6.

Isaiah 54. 11.

Isaiah 51. 3.

Hag. 2.

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CVM PRIVILEGIO.

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561	a	62	Robert
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571	a	15	D' Arteuile
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577	b	46	Treaty
584	a	52	a thouſand
588	b	45	Pyrenæan
586	a	38	Piots on foote
599	a	6	Who aſpired
598	a	46	Sir Nicholas Brambet
601	a	47	belay
606	b	30	Beaufort
607	a	4	Caskes
608	b	43	at Rauenſpurre
612	b	67	William Heron. To Spaine
615	b	3	Palæologus
618	a	17	Kinderton
619	b	46	Her greeuances were now growne intollerable
633	a	38	fiue thouſand, & eight hundred
634	a	18	who, as he lay
6 4	a	21	omit (was)
636	b	71	Beaufort
642	b	43	*Præclariſſimus*
641	b	73	Turne the date.
648	b	3	in London
651	a	19	Armies ful of veteran ſouldiers
660	b	26	needed quiet. Commiſſioners
667	b	33	hoſtily
676	a	55	Sir Ralph Percy
678	a	24	that the wanton King
686	a	43	King Edward
686	a	46	Vntill the end of king Richards raigne
	a	58	Richard Earle of Warwicke
695	a	28	Might from youth
704	a	22	brigandines ſuch as no man
714	a	63	grey Amices
723	a	22	in great pompe entred
737	a	1	Zouch
748	b	58	of a great ſubiect
750	b	22	houres
756	a	36	Iohn Leſley
757	a	23	who poſted backe againe
761	a	55	and will not
761	b	42	The beſeegers
768	b	39	I was not ſo worthy
777	b	52	felonies
781	b	33	fiue and thirty thouſand ſtrong
781	b	48	when he moued
282	a	76	Linlithquo
783	a	12	There valours in the ſeege Mutterell
783	a	4	Stuck downe
784	a	50	of white Marble.
784	b	31	not as dead
784	b	37	Item on the right hand
804	a	17	of Hertford
804	b	43	Seargeant Catlin, and
812	b	4	and he taken away
814	a	8	for whoſe maintenance
816	b	47	through Shordich. Where
816	b	67	Iernigham
816	b	79	backe againe
817	b	64	by commiſſion. That, ſoones
818	a	47	Aſtley parke
823	a	73	fearefull Princeſſe
823	a	76	if hers were
833	b	43	and Daulphin
841	a	76	were carried
851	a	29	Proſelites
854	a	57	breaking ſooth
854	b	17	omit (for)
854	b	67	ſuſpitious intents
855	b	37	in zeland
857	a	53	whom vpon his returne
867	a	13	after the Duke of Guiſe, the Cardinall alſo
868	a	24	Our Zenobia
871	a	37	*iam inſolitam*
871	a	39	*ei tribuendam*
876	b	17	Martialiſt
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878	a	62	Fimbria his complaint.
887	a	50	Phyſician